

acting Formula and the Title stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted*

*Clauses 2 to 9, Schedules I and II, Clause 1, Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.*

DR. FARAN SINGH: With your permission, I want to refer to this point. He mentioned the question of bulk payment of compensation. It is very difficult; if somebody loses a suit-case and he says he had watches, clocks, gold, jewellery, etc. in that, how is it possible for any airline to take unlimited responsibility of, that nature? Anybody who travels should enter into separate agreement with the insurance company against the losses, that is my suggestion. The airlines will have to go by this sort of the rule of the thumb. Otherwise there will be no end to claims.

I move—

"That the Bill be passed".

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill be passed"

*The motion was adopted.*

14.32 hrs.

**MOTION RE: TWELFTH REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR LINGUISTIC MINORITIES**

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI F. H. MOHSIN):** I beg to move:

"That this House do consider the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the period 1st July, 1969 to 30th June, 1970, laid on the Table of the House on the 12th April, 1972".

The Indian society is a multi-linguistic society. The framers of our Constitution rightly felt the need for incorporating in our Constitution a Comprehensive scheme for giving necessary

protection to the linguistic minorities so that they develop a sense of security and are in a position to conserve and develop their own script and language. Articles 29, 30, 347, 350 and 350A of the Constitution have a direct bearing on the safeguards for the linguistic minorities. The last article was introduced into the Constitution to give further safeguards to the linguistic minorities in the matter of instructions in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups in the light of recommendations made by the States Reorganisation Commission.

From time to time decisions have been taken at the national level and specially in the meetings of the Chief Ministers and the Central Ministers held in August 1961 to evolve specific schemes for safeguarding the interest of linguistic minorities in the matter of educational and administrative facilities. As a result of these decisions a scheme of safeguards has emerged and it is the duty of every State Government and the Union Territory Administration to make administrative arrangements for implementing the scheme.

In accordance with Article 350B of the Constitution, the office of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities was set up in 1957. The main functions of the Commissioner are to investigate in accordance with the provisions of Article 350B(2) all matters relating to safeguards provided for linguistic minorities and to report to President upon these matters at such intervals as the President may direct. The Commissioner prepares annual reports regarding implementation of Constitutional safeguards as also safeguards agreed to at the national level for the linguistic minorities. The Commissioner also receives complaints from the linguistic minorities and takes up the matter with the concerned State Governments for remedial action. However, the Commissioner is not

(Shri F. H. Mohsin.)

an executive agency and the main responsibility for implementing the agreed safeguards is that of State Governments. The reports of the Commissioner are welcome in as much as they give an accurate and impartial account of the position of facilities that have been assured to be provided to the linguistic minorities. As the deficiencies in this regard are highlighted in the report State-wise, these have been of great help to the State Governments and enable them to devise ways and means to solve the problems of linguistic minorities to their satisfaction.

Up till now 12 reports have been laid on the table of both the Houses of Parliament. The Twelfth Report has been placed on the Table of the House on 12th April, 1972. With a view to discussing this report, I move this motion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

"That this House do consider the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the period 1st July, 1969 to 30th June, 1970, laid on the Table of the House on the 12th April, 1972."

There are substitute motions. I am calling the names. If they are present, they can move it. Mr. Frank Anthony—absent. Shri Tribh Chaudhuri—absent. Shri Laxminarayan Pandeya.

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA (Mandsaur): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the period 1st July, 1969 to 30th June, 1970, laid on the Table of the House on the 12th April, 1972, notes with regret that the Government has been absolutely ineffective to check regional linguistic chauvinism and indeed has encouraged its growth resulting in encouragement to communal tendencies instead of national integration." (3)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Jyotirmoy Bose—absent. Shri Bhogendra Jha—absent. Shri Samar Guha—absent. Shri Deb.

SHRI DASARATHA DEB (Tripura East): Sir, today we are discussing the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. In this report itself, a chapter is given on how the linguistic minorities can be well safeguarded. It was given in the Constitution itself. The States Reorganisation Commission based on language was formed in 1954. The report of that Commission was discussed in this House in 1956 and it was suggested that article 350 should be amended into 350A and 350B. That was also done by the Constitution (Seventh) Amendment Act, 1956. If one goes through all this, it may appear that everything is being done to safeguard the interests of linguistic minorities. But in actual practice, it was not done at all. In this twelfth report, it is stated that most of the State Governments are not implementing the directions of the Constitution or the recommendations which have been agreed to in the State Chief Ministers' Conference or the particular provision which was embodied in the Central Government Memorandum of 1956. It is a very sad affair. That is why I submit that the problem of language is not so simple, which can be brushed aside as a minor issue. Up till now this Government is treating this as a minor issue. The problem of language is connected with culture, psychological make-up and so many other factors of human existence. Keeping in view all these factors one must approach this problem. Every one of us should examine how far the spirit is being implemented to safeguard the interests of the different linguistic minorities living in India.

