

13.02 Hrs.

**ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES
(AMENDMENT) BILL****EXTENSION OF TIME FOR PRESENTATION
OF REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE**

श्री विभूति मिश्र (मोतीहारी) : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

“कि अत्यावश्यक वस्तु अधिनियम, 1955 में आगे संशोधन करने तथा अत्यावश्यक वस्तु (संशोधन) अधिनियम, 1964 को अग्रेतर अवधि के लिए जारी रखने वाले विधेयक संबंधी प्रवर समिति का प्रतिवेदन पेश करने के लिए नियत समय 18 दिसम्बर, 1967 तक बढ़ा दिया जाय।”

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : इसके बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि प्रवर समिति के लिए अवधि बढ़ाने की मांग की गई है और कहा गया है कि इसकी अवधि 18 तारीख तक बढ़ा दी जाए। अभी तक इस समिति की शायद एक भी बैठक नहीं हुई है। मुझे शक है कि यह 18 तारीख तक भी अपना कार्य पूरा कर सकेगी या नहीं कर सकेगी। यह एक आर्द्दिनेस था। इसको पास करना जरूरी होगा। क्या समिति के अध्यक्ष आश्वासन देंगे कि 18 तारीख तक हम काम पूरा कर लेंगे ?

श्री विभूति मिश्र : इनको पता नहीं है। यह गलत बात कहते हैं। आठ तारीख को इसकी मीटिंग हुई थी।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : एक मीटिंग हुई है।

श्री विभूति मिश्र : आपने कहा कि एक भी नहीं हुई है। 9 और 10 को छूटी थी। मੈम्बरों ने कहा कि उनको समय दिया जाए ताकि वे अध्ययन कर सकें। अब बारह से

रोज छः बजे से आठ बजे तक यह कमेटी बैठा करेगी।

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

“That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the Essential Commodities Act, 1955, and to continue the Essential Commodities (Amendment) Act, 1964, for a further period, be extended upto the 18th December, 1967.

The motion was adopted.

13.03 Hrs.

**PONDICHERRY (EXTENSION OF
LAWS) BILL***

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA) : On behalf of Shri Y. B. Chavan, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to extend certain Central Acts to the Union territory of Pondicherry.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

“That the leave be granted to introduce a Bill to extend certain Central Acts to the Union territory of Pondicherry.”

The motion was adopted.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I introduce † the Bill.

13.04 Hrs.

**OFFICIAL LANGUAGES (AMENDMENT) BILL AND RESOLUTION
RE : OFFICIAL LANGUAGES—
contd.**

MR. SPEAKER : The House will now take up further consideration of the Official Languages (Amendment) Bill and the Resolution. Shri Prakash Vir Shastri to continue his speech.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

*Published in Gazette of India Extraordinary. Part II, Section 2, dated 11-12-67.

†Introduced with the recommendation of the President.

14.00 Hrs.

*The Lok Sabha reassembled after
Lunch at Fourteen of the Clock.*

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES (AMEND-
MENT) BILL AND RESOLUTION
RE : OFFICIAL LANGUAGES—
contd.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur):
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I have a sub-
mission to make. This morning when
the calling attention motion was being
discussed in this House, some Members
quoted a letter which was written by
Shri Ajoy Mukerji in which he has
described the activities of CPI (M). I
have gone through the newspapers and
I find that Mr. Ajoy Mukerji said that
he wrote a letter but he never sent it.
I want to know from the Home Minis-
ter . . .

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : What
I would suggest is : when this matter
was being raised this morning, you did
not raise this point. So, I would sug-
gest that you please write to the
Speaker. If there is any contradiction,
he is the proper authority to take note
of it.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Kindly
hear me, Sir. I understand your point.
But, since Shri V. C. Shukla is here, I
want to know from him whether that
letter was received by the Centre or
not because that is the fundamental mat-
ter and an ex-Chief Minister was refer-
red to here.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I en-
tirely agree. Your query is all right,
but it should be addressed to the Spea-
ker because that would be the proper
procedure.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (हापुड़) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अपने भाषण को 21
जून 1931 के नवजीवन में प्रकाशित गांधी जी
के एक वक्तव्य के इन वाक्यों से प्रारम्भ
करना चाहता हूँ :

“अगर स्वराज्य अंग्रेजी बोलने वाले
भारतीयों का और उन्हीं के लिए होने

वाला हो, तो निस्सन्देह अंग्रेजी ही राष्ट्र-
भाषा होगी। लेकिन अगर स्वराज्य
करोड़ों भूखों मरने वालों, करोड़ों निरक्ष-
रों, निरक्षर बहनों और दलितों व अन्यजों
का हो और इन सब के लिए होने वाला हो,
तो हिन्दी ही एकमात्र राष्ट्रभाषा हो
सकती है।”

स्वराज्य की रूपरेखा देते हुए गांधी जी ने
ये शब्द कहे थे। हमारा यह दुर्भाग्य है कि जब
हमारा देश स्वतन्त्र नहीं हुआ था तो उस समय
हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा कहलाती थी। लेकिन
गांधीजी के जाने के बाद हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा
के पद से हट कर राजभाषा तक सीमित हो
गई। फिर उस के बाद जब राजेन्द्र बाबू
जैसे संरक्षकों का हाथ उस के सिर पर न रहा,
तो हिन्दी राजभाषा से हट कर सम्पर्क-भाषा
के रूप में परिवर्तित हो गई। नहीं कहा जा
सकता कि अगर यही गति चलती रही, तो
हिन्दी किसी दिन केवल कार्यालय-भाषा तक
ही सीमित न रह जाये।

मेरा निवेदन है कि हिन्दी और अन्य
भारतीय भाषाओं का प्रश्न इतना दुरूह नहीं
है जितना कुछ चतुर राजनीतिज्ञों ने इस को
अपना राजनीतिक हथियार बना कर बहुत
उलझा दिया है। वास्तविकता यह है कि
अगर इस प्रश्न का न्यायसंगत समाधान ढूँढा
जाय तो कुछ कठिन नहीं है। एक वाक्य
में कहा जा सकता है कि अहिन्दी-भाषी राज्यों
पर हिन्दी न लादी जाये और हिन्दी-भाषी
राज्यों पर अंग्रेजी न लादी जाये। सवाल
केन्द्र का रह जाता है। केन्द्र आज भी द्विभाषी
है और वह द्विभाषी रहे। लेकिन केन्द्र
केवल कागज पर ही द्विभाषी न हो बल्कि
वह व्यवहार में भी द्विभाषी हो।

संविधान की मान्यता और 1963 के
राजभाषा विधेयक के अनुसार हिन्दी इस देश
की प्रमुख भाषा है। अंग्रेजी केवल सहभाषा
के रूप में है। यदि सरकार ने उस सिद्धान्त
को व्यावहारिक रूप दिया होता, तो मेरी
यह निश्चित मान्यता है कि इस तरह की स्थिति

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

उत्पन्न न होती जो 1967 में इस तरह का अटपटा विषयक इस सदन में लाया जाता।

जहां तक प्रान्तों का सम्बन्ध है यह निर्विवाद है कि उन के कार्यों के लिए प्रान्तीय भाषायें प्रयुक्त होंगी। प्रश्न केवल केन्द्र की सरकारी नौकरियों का है। केन्द्र की सरकारी नौकरियों के सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ आंकड़े इस सदन के समक्ष रखना चाहता हूं। अगर मैं सरकार की सभी नौकरियों के सम्बन्ध में आंकड़े दूं तो शायद बहुत समय लग जाय। इस लिए मैं केवल सरकार की सब से बड़ी सविस आई० ए० एस० के बारे में कुछ आंकड़े दे कर बताना चाहता हूं कि इस समय केन्द्रीय सरकार की नौकरियों में विभिन्न प्रान्तों को उन की जनसंख्या के अनुपात से कितना प्रतिनिधित्व मिला हुआ है।

प्रदेश	जन-संख्या का प्रति-शत	आई० ए० एस० का प्रति-शत
राजस्थान	4.60	2.88
उड़ीसा	4	3.78
मैसूर	5.38	3.78
पंजाब	7.96	8.80
मध्य प्रदेश	7.38	2.47
गुजरात	4.90	1.50
बिहार	10.59	4.05
आन्ध्र	4.20	3.70
मद्रास	7.68	20.06

इस से आप अनुमान लगा सकेंगे कि वास्तविकता क्या है और हिन्दी का जो विरोध किया जा रहा है उस के पीछे क्या रहस्य है। मैं उन व्यक्तियों में से नहीं हूँ जो यह कहते हैं कि इस देश की भाषा समस्या के समाधान के लिए केन्द्र की सरकारी नौकरियों में राज्यों का कोटा निर्धारित कर दिया जाये। क्योंकि मेरा मत है कि जिस प्रान्तीयता के विषय के खिलाफ हम लोग बोलते हैं इस

कोटा-प्रणाली से वही प्रान्तीयता का विषय पनपेगा। दूसरे सरकारी नौकरियों में प्रतिभा का जो विकास होना चाहिए इस कोटा-प्रणाली से उस पर भी एक प्रकार का प्रतिबन्ध लगेगा।

लेकिन साथ ही मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि इस कोटा-प्रणाली में एक संशोधन यह कर दिया जाये कि अगर अहिन्दी-भाषी राज्यों के लोग संघ लोक-सेवा आयोग की परीक्षाओं में हिन्दी के माध्यम से बैठेंगे तो कोटा के अतिरिक्त भी जितने स्थान वे चाहें उतने स्थान उन को दिये जा सकते हैं। अगर यह व्यवस्था कर दी जाय तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस समस्या का एक अच्छा समाधानकारक हल हो सकता है, जिस से कुछ समय तक किसी को कठिनाई नहीं होगी।

जहां तक सम्बन्ध है पिछले वर्षों में केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा अपनाई गई नीतियों का, मैं उस कड़वे इतिहास में नहीं जाना चाहता। सब से बड़ा दोष तो उस समय रहा जबकि इस सम्बन्ध में पंद्रह वर्ष की लम्बी अवधि निर्धारित की गई। उस पंद्रह वर्ष की लम्बी अवधि में केन्द्रीय सरकार यह समझ कर बैठ गई कि हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में उस ने विशेष कोई काम नहीं करना है। उसी का कु-परिणाम यह है कि इस लम्बी अवधि के दौरान इस सम्बन्ध में कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई। जब जनता ने कुछ खटखटाया और भूतपूर्व राष्ट्र-पति डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद ने समय-समय पर कुछ आदेश दिये तो केन्द्रीय सरकार ने कुछ थोड़ा-सा हिस्सा प्रारम्भ किया।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय आप जान कर आश्चर्य करेंगे कि केन्द्रीय सरकार के कर्मचारियों में से 1,84,000 व्यक्तियों को हिन्दी सिखाई गई और उस पर करोड़ों रुपये व्यय किये गये लेकिन उन व्यक्तियों से हिन्दी का कोई कार्य न सिधे जाने के कारण आज वे सब के सब हिन्दी भूलते जा रहे हैं। केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा 8,000 के करीब हिन्दी के ग्राणु लिपिक और टाइपिस्ट तैयार किये गए हैं लेकिन केन्द्रीय सरकार के कार्यालयों में हिन्दी के जो टाइप-

राइटर हैं उन की संख्या केवल 1,100 है। मैं समझता हूँ कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की राजभाषा सम्बन्धी नीतियों की विसंगति इस से अधिक और क्या हो सकती है।

स्वतंत्रता से पहले मध्य प्रदेश और मध्य भारत के ग्वालियर और इन्दौर आदि कई राज्यों में उच्चन्यायालयों तक में हिन्दी में निर्णय लिखे जाते थे। सरकार का कर्तव्य था कि संविधान की मान्यता के अनुसार वह उस प्रचलित व्यवस्था को संरक्षण देती। लेकिन सरकार ने उनको भी अंग्रेजी में कार्य करने को विवश किया। इस स्थिति में यह कैसे कहा जा सकता है कि सरकार की नीयत पवित्र है?

मेरे मित्र श्री सुरेन्द्रनाथ द्विवेदी ने कहा कि हिन्दी के कुछ कट्टर समर्थकों ने हिन्दी को बहुत हानि पहुँचाई है। कुछ हद तक मैं उन की बात से सहमत हो सकता हूँ लेकिन मैं उनको और उनके विचारों के अन्य व्यक्तियों को यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी को हानि हिन्दी के कट्टर समर्थकों ने नहीं पहुँचाई। हिन्दी थोपी नहीं जायेगी, हिन्दी लादी नहीं जायेगी, हिन्दी डंडे से नहीं उतारी जायेगी—बे नारे दिल्ली में मद्रास से नहीं आये बल्कि दिल्ली से मद्रास को गये। यहीं के नेताओं ने यह नारा लगा कर एक नई स्थिति देश में पैदा की। आप मुझे इन शब्दों को कहने की अनुमति दीजिये—यह जो स्थिति आज है जिससे कि हिन्दी और भारतीय भाषाओं में आपस में लड़ाई पैदा कर दी गई है यह अंग्रेजी के कुछ समर्थकों ने की है। अगर मैं स्पष्ट शब्दों में किसी को दोष दे सकता हूँ तो अंग्रेजी के कुछ समाचार पत्रों को और कुछ समाचार एजेंसियों को। विशेष रूप से मैं प्रेस ट्रस्ट आफ इंडिया का नाम लेना चाहता हूँ। इसलिये मैं नाम लेना चाहता हूँ—क्योंकि मेरे पास कुछ उदाहरण हैं।

यदि 1965 की उन घटनाओं को छोड़ भी हूँ जोकि उस समय मद्रास राज्य में हो रही थी। जिनको अतिरंजित कर के बाता-

वरण को विषाक्त किया गया। अभी कल परसों इसी सदन के अन्दर कुछ घटनाओं का उल्लेख आया था। जिनको कुछ व्यक्तियों ने अतिरंजित कर के यहाँ पर प्रस्तुत किया था कि साउथ इण्डियन स्कूलों पर और दूसरे साउथ इण्डियन लोगों पर आक्रमण किये जा रहे हैं। इस घटना को प्रेस ट्रस्ट आफ इण्डिया ने किस तरह से प्रसारित किया है। आप अगर इस एजेंसी की गहराई में जायेंगे तो आपको पता लगेगा कि इस समाचार एजेंसी में किस प्रकार के व्यक्ति काम कर रहे हैं।

अभी कुछ दिन पहले मद्रास में अंग्रेजी समर्थकों का एक सम्मेलन हुआ था। जिसमें यहां से भी देशमुख या विदेशमुख गये थे, कोठारी साहेब गये थे, मुदालियर साहेब थे और भी कई लोग थे। उस अंग्रेजी समर्थक सम्मेलन के विरोध में मद्रास के तमिल समर्थक लोगों ने प्रदर्शन किया। वह प्रदर्शन इस बात का किया कि ये जो अंग्रेजी को बनाये रखनेवाले लोग हैं, कुछ निहित स्वार्थी लोग हैं, हम उन के खिलाफ हैं और हम तमिल चाहते हैं। लेकिन प्रेस ट्रस्ट आफ इण्डिया ने अंग्रेजी समर्थकों के समाचारों को तो बहुत अच्छी तरह से फ़ैलस किया, लेकिन तमिल समर्थक लोगों के समाचारों को दबा दिया। वही स्थिति 1965 में हुई थी जब शिवदास ज्ञानी और उनके समर्थकों ने तमिल भाषा के सम्बंधन का नारा मद्रास में लगाया था। इसलिये मेरा अनुरोध है कि इस एजेंसी का आन्तरिक निरीक्षण किया जाय और देखा जाय कि इस प्रकार के कुछ व्यक्ति तो वहां नहीं हैं जो जान बुझ कर उल्टी हवा फैलाते हैं। देश की हवा को बिगाड़ना चाहते हैं और विषाक्त वातावरण पैदा कर के देश की एकता को आघात पहुँचाना चाहते हैं।

इसके साथ ही साथ दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग यह कहते हैं कि अहिन्दी भाषी राज्यों में आज हिन्दी समर्थक स्थिति नहीं है उनको म कुछ जानकारी देता हूँ। मेरे पास कुछ तार और पत्र आये

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

हैं। एक यह तार-निखिल बंगीय भाषा समिति का है जो कलकत्ता से आया है। उन्होंने भाषा विधेयक के विरोध में आवाज उठाते हुए लिखा है कि आप इस विधेयक का जी-जान से विरोध करें। संस्कृति की रक्षार्थ बंगाल से राष्ट्र की और आपकी सफलता के हेतु शुभकामनायें। यह दूसरा पत्र पोर्ट ब्लेयर अण्डमान से लिखा हुआ एक मुस्लिम भाई का है। उन्होंने कहा है कि यहां के सरकारी अधिकारी जो केन्द्रीय सरकार के हैं, वे हिन्दू और मुसलमान दोनों को मिलकर अपनी भाषा के विकास में बाधक बने हुए हैं। उनके नाम तक उन्होंने दिये हैं कि किस प्रकार वे लोग हिन्दी विरोधी काम कर रहे हैं। तीसरा पत्र गुजरात प्रान्तीय राजभाषा प्रचार समिति के अध्यक्ष श्री जेठालाल जोशी का है। इस का शीर्षक उन्होंने दिया है हम किसके अनुयायी हैं महात्मा गांधी के या लार्ड मैकाले के ? इसमें उन्होंने सारी युक्ति दी है। यह अन्तिम पत्र मदुराई के टैपौर मैमोरियल हिन्दी विद्यालय के अध्यापकों की ओर से आया है और उन्होंने लिखा है कि किस तरीके से आज मद्रास सरकार हिन्दी को अपने ढंग पर समाप्त कर रही है, लेकिन हम लोग बन्दुकों की छाया में रह कर मद्रास में हिन्दी सीख रहे हैं, परन्तु केन्द्रीय सरकार इस प्रकार का काला कानून लाकर हमारे भाग्य पर यह चोटान क्यों लगाना चाहती है। आप अनुमान लगाइये कि यह स्थिति कहाँ जा रही है ? आज हम क्या कर रहे हैं ? यहाँ आप कहते हैं कि उन राज्यों में किसी प्रकार का हिन्दी समर्थक वातावरण नहीं है किसी प्रकार की अनुकूल स्थिति नहीं है। मैं नहीं समझता कि इस प्रकार की गलत बात यह आप कैसे कह सकते हैं।

इन सब से बड़ी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ—वह यह है कि अभी कुछ दिन हुए हमारे केन्द्रीय शिक्षा मंत्री डा० त्रिगुण सेन अपना एक वक्तव्य दे रहे थे, उन्होंने बताया कि हिन्दुस्तान के विश्व विद्यालयों में भारतीय भाषायें किस प्रकार माध्यम के रूप में चल पड़ी

हैं। हमारे देश में इस समय 73 विश्वविद्यालय हैं, इनमें 64 विश्वविद्यालय वे हैं जो केन्द्र और राज्यों से सम्बन्धित हैं और 9 ऐसे हैं जिनको विश्वविद्यालय का स्तर केन्द्रीय सरकार ने दिया है। इन 73 विश्वविद्यालयों में से श्री त्रिगुण सेन के आधार पर 36 विश्वविद्यालय वे हैं, जिन्होंने भारतीय भाषाओं के माध्यम से शिक्षा देना स्वीकार कर लिया है। 17 विश्वविद्यालय वे हैं जहाँ एम० ए० तक की शिक्षा अपनी प्रान्तीय भाषाओं के माध्यम से दी जा रही है। इन में से 37 विश्वविद्यालय केवल हिन्दी भाषी राज्यों में हैं। लखनऊ, आगरा, इलाहाबाद, बनारस के इन छात्रों के आन्दोलन के प्रति हम चिन्ता प्रकट करते हैं। उपाध्यक्ष जी ! जब इस संकल्प में यह लिखा हुआ है कि हिन्दी का ज्ञान केन्द्रीय सरकार की नौकरियों के लिये अनिवार्य नहीं है, तब यह बिहार, उत्तर प्रदेश, राजस्थान, मध्यप्रदेश, हरियाणा, पंजाब, हिमाचल प्रदेश, जम्मू काश्मीर के बच्चों के भाग्य पर आप रोक लगाने जा रहे हैं। जब ये बच्चे हिन्दी माध्यम से एम० ए० पास करेंगे तो बताइये उन विद्यार्थियों को अपना भविष्य अन्धकारमय दिखाई देगा या नहीं ? ऐसी स्थिति में वे आन्दोलन न करें तो क्या करें ? आपने ही स्वयं इन आन्दोलनों को प्रोत्साहित किया है। इस प्रकार की यह स्थिति आपकी ओर से ही उत्पन्न की गई है।

जहाँ तक इस विधेयक का सम्बन्ध है, मैं दो-तीन बातें विशेष रूप से उसके लिये कहना चाहता हूँ। पहला विधेयक जो 1963 का था, जिसको श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने प्रस्तुत किया था, वह सरकार की अकर्मण्यता का परिचायक था। लेकिन 1967 का जो राजभाषा संशोधन विधेयक है, वह इस सरकार की बदनीयती का परिचायक है। मैं बदनीयती जैसे कठोर शब्द का जानबूझ कर प्रयोग कर रहा हूँ। क्योंकि इस विधेयक का प्रारूप कब तैयार हुआ ? इसका ड्राफ्ट तैयार हुआ—जब सुब्रह्मण्यम और अलगेसन ने इस्तीफा दिया। इस विधेयक का ड्राफ्ट तैयार हुआ—

जब मद्रास में 1965 में कुछ हिन्दी विरोधी घटनाएँ घटीं। इसका दृष्टि तैयार हुआ—जब भक्तवत्सलम की मिनिस्ट्री मद्रास में थी और उसको बचाने के लिये इस विधेयक की भाषा तैयार की गई। यह बदनीयती नहीं है तो क्या है? क्या इसको राष्ट्रीय निर्णय कहा जा सकता है?

अब इस विधेयक से होने वाली हानियों को लेना चाहता हूँ। सबसे बड़ी बात जो इस विधेयक में लाई गई है, जिस पर इस सदन ने कम ध्यान दिया है और जिसको मैं आपके द्वारा कहना चाहता हूँ कि संसद के अधिकारों को छीनने की एक नई परम्परा इस विधेयक के द्वारा प्रारम्भ होने जा रही है। जब आप कहते हैं कि एक भी राज्य की विधान सभा अपने अतिरिक्त मत से, जिसको आप वीटो कहते हैं, इसको रोक सकती है। जब राज्य विधान मंडलों को आप यह अधिकार देंगे, तो उसका परिणाम क्या होगा? अब तक संविधान के अनुसार केन्द्र के सारे कानूनों को बनाने का अधिकार केन्द्र का रहा है। केन्द्र के कानूनों को बनाने का अधिकार प्रत्यक्ष रूप से या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से विधान सभाओं का नहीं रहा है। लेकिन इस प्रकार की धारा द्वारा असंवैधानिक निर्णयों की परम्परा को स्थापित करके हम संसद के अधिकारों पर आघात करने जा रहे हैं और संसद के अधिकारों को कम करने जा रहे हैं। आज भाषा का प्रश्न है, कल विदेश नीति का प्रश्न आयेगा, परसों गृह मंत्रालय की नीति का प्रश्न आयेगा, अंतरसों अर्थ नीति का प्रश्न आयेगा। हम इस प्रकार अपने निर्णयों के लिये संसद की सार्वभौमिकता को समाप्त कर के प्रान्तों की विधान सभाओं पर आश्रित हो जायेंगे, और इस प्रकार यह स्वतन्त्र संसद परमुखापेक्षी संसद हो जायगी।

दूसरी सबसे बड़ी बात जो इसमें हानिकारक है—वह है अनुवाद की व्यवस्था। अनुवाद के सम्बन्ध में मुझे पता लगा है कि सत्तारूढ़ दल के कुछ सदस्य प्रधान मंत्री के पास गये थे। वे मिल कर कोई इस प्रकार का हल निकालना

चाहते हैं जो अहिन्दी भाषी राज्यों को भी स्वीकार हो और हिन्दी भाषी राज्यों को भी स्वीकार हो। मैं स्वयं इस पक्ष में हूँ कि अहिन्दी भाषी राज्यों के हित में यदि कोई सर्वसम्मति हल हो सकता है तो हम उसके लिये तैयार हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि देश की एकता बनाये रखने के लिये कहीं किसी प्रकार की कठिनाई पैदा न हो, बल्कि अगर किसी प्रकार की कोई उचित कीमत दे कर भी यह हो सकता हो, तो हम तैयार हैं। मुझे पता लगा है कि वह चाहते हैं कि अनुवाद के लिये कुछ ऐसी व्यवस्था हो कि अनुवाद वहाँ न हो, जहाँ से कि वह टिप्पणी या पत्र अंग्रेजी या हिन्दी में जाता है। बल्कि जहाँ पहुँचता है, रिसीविंग एन्ड पर जा कर उसको अनुवाद की व्यवस्था हो और हर विभाग में इस प्रकार की अनुवाद शाखा हो। अगर इस प्रकार का कोई हल होता है, तो वह वैध हल होगा, तब समझा जायगा कि हिन्दी सचमुच देश की भाषा बनी है। लेकिन यदि इस विधेयक की धाराएँ वही होती हैं जो सुब्रह्मण्यम और अलगेसन के दबाव में रखी गई थीं, और उसी को सरकार पास कराने का प्रयत्न करती है, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जनतन्त्र का उपहास होगा।

तीसरी बात जो कि इसमें खराब है वह है काल की सीमा निर्धारित न करना। अनिश्चित काल तक के लिये उसको छोड़ देना। अब तक जो 20 साल तक आपने भूलें की हैं, अगर आपका मन शुद्ध है तो उसके लिये अब समय निर्धारित कीजिये। हम नहीं चाहते कि अहिन्दी भाषी राज्यों पर किसी प्रकार का कोई दबाव डाला जाय या किसी तरह से उन पर हिन्दी थोपी जाय। क्योंकि प्रान्तीय स्तर पर वह तो—प्रान्तीय भाषाओं में काम करेंगे ही, लेकिन जहाँ तक हिन्दी में काम करने का सम्बन्ध है, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय! हमारे देश के छात्र जर्मनी में जाते हैं जो जर्मन भाषा से परिचित नहीं हैं। 6 महीने में जर्मन सीखते हैं और उसके बाद जर्मन क्लास में बैठ कर लैक्चर के नोट्स लेने लगते हैं। फ्रांस में जा कर फ्रेंच सीखी जा सकती है। दिल्ली में

[श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री]

कूर्जन रोड पर ग्रैक्समूलर भवन में हिन्दी क्लास में एक साल में हिन्दी सिखाई जाती है, लेकिन यहाँ 20 साल के बाद भी हम समर्थ नहीं हो सके, इसका अभिप्राय क्या है? अभिप्राय स्पष्ट है कि सरकार का मन शुद्ध नहीं है। इस विधेयक में काल के सम्बन्ध में रेखा निर्धारित न करना—इस बात का परिचायक है कि सरकार नहीं चाहती कि कभी इस प्रकार की स्थिति आवे।

तीसरी बात यह है कि संकल्प के द्वारा प्रमुख भाषा के पद से हिन्दी को हटाया जा रहा है। आपके संविधान की मान्यता के अनुसार, 1965 से पहले भी और अब 1965 के बाद भी अधिकृत रूप से राजभाषा विधेयक के द्वारा हिन्दी इस देश की प्रमुख भाषा है लेकिन इस संकल्प के द्वारा आप अंग्रेजी को ही हर स्थान में प्रमुखता देंगे। संविधान में अंग्रेजी के लिये उस समय व्यवस्था की गई थी कि अंग्रेजी हर कार्य में नहीं रहेगी। केवल सीमित कार्यों के लिये उसका उपयोग होगा। लेकिन इस विधेयक के द्वारा अंग्रेजी को असीमित कार्यों के लिये स्थान दिया जा रहा है—यह एक सबसे बड़ी घातक बात है। अगर सरकार का मन शुद्ध होता तो 1963 के विधेयक के बाद आज इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था की आवश्यकता नहीं थी जो अंग्रेजी को पुनः उसी पद पर प्रतिष्ठित किया जाता। विधेयक जो संसद में विचारार्थ आते हैं, उन्हें ही लें। जबकि केन्द्र की प्रमुख भाषा हिन्दी है अंग्रेजी में उनका अनुवाद आना चाहिए। लेकिन विधेयक हिन्दी में आना चाहिए था। बाकी जैसा मैंने कहा हम नहीं चाहते किसी को कठिनाई उत्पन्न हो, इसलिए अंग्रेजी में उसका अनुवाद आ जाय, ऐसी स्थिति सुयमता से हो सकती है।

यहाँ एक विशेष बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि मेरे पास इसी केन्द्रीय सरकार की छपी हुई पुस्तिका है जिसका कि नाम "गृह मंत्रालय द्वारा हिन्दी सम्बन्धी आदेशों का संकलन" है। इसमें गृह मंत्रालय के द्वारा

हिन्दी से सम्बन्धित जो आदेश राष्ट्रपति जी द्वारा बिये गये हैं, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उसकी कुछ पंक्तियाँ आपको पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ :

"राष्ट्रपति ने संविधान के अनुच्छेद 343 के खंड (2) के परन्तुक के अन्तर्गत संविधान (राजकीय) प्रयोजनों के लिए हिन्दी भाषा, आदेश 1955" नामक एक और आदेश जारी किया जिसके द्वारा उन्होंने (1) जनता के साथ पत्र व्यवहार (2) प्रशासनिक रिपोर्टों राजकीय पत्रिकाओं और संसद को दी जाने वाली रिपोर्टों, (3) संधियों और करारों आदि संघ के विभिन्न राजकीय प्रयोजनों के लिए अंग्रेजी भाषा के साथ-साथ हिन्दी भाषा के प्रयोग को अधिकृत किया। यह आदेश 3 दिसम्बर 1955 को प्रकाशित किया गया था।"

लेकिन इस विधेयक के द्वारा यह राष्ट्रपति का 1955 को दिया हुआ जो आदेश है उसमें भी सरकार परिवर्तन करने जा रही है। हिन्दी भाषी राज्यों में जो केन्द्रीय सरकार के कार्यालय हैं, इसमें स्पष्ट लिखा है कि अगर उसमें मूल पत्र अंग्रेजी में भी हो तो भी उसका उत्तर हिन्दी में दिया जा सकता है। लेकिन उसमें यह सरकार अनुवाद की व्यवस्था करने जा रही है। मैं और ज्यादा इस विषय में जाकर अपनी कुछ जो मुख्य बातें हैं उनसे वंचित नहीं रहना चाहता। अगर सरकार चाहे तो वह इन आदेशों को एक बार स्वयं पढ़ ले। तब मंत्री जी को यह पता लगेगा कि यह विधेयक किस सीमा तक राष्ट्रपति के आदेशों के विपरीत है। दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि इस विधेयक की सब से बड़ी कमी यह है कि इससे गृह मंत्रालय और रक्षा मंत्रालय में टकराव होने जा रहा है। शिक्षा मंत्री ने पीछे जो वक्तव्य दिया था, भारतीय भाषाओं के सम्बन्ध में वह उनकी अपनी राय नहीं थी। गांधी जी की वह राय थी। गांधी जी के शब्द में पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ :

"अगर मेरे हाथ में तानाशाही सत्ता हो मैं आज से ही विदेशी माध्यम के जरिये हमारे

लड़के-लड़कियों की शिक्षा बंद कर दूं और सारे शिक्षकों और प्रोफेसर्सों से यह माध्यम तुरन्त बदलवा दूं या उन्हें बरखास्त करा दूं। ये पाठ्य पुस्तकों की तैयारी का इन्तज़ार नहीं करूंगा। वे तो माध्यम परिवर्तन के पीछे-पीछे आयेगी।”

यह गांधी जी का 2 सितम्बर 1921 का नवजीवन में प्रकाशित वक्तव्य है। इसके आधार पर शिक्षा मंत्री ने कहा है। लेकिन शिक्षा मंत्री के वक्तव्य और गृह मंत्री के वक्तव्य दोनों को एक तराजू पर रखिये। शिक्षा मंत्री के वक्तव्य से आप स्वयं अनुमान लगा सकेंगे कि एक ही सरकार में किस प्रकार की दो नीतियाँ चल रही हैं?

जहां तक नेहरू जी के आश्वासनों का सम्बन्ध है उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं विस्तार से नहीं कहूंगा। केवल दो बातें ही कहूंगा। एक तो यह कि नेहरू जी ने जहां यह कहा है कि अहिन्दी भाषी राज्यों को अधिकार होगा कि वह राय दें कि अंग्रेजी कब तक चलती रहे। नेहरू जी ने अपने उस वक्तव्य में यह नहीं कहा कि उनको यह भी अधिकार होगा कि हिन्दी भाषी राज्यों पर अंग्रेजी ला दें। अहिन्दी भाषी राज्यों को हिन्दी भाषी राज्यों पर अंग्रेजी ला देने का अधिकार होगा यह उनके उस वक्तव्य में कहीं भी नहीं कहा गया है।

इसके अलावा उस वक्तव्य में यह भी है, मैंने उस वक्तव्य को पढ़ा है और चाहें तो अब आप उसे देख सकते हैं। नेहरू जी का वह वक्तव्य जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि हिन्दी को हमने काफ़ी सोच समझ कर राजभाषा बनाया है अब उससे पीछे हटने का कोई सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता।

तीसरे, फिर मैं यह कहूंगा कि अगर नेहरू जी के उस आश्वासन में या उस वक्तव्य में मान लिया जाये कि किसी प्रकार की कोई कमी होती तो 1963 में जब राजभाषा विधेयक यहां आया था, नेहरू जी जीवित थे। अगर कोई कमी होती तो नेहरू जी जो उस समय प्रधान मंत्री थे, उस कमी की पूर्ति कर सकते

थे। आखिर वह कौन-सी कमी रह गयी जो नेहरू जी की मृत्यु के बाद अब उस कमी को पूरा किया जा रहा है? और सब में बड़ी बात तो यह है कि अगर नेहरू जी और संविधान, इन दोनों में से किसी एक को चुनना हो तो हम संविधान को चुनेंगे, जवाहरलाल नेहरू को नहीं चुनेंगे क्योंकि संविधान नेहरू जी से बड़ा है। मैं नेहरू जी के राजनीतिक आश्वासनों की बात नहीं कहता। लेकिन देवनागरी लिपि के सम्बन्ध में नेहरू जी ने जो आश्वासन दिया था मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या उसे आपने पूरा किया? संस्कृत के सम्बन्ध में उनका क्या आश्वासन था? जिभाषी फारमूले में कहां संस्कृत है? आप नेहरू जी का आश्वासन रटते फिरते हैं तो नेहरू जी का आश्वासन यदि पूरा करना हो तो सब प्रश्नों पर करें। केवल एक ही बात पर नेहरू जी के आश्वासन को क्यों रटते हैं? और फिर मैं अन्त में कहना चाहता हूं कि नेहरू जी ने अगर आश्वासन दिया था तो गांधी जी ने भी तो कुछ आश्वासन दिया था? राजेन्द्र बाबू ने भी तो आश्वासन दिया था। नेहरू जी ने अगर प्राइम मिनिस्टर के रूप में आश्वासन दिये थे तो राजेन्द्र बाबू ने राष्ट्रपति रह कर आर्डर दिये थे। नेहरू जी के आश्वासन और राजेन्द्र बाबू के आदेश, अब इनमें देखा जाये कि कौन बड़ा है? राष्ट्रपति का आदेश बड़ा है या प्रधान मंत्री का आश्वासन बड़ा है? दोनों में किसका मूल्य ज्यादा हो सकता है? टंडन जी को या सरदार को इनको मैं छोड़ता हूं। इसलिए मेरा गृह-कार्य मन्त्री श्री विद्याचरण शुक्ल के माध्यम से यह कहना है और जगजीवन राम जी जैसे पुराने और सीनियर मिनिस्टर भी यहां बैठे हुए हैं, उनसे भी कहना है कि समय रहते हुए वे समय की गति को पहचानें और सही दिशा में कदम उठायें। अगर आपने देश को संकट से बचाना है, देश को इस विपत्ति से निकालना है तो पहला काम यह कीजिये कि अपनी पार्टी के सदस्यों को मतदान के लिए आप विवश न करें, उनको पूरी स्वतंत्रता दें। स्पष्ट शब्दों में पूरी स्वतंत्रता देने के साथ-

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

साथ उनको यह कहें कि वह अपना मत स्वतंत्रता पूर्वक व्यक्त कर सकते हैं। भ्रष्टा यह है कि विधेयक वापिस हो जाय या यह विधेयक प्रवर समिति को चला जाय या फिर जनमत जानने के लिए प्रसारित कर दिया जाय। अगर किसी ढंग से आपने अपने बहुमत को आधार मान कर इस विधेयक को यहां पास करने की कोशिश की तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस संसद से भी बड़ी एक संसद है जो जनता की संसद है। जो इस हमारी संसद का निर्माण करती है। फिर उसका निर्णय 530 के हाउस में नहीं होगा। बल्कि 50 करोड़ की संसद में उसका निर्णय होगा। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूं कि आप समय की गति को पहचानें, अपने सदस्यों की आवाज को सुनिये और जनतंत्र और अपने सदस्यों की आत्मा का हनन मत कीजिये।

डा० सुशीला नायर (झांसी) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस में कोई दो राय नहीं हो सकती कि कोई राष्ट्र एक राष्ट्र नहीं होता जब तक वहां के लोग और अपनी जबान और अपनी भाषा में बात नहीं करते। फ्रांस की भाषा फ्रांसीसी है, इंग्लैंड की भाषा अंग्रेजी है और सभी देशों की भाषा उनके देश के नाम से पुकारी जाती है। हिन्दुस्तान की भाषा हिन्दी हो ऐसा हमारे बड़ों ने कहा और उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं याद दिलाना चाहती हूं कि यह आवाज जिन की मातृभाषा हिन्दी थी, उन्होंने नहीं उठाई थी बल्कि यह आवाज यह उन लोगों ने उठाई थी जिनकी मातृभाषा हिन्दी नहीं थी। इसी सदन में बतलाया गया कि राजा राम मोहन राय जैसे लोगों ने यह आवाज उठाई, महात्मा गांधी ने उठाई और उनकी आवाज को हम ने अपने कानों से सुना। और ऐसे अन्य कितने ही लोग हैं। हिन्दी के पक्ष में जैसे पत्र, अहिन्दी भाषियों के श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री के पास आये हैं वैसे हम सब के पास आये हैं, टेलीग्राम्स भी आये हैं। इस देश में बहुत लोग ऐसे हैं जिनकी मातृभाषा हिन्दी नहीं है अगर वे यह मानते हैं कि इस देश की भाषा हिन्दी

होनी चाहिये। देश में हिन्दी का इस्तेमान होना चाहिये और हिन्दी को अंग्रेजी का स्थान लेना चाहिये। हिन्दी किसी दूसरे प्रान्त की मातृभाषा का स्थान लेना नहीं चाहती। अपने-अपने प्रान्त में अपनी-अपनी मातृभाषा रखिये लेकिन प्रान्त का जो कार्य होना है केन्द्र के साथ, उस के लिए हिन्दी को रखिये। इतनी ही बात है इससे ज्यादा कुछ नहीं है।

यह बात आज से नहीं बहुत समय से आई है। मैं तो बिल्कुल छोटी थी जब मैं ने सुना है सरदार बल्लभ भाई पटेल जैसी को हिन्दी में भाषण देते हुए, आधी गुजराती होती थी, आधी हिन्दी होती थी लेकिन वह हिन्दी बोलते थे। अभी बंस साहब यहां कल तकरीर दे रहे थे, उन के पिता जी, उन के चाचा जी, वह हिन्दी बोला करते थे, आधी बंगाली होती थी, आधी हिन्दी होती थी लेकिन किसी के दिमाग में यह आता ही नहीं था कि हम हिन्दी न बोलें और हिन्दी का विरोध करें। विरोध था तो अंग्रेजी का था।

आज मैं यह कहना चाहती हूं कि हम सब लोग इस बात को स्वीकार करते हैं। इस बात को मानते हैं, कि राष्ट्र की भाषा अर्थात् प्रान्त-प्रान्त को जोड़ने वाली, एक दूसरे के साथ कड़ी जोड़ने वाली भाषा वह एक ही हो सकती है, वह है हिन्दी। क्यों हम हिन्दी की बात करते हैं यह मैं साफ करना चाहती हूं कि मेरी मातृभाषा हिन्दी नहीं है, मेरी मातृभाषा पंजाबी है लेकिन मैं यह भी साफ कर दूं कि मैंने उर्दू सीखी, उर्दू के बाद मैंने हिन्दी सीखी। मैं हिन्दी, उर्दू में फर्क ही नहीं करती। मैं समझती हूं कि दोनों एक भाषा हैं, लिपि अलग-अलग हैं। इसलिए मैं समझती हूं कि मेरे बचपन काल में और जब विधान बना उस समय भी जो चर्चा होती थी वह यह होती थी कि हिन्दी हो कि उर्दू हो। तब गांधी जी ने कहा कि अरे भाई भाषा एक है, उस की लिपि हिन्दी, उर्दू दोनों कर दो और उस भाषा को हिन्दुस्तानी का नाम दे दो। लेकिन जब विधान

बना तब सब ने यह तय किया कि नहीं देव-नागरी ज्यादा वैज्ञानिक लिपि है, उस में ज्यादा उच्चार शक्ति है और इसलिये देवनागरी लिपि के द्वारा सब शब्दों का उच्चारण अच्छे तरीके से हो सकता है, इसलिए देवनागरी लिपि हो और हिन्दी देश की भाषा हो ।

मुझे आज इतने सालों की आजादी के बाद बड़े ही दुख के साथ यह बात कहनी पड़ रही है कि आज की भाषा सम्बन्धी अशान्ति की जिम्मेदारी हमारी है । क्योंकि मैं विश्वास रखती हूँ कि अगर हमने जब संविधान बनाया था तब हिन्दी को अपना लिया होता तो आज जो हो रहा है यह ऊढ़म नहीं मचता । तब हिन्दी के खिलाफ कहने वाला कोई नहीं होता । लेकिन वह नहीं हुआ इस वास्ते नहीं हुआ क्योंकि हम में से थोड़े से अंग्रेजी जानने वाले लोग जो आगे थे वे तकलीफ उठाना नहीं चाहते थे । हिन्दी में अपने विचार रखने की, हिन्दी लिखने की, हिन्दी सीखने की, तकलीफ वे उठाना नहीं चाहते थे । साम्राज्य कई तरह के होते हैं । मुझे दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि दो प्रतिशत लोग, एक प्रकार से अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखे बुद्धि वाले लोग अपने अंग्रेजी शिक्षा के साम्राज्यवाद को दूसरों पर लादे रखना चाहते थे । वे चाहते हैं कि हिन्दी न आए और हम अंग्रेजी को चालू रखें । मेरे पास एक सक्क्यूलर आया है, औरों के पास भी आया होगा । यह महाशय क्या कहते हैं, इसको आप देखें । यह रिटायर्ड एकाउंटेंट जनरल उत्तर प्रदेश के हैं और बनारस विश्वविद्यालय के प्रो० वाइस चान्सलर रह हैं । यह महाशय अपने सक्क्यूलर के अन्त में कहते हैं, अंग्रेजी का समर्थन करते हुए, कि

"English-speaking people may be two per cent of the population, but they are the salt of the earth and the pinch of yeast which raises a mass of dough.