The report gives instances in State after State. In Assam, for a long time the tribal and hill speaking people have been demanding that their mother tongue should be

the medium of instruction upto the primary stage. The Commission also agreed, but the Assam Government has turned it down. Quite a large number of Dimasas speaking tribal people demanded that their language should be the medium of instruction up to the primary stage, but that is not being considered by the Assam Government. In Bihar also, it is said that Santhali speakers who sought instruction through their mother tongue were deliberately refused admission in the schools and as a result, these people have to learn either through Bengali or Hindi medium. But the decision says that if in any one school 40 students, speak the same language or 10 students in a class require it, then the medium of instruction should be their mother tongue. In this case it is flouted.

In the case of Madhya Pradesh what the report says is very interesting. It says that because the tribal dialects have not been developed, so the question does not arise. It is strange. Is it not the duty of the government to develop their dialects into written languages and to give them education through the mother tongue? Yet, it is being neglected by our government.

Coming to Tripura, the report says at page 79:

"The Commissioner visited the Lok Shikhalaya Senior Basic School, Champaknagar, during her visit to Tripura in March, 1978. It was found that the majority of the pupils there were tribals but without any facilities for studying through their mother-tongue or even facilities for explaining the lessons to them in their mother-tongue. This point was also brought to the notice of the Chief Minister by the Commissioner. The Chief Minister said that it was not possible to make arrangements for instruction through the mother-tongue as the number of languages/dialects spoken in Tripura were too many."

That is not the correct picture. There are hundreds of primary schools where there are cent per cent tribal students speaking one dialect, namely, the Tripura dialect. So, the Commissioner was not given a correct report by the Chief Minister.

So, it is not a question of different dialects. People speaking different languages are concentrated in a particular (*consolidated*) area or areas. So, education can be given in their mother tongue. The Minister says that the responsibility for the development of a particular language and to give children facilities for education through the mother tongue is the responsibility of the State government. But Tripura was under the Centre for a very long time. They have not done anything in the matter.

In Manipur there are many dialects, many tribal languages. But the Manipur Government did not recognise them at all. Nothing at all was done by them. The Centre also did not do anything. The Manipuri language is a developed language and it is being taught up to the college level. It is a written language. What prevents the Centre from including Manipuri language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution? Still, they have not recognised it.

What have you done about the Nepali language, which is a written language? It is a developed language which Nepal uses for running its administration. We have a sizable number of Nepalis living in West Bengal and Assam. What prevents the Government from including it in the Eighth Schedule? Is this the way to treat minority language? That is why I said in the beginning that the linguistic problem is not so simple. It is a very important problem which involves the culture, the traditions, the mental make-up and the psychology of the people. Everything depends on it. If you do not develop them, then the unity of the different nationalities, cannot be

[Shri Dasaratha Deb]

developed. It is in this view that we have to look at this problem.

Take the case of Maharashtra. There also the picture is very gloomy. It is alleged that in Amraoti a Urdu high school hostel building was converted into a training institute for women. As a result of this, the Urdu-speaking students suffered. Why should a minority institution be converted into a training college? This prevents the Urdu-speaking people from learning in their mother tongue. Why can the Centre not intervene and rectify such things? I do not think the Central Government is so powerless. If the President wants, he can take over the administration of a State, and it has been done in the case of many States. Why do you not take over those State administrations which do not give proper treatment to the minority languages? Because you do not want to tackle this problem in a correct way.

Let us come to the question of language problem. What has actually happened in Assam very recently? Is it only due to the fault of the Assam Government? Has not the Central Government any share in that? It is the Government of India which is dealing lightly with the language problem. They wanted to avoid the language problem whenever it arose. One day, I was very surprised to learn in the papers that our Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said, it is a matter for the Assam Government to deal with their language problem. Can it be a problem of the State Government alone? It is the problem of the Central Government. Now, the vested interests either in Assam or in the Central Government are engaging one group of linguistic people against another group, creating blood-sheds.