सोचिय जरा कि कैसी मनोवृत्ति है अंग्रेजी वालों की । ये समझते हैं कि हम दो प्रतिशत

ही "साल्ट आफ दी अर्थ" हैं । हम ही सब कुछ हैं । उनको डर है कि अगर हिन्दी आ गई तो दो प्रतिशत का महात्म्य इतना नहीं रह जाएगा । इसलिए वे हिन्दी का विरोध करते हैं ।

पिछले सप्ताह अपने विद्वत्तापूर्ण भाषण में सेठ गोविन्ददास ने बताया था कि जब विधान बना तब एंग्ली जी जैसों ने भी यह कहा कि "हिन्दी ही राष्ट्र भाषा हो सकती है, इस में हमें शक नहीं है" । लेकिन उस समय हमने अंग्रेजी को हटाने के लिए पंद्रह साल की अवधि दे दी । अगर यह अवधि न दी होती तो आज हमारे सामने यह समस्या खड़ी न होती—(इंटरप्शंस) मैं इनफ्लुएन्जा से पीड़ित हूँ । मेरा गला खराब है । इस वास्ते अगर माननीय सदस्य मुझे इंटरप्ट न करें, तो अच्छा होगा ।

हम घड़ी भर के लिये यह भी मान लेते हैं कि हिन्दी इतनी समृद्ध नहीं है जितनी होनी चाहिये । मैं प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री जी का जो आक्षेप है उसको स्वीकार करती हूँ कि हमने उतना काम नहीं किया हिन्दी के लिए जिसना हमें करना चाहिये था । अगर ईमानदारी से हमने उतना काम किया होता तो पंद्रह सालों में हिन्दी आज जिस हद तक हम चाहते हैं उस सब तक विकसित हो सकती थी । लेकिन साथ-साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहती हूँ कि जहां तक बंगाल, असम, उड़ीसा, गुजरात, महाराष्ट्र, पंजाब और इस प्रकार के जो हमारे देश के उत्तर, पूर्व और पश्चिमी प्रान्त हैं, उनकी भाषायें संस्कृत से निकली हुई हैं और हिन्दी की बहनें हैं । उन भाषा वालों को तो हिन्दी सीखने में कोई दिक्कत ही नहीं है और हिन्दी वालों को उनकी भाषायें सीखने में दिक्कत नहीं है । तेलुगु, कन्नड़, मलयालम और तमिल ये जो भाषाएं हैं इनका मूल भी संस्कृत है और संस्कृत के शब्द इन में भी बहुत कुछ हैं, बहुत से शब्द हिन्दी से मिलते हैं, लेकिन मैं मानती हूँ कि उनके लिए हिन्दी सीखना उतना आसान नहीं है

[डा० सुशीला नायर]

जितना बाकी छः सात भाषाओं वालों के लिए है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में अगर दक्षिण वालों को कुछ तकलीफ होती है—हिन्दी सीखने में और वे शिकायत करते हैं तो मेरी बात समझ में उनकी बात कुछ हद तक आती है लेकिन ये थोड़े-दूसरे प्रान्तों वाले हैं अगर ये शिकायतें करें तो मेरी समझ में उनकी बात नहीं आती, बिल्कुल नहीं आती। वे क्यों ऐसी बात करते हैं? मैं मानती हूँ कि हिन्दी को और समृद्ध बनाने के लिये हिन्दी में हम चाहे जितने मराठी के शब्द लें, चाहे जितने गुजराती के लें, तमिल, तेलुगु के लें, असमिया के लें, कोई दिक्कत नहीं है। सभी भाषाओं के शब्द हिन्दी ग्रहण करें यह कोई दिक्कत वाली बात नहीं है। बात यह है कि अगर स्वतन्त्रता आने पर, हमने हिन्दी अपना ली होती तो यह सब कुछ अपने आप आज तक हो गया होता। आज तक हमने हिन्दी अपनाने के बारे में निर्णय नहीं लिया इसलिये यह सब कठिनाइयाँ आ रही हैं।

जब हम आजाद हुए करीब उसी वक्त चीन में कम्युनिस्ट साम्राज्य आया था। चीन की भाषा की हालत हम से बहुत ज्यादा खराब थी। वहाँ जो मैडेरियन भाषा कहलाती है वह तो बहुत ही थोड़े लोग जानते हैं। उनकी जो लिपि है वह लिपि तसवीरों की है, चित्रों की है। बहुत कठिन है। इस वास्ते वहाँ घड़ी भर ऐसी भी बात हुई थी कि हमारी नागरी लिपि ही वे लोग ले लें। लेकिन अन्त में उन्होंने अपनी लिपि को रखा, अपनी भाषा को रखा। अब कोई कहे कि उन्होंने विकास नहीं किया तो यह बात गलत है। पोलिटिकली हमारे उनके साथ कितने मतभेद हों लेकिन आज उनकी अणु बम की शक्ति से अमरीका वाले भी परेशान हैं, रूस वाले भी परेशान हैं। उन्होंने विज्ञान के क्षेत्र में, इंजीनियरिंग के क्षेत्र में, मीडिसन के क्षेत्र में, हर क्षेत्र में बहुत प्रगति की है, इस में कोई शक

नहीं है। और अपनी भाषा के द्वारा यह सब उन्होंने किया है।

आप जापान को लें। जापान की भाषा बहुत कठिन है। वही चित्रावलि की भाषा है। मैंने सुना है कि सैकड़ों साल तक उस भाषा में टाइपराइटर तक नहीं बन सका है। इसका कारण यह है कि उस के लिये तीन हजार चित्र होने चाहियें। किस तरह से वह देश तीन हजार चाबियों वाला टाइपराइटर बनाये? अभी हाल में वहाँ नौ सौ कीज का एक टाइपराइटर बना है ऐसा सुना है। नौ सौ कीज भी वे कैसे चलाते हैं, यह तो प्रश्न जाने। लेकिन जापानियों ने अपनी भाषा में क्या विज्ञान नहीं सीखा। डाक्टरी नहीं सीखी, इंजीनियरी नहीं सीखी, किस चीज में वे पीछे हैं? आज अमरीका वालों की मशीनों से बेहतर और सस्ती मशीनें वे बनाते हैं और सारी दुनिया में वे बहुत आगे बढ़े हुए हैं और प्रगतिशील देश के रूप में सब उनको पहचानते हैं। आज भी उनका कारोबार बहुत कुछ हस्तालिखित होता है। इसका कारण यह है कि वहाँ टाइपराइटर आसानी से नहीं चल सकता। लेकिन वहाँ किसी ने नहीं सोचा कि उनको अंग्रेजी भाषा रखनी चाहिये या कोई और भाषा रखनी चाहिये। घड़ी भर भी उन्होंने इसको नहीं सोचा। अपनी भाषा में ही सब कुछ किया है। तरक्की की है।

जब मैं 1949 और 1950 में अमरीका में उच्च शिक्षा के लिए कुछ रिसर्च के लिये गई थी तब मेरी क्लास में, जाटन्स हार्फिज में, साउथ ईस्ट एशिया के, साउथ अमरीका के, फिलीपीज के लोग थे। लेकिन सिवाय हिन्दुस्तानी और पाकिस्तानी लोगों के कोई अच्छी अंग्रेजी नहीं बोलता था। सब लोग अपनी-अपनी भाषा में नोट लिखते थे। सब अच्छी तरह से अपना काम करते थे। अंग्रेजी न बोल सकने की किसी को चिन्ता न थी। हम लोगों की इतनी स्लेविश मनोवृत्ति हो गई है कि हम सोचते रहे हैं कि अंग्रेजी रहेगी तभी

हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। अंग्रेजी रखते हैं तो हमें भाषा भी सीखनी पड़ती है और विषय को भी सीखना पड़ता है। अगर हमने अपनी भाषा में शिक्षा दी होती तो जिस तरह से हम तकनीकी क्षेत्र में पिछड़े रह गए हैं, उस तरह से हम कभी नहीं पिछड़ते; क्या कारण है कि हमारे किसान आधुनिक खेती के तरीकों का इस्तेमाल नहीं करते हैं जबकि जापान और चीन वाले करते हैं? इस का कारण है भाषा। जो भाषा यहां शिक्षित लोगों की है और जो भाषा सामान्य लोगों की है वह अलग-अलग है, दोनों में एक दीवार खड़ी है। पढ़े-लिखों में और सामान्य लोगों में विचारों का आदान-प्रदान करना चाहते भी हैं तो वह हो नहीं सकता। इसलिए हम पिछड़ गए हैं। दूसरा कोई कारण हमारे पिछड़ने का नहीं है। हम लोगों में बौद्धिक शक्ति है, बाहु बल है, संगठन शक्ति है सब कुछ है लेकिन इस विदेशी भाषा के माध्यम के कारण हमें इतनी परेशानी हो रही है।

जब मैं छोटी बच्ची थी तब मेरे भाई को कालेज में फिजिक्स, कमिस्ट्री आदि सब उर्दू में पढ़ाया जाता था। आज भी वे मुझ से ज्यादा अच्छी फिजिक्स और कैमिस्ट्री जानते हैं। मेरी बदकिस्मती है कि मेरे वक्त में अंग्रेजी माध्यम हो गई थी। अगर विषय का पूरा ज्ञान प्रदान करना है तो भाषा के माध्यम को आपको देखना पड़ेगा। हम भाषा को सीखने पर जितना समय लगाते हैं और जितनी तकलीफ उठाते हैं अगर वह न उठायें और उतना समय अपनी भाषा में उस विषय को सीखने में दें, और उतनी मेहनत करें, तो विषय को हम ज्यादा अच्छी तरह से सीखेंगे। यह सीधी सी बात है। दूसरे देशों का भी यह प्रत्यक्ष अनुभव है।

लोग कहते हैं कि कोर्ट्स में क्या होगा, काम कैसे चलेगा, अंग्रेजी के बिना? मैसूर, बड़ौदा, लावनकोर आदि कई राज्य थे यहां। क्या उनका काम नहीं चलता था? वहां अंग्रेजी नहीं चलती थी। उन में से कई राज्यों

की व्यवस्था तो बहुत ही अच्छी मानी जाती थी। अपनी भाषा में वे सब कामकाज चलाते थे।

हमने देशी राज्यों को समाप्त किया। उस्मानिया यनिवर्सिटी में उर्दू में डाक्ट्री सिखाई जाती थी।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप समाप्त करें।

डा० सुशीला नायर : आप घंटी न बजाइये।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The hon. Member should remember that I have to accommodate representatives of every State.

DR. SUSHILA NAYAR : I have not taken even 10 minutes and you start ringing the bell.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You are mistaken; you have taken 16 minutes. Anyway, not more than 4 minutes more.

डा० सुशीला नायर : जब हम अपनी भाषा में विज्ञान सिखाते हैं, तो हम उसकी शिक्षा छठी क्लास से शुरू कर देते हैं। लेकिन जब हम विदेशी भाषा में विज्ञान सिखाते हैं, तो हम उस की शिक्षा तभी शुरू कर सकते हैं, जबकि उस भाषा का ज्ञान हो जाये और इसलिए उस हालत में विज्ञान की शिक्षा आठवीं, नवीं या दसवीं क्लास से शुरू करते हैं। इससे हमारी विज्ञान की प्रगति में रुकावट पड़ती है।

माननीय सदस्य, श्री बोस, ने कहा कि "भारत छोड़ो" प्रस्ताव भी तो अंग्रेजी में लिखा गया था। यह ठीक है मैं कहना चाहती हूं कि उस जमाने में और भी कई चीजें अंग्रेजी में लिखी गई थीं। लेकिन वह भूल जाते हैं कि उस समय हम ने अपनी बात अंग्रेजों को समझानी थी, इसलिए उस समय अंग्रेजी की जरूरत थी। आज हम ने अपनी बात भारत की कोटि-कोटि जनता को समझानी है। इसलिए हम को उस भाषा को अपनाना है, जिस को

[डा० सुशीला नायर]

वह समझ सके। केवल भारतीय भाषाओं के द्वारा हम उस कोटि-कोटि जनता के साथ विचारों का लेन-देन कर सकते हैं और उसके हृदय को स्पर्श कर सकते हैं।

आज हमारी योजनायें सफल क्यों नहीं हो रही हैं? खेती के वे उन्नत और वैज्ञानिक तरीके, जो चीन और जापान आदि के किसानों ने अपना लिये, हमारे यहां सर्व-व्यापी क्यों नहीं बन सके? इसका कारण यह है कि हमारे देश में शासकों और जनता की भाषा अलग अलग है। यह दुःखद स्थिति तब तक समाप्त नहीं होगी, जब तक कि पढ़े-लिखे और सर्व-सामान्य लोगों के बीच से भाषा की दीवार दूर नहीं होगी।

किसी पर हिन्दी लादने का कोई सवाल नहीं है। हम किसी पर हिन्दी नहीं लादना चाहते हैं। लेकिन उसके साथ-साथ यह बात भी साफ हो जानी चाहिए कि अंग्रेजी भी नहीं लादी जा सकती है और न ही लादी जानी चाहिए। मैं माननीय सदस्य, श्री मधु लिमये, को कहना चाहती हूँ कि इस विधेयक में कुछ दुरुस्ती होनी चाहिये, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है, लेकिन हम यह न भूलें कि आज एक साइकालोजिकल विकट परिस्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई है, जिस में दक्षिण के लोगों में, सही या गलत, यह भय पैदा हो गया है कि हम उनको सरकारी नौकरियों से निकालने के लिए हिन्दी लाने की बात कर रहे हैं। इसलिए इस विधेयक में एक प्रकार से यह कहा गया है कि वे लोग क्यों डरते हैं; हम हिन्दी तो जरूर चलायेंगे, लेकिन जब तक वे लोग चाहें, तब तक वे अंग्रेजी में पत्र-व्यवहार कर सकते हैं; हम उनको मना नहीं करते हैं, लेकिन जो लोग हिन्दी में काम करना चाहते हैं, उनको आगे बढ़ने दिया जाये, उनके रास्ते में क्यों रुकावट डाली जाती है।

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR (Quilon) : You want all the employment in the Central Government to be yours.

SHRI RAJARAM (Salem) : She is the ruler in this country. You forget that.

डा० सुशीला नायर : श्रीमन्, मैं इन भाइयों के समर्थन की बात करती हूँ, तो भी ये नाराज होते हैं। बड़ी अजीब बात है। मैं उन की तरफ से ही श्री मधु लिमये जी को कह रही हूँ कि उन के मन में जो खटका है, उस को दूर करना चाहिये। इन लोगों के साइकालोजिकल भय को दूर करने के लिए ही इस विधेयक में कोई अवधि नहीं रखी गई है। मद्रास के लड़के भी हमारे पास आये थे। इन भाइयों को मालूम नहीं है कि मद्रास के मेरे कितने मित्र हैं और मद्रासियों के साथ मेरे कितने नजदीक के रिश्ते हैं। मैं जानती हूँ कि वे हिन्दी सीख रहे हैं। मैं जानती हूँ कि वे यहां पर चाहे कुछ भी कहें, लेकिन अपने बच्चों को हिन्दी सिखा रहे हैं। सवाल यह है कि अगर उनको हिन्दी सीखने के लिए थोड़ा वक्त चाहिए, तो वे ले लें। जब हमारे इन मित्रों का समाधान हो जायेगा कि उन पर हिन्दी को लादा नहीं जा रहा है, तो हिन्दी के पक्ष में एक साइकालोजिकल हवा बनेगी और इसके अपनाए जाने का विरोध नहीं होगा। आज हिन्दी के सवाल के साथ राजनीति को मिला दिया गया है। अगर अपने राजनीतिक फायदे के लिए हिन्दी के सवाल का दुरुपयोग न किया जाये, तो भाषा का सवाल बहुत जल्दी हल हो सकता है।

1937 में ही राजाजी ने मद्रास के सब स्कूलों में हिन्दी सिखाना शुरू कर दिया था (Shri S. Xavier : But Rajaji is opposed to Hindi now). अगर हिन्दी के साथ राजनीति को न मिला दिया गया होता, तो अब तक वे सब अच्छी तरह हिन्दी सीख गये होते। चूंकि कांग्रेस सरकार के जमाने में सब स्कूलों में हिन्दी थी, तो डी० एम० के० को हिन्दी बन्द करनी चाहिए। कई दूसरे लोग भी इस किस्म की बातें करते हैं। राजाजी करते हैं। लेकिन डी० एम० के० वाले भी यह जानते हैं कि भारतवर्ष इतना बड़ा है;

उनके बच्चे बड़े तेजस्वी और बुद्धिशाली हैं, वे बाकी प्रान्तों में, देश में जायेंगे, वहाँ जा कर अपनी रोजी कमायेंगे, नौकरी करेंगे, व्यापार करेंगे, इसलिए उनको उस भाषा का ज्ञान होना चाहिए, जो देश के इतने बड़े भाग में बोली जाती है। वह भाषा हिन्दी है।

जहाँ बंगला, आसामी, पंजाबी, गुजराती वगैरह हिन्दी के नजदीक हैं, वहाँ तमिल और दक्षिण की अन्य भाषायें भी हिन्दी से उतनी ज्यादा दूर नहीं हैं जितना माना जाता है। 1956-57 में कन्याकुमारी से लेकर कश्मीर तक एक भूदान यात्रा चली थी। मुझे उसका लीडर चुना गया था। उस यात्रा में हम भूदान के गीत गाते थे। एक गीत मुझे अभी तक याद है। “गांधी शोने सात्वै कर्तै”, अर्थात् गांधी से सुनी हम ने सत्य-कथा। इसमें क्या मुश्किल है? आगे “कर कुण्डूनी पुरपड़ी”, अर्थात् उसको अपने हृदय में रख कर तुम निकल पड़ो। ऐसे कई गीत थे।

मैं आप से कहना चाहती हूँ कि अगर हमारी लिपि एक होती, तो हमारा काम बहुत आसान हो जाता। दक्षिण की भाषायें भी कठिन या दूर नहीं लगतीं। मैं यह चाहती हूँ कि सरकार एक ऐसी विशेषज्ञ समिति बिठाये, जो नागरी लिपि में सुधार करे, अन्य लिपियों में जो ठीक लगे, उस कोले, अन्य भाषाओं से अच्छे-अच्छे शब्द ले, ताकि हिन्दी अधिक समृद्ध बने। हिन्दी का विकास करने के लिए सरकार आवश्यक खर्च करे, मेहनत करे, सब कुछ करे। लेकिन मैं यह नहीं मान सकती कि चूंकि हिन्दी में कुछ कमी है, इसलिए हम अंग्रेजी को हमेशा के लिए रखें। मैं श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी के इस सुझाव का समर्थन करती हूँ कि हर साल इस सदन के सामने एक रपट आनी चाहिए कि हिन्दी का कितना विकास हुआ है। हिन्दी के विकास के बारे में हर साल एसेसमेंट होनी चाहिए। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जायेगा, तो अंग्रेजी पढ़े-लिखे नौकरशाही वाले और अन्य अंग्रेजी जानने वाले लोग अपनी साम्राज्यशाही

को कभी भी समाप्त नहीं होने देंगे और हिन्दी तथा अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं को उनका उचित स्थान नहीं मिल पायेगा।

भाषा का मकसद आपस में मिलाना है, एक-दूसरे को जुदा करना नहीं है। मुझे दुख है—और शर्म भी है—कि आज भाषा के नाम पर हमारे बच्चे ऊधम कर रहे हैं। हम आजाद लोग हैं और अपनी आजादी को कायम रखना चाहते हैं। हम दूसरों की आजादी को भी कायम रखना चाहते हैं। न हम किसी की आजादी पर हमला करते हैं और न किसी को अपनी आजादी पर हमला करने देंगे। साथ ही मैं दुख के साथ यह भी कहना चाहती हूँ कि हमारे बच्चे ऐसा करते हैं, क्योंकि उनके दिमाग पर यह, असर हो गया है कि सरकार घमकी के सामने झुकती है; मद्रास में ऊधम हुआ, तो यह विधेयक आया। अब वे कहते हैं कि हम ऊधम करेंगे तो यह विधेयक रुक जायेगा। ये दोनों बातें गलत हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि सही बात को हमें पहले से ही मान लेना चाहिए और ऊधम के सामने कभी नहीं झुकना चाहिए। चाहे हम हिन्दी के पक्ष में हों और चाहे अंग्रेजी के पक्ष में, हमें किसी भी सवाल को लेकर ऊधम करने की इजाजत नहीं देनी चाहिए। मैं आशा रखती हूँ कि गृह मंत्री, जिन्होंने विदेशी, पाकिस्तानी, हमले से इतनी अच्छी तरह से देश की रक्षा की थी, आज देश के भीतर ही शांति की अच्छी तरह से रक्षा करेंगे। इसके लिए यह परमावश्यक है कि किसी भी ऊधम के सामने सरकार को कभी भी झुकना नहीं चाहिए।

इस देश की राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी हो, यह नारा हिन्दी वालों ने नहीं उठाया था, बल्कि अहिन्दी-भाषी लोगों ने, हमारे जैसे लोगों ने, जिनकी मातृ-भाषा हिन्दी नहीं, उन्होंने उठाया था और हम उसको उठाये रखेंगे। आखिर दक्षिण में हिन्दी प्रचार सभा के अगुआ कौन थे? क्या श्री सत्यनारायण हिन्दी-भाषी थे? देवदास भाई को महात्मा गांधी ने हिन्दी पढ़ाने के

[झ० सुशीला नायर]

लिए मद्रास भेजा था। क्या वह हिन्दी-भाषी थे ? नहीं ।

मैं एक उदाहरण देकर समाप्त करूंगी । मैं 1950 में डेन्मार्क गई थी । मुझे बताया गया कि डेन्मार्क में जब विदेशी हुकूमत समाप्त हुई, तो चूंकि वहां पर पहले जर्मन साम्राज्य था, इसलिए वहां भी राज्य-भाषा जर्मन थी । उन्होंने मुझे बताया :—

“They spoke German in their office, they spoke French to their beloveds and they spoke Danish to the dog.”

घर जा कर कुत्ते से डेनिस में बात करते थे, प्रेयसी से फ्रेंच में बात करते थे और दफ्तर में जर्मन में बात करते थे । लेकिन आज वह परिस्थिति नहीं है, आज वहां सब जगह पर डेनिश चलती है—वही चीज हिन्दोस्तान में लानी होगी । और वह होगा ।

मैं अन्त में इतना ही कहना चाहती हूं कि हिन्दोस्तान की संस्कृति सहिष्णुता की रही है । इस सहिष्णुता के द्वारा हम ने अन्य घमों से बहुत कुछ लिया है, अन्य कल्चर से बहुत कुछ लिया है, इसी प्रकार हिन्दी वालों को भी सहिष्णुता को अपनाना होगा, सहिष्णुता सीखना होगा । प्रेम से ग्रहिन्दी भाषियों से जितना हम ले सकते हैं लें । अहिन्दी लोगों का हृदय हमें जितना होगा और मैं यह आशा रखती हूं कि इस विधेयक को अगर ठीक तरह से दुरुस्त कर के पारित किया गया, हम ने कई एक सुधार दिये हैं, उनको स्वीकार कर के पारित किया गया, तो इसके द्वारा हिन्दी का इस प्रकार से विकास होगा कि सब लोग उस को हृदय से स्वीकार करेंगे और हम सब सिर ऊंचा करके—अपने राष्ट्र की भाषा हिन्दी है और राष्ट्र भाषा में हम सब बात करते हैं, काम करते हैं—यह कहने वाले बनेंगे ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : (बलरामपुर) : मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि सरकार

की ओर से इस विवाद का उत्तर कौन देगा ? गृह मंत्री इस सदन में नहीं हैं । मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि ये जवाब देंगे या गृह मंत्री जवाब देंगे ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : So far as Home Minister is concerned, he has been held up in Bombay because of a very serious earth quake. His deputy is here.

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli) : Is the Home Minister safe, Sir ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He is quite safe.

Acharya Kripalaniji.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna) : I do not know to which language group I belong.

SHRI RAJARAM (Salem) : He is a Sindhi and his wife is a Bengali.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : I have forgotten Sindhi and I know very little Hindi. I know English less, but for the sake of my friends from the South I am going to speak in English.

I have not the poetic eloquence of Tarkeshwari or the sweet reasonableness of Mrs. Kripalani (*Interruptions*) or the simplicity of Sushila Nayar.

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai) : Why is he complimenting only one tribe ?

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : Because they are a better tribe than yourselves. I do not think there is any nation in the world which suffers from so much sanctimonious hypocrisy and humbug as ours. Our ideals are high, our conduct is low. There is a wide gulf between what we say and what we do. Here we have a habit of judging other people with one standard and ourselves with another standard. What we consider wrong in others, we consider right in ourselves. If you do not mind, I will give a few examples.

Ours is a dry country and the Constitution also envisages the same.

SHRI HEM BARUA : Some parts only.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : When we give receptions we do not serve liquor, but when we go to the receptions of other people, we drink by the bottle so much that afterwards we have to be carried away.

SHRI HEM BARUA : They drink in glasses, not from the bottle.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Bottle-full.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : Then, we take heavy loans from outside and pretend that they are without strings, which means that somebody obliges us and we swallow that obligation and we have nothing to give to them in return. This is called in the *Gita* as theft.

Then, we had titles. We abolish titles in our Constitution, but by a twist of the tongue, we say that what we give are not titles but they are only awards. Now-a-days, these awards are being given up, and there is such a plethora of giving up by all the big people, poets, writers etc. They are all giving up their awards. What a great sacrifice! (*Laughters*). Neither can they use these titles nor can anybody else use them. They grandiloquently give up these titles. All honour to them!

Further, we go about preaching peace in the world, non-violence, and disarmament etc. while here we are fighting for a few inches of land and cutting each other's throat. Gandhiji used to say, cultivate your own garden, but we want to cultivate other people's gardens.

We say again that we are a non-aligned nation. Yet we have our finger in every pie. We want to give opinion on every conflict that goes on in the world without knowing what the conflict is about and what the rights and wrongs of it are. This is our non-alignment!

We are Hindi-lovers. We excite people to use violence. But when violence is used, we hold up our hands in

horror and say that we all stand for peace. All the leaders have preached violence but now they all condemn it. Such is the humbug that is going on in this country. I have given only a few examples.

Take the question of language. What hypocrisy is going on here! I am sure every lover of Hindi in this House sends his children to an English school.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : सब नहीं, दादा ।
उसको अमेंड कीजिये ।

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : All right.

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : सब के लिये नहीं कह सकते ।

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : I accept the amendment; not all of them, but most of them do.

श्री अमर सिंह सहगल (बिलासपुर) :
उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं रिक्वेस्ट करूंगा कि सब के बच्चे अंग्रेजी स्कूलों में पढ़ने के लिये नहीं जाते हैं, लेकिन कुछ बड़े लोगों के बच्चे जरूर जाते हैं ।

श्री जी० बा० कृपलानी : मान लिया ।
और फिर घर में हमारी कौन-सी भाषा चलती है ?

15 Hrs.

When a baby is on the breast of his or her mother, we teach them 'Papa' and 'Mama'.

और फिर हम कहीं जाते हैं तो टा टा कहते हैं

We do not say 'namaskar', such a charming word, historical association. We say 'tata tata'. When we want to say 'yes', we will not say 'yes' as the English say, but we say as the American say 'Okaya' or 'ya'. In our homes, American slang is used by us.

We are great lovers of Hindi. Hindi today suffers not from the opposition of non-Hindi-speaking people, but I say, on account of the supineness of the Government in that it would not take immediate steps to do something about a language which was considered before

[Shri J. B. Kripalani]

independence as the national language of India. Both the parties, the Hindi lovers and the Government, have been at fault for the last twenty years about this. In twenty years, nations are made; in twenty years we could have produced any amount of literature, if we had so desired, if there had been encouragement, but because we were vacillating, whether to take this turn or that, to be or not to be, we have fallen into a pit.

I will request the House to have some rationality, some sanity. Let us, for a moment, view this language question from the historical point of view. What was the language of the learned in India? It was Sanskrit. Then it was confined to one caste, the Brahmins, and may be a little to the Rajputs who were more busy in robbing each other than in learning a language; they were more interested in taking away each other's wives than in doing anything else.

Then slowly this language was changed everywhere. Who did it? The Sikh Guru, Guru Nanak and ten Gurus, Tulsidas, Surdas, Kabir, in Maharashtra Tukaram, Gyaneswar, and in Gujarat, Narsi Mehta, in Bengal, Chaitanya, all these people and many saints in the south, whose names, I am sorry to say, I am not familiar with—the people from the South can supply the names; I will not be able to pronounce them properly also.

AN HON. MEMBER : Subramanya Bharati.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : All these people brought the highest thoughts of the Upanishads and the Gita into the provincial languages. Is that a fact or not? Why did they do it? Because the common people were coming up? How were the common people to be associated with the elite? That was the question. They could have the knowledge that the elite had only through their own mother tongue.

One cannot escape from one's mother tongue. Leave aside the Indian exam-

ple. Take the example of Europe. What was the language of the learned before the medieval times or near about the medieval times, in the 14th and 15th centuries? It was Latin. Then what happened? Some people who had some vision, who wanted to associate their own people, who wanted their thoughts to be understood by their own people, began to write in English, in French, in German, in Russian and all other languages. Is this not a historical fact? And what did they do? Take Shakespeare. What language did he use? The common English language that was spoken in those days. What else could have been expected from Shakespeare who was not even an educated person? A drama can not but be written in the language of the learned, it must be in the popular tongue. So, he wrote. Then, Milton wrote his great poems, all in English. Then followed a succession of people who produced literature. In France it was the same case, in Germany the same case, in Russia the same case. Not that these people did not know Latin, but they knew that they had something to say and the greatest audience they could get was from those who spoke their own language, and simple language.

Here, when we talk of Hindi, I do not know what havoc we are committing. In Europe, they did not mind borrowing from the Latin language in science chemistry, physics, biology etc., the whole of the *materia medica* was taken from Latin. Even now, when a scientific word is to be coined they go to Latin, to Greek. They do not bother about it, how much they borrow from other languages they do not care. There is no question of purity of language. Language is used so that you may be able to express as your thought to your neighbour clearly and distinctly, but now-a-days language is used to confound the thought of your neighbour and your own, not for truth but for falsehood.

I have given these historical examples. You cannot say that the education of the young must be through English. This is impossible. Let me tell my

friends from Tamil Nad this. They are going to have higher education through Tamil, is that correct? They are going to have all their administration through Tamil, is that not correct? Do they expect while doing all this through their own language, they are going to be scholars in English also? Of course, I have great respect for the grey matter in the brains of the Southern people, but with all that grey matter, they will excuse me, they will not be able to teach English after some time to their children. If it is English, it will be pidgin English. Some of it is sometimes heard in this House. Once, when the Speaker was in the Chair. I was constrained to ask in what language the hon. member was speaking, and he told me it was English.

SHRI RAJARAM : It is parliamentary English.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : It may be any English. Then, you of Tamil Nad need have no fear at all, even when this Bill is passed. Do you mean to say that the Bills passed by this Government will mean anything? This Government's writ does not run. They passed a Bill that no girl shall marry before 14. Go to the villages, they are being married at ten, twelve, three, four, so it is going on. There is a law that nobody should go on his bicycle without a lamp. Does any fool go with a lamp at night? Long ago I told these people : "Sires, your writ does not run." Today we had an example. There are people who are preaching Maoism; there are people who are preaching treachery to the nation; those who want to invite other people; what have these Johnnies (in the Government) done? It is known to them. It is known to the CID. Everything is known to them, but they are arm-tied; though never tongue-tied.

The English that we learn today—we are bound to destroy it, ourselves. As I said, there will be only a very strange kind of English which no Englishman will ever understand. Its standards will go down and down. Do you want to degrade the language of Shakespeare and Milton and other writers? If you

want to degrade it, you will have it, but no better English can you have.

Further when the Europeans left off Latin, had they a common language? Yes, Sir; they had a common language. It was called *lingua franca*. Who imposed it upon Europe? Nobody imposed it upon Europe; it came up by its own genius. The French people appear to be to the whole of Europe as a most cultured people; their language is a most expressive language and the most beautiful language. Therefore, automatically, without coercion from any quarter, they learnt this French language. Rich families used to have French tutors, French mistresses. You might have read all that. The Russians also had that. So, a link language cannot be imposed. And I say that there is already a link language in India. Whatever you may say, it is used in the whole of the army; no private speaks with another private in English or Tamil or any other language but he speaks in Hindi. Their commands are in Hindi. When the English people came here, they did not learn Bengali; they did not learn Tamil; they did not learn them. What were they required to learn? They were required to learn Hindi. Afterwards they might go and learn any other language but they were required to learn Hindi first. Then, about the Indians outside; the indentured labourers, they spoke to each other in Hindi. Wherefrom did Gandhiji bring this idea of Hindustani? Do you think it jumped into the Gujarati brain? No. He was in South Africa and the indentured labourer, and the common people spoke with each other in Hindustani. Therefore, Gandhiji advocated Hindi-Hindustani. He never was for the Hindi which these faddists have brought.

So, I say that historically viewed, the Tamil people need not fear; as I told Shri Frank Anthony, "Do not bother; your mother-language is safe in India as long as we teach that language to the children with the milk of their mothers." I think that there is no quarrel at all. I do not know why this Bill has been brought up? Changes

[Shri J. B. Kripalani]

are taking place automatically. Automatically, more and more people are learning Hindi. Automatically, the standards of English is going down and down, till it will remain only among the ICS people sitting there. And English will be prevalent only among those who send their children to missionary schools or the so-called public schools that are class schools. There will be no English at all. The Hindi people need not have any fear, because this Bill is going to do nothing against them. The natural process of things, as has taken place historically in India and in Europe will have its way, whether we like it or not.

SHRI RUPNATH BRAHMA (Kokrajhar) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am really grateful to you for giving me this chance to speak on this important language issue. I do not understand why so much heat has been generated over this language issue. Personally I do not see any point for quarrel among ourselves on this. It has been accepted and agreed by all of us, both in the opposition and on the treasury benches, that Hindi should be the national language and it will be the national language of India. But the question before us is, for how long we should retain English. English will have to be retained. You cannot do otherwise. There has been so much controversy, bloodshed and loss of life over this language issue. What happened in Assam a few years ago? My friend, Mr. A. K. Sen will bear me out. I took him there when he was Law Minister and we were touring over the affected areas. I do not like now to narrate again to you all those terrible things that happened there. Let us see that such things do not occur again.

15.17 HOURS

[SHRI S. M. JOSHI *in the Chair.*]

I come from Assam. If you look at the map of Assam, you will find that this strategic State is surrounded on all sides by hill ranges—by the Himalayas in the north, the Naga ranges, the Mizo ranges, the Garo ranges and

Mikir Hills, except for a narrow passage lying between China and Pakistan. It is so vulnerable. I am telling the House everything about what is happening in Assam. Of course, I cannot say anything about the question of reorganisation now. I do not know when it will come up before this House. I want to reserve my views and I will deal with the full details of that question when it comes up. I do not know how it is working in the mind of the Prime Minister and Home Minister. But that will have to be decided. I do not know how long they will take to come to decision. Assam is a very small State, but it is a very important and strategic State. China is there on one side and Pakistan is also there. Two-thirds of the total area of Assam lies in hills. Who are the people living there? They are the Nagas, the Khasis, the Garos, the Mikirs and Mizos. In this House we have two representatives from the tribal constituencies of Assam. One is my young friend, Shri Swell, representing the hills and one is my humble self from the reserved seat for the plains districts. You should not be under the idea that the tribal people are only in the hills there. There are tribal people in the plains districts also. Today the condition of the tribal people in the plains districts is very bad. They need more protection and more help.

I had been to the Naga Hills, the Mizo Hills, almost all the hills there. I hope my hon. friend; Shri Anthony will bear me out about what we had to do in the year 1946-47 to fight out the cause of the small minorities in India. My friend Shri Jaipal Singh is there. My respected friend Shri Jagjivan Ram is there. Pantji has gone. Jawaharlalji also has gone. The top-leaders have all gone. Very few of them remain.

About the Nagas also, you should not be under the impression that there is only one tribe of Nagas. There are so many tribes. They are located in the different hills. My friend there is an Ao. There is my friend Shri Ering also. I am happy to find these two young tribal representatives here in the

ministry. Oe is from the Naga hills. The Nagas are divided into many sub-tribes. There are the Aos, the Angamese, the Lotas, the Koniaks, the Remas, the Somas and so on. But the interesting thing is that one sub-tribe cannot understand the other even though they live very close to each other. They have different cultures, different customs and different usages. But they are very good and bright people. They are very virile and sturdy. They will be really an asset if they are guided properly. Once I was accompanying the late lamented Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, as Health Minister of the State, from Aijal to Gauhati. All along the way she used to ask me to do something for the people there. She said : "They are very bright people. If you can guide them, if you can develop them, they will be an asset". Really they will be an asset to us. It depends on how we handle them. I really appreciate the caution of Shri Prakash Vir Shastri in his passing remarks when he said that we will have to be very careful in seeing that Assam is not converted into another area of discontent.

The common language in the Naga hills is broken Assamese. They say : *Apne Assamor Dangor Manu Asse Amakh Sabo Ahise*. This is the way they speak. They use broken Assamese as their *lingua franca*. So, how can you impose your Hindi there ? I respect Hindi. I have a great respect for that language. I say that Hindi should be the national language, and it will be the national language of India. But the question is one of time.

SHRI RAM SEWAK YADHAV (Barabanki) : Why are you not speaking in Assamese, your own language ?

SHRI RUPNATH BRAHMA : The bulk of the population there cannot speak and write in Hindi. I am speaking out the truth. You should know who are there in Assam. I represent a community, which is a major community in the plain districts of Assam. I take pride in the fact that I come from this big major community, who

were the ruling people once in the whole of Assam. It is a martial race also.

Now, regarding the language this is the position. For the moment, you cannot think of imposing Hindi there. I am only giving the facts. Let me quote here the immortal lines of our immortal Bengali poet : "*Nana jati; nana Bhasha, nana Paridhan*"—our mother India is so great; it is such a vast country, with a variety of civilisation and culture; with different races, different languages and different usages and customs; "*Vividher majhe Dekho Milan Mohan*" harmony and unity and a sense of oneness in the midst of diversity. What a lovely line ! We must bear this in mind so that we have no misunderstandings.

Sir, we all know how things are moving, how events are taking place, inside India and outside India. We all know about the developments in the world. There is the question of internal security also. So, we should not do anything, or say anything, which will tend to create tensions, divisions and misunderstandings among us. We should be very cautious.

I shall be very brief and I shall speak in details only when the question of reorganisation comes up. I am quite new here in this august House. When I find my colleagues speak in Hindi so fluently and so eloquently and so forcefully, I think I should also speak in Hindi. I feel like that. I have been trying to pick up Hindi and I hope that it will be possible for me to speak in Hindi sometime later. I can speak in Assamese and Bengali. I will try to speak in Hindi also during the course of the next few months.

My mother tongue is neither Assamese, nor Bengali, nor Hindi nor English. My mother tongue is quite different.

श्री राम सेवक यादव : क्या अंग्रेजी है ?

श्री रूपनाथ ब्रह्मा : अंग्रेजी मेरी मदर-टंग नही है।

श्री मोलह प्रसाद : असमिया में बोलिये ।

SHRI RUPNATH BRAHMA : What does he say, Sir ? I do not understand it. If hon. Members are so impatient, I will stop here. I wish I could speak in Hindi now. I will make an attempt to speak in Hindi now and conclude.

माननीय सदस्य मैं हिन्दी को चाहता हूँ । मैं सोचता हूँ कि हिन्दी हमारे भारत की राष्ट्रभाषा जरूर होनी चाहिए ।

As I said, I have great respect for Hindi.

श्री तुलसी दास जाधव (बारामती) : मैं हिन्दी वाले लोगों से विनती करना चाहता हूँ कि ज़रा सब्र से काम लें, बोलते वक्त इतना बोश न दिखायें, लेकिन दूसरे को टोकना ठीक नहीं है ।

श्री मोलह प्रसाद (बासगांव) : आप असमिया में बोलिये ।

SHRI RUPNATH BRAHMA : When I hear friends like Shri Nath Pai, Shri Dwivedy, Shri Ramamurti and Shri Banerjee and many others speak in this House so fluently in Hindi.... (Interruption).

श्री रामसेवक यादव : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्य जो बोल रहे हैं.....

SHRI RUPNATH BRAHMA : Sir, I am not giving way. I seek your protection. If he is not prepared to hear my speech, he can go out.

I was speaking something in Hindi. I do not know whether I am correct.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti) : You are quite correct.

श्री रुपनाथ ब्रह्मा : मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दी हमारे भारत की राष्ट्रभाषा जरूर होनी चाहिये ।

Regarding delay and hasty decision I have something to say. Sometimes we are very hasty in taking a decision and

sometimes there has been unnecessary or unusual delay in taking a decision in the matters of national importance. Take, for instance, the question of re-organisation of the State of Assam. How long it will remain ? Pantji has died; he had been there. Jawaharlal had been there. Our late lamented Shastriji also had been there. How many times Nandaji had been there ? Our Prime Minister herself has been there. She came back in a day. It seems our Prime Minister has sympathy for the Tribal people there. So, I hope, this matter would be tackled properly and a decision would be taken as early as possible. There should be no longer delay because delay is dangerous.