I am not going to narrate all the stories, what has actually happened there. I am concerned with the principle itself. Damage has been done there and the sense of insecurity

amongst the minority people, particularly, the Bengali-speaking people, is prevailing throughout Assam. Only a few days ago, I got a letter as to what atrocities are being committed here even today. May I read it out:

"On the 15th November, a fresh disturbance started in Dibrugarh area, this time in our area. Our entire area was ransacked for 4 hours. The Assam Police Battalion took the active part—they were followed by groups of miscreants. Every house in our entire area was attacked. My own house was attacked at about 7-30 p.m. I rang up police for help from 5 p.m. onward but instead of helping me, they attacked my house. They broke open the front wooden door. We fled away. Our telephone, electric fans, glass almirah, beds and all the articles they could lay hands on were smashed and destroyed. The loss is estimated at Rs. 2500 in the minimum. As I have to leave Dibrugarh immediately with my family, Hashi and Jharna, I could not make full enquiry as to damage actually done.

Police arrested our boys. You may be shocked to know that Kishore Babu, Jitu, Makhi, his son, Gour Babu's son, all the three sons of Jogesh Chakrabarty, two sons of Mukunda Kaka, Tuni and his nephews have been arrested. Situation is very tense. Arson and stabbing are taking place...."

Such things are being done even today. Is it not the duty of the Central Government to provide security to all those people and do something about it? All these atrocities are being committed there. Only a part of it appears in the papers. Most of the things remain unknown. That is why we demand that immediately a Parliamentary Committee should be set up to go into the question and to find out what actually has taken place in Assam during these language riots. All the Opposition parties should be

represented in that Parliamentary Committee. The delegation should be sent by this House itself, during this session itself, and let the people know what actually is taking place there.

On the question of language, in principle, the policy of our party is absolutely clear. It has been our policy that it is the right of every child to have education in mother-tongue upto the highest level, including the university stage. The Bengali-speaking population in Assam or for that matter other minority groups have a right to have education in their mother-tongue upto the highest level. In the Assam Assembly, it was agreed to. Now, it exists upto higher secondary stage. In Cachar district, the medium of instruction is Bengali. That is there. If we can have Bengali as a medium of instruction upto Higher Secondary, why should not we extend it upto the university level? It must be. Now they have suggested that a separate university for the Bengali-speaking people in Cachar area should be constituted. This cannot be the solution. What will happen to those Bengalis who are living outside Cachar district, those who are living in Assam-Brahmaputra valley where the Bengali people are in absolute minority? There are other tribal people also. That is why, we say that, not only in Assam, but throughout India, where any sizable population is there, they should be given education through their mother-tongue upto the university level. That is why our party has suggested that even if in some areas there are sizable populations, the administrative language in that area should be their mother-tongue. Of course, Assamese should be the regional language in Assam, but Bengali also should be the administrative language in certain parts, particularly in Cachar district.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shrimati Subhadra Joshi.  
2551 LS—9.

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI (Bengal) rose—

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): May we seek your indulgence? We were told that this would not come up before half-past three. Two hours were given for moving Substitute Motions. I have my Motion No. 1, which I want to move.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes; the previous item was over sooner than expected. I allow Shri Frank Anthony to move his motion.

Mr. Tridib Chaudhuri, would you also like to move your Substitute Motion?

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI: Yes, Sir.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House, having considered the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the period 1st July, 1969 to 30th June, 1970, laid on the Table of the House on the 12th April, 1972, notes with regret that the Government has failed—

(a) to prevent, and indeed has often encouraged, the growing linguistic-cum-regional chauvinism resulting in increasing discrimination against and indeed, often oppression of the linguistic minorities; and

(b) to prevent, and indeed has often encouraged, the growing ‘Sons of the Soil’ movements, resulting in dual citizenship and discrimination against, and often oppression of, linguistic minorities.”  
(1)”

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI: I beg to move:

[Shri Tridib Chaudhuri]

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely —

"The House, having considered the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the period 1st July, 1969 to 30th June, 1970, laid on the Table of the House on the 12th April, 1972, is of the opinion that the Government has not only failed to secure the linguistic and cultural freedom of the linguistic minorities in different States under articles 350, 350A and 350B of the Constitution, it has also failed even to safeguard the elementary citizenship rights for them as evidenced in the recent language riots in the Brahmaputra Valley in Assam and recommends that in order to remove the language question in different States from the orbit of all controversies, a High Powered all-Parties Committee, composed of representatives of different parties in the two Houses of Parliament, be constituted by the Government in order to come to an agreement over the question of securing the just rights of all linguistic minorities in all States and make specific recommendations to the President to that end" (2).

श्रीमति सुभद्रा जोशी (चादनी चौक)

सभापति महोदय, आज जो लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने है जब हम उस पर विचार कर रहे हैं तब सब से पहले मैं मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान इस बात पर दिलाना चाहती हूँ कि मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि आजादी के प्राये हुए इतने वर्ष हो गये तब भी अभी तक जितना ध्यान इस सवाल की तरफ जाना चाहिये था उतना दिया नहीं गया है। लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज की रिपोर्ट बार बार सदन के सम्मने पेश होती है और शायद यह बारम्बारी रिपोर्ट है।

बार बार कहा जाता है हमारे सामने लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज कमिश्नर ने जो सिफारिशों की वह स्टेट्स के सामने भेजी गईं। पर मैं सोचती हूँ कि कभी हमारी होम मनिस्ट्री को यह जायजा लेना चाहिये कि रिपोर्ट्स में जितनी सिफारिशों की गईं, उन में से कितनी मानी गईं, कितनी पर भ्रमल हुआ और कितनी पर भ्रमल नहीं हुआ। अगर इसी तरह से दिक्कतें बनी रही तो जैसा रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि एक दफ्तर से पांच दफ्तर बना दिये गये, मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि अगर अभी तक 12 शिकायतें थी तो पांच दफ्तरों में शिकायतें 60 जरूर हो जायगी और उनको हल करने का कोई तरीका निकलने वाला नहीं है।

मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि इतने विभाग विषय पर चाहे वह लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज का सवाल हो चाहे भाषा का सवाल हो, सेंटर में कोई सवाल एजकेशन मनिस्ट्री से ताल्लुक रखता है और कोई होम मनिस्ट्री से ताल्लुक रखता है, लेकिन जब वह स्टेट्स में पहुँचता है तो वह किसी भी मनिस्ट्री से ताल्लुक नहीं रखता और कोई उन का हाल पूछने वाला नहीं है, कोई उनके इम्प्लैमेंटेशन की देखने वाला नहीं है। मैं सोचती हूँ कि ऐसा कोई इन्तजाम होना चाहिये कि सेंटर में भी किसी खास मंत्री पर इस बात का खास उत्तरदायित्व खसना जाये और इसी तरह से स्टेट्स में भी हो कि कोई मंत्री लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज के सभी सवालों की देख रेख करने की जिम्मेदारी अपने ऊपर ले। अगर ऐसा किया जाए तो मैं समझती हूँ कि माइनारिटीज के कार्यों की

तरफ कुछ कदम बढ़ाया जा सकता है, नहीं तो जैसे भाज तक इतनी सिफारिशें हुई, और सिफारिशें हो जायेंगी, लेकिन जैसा रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है, कितने ही प्रदेश ऐसे हैं जहां पर मुश्किलात वैसी की वैसी बनी हुई है और हल होने की तरफ हमारा कदम आगे नहीं बढ़ रहा है, उसी तरह से आगे भी होगा।

अभी हमारे एक साथी ने आपके मामले के सवाल को पेश किया जहां मामला बहुत बिगड़ गया है। हो सकता है कि मामला बहुत बिगड़ गया हो, पर दिलो में परेशानी और नागजगी सिर्फ हमारे मामले के लोगों में या बंगाल के लोगों में ही नहीं है, सभी जगह असन्तोष है, और उसका हल यह होना चाहिए कि सेटर में भी और स्टेट्स में भी वह काम किसी मिनिसटर को खुद अपने ऊपर लेना चाहिये। तभी हम इस तरफ आगे बढ़ सकेंगे क्योंकि स्टेट्स में कोई भी इसको प्रायारिटी देने वाला नहीं है, इसको मंत्री महोदय खुद जानते हैं।

दूसरी बात मैं आप के सामने यह रखना चाहती हू कि लिग्निस्टिक माइनारिटी का सवाल और भाषाओं का सवाल इस कमीशन के सामने जरूर है पर जो सरकार की या होम मिनिसट्री की रिकूटिंग पालिसी है कि नौकरियां किसको देनी हैं और कैसे देनी हैं, इस सवाल का इस सवाल के साथ गहरा सम्बन्ध है। हो सकता है कि वह सम्बन्ध इस कमिशन के परिनिष्पन्नान में न हो, इसलिये इसकी चर्चा भी रिपोर्ट में नहीं की है, पर मंत्री महोदय