I think it will not be out of place to make a mention here of one thing. I cannot be and am not against the Government's policy. So far as I learn some of the Christian missionaries are being sent away from our country. Why ? Is it not true that the humanitarian activities of the missionaries among the Naga people and the Tribal people in the Hills were liked by them ? Can you deny it ? No. I can understand if some missionaries, who are not found good and who are doing something against the State, are sent away. They should be sent away but what about the other missionaries who are doing humanitarian works particularly among tribal people. They were pioneers in giving education in the remote interior in accessible hill areas. Once I had been where in the interior Naga hills I saw one young American missionary working there. They collect information from each house and go from house to house. If they find anybody falling ill, they give him medicine; if they need education, they give them education. This is the way how they have won the hearts of the Hill Tribal people. Even today they have greater confidence in mission workers than they have in us. I have great admiration for these missionary workers.

What are we doing ? What missions of ours are there to do work in these Hills ? I know, some Hindu mission people are there. The Ramakrishna Mission is there and the Buddhist as-

sociation is there. I was the President of the Buddhist Association and of the Ramakrishna Mission too. What have we done there? These things must be remembered.

As I have said, I am not against the Government's policy, but before taking a decision Government should see whether we are right or wrong. I am not afraid of expressing my view because I have got every right to speak out my mind. If we find that it is not a good policy, then we must reconsider it. I think, about these missionaries we should reconsider and there should be rethinking. (*Interruption*).

SHRI NAMBIAR : You can be bold; do not be afraid.

SHRI RUPNATH BRAHMA : Please don't make me nervous; I am new here. I will take time to reply to you and you will get a proper reply from me. I am not afraid of anybody; I don't care for what others say. I go in my own way. Even we sometime find the leaders going astray. Leadership does not drop from heaven. If a leader can lead and guide the people in a correct and right way, he is the leader. But when we find that there is something wrong with the leader, and the leadership is shaken why should the people follow him?

MR. CHAIRMAN : He should conclude now.

SHRI RUPNATH BRAHMA : I do not want to take more time of the House. In conclusion, I hope, Sir, what I have said will be borne in mind and something will be done.

श्री श्री० ज० डांगे (बम्बई-मध्य दक्षिण) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं चाहता हूँ कि मैं हिन्दी में
बोलूँ, मैं चाहता हूँ कि मैं अपने ब्यालात का
प्रदर्शन हिन्दी में करूँ, लेकिन इस वक्त जो
मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, वह मैं हिन्दी में बोलकर
पूरा इजहार नहीं कर सकूँगा और न करना
चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि स्थान, काल को देख कर
भाषा का इस्तेमाल होना चाहिए। भाषा का

इस्तेमाल कोई असूल का सवाल नहीं है—
या तो ऐतिहासिक आवश्यकता को, या काल
के कोल को देख कर उस के मुताबिक भाषा
का इस्तेमाल हो सकता है। इसी लिये मैं
यहाँ पर इजहार करता हूँ कि मैं चाहता हूँ
कि हिन्दी हिन्दुस्तान की लिग लैंग्वेज होनी
चाहिए और इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। यह
इजहार करने के लिये मैंने शुरू में हिन्दी में
कुछ अलफ़ाज़ कहे हैं, लेकिन मेरी जो आर्थ-
मेन्ट्स हैं, जो बहस है, वह मैं इंग्लिश में कहना
चाहता हूँ।”

Sir, the question, to my mind, is not being approached in a proper mood because all the aspects of the question are not being put forward correctly. After 15 years, the admission in this Bill is that we have failed to make Hindi the link language and now the Government has come forward with the admission that hence forward, again, the Indian State becomes a bilingual State. I have never heard of such a thing in my life, in the history of any country, declaring that it is a bilingual State. But they have been doing it.

AN HON. MEMBER : Canada is a bilingual State.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : That way, Switzerland has got four languages. Once you divide it in several confederal or independent States, naturally, there will be several languages. It does not matter; let us not go into that argument. I do not know whether there can be two mother-tongues for a child though, the State can have two languages, as you are having them now. However, my point is that Hindi deserves, to be, should be and is a link language of India for the simple reason that about 200 million people speak Hindi. But by its structure, by its present organisation, by its formation by its vocabulary, by its literature, today, Hindi cannot replace completely English and in certain departments, in certain areas, there would be disadvantages even in the conduct of some affairs of the State in Hindi. Therefore, the Government is reverting to adding English,

[Shri S. A. Dange]

not as an associate language, but as a language equivalent to Hindi in all the affairs of the States.

Now, I would not like that position to be accepted. Yet I cannot help it. Therefore, as a realist, while believing that Hindi should be and is a link language, I have to accept the present position that certain people do want continuation of English, and they should have the right to demand a proper place for it, in the life of the country. My Party is prepared to take the view that the two viewpoints should be conciliated and a provision should be made on the basis that Hindi is not imposed by compulsion on non-Hindi people and English is not imposed on Hindi people. Will that be dividing the country in two blocs—Hindi and English? For sometime it is bound to happen. Though it does not divide the country into two blocs of States, the Centre it will be divided into two parts and there will be lot of complication which is already reflected in certain clauses of this Bill. But I want to deal with something else. The problems will come after we pass the Bill with some amendments. But that is not the main difficulty. The main difficulty is how you approach the question. How did you approach in the beginning? You put 14 languages in the Eighth Schedule. Then you added two more, I think, Sindhi and Urdu. When you framed the Schedule of Languages, in which part of the country was Sanskrit spoken? May I know? Did the framers of the Constitution, except perhaps Babasaheb Ambedkar and a few others, know Sanskrit at all? Why was Sanskrit, which was not spoken in any part in India and not even by a large part of the intelligentsia, added in the Schedule? Was it for your communication with God? Then communication with God in this country is carried on in other languages as well, in English in the Bible, in Arabic in the Quran, in Sanskrit in the Gita—and the Gita reader does not understand the Sanskrit of the Gita at all. Then why was it incorporated? Because that was to be an expression of the Hinduism that

dominated the framers of the Constitution. . .

AN HON. MEMBER : No, no.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : There was no other reason. You may shout but you cannot contradict my argument.

AN HON. MEMBER : Why not?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Because even

महाराष्ट्र की, आप की ज़बान भी संस्कृत नहीं है।

The languages in the Schedule should be the languages of the country, languages spoken in the country, languages used for communication, for conduct of business affairs, and for conduct of State affairs. Then why was Sanskrit added? I do not deny anybody's right to have sentiments of his religion. I am not questioning that. What I want to say is : when they framed the Constitution for all religions, for all communities, for all castes—and there is one caste in India, and a terribly big one, which burnt the Manusmriti for the references that it contained against that section of the people in India—in spite of that Sanskrit was added.

Therefore, what I say is : our approach from the very beginning was a little vitiated approach and that started the mischief. We have to overcome the mischief. I am trying to overcome the mischief. When you started the mischief, its second stage was when you started producing Hindi which was not spoken by the scholars or by business men or by the people. Who does understand this Hindi? I do not want to quote Tulsidas. I do not know much about him.

AN HON. MEMBER : Everybody understands Tulsidas.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : May I tell you some of the 'Dohas' in Tulsidas Ramayana which you will not understand?

“सिय छबि नहि जात बखानी
गिरा अनयन नयन विनुवाणी”

श्री शिव नारायण : रामायण से सरल कोई भाषा नहीं है ।

SHRI NAMBIAR : If this Parliament has an expert on Tulsidas, here is that expert.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN : He is making a wrong preaching.

SHRI S. A. DANGE ब्रिजूवाणी is not used in the normal Hindi.

श्री यशपाल सिंह (देहरादून) : सब जानते हैं उस को ।

SHRI S. A. DANGE : जानने का सबाल नहीं है बल्कि उसके इस्तेमाल में लाने का सबाल है ।

Now, what I was saying was that when that purism through the Raghuvir Kosh was started as a movement, you started manufacturing a Hindi which was not real to life. That made people recoil from it. Similarly, even when they wanted to keep Urdu words, a controversy was started long ago, between Hindi and Hindustani and Urdu, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Pandit Motilal Nehru had to intervene and say that there must be a compromise on that also, and, therefore, a Hindustani academy was started. That was a healthy growth. But after *swaraj* when this growth took a wrong turn, the non-Hindi people got a little irritated. That is all that I am saying. Take, for instance, the word 'station'. You would not say for station '*sthagit sthan*' or something like that. But that movement started in Marathi also. So, it is not only in Hindi but in Marathi also that this purism began. Again, for the fountain-pen, they started with the word '*jharnee*'. Even water-up is *jharnee*. So, why use that word only for a fountain-pen? Therefore, there was some kind of resistance to making popular Hindi acceptable in all places and quarters.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA (Delhi Sadar) : Neck-tie also.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : For neck-tie, they said '*kanthlangot*'. *Kanth* means neck, and *langot* means '*langoti*' (a skip).

SHRI NAMBIAR : Horrible. Save us from this.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : He would not be saved because *Kanthlangot* can also act as a hangman's noose.

This approach is really causing irritation. Now, there is the movement of wiping out the English boards and so on. Why has it come about? There was a basic irrationality in the application of Hindi, because the rightful place was not given to the regional languages.

Democracy today is not divided in India between Hindi and non-Hindi, but democracy in India today is distributed between Hindi and the other spoken regional languages of India. If the Centre goes and puts a Hindi or English label on a railway station in Tamil Nad or in Maharashtra or Bangalore, how is the passenger to read that name when he does not know English or Hindi? Eighty per cent of the population is illiterate.

THE MINISTER OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI JAGJIWAN RAM) : What the hon. Member is saying is wrong. The name in the regional language is also there.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : I know the position in Maharashtra. Although the *lipi* or the alphabet is the same in Marathi as in Hindi, the station names are rendered into Hindi in Bombay city, in the railway station. Now at least, the hon. Minister may give me the right of putting these station names in Marathi.

These are just stray examples. My main point is that a correct policy is pushed forward in a wrong way. That is my submission. Now, I find the Deputy Prime Minister going round the country and telling all sorts of things about things which he does not know. About even finance, I doubt his knowledge, but on literature and history I have my serious doubts about his know-

[Shri S. A. Dange]

ledge. I do not know; I may be doing injustice to him, but I am told by the newspapers that he said in the south that when the ancient sages travelled from the north to the south, they spoke in Hindi. The language of the Vedas is not Hindi. The language of the Mahabharata is not Hindi. The first man who sent a message throughout India to be read by all people was Ashoka. The Ashoka pillars were the manifestoes of the Ashokan philosophy going throughout the whole country and they were not in Hindi. The Prakrit languages of ancient India were not Hindi. *Shauraseni, Paishachi, Magadhi* and *Maharashtri* were the four ancient Prakrit languages which had a different grammar, their original foundation being in something else. I do not want to go into that history. They transformed themselves into *Apabhramsh* languages. And *Apabhramsh* transformed themselves into our modern Indian languages. This last development took place only during the last six hundred years.

Take, for instance, even the statue at Sravanabelgola in Mysore, which is standing there as a monument of man defying nature and conquering nature with his philosophy, absolutely without clothes and without ornaments. The best statue in India today is at Sravanabelgola without any adornments, and when that statue was manufactured and put there, a line was inscribed which says : '*Chaamundarayē karaaviyaleh*', which means 'Chaamundaray got this made. It is written in Marathi and not in the Hindi of Shri Morarji Desai, nor in the Kanarese language of the present Mysore State nor in the Sanskrit language of ancient philosophy.

SHRI MANOHARAN (Madras North) : He is claiming Mysore also ?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : I am not claiming anything. I do not bring such sentiments in this problem. That is a minor problem. This is a major problem.

What I am saying is that when Morarji Desai says that the ancient

sages spoke Hindi in the south, in Bangalore, he should have gone and read the line on that statue of Sravana Bal Gola, but being a purist, he might perhaps have been blindfolded because that statue stands naked !

So that is the point. Therefore, we must not approach this problem from the point of view of fanaticism saying that Hindi was for all times spoken by the sages. Even the Marathi of the 13th century written by Gyaneswar is not understood in Maharashtra today. What is the use of my saying that Marathi was being spoken throughout Maharashtra for the last one thousand years ? It is impossible. Therefore, some kind of emotion, some kind of sentiment based upon a wrong knowledge of history, an unhistorical aspect, is brought in which really shoots up in this burning and all that. If we tell these people who burn these things, 'Please remember 400 years ago this was not the language in our country', if we tell them that this was not the language spoken in Maharashtra, ... they will not do that.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : They know all that.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : We must tell them. A historical outlook on things is a necessity in our conduct of affairs in this country.

Therefore, coming to my other point, let us not interpolate wrong emotions, communal emotions and other emotions, but take the question of language as a medium which has to bind us together and evolve this country into a democratic independent state devoted to the welfare of the people, for which we adopt the languages as an instrument.

15.53 Hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

It is an instrument, the finest instrument for expression of the finest emotions, but it is an instrument.

How do we go about the solution of this problem ? I have got one or two suggestions. The problem, in one aspect is, English vs. Hindi. It is claim-

ed that English is the language of unity. I never heard such a thing, that English is a language of unity in this country. English is the language of destruction of Indian culture, to begin with. English is the language of oppression, English is the language of slavery, English is a language which destroyed the growing India. If the English had not invaded us, we would have been a far better nation now. Therefore, to say that English is a language of culture? What culture? The culture that conquered the whole world, beheaded Indians, beheaded Africans, beheaded Americans—it is a language of culture?

SHRI MANOHARAN : What has language got to do with it?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Language carried the literature. Why do they say it is the language of unity? Separate language from literature? Agreed. Then why do you teach its literature? Take the literature of English that is taught in this country. Has English literature produced any revolutionary work, except one, in its last one thousand years of history? One work stands out as an exception; that is, when the Cromwellian revolution took place and Milton produced *Paradise Lost*. That was a work of revolt and revolution. After that, was revolution taught in the English language? Not only that. Edmund Burke ran down the French Revolution and produced a most counter revolutionary piece of literature which is a textbook in Indian universities today. I have been brought on these pieces of literature. I know them. I know what we felt in our younger days. When I first entered Wilson College, I along with many other colleagues, had the honour to raise a revolt that 'there shall be a Marathi Literary Society in this College' where the Bible was compulsory. We threw away the Bible, not because it was a Christian book, no, but because we wanted that no compulsion of any religion was to be put on us. At that time, Morarji Desai was perhaps two years my senior in that college, though I did not see him raising this movement in his time in 1917. I am proud of my

languages, I am proud of my country, but I do not want to be told that progressive literature comes from English and hence it should be compulsory. If the Vice-Chancellors of the universities in India and the Supreme Court and other Judges in India cannot earn their bread without speaking in English, we are prepared to give the cumulative pension, but for God's sake let them not plead for English. What is the use of telling me that the Right of Property Act or the Contract Act cannot be argued in Hindi or Tamil or Marathi? Supposing there is confusion for some time, let there be. There was enough confusion in 1917, in 1942, in 1948, let us have some confusion again for two years if necessary, but do away with the damn thing from the Supreme Court, from the other courts etc. Why not? Use your own language.

Therefore, I fight for the democratic right of the regional language be supreme in its own State. Unless you do that, you cannot solve this controversy. And the Tamil people are going the right way in that direction, and many others also are going the right way.

Therefore, the link language is Hindi, the basic language is your own mother tongue, and for communication, what to do in the transition stage? Even the people who fight for English being retained, are not really English-wallahs, they are not anti-Hindi-wallahs, that is not the point. The point is the transition period.

For example, take any advertisement of the Hindustan Machine Tools or of Hindustan Electricals. If they say they want ten crank shafts, the Hindi-wallah will insist, by invoking the spirit of Dr. Raghuvira or Seth Govind Das or somebody else, and say that the word crank shaft cannot be used. What will you get if you cannot use it? Crank means a man, जिसका दिमाग खाराब हो।

So, you will get एक पागल शैफ्ट हमें भेज दो, यह हो जायगा।

Why this allergy? I cannot understand. Gears, switch gears, and all that sort of thing should be in the vocabulary. Even the English are not afraid of bor-

[Shri S. A. Dange]

rowing the Russian word Sputnik, it has entered English. The word *bandh* which we use in the trade union movement has entered the Oxford dictionary. Why not? This is a country of 500 million people speaking different languages. Produce for them a Hindi which is understandable, and which can be used by everybody.

But what is the biggest difficulty? So long as you put the Central services at a higher level for wages than the State services, there will be always a rush for the Central services, and whether these services are to be transformed from English to Hindi, that controversy will continue. Therefore, this monopoly of higher salaries in the Central services should be destroyed by all the services having equal status, equal wages, equal remuneration. Why should a Finance Minister have more wages for mismanaging Rs. 5,000 crores because he is at the Centre, than a Finance Minister who can mismanage Rs. 100 crores at the State level? Why should there be a differential payment for mismanagement, why should there be a differential of rewards for corruption, why should there be a differential of rewards for such things? We are, having some six million people in the services. So, these six million people will always try to see how their personal interests can be guarded, either by Hindi, Marathi, Tamil or English.

Then, there are the trading services. If commerce is not forced to use the link language in its correspondence, you are not going to displace English and replace it by Hindi. Banks having 3,000 branches in the country are writing in English all through. You may pass any Bill, you may make Hindi the official language and shout as much as you like, your Hindi will never come into existence.

Which country in the world writes letters in five languages or seven languages. If we write to other countries, let us write in the link language, and let them reply to us in their language. Similarly in the States. Therefore, my

proposition is this, and I should like to make our party standpoint very clear on this, as we have adopted it in our party resolutions. Therefore, my position is this. The role of monopoly capital—(Interruption)—I am bringing that again; you may not like it. Monopoly capital does not care a damn for any language. Let me tell you the private books of Birlas may be in their Rajasthani, but the commercial books have to be kept in one language when they have got, says, 20 factories in 20 places speaking different languages, because otherwise they cannot run them. The needs of commerce are such that one cannot but force English on the Hindiwallas. May I warn you? What is the use of getting hysterical about it?

16 Hrs.

A little while ago, somebody was quoting that many people send their children, while fighting for Hindi here, to English schools. I am one of them: I was sending my grandson to a school, a very good convent school, which has English medium.

SHRI NAMBIAR : At least he has the courage to say the truth; the others are not telling the truth.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : After some time, when he started talking to me one day he said, "Raam told Sita". I asked him what it was, and he said that "my teacher was telling me "Raam told Sita". He was mentioning Ram and Sita with that English pronunciation. Then I told my daughter, "Please remove him from that school." Not that I am all for Hindi or anything of the kind. No. A thing which belongs to my country and my culture cannot be twisted like that, according to the mentality of some alien. I removed him. And then I sent him to a school which was very good, I thought; and I found a school run by a very respectable person who was a bit Jan Sanghi; it had English as its medium, with the addition of English translation of the Mahabharata! (Interruptions) You can go and verify; I have no objection. I am not hiding facts; that man, by cul-

tural standards is good; I cannot quarrel about his culture. (*Interruption*)

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : यह कौन सा स्कूल है ?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : The school in Panchgani.

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : हम इस के बारे में पता लगायेंगे ।

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : Quarrelling only about party label?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : You are frank to me. But if Shri Vajpayee were to deny that his culture is Jan Sanghi, will anybody believe him ? Let us have the honesty to admit it. What is wrong with it?

श्री अटल बिहारी बाजपेयी : जनसंघ वाले स्कूल कहां चला रहे हैं ?

श्री श्री० अ० डांगे : हिन्दी किसी की मानोपली नहीं है । यह तो नहीं है कि कोई इस पार्टी का है, इस लिए वह हिन्दी चाहता है और अगर उस पार्टी का है, तो इंगलिश चाहता है । मैं तो मिसाल के तौर पर बता रहा हूँ कि क्या हो रहा है ।

So, what I was saying was, are we very clear about this proposition? We are not very clear about the proposition. We are trying to make a compromise. Let us make a compromise.

SHRI MANOHARAN : What happened to your grandson?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : I have not taken him out of it, because, they do not teach Jan Sangh politics. English is its medium. This is a fact, and because the weather is good—Panchgani is a nice place—he continues to study there. If I can find a better place, I can surely remove him, if my friend can assure me of a like school.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Please do not remove him from there. Let him continue.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : If Shri Vajpayee objects and says that he may turn the whole school into a communist one if he is afraid, I will remove him.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : He will become a Jan Sanghi!

SHRI S. A. DANGE : That does not matter. He will be a plant inside your party! Let us not harm the career of that young boy. The future belongs to him. Only the past is ours and that is why we are quarrelling. Therefore, my point is this. Our proposition is there. I am going to read the points which our party has adopted. I would only plead that the question of language be approached from a historical point of view; that the communal point of view be given up; that the point of view of the English-knowing people be accommodated and the point of view of the Hindi-knowing people be also there. Because, ultimately, the language of every State—I do not say of every citizen—for the purpose of communication is bound to become Hindi. There is no other way. English, by common consent, should be rejected, I do not say tomorrow or in 5 or 10 years. But it should be rejected in principle and efforts must be made, starting with university education, courts and big firms who use all along English and do not care even for the regional language.

SHRI PILOO MODY : What about political parties ?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Why not you try to start speaking at least as much Hindi as I can speak ?