को यह भी देखना चाहिये और सदन को देखना चाहिये कि अगर आप कहीं कोई भाषा पढ़ने की सलूलियत दे भी देंगे, हालांकि मैं उसकी चर्चा बाद में करूंगी, अगर स्कूल और यूनिवर्सिटी में किसी भाषा को पढ़ा भी देंगे अगर माइनारिटी के लोगों को नौकरियों में जगह नहीं मिलेगी तो पढ़ कर उन का कोई फायदा नहीं होगा। और लोग बेरोजगार हो जायेंगे तथा जो थोड़ा बहुत रोजगार करने का तरीका उनके मामले रहेगा वह भी उन से छूट जायेगा। इसलिये सिर्फ यही न हो कि आप उनके पढ़ने लिखने का इन्तजाम करे, उन को नौकरियों में भी ठीक हिस्सा मिले इसका इन्तजाम भी होम मिनिसट्री को करना चाहिये और उसकी देखभाल करनी चाहिये।

श्री राम सहाय पांडे (राजनन्द गाव):  
वह काफी कर रहे हैं।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी यह आपका ख्याल होगा मेरा ख्याल नहीं है। इसलिए इस बात का भी होम मिनिसट्री को भी ख्याल करना चाहिए चाहे वह कमीशन के जूनि-स्टिक्शन में हो या न हो।

मैं एक बात का जिक्र और करना चाहती हू। यहां बहुत सी भाषाओं के साथ व्यवहार ठीक से नहीं होता। उदाहरण के तौर पर मैं उर्दू की मिसाल रखना चाहती हूँ मन्त्री महोदय के सामने। जैसा लिग्निस्टिक माइनारिटीज की भी रिपोर्ट में जिक्र किया गया है, उर्दू का एक खास स्थान है। भले ही वह स्थान मिनिसट्री के लिहाज से न हो लेकिन

[श्रीमती सुश्रद्धा जोशी]

उर्दू की एक ऐतिहासिक जगह है। उर्दू हिन्दुस्तान की भाषा है, इसमें किसी को कोई सन्देह नहीं, बल्कि मे तो कहूंगी कि अगर प्रोरिजिन देखा जाये तो उर्दू ज्यादा हिन्दुस्तान की भाषा है, फिर भी उसके साथ खास दुर्घ्य-बहार होना है। आज ऐसे कुछ लोग है जो यह कहते हैं कि संस्कृत हमारी मटर टग है या संस्कृत में हम परिचित है, पर उसके लिए खास यत्न किया जाता है, उसकी खास तौर से चर्चा की जाती है और कई जगहों में उसकी कम्पलमरी भाषा का रूप दे दिया जाता है, उसके लिए यूनिवर्सिटी स्थापित करने की बात होती है, मगर उर्दू के लिए, जो कई करोड़ लोगों की भाषा है, जितने कदम बढ़ाने चाहिए, उसका बढ़ाना तो भलग रहा, उसको जीवित रखने के लिए भी जो यत्न किये जाने चाहिए, मेरा ऐसा क्याल है कि वह नहीं किये जाते। इसका एक कारण यह भी है कि बहुत से लोग भाषा की रिलिजन के साथ जोड़ते है। इस तरह से उर्दू के बारे में कई लोग ऐसी बातें कह दिया करते हैं जैसे उर्दू मुसलमानों की भाषा है और हिन्दी और संस्कृत हिन्दुओं की भाषा है। बदकिस्मती से कुछ अल्पसंख्यक लोग भी ऐसा समझने लगें है, मुसलमान भाई भी ऐसे है जिन की अभीच गहरी हो गई है कि उर्दू उन की भाषा है और हिन्दी या संस्कृत दूसरे मजहब वालों की भाषा है। मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि इन दोनों चीजों को साथ जोड़ने का अ-याय नहीं करता चाहिए। लेकिन फिर भी उसका ध्यान रखना चाहिए और अगर किसी मजहब वालों की भाषा समझी जाए तो और भी ज्यादा बजह है कि उसकी देखभाल और अच्छी तरह से की जाए। पंजाब में हम लोगों ने देखा कि