Ultimately the language problem is connected with big blocks of population. We cannot compare ourselves with the Soviet Union or China or Canada. Ours is a specific historic group of people, wherein there are 14 States with 14 languages which are well-developed, with very big population, each having its own history, its own past and so on. No such country exists anywhere. With all that, the problem is complicated by caste, one caste trying to have chaste

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Hindi, another common Hindi and a third a mixture. This problem cannot be resolved by looking to Soviet Union, Canada or Switzerland. But of course the Soviet Union has killed the hostile effects of the linguistic contradictions inside that country by establishing socialism. But when there is capitalist contradictions and when in this capitalism 5,000 jobs are sought after by 5 lakh unemployed, naturally there is bound to be all sorts of ill-feeling. Unemployment is one of the driving forces for inciting communal hatred, linguistic hatred and all those things. Then the fight for jobs appears through the language trouble. Language just becomes a sort of instrument—*nimita-matram*. Only when we really achieve full employment through elimination of capitalism, establishment of socialism and there is proper harmony, then alone the language question will be resolved. But that does not mean that before that attempts should not be made or cannot be made to resolve that question. Though ultimately socialism is the final cure following the example of socialist countries, in our conditions, we must find a solution. The points which our Party is making are these.

1. The official link language of the Indian Union is and should be Hindi.

2. Hindi will become the sole link language, when all the State Legislatures of the Union will so decide unanimously. Till then English will remain an associate language. Today it is making it almost equal.

3. The opinion of each State Legislature on the question of terminating the associate status of English will be decided by a majority vote in the given legislature.

4. The Central Government will communicate with Hindi-speaking States in Hindi and with non-Hindi States in Hindi, accompanied with a translation in English until the receiving State is prepared to receive the correspondence only in Hindi. It is for them to choose when.

5. A non-Hindi State will communicate with the Centre in Hindi or its own State language or English as it may choose until such time as it may take to get prepared to communicate only in Hindi. It is for the Centre to provide a battery of translators. If someone in Tamilnad or Maharashtra writes in Tamil or Marathi, the Centre must make arrangements to translate it. My business is, I will write in my mother-tongue or in the regional language of my State.

6. One State will communicate with another State in Hindi or its own State language or in English as it may choose, until they come to a common agreement.

7. So far as Members of Parliament are concerned, one of the things that has prevented harmonious feeling being generated is the obstinate resistance of the Congress leadership to allow all the languages being spoken translated and recorded here. The ban on speaking was changed by force that is when the House started howling about it. Then they allowed it but they said, do your own translation. Why this attitude, I cannot understand. Therefore, my proposal is, Members of Parliament shall be free to speak in their mother tongue and the parliamentary office will provide official record and simultaneous translation in all the languages so spoken. Can't you build 14 chambers here? I do not want to translate it in Sanskrit. Nobody would be able to do it.

AN HON. MEMBER : It should also be in Sanskrit.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : I do not mind. Try if you can provide that. Half the tension in this House will go. Now we are allowed to raise tension by shouting at each other. This thing can be settled in one day. The apparatus is not very difficult to get. It does not require any change in the seating arrangements. Place a small transistor round the neck of every Member and it can be done. But this is resisted. I do not know why it is being resisted. What can be the reason for the ruling party resisting in

such small matters, I do not know, unless it be that proposition which I enunciated that day that they want to thrive on the basis of quarrels and tensions and also civil war in this country? I do not think so.

My last proposition is that the central public service examinations should be in all the languages of the States. It is a very important thing. Several people, more than six million of them, are under government employment. In the matter of salary and job you cannot blame them for trying to get the best service with the highest salary. It is necessary for them to look for the best job possible. Therefore, my proposal is that the central public service examinations will be held in all languages of the Union States. I think each State will get its quota in the central services in proportion to its population. One of the things rankling in the minds of the Hindiwalahs is that they are backward in English. They are. There is nothing wrong in admitting that. They say, therefore in the central services the Englishwalahs will carry the whole thing. So give them the quota according to their population.

SHRI RAJARAM : Communal G.O.?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : It is not communal, it is national.

AN HON. MEMBER : It is regional.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Call it any way you like.

SHRI RAJARAM : It was originally communally G.O., now it is not.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : "Communal", is all wrong. We do not accept that. At least my hon. friend will not accuse me of that. But I do say that these groups of people having their particular population should have a share, a proper share, a proportionate share in the services of the country.

Therefore, I would appeal to the ruling party first to start translations here. Convert this hall into 14 chambers and start translations. Buy transistors tomorrow from the Electronics. That will be the first tender of your *bona fides* to the non-Hindi-speaking people

that you really mean business. Then, adopt a Hindi which is popular. Use English words, Arabic words and Hindustani words. These words have no caste, no religion. Therefore, if you carry out these simple reforms there will be conciliation in this and we shall have a proper atmosphere for the adoption of this Bill by common consent.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA (Raiganj) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I had just now the opportunity of hearing Shri Dange speaking in very fluent and fast English trying to prove that English is not necessary. I do not know why he tried to make a run at Sanskrit. Sanskrit was retained in the Eighth Schedule because Sanskrit was India's international language. That was the reason for which Sanskrit was put in the Eighth Schedule. Shri Dange makes a show of knowing everything but actually not knowing the whole of anything. As an example of what I have just now said, I will quote only one instance. When the Oxford University sent the Degree of D.Litt. to Tagore at Shantiniketan, what is the language that Tagore used in replying to the presentation of that Degree by the representatives of the Oxford University? He did not use English. He did not use Bengali, in which he has made such noted contributions. He used Sanskrit. That is the reason why I say that Sanskrit was put in the Eighth Schedule because Sanskrit was India's international language. I have given one example.

He sees communalism in the inclusion of Sanskrit in the Eighth Schedule. I do not know why he has that experience. I am sure Shri Dange has studied history. If he has studied history, he might have known that Sanskrit poets had a very warm welcome in the Mughal courts and one of the poets, Poet Jagannath, has made a record of it.

दिल्ली-वल्लभ-पाणि-पल्लव-तले नीतिं
नवीनं वयः ।

"My youthful days were spent in the careful affection of the rulers of Delhi," says the poet. I would also like to tell him that translations of

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Mahabharata and Ramayana in Bengali were done under Muslim patronage. So, he is completely mistaken when he smells communalism whenever he hears about Sanskrit.

I will give him another example. If he goes to London . . .

AN HON. MEMBER : He will go only to Moscow.

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA : If he goes to London and visits the St. Paul Cathedral, on the grave of Professor Wilson there is a statue of Professor Wilson himself and in the hands of that statue he will find a book on which it inscribed "the code of Manu". So the Code of Manu has found its place in St. Paul's Cathedral in London. So, if Shri Dange smells communalism in the inclusion of Sanskrit in the Eighth Schedule, it is a strange experience and it is a strange mentality that he has exhibited.

In any case, my task here for the moment is very simple and limited. This Bill is meant to give effect to the assurances given by Pandit Nehru and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri to the non-Hindi-speaking people of India. This is mentioned in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. I wish the Statement of Objects and Reasons were a bit more amplified. At least the names of the two Prime Ministers should have been stated, when and where the assurances were given should have been stated and, if my request counts, even the exact words of the assurances should have been quoted in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. Because, it is in the context of the compliance with the assurances that the Bill will be considered; its provisions will be judged, not merely by what they actually contain, but more by whether they comply with the words and spirit of the assurances given by the two Prime Ministers and make them effective.

In any case, I wish to go to the origin of these assurances. Why were these assurances given? In the year 1959 Shri Frank Anthony moved a Resolu-

tion in the House for the inclusion of English in the Eighth Schedule and when the Resolution came up for consideration in the House, an atmosphere developed in this House in which it was felt that the Resolution had a decided majority in its favour. It was at that stage, under those circumstances, that Pandit Nehru intervened and gave this assurance, on which the Bill has been framed. It was on the 7th August 1959, and this is what Pandit Nehru stated :

"Firstly, there must be no imposition. Secondly, for an indefinite period"

and he adds—

"—I do not know how long—I would have English as an associate additional language which can be used for official purposes. I would have it so not mainly because of the existing facilities but because I do not wish the people of the non-Hindi areas to feel that certain doors of advance are closed to them, being forced to correspond in the Hindi language. They can correspond in English. I would have English as an alternate language as long as the people require it, and the decision for that I would leave not to the Hindi-knowing people but to the non-Hindi-knowing people."

This was the assurance given by the Prime Minister on the 7th August, 1959.

A few days later on the 4th September, the Report of the Parliamentary Committee which considered the Report of the Official Language Commission came up for consideration. On that occasion again the Prime Minister said :—

"When I said that there should be no imposition of Hindi what I meant was that whether it is in Madras, Andhra, Kerala or any other region I do not wish to impose a language on that State in the sense in which that States will take it as an imposition.

x x x x

I say there is no limitation even of time to the use of English except when there is a general agreement and those very people in the non-Hindi-speaking areas who might be affected should agree."

In 1963 when the Official Languages Bill came up for consideration, objection was raised that the Bill did not fulfil the assurance given by the Prime Minister. Pandit Nehru intervened again and reiterated the same. This was on the 24th April, 1963. He said :—

"I had given on the last occasion an assurance about no major change being made in regard to the use of English without the consent, without the approval of the non-Hindi speaking people. That was made by me and that represents not only my view point but the viewpoint of our Government."

This is very important; may I tell those who are saying that Pandit Nehru's assurance may be ignored that Pandit Nehru made it clear :—

"that represents not only my viewpoint but the viewpoint of our Government. And, when it was made it was clear to me that it was made with the approval of this House. We stand by that completely. There is not an iota of difference from what we had said then."

Following the Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who was piloting the Bill, assured the House on the 25th April, 1963 :—

"That English should continue beyond January, 1965; that there should be no time limit prescribed for the purpose; that the views of the non-Hindi-speaking people should be taken into consideration before arriving at a final decision."

When Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri became the second Prime Minister of India, on February 11, 1965, he reaffirmed what the first Prime Minister had stated. This is what he said in a broadcast to the nation :—

"These were the assurances given by Pandit Nehru and I wish to re-

iterate that we stand by them fully and solemnly. They will be honoured both in letter and in spirit without any qualification or reservation."

These are solemn words, noble words nobly spoken. In their greatness both the Prime Ministers, both of whom came from a Hindi-speaking State, gave these assurances to the non-Hindi-speaking people. Why did they do it? Why did they feel the need of it? They did it for one reason. The inclusion of Hindi in the Constitution as the official language of India has given such an advantage to the people, who have Hindi as their mother tongue, that they felt that this assurance to the non-Hindi-speaking people was necessary. In any scheme of language, whether in education or in administration or in legislation, Hindi being the official language under the Constitution, the Hindi-speaking people are bound to be at an advantage. That was why the assurances had to be given.

I give an example. The Education Minister is no enemy of Hindi but even he had to say at the Bombay Rotary club which he addressed on October 6 :—

"He was of the view that the Ministry of Education had all these years spent crores of rupees for the development of only one language, Hindi, instead of promoting development of other Indian languages as well."

It is the realisation of this fact that promoted and persuaded the two Prime Ministers, firstly, to give the assurance and, secondly, to reaffirm it.

Side by side, with this assurance, Pandit Nehru made another declaration. He declared, in Parliament and outside, a number of times that all the languages included in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution should be regarded as national languages of India. If this important fact is remembered much of the present confusion will disappear from the present political scene. Those who are for Hindi should remember and consider this that Hindi is only one of the national languages of India

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and not "the" national language of India which the first Prime Minister clarified more than once.

Then, Shri Dange was just now speaking about the link language. The Constitution nowhere has made a reference either to link language or to national language. The Constitution deals with Hindi only as an official language. I would request everyone who participates in this debate to limit himself only to this narrow limit, whether Hindi should be retained in its present position, with English, as an official language and whether English should be given continuity for sometime more.

To those of our friends who are flooding us with a spate of amendments, I should say that amendments are to be judged and justified only on one ground ~~met~~ by whether what this person says is right or what that person says is right or whether what is demanded by agitators outside is right. They will be considered only on the consideration whether the amendments help to bring the provisions of the Bill more in line with the assurances given by the Prime Ministers. That is the only consideration by which the amendments should be judged and justified. Unless they stand by this criterion, they will have to go. I request them to remember the words of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri :

"They will be honoured both in letter and spirit without any qualification or reservation."

Coming to the Bill, the Home Minister has stated that the Bill is a result of a compromise. Though the objects and reasons profess to comply with the assurances of the Prime Ministers, the Home Minister has gone a long way, as far as he could go, to meet the Hindi view-point as well. He has made it clear in his opening speech and I believe the friends who are supporting Hindi should be satisfied with what the Home Minister has stated in his opening remarks.

Our Constitution deliberately accepted a bilingual policy. As a first step,

it limited bilingualism to a period and then allowed it to be continued beyond that period by a legislation enacted by Parliament. I only suggest that we should allow this bilingualism to continue. The trouble started in 1963 when bilingualism was attempted to be replaced by uni-lingualism. The same position may arise again if what the agitators are demanding is to be complied with. I would only suggest to them that bilingualism should be allowed to continue and peace of the country allowed to be maintained.

Some hon. Members have equated English language with British administration. They are wrong. They are misled and they are misleading others. Quotations have been made from Macaulay. Macaulay's minute is dated 2nd February, 1835. Long before that, in 1823, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, in his famous letter to the Governor General, Lord Amherst, had asked for the introduction of modern education through English medium. It is with reference to this fact that Pandit Kunzru has stated that the attempt to replace English completely will take the country back to the position from which Raja Ram Mohan Roy rescued it 150 years ago.

The Education Minister in his statement quoted a number of incidents and expert opinion in support. I wonder, Sir, why he did not quote the opinion of the Calcutta University where he is himself a Member of the Senate. On the question of language the University adopted a resolution demanding that English should be regarded as a national language of India, English should be included in the Eighth Schedule and Public Service Examinations should continue to be conducted only through the English medium. If the Education Minister were here, he might have noted what I have stated.

SHRI RAJARAM : What was the Bengal Assembly's resolution those days when Mr. B. C. Roy was there ?

SHRI C. K. BHATTACHARYYA : Sir, now coming to the Resolution, it wants to accelerate the development and

progressive use of Hindi. Here there will be a stumbling block. Before doing that they will have to standardise the Hindi vocabulary. At present these differ from State to State. Sir, I have some acquaintance with Hindi. I find terms differ for the same subject and for the same post from State to State and even within the same State from area to area. I will give you one example, which my friends may appreciate. When the technical term for Constitution and administration began to be translated, we accepted the word 'Sachiva' for Secretary and that has been accepted by the Government. This Lok Sabha Secretariat is known as 'Sachivalaya'. But, in spite of this, noted Hindi leaders continue to describe Secretary as 'Mantri' and General Secretary as 'Mahamantri'. My friend there is shaking his hand. But I do not speak without proof. Here is the notice for the Congress convention on Pandit Nehru, the Minister is described as 'Mantri', here Mr. Chandrasekhkar our Party Secretary also describes himself as a "Mantri". How is a person who does not know Hindi to distinguish between the two 'Mantris'—one the Secretary and the other, the Minister. These, I suppose, my friends have never attended to. That is the difficulty which is being created now.

Another point I wish to say is about the three-language formula. The three language formula, like the three-year Degree course, has never been accepted all over India. The three-year Degree course has not been accepted by UP itself. The three language formula has not been accepted by Madras and it was modified in Bengal. The DMK Government has made it clear that they will accept only two languages—Tamil and English and even before them, the Congress Government there did the same thing. They virtually made it a two-language formula by making Hindi an optional subject. I put this question to the previous Education Minister, Mr. Chagla and he said that it was so in Madras and he could not help. In solving this three language formula in Bengal what was done?

The late Dr. B. C. Roy—Mr. Dange may hear this—stepped in and he alternated Hindi with Sanskrit as, according to him, there could be no language formula for boys where Sanskrit does not find a place. Now it is partly Hindi and partly Sanskrit. So, this three language formula will have to be clarified before it can be adopted.

I would like to make another humble submission. Take the use of the term 'Regional language'. That means nothing. It is a *Maya* to me. It appears a camouflage adopted to avoid facing difficulties that might crop up the moment the "State language" is used why does not the Government say "State language" in 'the three-language formula'? They would never say that I asked Dr. Shrimali to do it; I asked Mr. Chagla. Let them say clearly that the three-language formula means English, Hindi and a State language. They will not, because the moment 'State language' is used, such difficulties will crop up that even Government will fail to tackle them. That is why the three-language formula is being confused.

While I speak here, I cannot ignore the emotional upsurge that is taking place around us. To all those who are indulging in that emotional upsurge, I would make this appeal that an emotional upsurge cannot be translated or transformed into legislative provisions. They should remember that. The emotional upsurge can be exhibited outside but it cannot be fully transformed or translated into legislative provisions. I appeal to the leaders to explain these things to them.

In conclusion, I would appeal again, let bilingualism be allowed to remain. In the process of national integration, we have not up till now forged a new unity. So, let the unity that has already been achieved be not disrupted.

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN (Tiruchengode) : I thank you for giving me this opportunity to express the view of the DMK which is a sober group in this Parliament as well as outside.

We have been considering the proposals for a very long time. It is be-

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cause of the agitation in the south as well as the non-Hindi States that this Bill has been brought forward in this House on behalf of Government. Though this Bill is intended to satisfy the non-Hindi people in general and those who are not willing to accept Hindi as the sole official language of this country, yet because of certain modifications that are intended and certain amendments that have been given notice of by Members belonging to the Congress Party, they want to dilute this, and if that is the suggestion, naturally, the people belonging to the non-Hindi States will never be satisfied with this Bill. Even this Bill is not the object for which we fought when we were fighter against the sole imposition of Hindi, but we wanted a guarantee for the purpose by an amendment of the Constitution.

Sir, the Constitution was framed and adopted in 1950, by Members, I believe, who were selected and not elected, and those Members in those days were all in a single fold, namely the Congress fold; they were all followers of Gandhiji, and whatever he said was all right for them and they were all under the commandment of Pandit Nehru and in their view they found that Hindi would become the sole official language after some time and, therefore, they put forward that proposition in the form of an article in the constitution. But after 20 years, the next generation has come to Parliament, in my view. There are old people here, of course; I have got respect for them; I have respect for our great Kripalaniji, for our Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and for our great leaders who were there in the Constituent Assembly; some of them are here now. Yet, these are not the days of theirs. The time has changed and our views also have changed. But that does not mean that we have been always against the national movement or always against the national sentiments expressed or always against national integration. When we were in the school or college, we ourselves were in the Congress movement. My friends who are in the

Cabinet in Madras have been in the Congress, but it fell on us that to continue in Congress would be to destroy the linguistic right of the people of our State. Therefore, the cry started even in 1937 when Chakravarti Rajagopalachariar was the first Premier in Madras State, when he intended to propagate Hindi in schools; in those days, the grand old man Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy and many great scholars of Tamil Nad who knew Tamil Nad and the literature and the spirit behind it and the culture for which the Tamil language stood which no other language can compete with, fought against the imposition of Hindi in those days on the school boy. That fight of 1937 continued in 1947 also. Though the country got freedom there were people who had difference of views in regard to the proper achievement of freedom. Though freedom had come to the country and though our leader Shri C. N. Annadurai, the present Chief Minister of Madras State was very much praising the freedom, at the same time there were leaders who were not feeling happy about the freedom because they thought that they were under new fetters under the North Indian regime. The plea was that we are going to be more or less under conditions of a new slavery. Because of that, the anti-Hindi fight was going on there. In 1957 and continuously upto 1967 it has been there. The people are not willing to accept Hindi as the sole official language of this country, if they have to live in this country as equal citizens, equal with other people in this country.

We are not enamoured of English, I speak English because of necessity. Our great leader, Acharya Kripalani, spoke in English—not because he argued that Hindi will become the official and sole link language, but only may become—but because he correctly took the stand that he could convey his views to the younger generation only through English. Shri S. A. Dange began his speech in Hindi, but continued his arguments only in English.

I have great respect for these people who believe Hindi should be spread in this country, it should get some merit

in this country and should be given prestige in this country. But I do not want to be cowed down before Hindi imperialism in any shape or form. I want to make people understand this : whatever be the position of Hindi in this country, the same position should be given to our language, Tamil. As my friends from other linguistic regions will agree, Bengali, Marathi, all the regional languages should get equal opportunity and parity in this country. I welcome the suggestion that our languages should become the official languages of this country right up to the Centre. Till then the Hindi people should wait. If they want to take us with them, if they want to create confidence in us, if they feel that all belong to the same Bharat Mata, if our blood is the same as theirs, if our aim is the same, they should wait in order to accommodate us. You accommodate Tamil also with Hindi, you accommodate Telugu, you accommodate Kannada, you accommodate every other regional language which has to play the role of official language. The Indian Union is a Union of different States, different governments. Though the Central Government have got so much power, under within that, the State Governments are, to a certain extent, autonomous. If you want to respect that autonomy, you have to respect the status of the official languages of the States. If they in the Centre are so broadminded as Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, who very often used to tell me that 'we are all brothers, your culture and my culture are one'—I know his heart is as big as his size, things would be different. He accepts. But the Constitution does not accept. In the Constitution, you have given a place for Tamil only as a regional language included in the Eighth Schedule. But in the same Constitution, you have given a place for Hindi as the ruling language, as the official language. You wanted to take some 15 years in order to impose Hindi because you were not capable of doing it before 15 years. Hindi was not prepared enough. You have not developed it. They say that Hindi may not develop in another 15 years. I am very sorry for the state of

affairs. When the protagonists of Hindi take up this question of developing Hindi, they start fighting among themselves as to which Hindi is to be developed, whether it is to be on the lines of Hindustani, whether it has to be by borrowing words from Urdu, whether it has to be *khari boli* of Delhi-Meerut region whether it is to be *braj bhasha*, whether it has to have more and more loan from Sanskrit or from English or even from international languages and so on. To satisfy us, they say that even Tamil words could be taken in Hindi. We are not begging for that. We do not consider other languages to be in such a position that they should be used to borrow words from them and put in Hindi. If Hindi is to have natural growth, natural development and natural improvement, you have to wait. There is no other go.

If you want to impose Hindi, I say the Government will not be running in the same way as it runs at present. You will find it difficult. It is not a concession only to the non-Hindi people. To run the Government you have to use the English language. If you have any other goal, please tell me. Even U.P. is not fully manned by the people who know only Hindi, there are people who help them through English. Even in Bihar it is not complete Hindi, even in Rajasthan it is not complete Hindi. You are on trial ground, you are at an experimental stage. When you are at an experimental stage even at the level of the States, you think of imposing Hindi throughout India, for all India, even over the developed languages like Tamil and Bengali.

I have nothing against my Hindi friends personally, I have no hatred towards Hindi. If I had been schooled in those days completely in Hindi, I would have been one like them. I would like to inform the House that in the years 1934, 1935 and 1936, when I was 12 or 13 years old, because my father was a nationalist, working in the national movement, I read Hindi weekly for two hours, but it is a pity I have forgotten even the alphabet, because there is no use for such Hindi in our party of the country, but we were at

[Shri Anbazhagan]

least learning Hindi in the school stages. Can I find any leader of north India here, any leader of the Hindi region, who can speak Tamil, who can say that he has learnt Tamil? No, because it is the natural tendency. The North is North. As we usually say, U.P., Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, these parts of the country, are more or less considered the whole of India, the rest of India is only the rest of India which is not cared for at all, their culture is not cared for at all.

Kripalaniji, when he spoke, gave so many instances of great poets and other people who more or less took part in enriching Hindi for the sake of the masses. It is a fact, but there is no one who contributed to it from the southern part of the country; beyond the Vindhya, it is only the northern part of the country.

When you call Hindi as the common language, I am not very much bothered about it, it may be a common language in the true sense of the word in North India, but not in the South. If there are certain people who are speaking Hindi or Hindustani or Urdu in Hyderabad, if there are certain ordinary workers who are speaking them in Bangalore, it does not mean it has become a common language. Those people speak several languages including English. The *jatkawallahs* at Bangalore speak not only Hindi, they speak in English when they meet Mr. Frank Anthony. They speak Tamil, Kannada, any language. It does not matter. I would like to say by all these things do not presume that Hindi has become the common language of the country. Take it as a regional language, as a regional language for a greater area than any other language. Take it, for token's sake, as the national language of the country whenever you live in the foreign countries. When we go to America, even when we speak on behalf of India, we may not be able to speak in Tamil, we have to talk in Hindi or in their language, English. If we speak in Tamil, it is neither recognised as the national or official

language of this country, nor is it recognised as an international language at present, though at one time Tamil also was one of the international languages. Even now, in Singapore, in Malaya, in South Africa, in Ceylon, in Burma, Tamil is spoken, people are speaking there, but we have not got the recognition, but Hindi has the recognition because of the national movement, because the spearhead of the national movement were the leaders from the North, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and so many others. We had our own leaders in the same national movement. (*Interruptions*) I am not bothered about interruptions, I have seen such interruptions for a very long time, for the last 25 years. I am here to argue the case of the minorities, so to say. But actually we are not the minorities. We are the majority. Now, you find a clear picture: the Hindi section and the non-Hindi section. Earlier you found a division between the Hindi section and the Marathi and the Tamilians; between the Bengali and the Oriya people. You were able to demarcate it. Now, all the non-Hindi people and their leaders have been saying that they stand for the continuance of English.

What are the assurances given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri? What did those assurances mean? They were assurances for the continuance of English. What did they mean? It meant, on the day it was given, the continuance of English as it was before 1963. I can read to you....

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: Sardar Patel gave assurances about the privy purse. Is the hon. Member willing to have those assurances?

श्री शशिभूषण वाजपेयी: (सारगोन)
प्रीवी पर्स से लेकर इन को ट्रान्स्लेशन के बिना
देना देना ।

SHRI ANBAZHAGAN: I would like to read out the statement made by the late Lal Bahadur Shastri in connection with the Language Bill. The Bill before the House is a corollary of the

Language Bill of 1963. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons of the present Bill, it is written as follows :

"The Official Languages Act was enacted in May, 1963. Section 3 of the Act provides for the continued use of the English language, in addition to Hindi, for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before the 26th day of January, 1965."

It was used before the day of 26th January, 1965 for all purposes. Hindi had no room except as a token place. We may respect Hindi as our language. I have no fight against the claim to Hindi, but Hindi had no actual room. English was used as the official language and the Statement of Objects and Reasons itself clearly says that even the 1963 Bill provided for the continuance of English and the *status quo* was maintained as from that day. Now, again, we have to bring a Bill. For what purpose? The purpose is there, which Lal Bahadur Shastri stated. Lal Bahadur Shastri may not be considered by the people of Hindi region as one who had no passions for the Hindi language. He was a great patriot; not only a patriot but he was a Hindi protagonist for the purpose of supporting the cause of Hindi. I quote from what he said; I am quoting only from the Parliamentary debates. Lal Bahadur Shastri said on 23rd April, 1967 :

"It will be agreed to that enough precautions have been taken to dispel the misapprehensions which have often been mentioned and talked about. As regards clause 3 of the Bill—"

16.53 Hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

This is in regard to the 1963 Bill—

"I might further add that it will enable the use of English language for all official purposes of the Union. It makes it clear that there will be no disability attaching to English nor will there be any restrictions on its

use for the purpose of either the official work of the Union, inter-State communication and communication between the States and the Centre or for transaction of business in Parliament."

And there is something more. That is not the only thing that he said in the debate in Parliament on the Language Bill. What is envisaged here is—to borrow the phrase from the memorandum of the Madras Government, the then Madras Government which was not DMK government but the Congress government which was in doldrums, which submitted to the Official Language Commission, appointed by the President of India—"a prolonged bilingualism". "This means that while Hindi may be used progressively, there should be no restriction on the use of English as such." This was the declaration given to us. Lal Bahadur Shastri spoke those words here. But the spirit of the Bill is not kept by the Government. I have to charge the Government as well as the President's office for not keeping up the assurances and the sentiments of the Bill as far as it concerns the usage of the English language.

This is a card which is addressed to one DMK party member at Papanasam in Tanjore district; it is dated 20-8-1963. But with the help of Mr. Vajpayee only I was able to understand it because the numerals are also in Hindi, and not in the international form which is recognised by the Constitution. These numerals which are written here are not approved by the Constitution but yet they find a place in the card which was sent from the President's office to a person in Tamilnad. He wrote a letter only in English, but this reply is completely in Hindi. Only this sort of practice by the Government in those days caused the agitation in Tamilnad in 1965. The students did not fear about the political life or the leaders, but they feared about their own life as citizens of this country and they had enough causes to fear. Mr. Vajpayee and our socialist leaders may say, "Here also you find the agitation". But agitations

{Shri Anbazhagan}

are of two types. One is to terrorise the other people. The other is self-immolation. In Tamilnad, when our people found this sort of thing could not be tolerated, they poured petrol on themselves and set fire to their bodies. We think it is our fate and such things should not be adopted by anyone else. This is the sentiment expressed by our people when they could not tolerate the imposition of Hindi. Even after that, the assurance given to us is not kept up properly. Now you are bringing another Bill to amend the Official Languages Act which should be only for the purpose of satisfying the non-Hindi people, but actually while amending the Bill, you have put in some clauses to satisfy the Hindi people who want only Hindi more or less to thrive in this country.

Just all the people of this country should have equal citizenship, you should recognise all the languages of this country as equal. But here is a pamphlet written by a person to spread Hindi wherein it is said that all the people should learn Hindi alone for the purpose of attaining full citizenship of the country. That is a warning to the parents that if they do not educate their children in Hindi, they will lose full citizenship. What does it mean? It is some sort of a threat that we will be driven away to second-class citizenship. Is it necessary?

According to the assurances given by Shri Shastri and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, if you want the integration of the country to be preserved at all costs, you have to yield to the practical demands of the non-Hindi people. If the assurances are to be honoured, Government should come forward with an amendment of the constitutional provision concerning the official language. When they are not capable of amending the Constitution, if they are sincere in their purpose, at least if they pass this Bill without diluting its provisions further, we may be satisfied to a certain extent. Otherwise, if this Bill is not even passed in its present form and if it is diluted with an aversion towards English and with an intention to throw

out English before preparing Hindi sufficiently to occupy that seat properly, the non-Hindi people will never be satisfied. You have got to keep up the assurances given actually by Government during the proceedings of this Parliament and by that you have to make the people feel that their rights are not curtailed. Then only the people will be satisfied.

I want again to quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's assurance about the English language. He said :

"English should be considered as the mother-tongue of the Anglo-Indians and we will not make it more by putting it in the list."

He has assured the Anglo-Indian community that as the mother-tongue of that community which has got equal citizenship in the country, English will be recognised only to that extent. He refused to put English in the Eighth Schedule. But that is only an argument. What is the Eighth Schedule? The Eighth Schedule itself is in English. The Constitution itself is framed only in English and it was originally passed only in English. We had no other go. We may feel sorry for it. We may have translations in Hindi or Tamil. Mr. Chavan may say that it is an authoritative translation.

17 Hrs.

I accept the translation, but the authority for purposes of court is only in English. Therefore, even if you do not include English in the Eighth Schedule English is there. Though the spirit of it is Indian the body of it is English. Therefore, English is not a foreign language. But I plead only for Tamil. Till the time comes when you accept Tamil as co-official language with Hindi, English should continue and the *status quo* should remain. Progressive introduction of Hindi in the officialdom of this country will only harm this country. Therefore, if the people are tactful, if those who are in power feel the mind of the people, they should not impose Hindi as they like. They may encourage Hindi for some more time.

They may develop it. But till then English should be the sole official language and should be continued like that till our languages are also accepted as official languages of the Union.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA (Bangalore) : Sir, I have been listening to speeches made on the floor of this House and reading statements issued outside. On this question of language, as many hon. Members have admitted, we are more influenced by emotion and sometimes by self-interest. If I come from one area I hold a particular view. If I come from another area I hold a different view. The views on language and on some other fundamental matters, we find, are expressed in such a way that the pattern of opinion in the House cuts across parties and sometimes the political ideologies which we profess. I would appeal to the House to make a scientific and historical approach instead of an emotional and self-interest approach.

When people from Hindi areas argue vehemently that Hindi is the national language, it cannot be taken without a pinch of salt—nor is the other proposition. In my State we have got about 2½ crores of people speaking Kannada. But the Kannada spoken in the southern part is a little different from what is spoken in the northern part. So it is in Tamilnad. What is spoken in Kanyakumari is not necessarily the same as spoken in the borders of Chittoor District. Therefore, language changes. I put it in the scientific formula : language changes in two dimensions : it changes in space and it changes in time. What language we spoke in our own villages hundred years or two hundred years ago is not the same as we do now. Shri Dange has made it perfectly clear that what language we Indians spoke about 500 or 600 years ago is not the same as it is now. Therefore, if you look at it from the scientific point of view, languages, whether it be Hindi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Kannada, English or any other language in the world, are subject to this law that changes take place in two dimensions. That scientific law is having its operation in India also because of historical background.

We had a kind of *lingua franca* in Sanskrit to begin with. Then we had the Persian language. Then, without our asking for it, the English people came and their language became the official language of India. Now, people have come to their own after independence, and it is time that we evolved our own language. Therefore, for anybody to feel that Tamil should be the national language, or Hindi should be imposed on the rest of the country, is a false proposition; it would not work. That is why a clause has been incorporated in the Constitution—I was one of the members of the Constituent Assembly—that the Hindi to be evolved must be such as to be in consonance with the ideas, words and phraseology of other Indian languages. Ultimately, a language will grow in India which may be called Hindi, which may be mostly Hindi, which will evolve itself into a national language. Though the Constitution only says, as my friend, Shri Bhattacharyya has pointed out, of an official language, I want a time to come when the official language will also be the national language. I want that evolution to take place and Hindi should grow to the stature of a national language.

Now, look at the picture of India. The Jan Sangh and SSP friends have created an intolerable situation in most towns and cities by pressing their claim for Hindi to the exclusion of all other languages. Let them, especially the members of the Jan Sangh think for a moment. Whenever they advocate the idea of Akhand Bharat, I must admit, that I experience a kind of thrill whenever I hear this word. I want this country to have this spirit and the frame of that great inspirational word "Akhand Bharat". But, look at the map of Akhand Bharat. Let us start with Kanyakumari. At Kanyakumari not only two seas but also two languages, Tamil and Malayalam, meet and there are about 6 crores of people. If you go further north, there is Andhra and Karnataka; together they form another 6 crores of people. If you go further up, you have Maharashtra and Orissa, forming another 6 crores to 7 crores.

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

Then, if you go to the East, Assam and Bengal have another 6 crores of people. If you go west, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Punjab have more than 6 crores of people. So, you will see that the whole of India is non-Hindi-speaking, excepting for a central portion called Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and a little piece of Haryana.

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam) : India, that is Bharat, that is UP.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : If you take the area and population, in the context of Urdu-speaking people in the whole of India not being counted as Hindi-speaking people, you will see that the population whose mother tongue is Hindi, never mind what variety, will get reduced to about 20 crores; it may be even less, in a population of 50 crores. In area also it is not more than 30 per cent.

My Hindi friends should realise that when this huge majority of people concede that Hindi should be the link language, and some of us go to the extent of conceding that it should be ultimately the national language they should be overwhelmingly satisfied with it and should make every kind of accommodation available to the non-Hindi-speaking people. And when I see the demonstrations in Allahabad, in Lucknow and other places, I feel pity for the short-sightedness of those people who create this agitation.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about Madras ?

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : In Madras there is no agitation; in Mysore there is no agitation. In no other State or town is there any agitation on this Bill except in a few towns of UP and one or two places in Bihar. These *Akhand Bharat* people, let them have proper perspective. *Akhand* does not mean any *khand*. All *khands* together constitute *Akhand*. When the rest of the people have conceded that there should be a link language, that it should be Hindi, it is a magnanimous gesture by the non-Hindi-speaking people, who are in a majority in this country.

If you bargain and if you try to belittle the achievement of a consensus on a national language, you will be charged that you took a parochial outlook and the line of self-interest. That is why the previous Prime Ministers, having been great leaders took the whole of India in their perspective, and were able to see that the best way was to see that all people are satisfied and agreed on the proposition of the national language.

My friends blame the English language. They condemn it. They call it the language of slavery. But I have been an old Congressman and you also have been an old Congressman. All the presidential addresses for the last 85 years have been in English. We derived inspiration from the famous books and literature in order to fight our battle for independence. Many of them were English books. My hon. friend, Shri Dange, was playing to the gallery.

श्री शशि भूषण बाजपेयी : मौलाना आज़ाद और सुभाष चन्द्र बोस आदि ने हिन्दुस्तानी में अपने एड्रेसिस दिये थे :

AN HON. MEMBER : What about Kamaraj ?

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : Kamaraj did not make speeches at all; do not worry about it.

My hon. friend, Shri Dange, was decrying the English language forgetting that Marx and Engels from whom he derives inspiration and who are his gurus, did not write in Hindi or in any one of the other languages..... (Interruption).

AN HON. MEMBER : Marx did not write in English.

श्री रवि राय (पुरी) : उन्होंने जर्मन भाषा में लिखा :

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : I do not know.

Therefore let us not decry English; let us not abuse it in order to see that

some people feel pleased, and therefore we will be able to get their votes. That is not the approach that we should make.

I place the proposition in very simple terms. If I want to come from my house to Parliament, I use my car; if I want to go to, say, Bombay, I may use either a plane or a train—we are not very rich; so, mostly we go by train. But if we want to go to London, we use a plane. What is the point in quarrelling and saying that travelling in a car is better or worse than travelling in a plane or a train? It is according to circumstances and requirements.

So, when we are in our States, we use our mother-tongue, that is, the State language; when we come for all-India purposes, let us use Hindi and when we go for international conferences, let us use English. As there should be no quarrel or getting excited about the use of different modes or vehicles according to the distance, no wise man should get excited about a language being used for a particular purpose.

I shall quote Mahatma Gandhi, not for the purpose of this language issue. The ideal that he has placed before the country is this. He himself drafted the resolution when the Quit India Movement was launched and the AICC adopted that famous resolution at Bombay. He envisaged provincial autonomy for the State, federation for India and a world government for the world. He has written clearly that there will be no abolition of war, no permanent peace on earth, unless there is one world Government.

Science and travel facilities are making this world smaller and it is converting the whole of humanity almost into a family. If you are true to the ideal placed before us by Mahatma Gandhi, so far as our State purpose are concerned, we have to learn our mother-tongue, for all-India purposes Hindi and for international purposes English. English has become an international language and there is no doubt about it. If some people want to decry the English lan-

guage, I can only tell them, go and attend the conference Shri Gajendra-gadkar has called on obscurantism. That is the proper place for them to debate this point. Merely because we are able to play upon the baser feelings of the people, even as the film people may play upon sex, inciting people to do this and that, it is neither patriotic nor a good way of life.

I appeal to Jan Sangh people, in particular. They are a very strong, patriotic, determined set of people. They should not go away with the idea that their political arena is only in the Hindi area. They have got people to think like them in other parts of the country. They will also see that if they adopt this particular course, they will remain like Peter Pan who will never grow. I do not want them to be the Peter Pan who will never grow.

So far as the S.S.P. is concerned, I am sorry to say, whenever there is trouble, it is their hayday. They think trouble-making, trouble-raising and trouble-inciting is their profession.

श्री रवि राय : आप बिल ला कर टूबल पैदा करते हैं ।

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : I am not making an irresponsible statement. We read in the papers that tomorrow two S.S.P. Ministers are coming to Delhi to court arrest in the demonstration that they are to stage against this Bill. The Ministers are the people who are expected to influence the Central Government by discussion, by correspondence and by having conferences. If these Ministers walk into the Streets in order to participate in the demonstration, I can only describe that position in the form of a proverb in my own language.

बेली यदु ह्रीला मेदा हागे ।

If the fence intended to protect the field, itself eats up the crop, what is the use of having the fence? If the Ministers, whether of S.S.P. or of any other Party, instead of exercising the power conferred upon them by the Constitution...

श्री रवि राय : सत्ता की खातिर न, भादशं की खातिर आ रहे हैं ।

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : If these Ministers on whom the Constitution and the people have conferred power to formulate policies and implement policies walk into the streets, they will be nothing better than the agitators and they will never be the Ministers.

Sir, I want the Opposition parties to form the Government one day. I am one of those who have the faith that democracy will run on even keel when there are two parties, well formed, organised, to take governmental responsibility alternatively. All the trouble that has arisen in India, in the political arena, is because of the imbalance of us being in power all the time and with no hope of others getting into power.

In Varanasi, there is a literary organisation called *Nagri Parcharni Sabha* and the General Secretary of the Sabha has written a letter in Hindi to all of us. I have got it translated. He writes, Sir, 'The passing of such a Bill (the Bill under discussion) would definitely be an insult to the people's free voice and a murder of the Constitution'. Is this the language to be used by a literary association? Literature means the quintessence of culture. I expect these Hindi enthusiasts to use forceful but dignified language and not the kind of language which they have used in this letter. And if some Hindi pandits have renounced their titles, it is rightly done, because they are all-India titles given by the President. Since these pandits confine themselves to a particular area, they may have felt that they did not deserve the all-India awards !

Some people spoke of the quota system so that the Hindi-speaking people may have equal advantage with non-Hindi speaking people, because they think that somehow the Madras people and the Bengal people have a better advantage in English. Very good, Sir. I will concede this quota system. Let it be done. After all, we have to give equal opportunity and it is enshrined in our Constitution. If the people,

wherever they are, get equal opportunities, it is good. But let it be extended to the political arena also. The highest and the most powerful office created by the Constitution is that of the Prime Minister and this must be given by rotation to every State. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SEZHIYAN : It is the monopoly of U.P.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : A great gesture India showed, this Parliament showed and this House showed in selecting our successive Prime Ministers solely from Hindi-speaking areas and in particular from the some town of Allahabad, has it been properly appreciated by the people of Allahabad who are staging demonstrations in a violent manner ?

SHRI RAJARAM : Kamaraj has committed a blunder.

SHRI SEZHIYAN : Whatever he speaks, he speaks with authority.

SHRI RABI RAY : Against his own leader ?

SHRI SEZHIYAN : But he is speaking the truth.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA : As you know, let me straightaway tell the House that I do not want to take advantage of any Party position and plead blindly for a particular cause. My age and experience have made me to speak whatever is true according to me (*Interruptions*) and if some people or the other feel dissatisfied, they will one day see what I said was right.

I want full integration and evolution of national language in the true spirit. That will be when Hindi people likewise feel in all sincerity. They have a majority in the political arena, and with a little majority it is possible to manipulate. When they see to it that this office of Prime Ministership goes to south, north, east and west—it is only I prophesy—it is only when a non-Hindi man becomes the Prime Minister of India, Hindi will become the national language. He will have the necessary

advantage. He will have the necessary support for that purpose.

English has become very dear to us not because we asked for it. As one of our friends said, when we were young we had no choice. Our parents sent us to English schools. Whatever we learnt when we were young, became our language and our vehicle of thought. This simple proposition is not seen by some Hindi leaders. I pleaded with them several times in the Advisory Committee. If they had established one Hindi University in Madras, one Hindi University in Trivandrum and another in Bangalore with medium of instruction in Hindi—mind you, not the regional language—if they had established these Central Universities in every non-Hindi State in these 20 years, there would have been students, thousands in number, who would have pleaded for Hindi as some of us are now pleading for English. But all the Central universities have been located only in North India. The other day, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri urged the Education Minister to have the Jawaharlal Nehru University in the south. But Government would not budge an inch because they are very powerful and they want to have it in Delhi.

I am alarmed at the picture of India. The other day, as chairman of the Punjab Reforms Commission I wanted to listen to the debate that was taking place on a particular subject in the Punjab Assembly. When I went there I found Members speaking in Urdu or Punjabi and I could not follow a word of it. If a Punjabi goes to Madras, he will not be able to follow the proceedings of the Assembly there. Except in the Hindi region we find that we shall be strangers in our country, whether it be in Madras or Andhra Pradesh or Bengal or Assam. This is an alarming picture. None of us takes notice of it.

If the proposition that is sponsored by Shri S. A. Dange is accepted, it will create confusion. Therefore, I want Hindi ultimately to be a language which will be spoken even in the States and in the Assemblies in the States. But we have to wait for the time. Until

that time, let us have this bilingual pattern. That is the essence of the Bill that has been placed before the House.

This is not a permanent measure. It is not as permanent as the Ramayana or the Mahabharata and the Bible. This is a temporary arrangement that English will continue to operate and will continue to be used until the next generation or the one coming after that is in a position to transact business in Parliament, in Government and in the market only in Hindi.

Instead of evolving simple formulas and points we complicate it to the extent of abusing one another, beating one another and throwing stones and brick-bats at one another.

Before I conclude, I would like to read out a poem which I have myself written in Hindi. The reason why I am referring to it and saying this is this. Years ago, one day, Prime Minister Nehru and I were having lunch together. He asked me whether I had learnt Hindi. I replied 'Please learn Kannada, then I shall also learn Hindi'. I told him further 'If you just begin to learn another language you will understand the difficulty.' Let Shri A. B. Vajpayee and let any one of our friends including Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani learn Tamil and speak that language here; if they try to learn that language here, then they will no more argue on this point.

Even the great Dr. Rajendra Prasad who spoke for the three-language formula had neither the time nor the inclination to learn a third language and speak it. Even Acharya Vinoba Bhave who went to Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nad and Mysore could only learn the alphabets and was never able to speak in those languages. And yet my hon. friends here ask some of us, ignorant people, not so intelligent people, not so efficient people, to learn that language and make a speech in Parliament. We shall never be on terms of equality with them if we begin to speak in a language that we have now to learn. It may be good enough for market purposes, but it cannot be good enough for parliamentary purposes.

[Shri Hanumanthaiya]

But I became a convert to Hindi by an accident. One day, I went to a book shop in Connaught Place. There I saw three volumes on Tulsī Ramayana having been translated by an Englishman by name Rev. Atkinson. I purchased those three volumes as it had been translated very well in what is called blank verse. Then I read four or five stanzas and I became so impressed with the language, the meaning and the formulas that I at once said to myself, 'here is a language which deserves to be learnt'. Subsequently, I have been trying to learn Hindi. A language that contains a masterpiece like Tulsidas Ramayana is no ordinary language. All my obstinacy which endured for about twenty years, became a thing of the past in a minute when I read Tulsidas Ramayana. Shri Dange not knowing the worth of the Ramayana parodied it in his own socialistic language. If he reads it through and through, may be he will become a democrat and join Congress.

MR. SPEAKER : Let us have the Hindi poem Now.

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA :

दक्षिण मेरा उत्तर तेरा,
पर भारत है एक हमारा,
है ऐसा अपना प्यारा,
जैसे गंग-जमुन की घारा,
संसोपा है अलग विचारा,
जनसंघ क्रीची आग का मारा ।

SHRI SEZHIYAN : This is the best point he got from Tulsidas Ramayana.

SHRI RAJARAM : Hanumantha Ramayana !

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : I was really quite distressed until I heard the hon. Member, Shri Hanumanthaiya, speak today. I have just returned to Delhi. What happened in Delhi and in the Lok Sabha last week I have been reading only through the newspapers, and I must say that it made most distressing reading.

I really fear that there is a creeping paralysis that is coming over the minds

of all of us. Here is a House of 520 people and it is indeed gratifying to find at least somebody in the shape of Shri Hanumanthaiya who has spoken just now (*Interruption*). What he has said is something worth thinking about.

What is it we are trying to do today ? Surely, we are not trying to decide as to what language should be spoken. This is not the purpose of discussing this Bill all these hours. Surely our first concern should be about the unity of this country. Surely, our greatest endeavour should be towards creating a national consciousness. Surely we should be thinking about the happiness of the people or the progress and development of the country—and not about a language. What the hell is language anyway but merely a means of communication ?

But it looks as if the wrath of God has descended on us. It did many years ago, when in order to cure a people of their pride, He made them build the Tower of Babel. Apparently the Lord in His wisdom has cast His wrath upon us by making us build this Parliament and indeed this Lok Sabha so that 520 people—now only 519 because I agree with what the previous speaker said—can talk at cross purposes with one another in varying languages not with an endeavour to put across their message but merely to assert themselves that 'this shall be the rule or the law.' I think that this creeping paralysis has come about this country through various reasons, but the most damning reason of all is that the values in this country have over the last 20 years depreciated to such an extent that the only virtue today that is recognised by everybody is to be poor, or to be oppressed, and now it is sought to add a third value in the form of ignorance. What is happening today particularly on the language question is that we are trying to create a nation of ignorance, a nation of morons if you like to call it, because we refuse to recognise that language is merely for communication, it has nothing to do with pride, national pride or any other type of pride or vanity.

It is very easy and facile as, I think, Mrs. Sushila Nayar said that, one nation must have one language. It is so easy to say it.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur) : She is not Mrs. This is the unkindest cut of all.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I do not know about the marital status of Members as well as Mr. Nath Pai. Next time I will have him sit next to me.

SHRI NAMBIAR : We cannot discuss the problem in the absence of Miss Nayar.

SHRI PILOO MODY : What has happened is that no one seems to recognise that language in this country is a problem. It is a very serious problem. It must be a problem if you have 16 major languages and 250 dialects, no matter in what way you look at it or by what standards you judge it. It is a problem in this country, and it has to be faced as a problem, and, therefore, solved as a problem, and not merely wished away by making pretty little formulas such as we will write to you a letter in Hindi, and you will reply in your regional language plus English and enclose a translation in Tamil !

Shri Prakash Vir Shastri gave a very reasoned, well-argued case why Hindi should be the national language, and we have had Mr. Dange who thinks that the only language worth anything is the language in which revolutionary literature has been written ! And then we have others like Mr. Anthony who, I think, is going to follow me, and Mr. Limaye who thinks he has a formula for every circumstance, and everything in this country, and Seth Govind Das. I do not want to say anything about him, he is entitled to his views at that age.

But having destroyed a generation in this country by conducting dangerous experiments in economics, we are now launching on another round, which will destroy another generation by propounding fanciful, if not whimsical theories on language.

We have witnessed, of late, a rather sorry spectacle all over the country, in the activities of students in Banaras, Lucknow and I believe even in Delhi. I would like to know who instigates these children of 12 and 15 ? Who are the people who instigate them ? Because I cannot find words strong enough in condemnation of the conduct of these people.

I give you an example. My wife was in Agra two or three days ago. Little, twelve-fifteen year old students, surrounded the car, started rocking it, wanted to smear mud and colour over the number plates and even over that little patch that all M.Ps. have on their cars. They said, "do it in Hindi". This is the sort of mentality which is being instigated. Surely there are certain people who are behind this. I refuse to believe that these are the acts of innocent children.

The unity of India should be our first and only concern, and no man, no group of people, no idea, no government, no opposition party, no religious sect or linguistic group, should be allowed to tamper with our unity and solidarity as a nation. To achieve this, if it is necessary to change the Constitution, let us change it; let us all stand as one man to change the Constitution. And if it is necessary to throw the Government out, let us throw the Government out; if it is necessary to put people in jail, let us put people in jail.

SHRI NAMBIAR : While saying that, why do you look at us ?

SHRI PILOO MODY : It must be my sub-consciousness. (*Interruption*) Let us examine our history. A lot has been said and many people have been quoted and our friend Shri Dange thinks that if he waves his hand and talks about history, he will necessarily quote it. Unfortunately the history of our country is very closely tied and entwined with the English language. Let him read Macaulay; let him read what Raja Ram Mohan Roy had said; let him read what Tilak stated; let him read what Gandhiji said. (*Interruption*)

एक माननीय सदस्य : गांधी जी ने जो कहा वह पढ़ो ।

SHRI PILOO MODY : English was introduced in this country as a medium of instruction as far back as 1835, and who imposed English? Not Englishmen, who were against it. It was we who demanded it; it was we Indians who demanded that English should be taught, because we wanted British institutions, which is what this Parliament is; because we wished British ideas of freedom and fundamental rights which is the system under which we function. It is because we wanted the safeguards to a democratic government. And that is why we learnt English; we demanded it and we got it. And now we have puny little minds demanding that this language should be thrown away; that we should all wipe away 200 years of our history. Is it because we suffer from an inferiority complex? It is no more than an inferiority complex which says that English is a foreign language in India. It is as much Indian as it is in England itself.

Apart from that, what is English? (*Interruption*). English is a language that is universally accepted on the high seas. Russian ships talk English; Chinese ships talk English; and even your Hindi ships will have to speak English on the high seas if you want to survive on the high seas.

As far as airports are concerned, every airport is required to speak English. Every pilot is required to speak English, because when he comes to make a safe landing, he cannot afford the luxury of linguistic chauvinism.

17.43 Hrs.

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

I was delighted to see the hoarding that Air India International has put up, which says, that "I have a hundred offices in six continents, but I speak three regional languages : English, English and English." Our stature in the world, our acceptability as a great nation, our counsel and wisdom in international gatherings and our predomi-

nant position in the Commonwealth,—even Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon's speeches at the United Nations were delivered in English; who would have cared to hear what Mr. Krishna Menon had to say, if he had spoken either in Hindi or in Malayalam—were all because of English. It is for that reason that I would like to urge everybody that English is an asset, and this is a fact. To destroy it is unnatural and antinational. If I have so far given you the impression that I am in favour of—

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member should address the Chair and not address the audience.

SHRI PILOO MODY :—English or the retention of English, I would like to withdraw that impressions. I want to point out that even at the United Nations where they have almost 200 countries represented, there are only five national languages. They happen to be English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese. This requires that there should be 25 simultaneous translations at the UN. With all the affluence of the UN, it could afford only 25 simultaneous translations. But in the Indian Parliament, with 16 major languages, if we are to satisfy not merely those who make a noise but all, we would require 256 simultaneous translations. I would like to correct Mr. Dange on that point. At least on mathematics, we cannot argue. I would particularly like to refer to my friend, Mr. Patel, who always speaks in Kannada that I have no sympathy for him, because he knows both Hindi and English and therefore does not have to put the strain on this House that he does by speaking in Kannada. However, there are many members in this House who do not understand either English or Hindi and for those people, no amount of money that you spend would be sufficient. What you should do is to give them every type of encouragement and opportunity and facility. I would be in favour of that, but not for my friend, Mr. Patel.

SHRI NATH PAI : Every type of facility for what?

SHRI PILOO MODY : For listening to the debate. It would be worth analysing what are the groups who rake up all this trouble. There are firstly those who believe in the perverse theory of destruction. They start with this premise that English must be destroyed, whatever may come in its place. There are others who feel that the best place to attack English is the public school. I think we have a friend in the House somewhere who was very keen on discarding public schools. Nobody is bothered about education after all; it is the language that has to carry the day.

Then, there are those whom we loosely define as Hindiwalas, but they come from various categories. There are those who believe in one nation, one language. There are those diehard Sanskrit scholars. There are others who think that if Hindi was made the national language, they would become the new elite. There are those who think—they are quite genuine—that since there is a constitutional provision, we must implement it. I agree, but if the constitutional provision is inoperable, then the Constitution must be changed.

Let us analyse the claims of these Hindiwalas. Their first claim is that it is the language spoken by the maximum number of people—true, but sometimes they trip and call it by a majority of people. If you look up the 1961 census, you will find that 27 per cent of the people speak Hindi. This figure has been boosted by a series of manipulations to come to about 43 per cent. It is not a majority even then. If one were to analyse these figures, one would find that all Urdu-speaking Hindus and those who speak Punjabi, Rajastani, Sindhi, Bihari, Bojpuri, etc. are all clubbed into this category. If any evaluation was possible, if one was serious about studying facts (*interruptions*) if one would only keep quiet and listen for a moment, one would come to the very sad conclusion that amongst those people who can read Hindi in this country there are probably only 3.5 million. This is the sad story. And, if you go further you will find that it is only 0.7 per cent of the population of this country who can read Hindi. If you were to look at

what the Registrar of Newspapers has to say, he says that there are only 8.9 per cent people. . . . (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Order, order. Let the hon. Member have his say.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Bombay South) : Why should he tell a lie.

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR (Quilon) : He has a right to say what he wants to say.

SHRI SEZHIYAN : Sir, this kind of interruptions cannot be tolerated.

श्री जार्ज फर्नेन्डिस : ये गलत कह रहे हैं ।
झूट इन को नहीं बोलना चाहिए । एक दम
गलत कह रहे हैं ।

श्री निहाल सिंह (चन्दौली) : गलत कह
रहे हैं । झूट इनको नहीं बोलना चाहिए ।

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR : Everybody speaks lie here, including ministers.

SHRI NAMBIAR : Sir, if it is *Jute* from Calcutta, it has to be exported. What has *Jute* to do with the Bill here ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : If hon. Members have to say anything, when their party spokesmen speak they will get an opportunity to contradict his facts. Why are hon. Members so much perturbed and agitated, I cannot understand.

SHRI V. KRISHNAMOORTHY (Cuddalore) : Shouting is no substitute for argument (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PILOO MODY : I was just quoting some figures, and I was going to apologize to my friend, but I was not given an opportunity. I was saying that out of the Malayalam-speaking people 8.9 per cent, out of Gujarati-speaking people 6.3 per cent, out of the Bengali-speaking people 3.3 per cent and out of the Hindi-speaking people 2.6 per cent read Hindi. Here are the figures that I have collected. If there

[Shri Piloo Mody]
is any doubt or dispute about them, if there are any flaws in my arguments... (Interruptions)

श्री मधु लिमये : क्या मोदी मैनुफैक्चरिंग कम्पनी में ये आंकड़े बने हैं ?

SHRI PILOO MODY : Sir, you will understand how weak a case these people have, if they cannot even counter wrong statistics. After all, it is very easy to correct them. If I have said something that is wrong, I would like to be corrected. But, instead of sitting across the table and discussing or arguing, they want to shout me down. I am afraid they have a very weak case. So, this is the only way they can go about it.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : May I suggest to Shri Mody that the number of people who know reading and writing is different from the number of people who speak a language? The number of people who speak a language is quite different. So, he is really trying to confuse the issue.

SHRI PILOO MODY : No, Sir. I thank Acharyaji for what he has said. But I am making it specifically clear that I am referring to those people who read it; that is why I emphasised the fact of "reading".

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He should conclude in two minutes.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Sir, there were so many interruptions.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That is all right. But he will have to conclude now.

SHRI PILOO MODY : If you like, I will continue tomorrow. I want ten minutes. Our party has time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I will give you one minute today and the rest tomorrow, provided of course there is no other speaker from your party and you want to exhaust the entire time.

SHRI PILOO MODY : No, Sir, not the entire time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : If you are continuing tomorrow. I must fore-

warn you that it will exhaust the time of your party.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Sir, we have still time at our disposal, I started at 5.35 p.m.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : So far as the statistics about time is concerned, he may leave it to me.

SHRI PILOO MODY : In my humble opinion, what we are trying to do here is just not possible. If they want to impose Hindi, it will have to be an imposition; it can be done through conquest or through civil war. The Russians did it. Even though it may be odious to my friend, Shri Dange, in Russia 55 per cent of the people spoke Russian; there were, besides, 22 nationalities and 50 ethnic groups. Stalin bragged that in order to make Russian the national language of the country they will have to eliminate 10 million people. If I were to use the same calculus in trying to figure out how many people will have to be eliminated in India the figure is staggering; it goes to something like 30 million people who will have to be eliminated if one language is to be installed as the national language today.

श्री शशि भूषण बाजपेयी : ये अंग्रेजी के गुलाम रहे हैं। ये क्या कह रहे हैं? क्या आप इस तरह की बातें कहने की इजाजत देंगे?

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : जिस तरह की चीज ये कह रहे हैं इससे देश में गलत इम्प्रेशन बनेगा। ये देश के इमेज को खराब न करें। ये जो कंट्री का इमेज बना रहे हैं वह बहुत गलत है। हिन्दी के खिलाफ बोलें, यह उनको अधिकार है। लेकिन जो इमेज दे रहे हैं वह गलत है। मारने की जो बात इन्होंने कही है वह मनगढ़ंत है।

श्री शशि भूषण बाजपेयी : ये इन शब्दों को वापिस लें। देश में लोग मारे जाएंगे जो हिन्दी नहीं पढ़ेंगे, यह जो इन्होंने कहा है, इसको यह वापिस लें।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Do you want to conclude now?

SHRI PILOO MODY : I will take 18.00 Hrs.
another five minutes.

SUGAR POLICY*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Then he may continue tomorrow.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I will conclude this one proposition now and then continue tomorrow. What I would like to say is, today in terms of imposing a language in a country....

श्री प्रेम चंद वर्मा : ये सिविल वार्ड की बात क्यों करते हैं ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He should try to conclude.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Is it possible to say the concluding sentence on this proposition with all these people shouting ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have warned him earlier to address the chair. He is not supposed to counter-argue with them. If he wants to conclude today, let him say the concluding sentence right now. Because, the time for this business is up and we have to take up another business.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I will conclude tomorrow..... (Interruption)

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : The number of people who can speak Hindi is 35 million and not 35 lakhs and of those who can read and write Hindi is 70 millions and not 70 lakhs, corresponding number of the people who can read and write English.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Better the hon. Member should meet him and discuss the figure. This is not the place to discuss and counter the argument that he has made.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : May I suggest that if the Government has a right to give perverse and false figures, he has a perfect right to give false figures.

श्री स्वतन्त्र सिंह कोठारी (मंदसीर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सदन की भावनाओं का खयाल रखते हुए हिन्दी में बोलने की चेष्टा करूंगा। मैं पूर्णतया हिन्दी के पक्ष में हूँ। हिन्दी हमारी राष्ट्रीय भाषा है और मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि वह हमारे देश में अपना उचित स्थान प्राप्त कर लेगी। जो लोग हिन्दी के विरुद्ध हैं, वे भी हिन्दी फ़िल्म जरूर देखते हैं, यह बात सब लोग जानते हैं। मुझे पता नहीं कि फिर भी वे हिन्दी का इतना विरोध क्यों करते हैं।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह सरकार जिस चीज को भी छूती है, वह कड़वी हो जाती है। यदि इस के हाथ में अमृत भी बांटने के लिए दे दिया जाए, तो वह भी कड़वा हो जाएगा। यह खेद की बात है कि चीनी इस के हाथ में चली गई है, जिस का परिणाम यह है कि आज चीनी का विषय सब के लिए बड़ा कड़वा हो गया है। जैसे जैसे यह सरकार अपनी नीतियाँ बदलती जाती है, वैसे वैसे चीनी की मात्रा में कमी होती जाती है और उस की कीमत बढ़ती जाती है।

कुछ समय पूर्व, 1962-63 में, चीनी की कीमत 1 रुपए 2 आने प्रति-किलोग्राम थी, जो कि आज बढ़ कर 1 रुपए 76 पैसे हो गई है। ओपन मार्केट में जो चीनी मिल रही है, उसके दाम पांच रुपए से सात, आठ रुपए तक पहुँच गए हैं। इसकी तुलना में चीनी की अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कीमत 20 पौंड पर टन हो गई है, यानी करीब 36 पैसे पर-किलोग्राम। कहां इस देश में चीनी का दाम पांच से सात रुपए प्रति-किलो-ग्राम है और कहां उसकी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय कीमत 36 पैसे प्रति-किलोग्राम है।

1965-66 में चीनी का उत्पादन 35 लाख टन था, जब कि 1966-67 में वह केवल