सिखों के साथ भी एक भाषा को जोड़ दिया गया था और वह बहुत बड़ा अन्प्राय था। पंजाब में हिन्दी और पंजाबी का भी यही हाल किया गया है।। वहा मजहब के साथ भाषा को जोड़ने वाले फिरकापरस्त लोगों ने जो हाल किया और उसको ऐसी शकल दे दी कि जैसी पंजाबी सिखों की भाषा हो और हिन्दी वहा पर केवल हिन्दुओं की भाषा हो पंजाब की रहने वाली मैं हू और दूसरे भी जो पंजाब के रहने वाले लोग है बेंडम बात को अच्छी तरह से जानते है कि पंजाब के लोगों का हिन्दी के साथ कभी परिचय नहीं हुआ, हिन्दी की जानकारी उनको नहीं हुई पंजाब के लोग लिखने के काम में तो उर्दू को लाते थे और उमको जानते थे और बोलने के काम में पंजाबी लाते थे। वहा बोलने की भाषा पंजाबी थी और लिखने की भाषा उर्दू ज्यादातर। हिन्दी वहा के लोग नहीं जानते थे। हम लोग वहा पर हिन्दी इसलिए जानते थे कि लडकियों को आर्य समाज के स्कूलों में पढाया जाता था और वहा हिन्दी चलती थी। हमारे बरों में भाईयों को हिन्दी नहीं आती थी। फिर मजहब के साथ भाषा को जोड़ दिया गया तो वहा पर जो फिरकापरस्त हिन्दू थे वे भी कहने लग गये कि पंजाबी सिखों की भाषा है और इसके साथ साथ जो फिरकापरस्त सिख थे वे भी कहने लग गये कि पंजाबी हमारी भाषा ही गई और है। इसकी परिणाम यह हुआ कि अमरसर जैसी जगहों में लोग लिखने लगे कि हमारी भाषा हिन्दी है और हमारा पंजाबी से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। फिर भी पंजाबी किसी रिलिजन से तो सम्बन्धित की जाये इस बातसे बंध बंध गई और उसके



कुछ हिंस व और ठिकाना बच गया। लेकिन उर्दू का ठिकाना नहीं बचा। और उसके माथ जो सलूक होना चाहिए था नहीं हुआ। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि जो उर्दू जानते थे उनको भी अबरदस्ती यह कहना पड़ा और जो उर्दू नहीं जानते थे उनकी भी अबरदस्ती जगह जगह पर कहना पड़ा कि हमारी मदद' टग सिर्फ हिन्दी है हम उर्दू नहीं जानते है। डमी तरह से यह भी कहा गया कि पजाबी नहीं जानते है। यही आज भी हो रहा है।

15 00 hrs.

यह कहा जाता है कि यह फैसला हो गया है कि अजिया कोई चाहे तो उर्दू में दे सकते है और उनको एम्प्लेट कर लिया जाए और उनका जवाब व उर्दू में दिया जाएगा। मैं चाहता हू कि मैं तो महोदय दरपान करे कि क्या यह सही है। मेरे पास ऐसे लोग अजिया लाते है हिन्दी में जो जानते नहीं है हिन्दी और जब मैं पूछती हू कि इसमें क्या लिखा है तो कहते है कि हम हिन्दी जानते नहीं है, हमने हिन्दी में अर्जी लिखवाली है और इसमें क्या लिखा है यह हम नहीं जानते है। हमने तो जिस जगह अर्जी नबीम ने कहा उस जगह अगूठा लगा दिया है। चूकि हिन्दी में अर्जी मांगते है इसलिए हिन्दी में लिखा था है। इसी तरह से जो हिन्दी नहीं जानते थे और जो उर्दू जानते थे उन्होंने चूकि हिन्दी में अजिया माँधी जाती है, हिन्दी में एसी अजिया अर्जी नबीमो से लिखवा ली और उन पर अगूठी लगा दिये या इस्तकत कर दिये कि वह पाकिस्तानी नेशनल कमिश्नर होना चाहते है उनकी एम्प्लेटमेंट में लिखा दिया नबीमो के द्वारा पाकिस्तान के रहने वाले हैं।

इस तरह से अनजाने में लिखा कर ले जाय और पाकिस्तानी नेशनल हो गये :

जो सिफारिश है इनका इम्प्लेमेंटेशन कैसे हाता है, इसका भी आपको देखना चाहिए उर्दू टीचर्ज का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं होता है। इसमें कहा गया है कि उर्दू टीचर्ज का प्रबन्ध है लेकिन मैं आपको एक उदाहरण दिल्ली का ही दे सकती हू। दिल्ली में उर्दू टीचर्ज ट्रेनिंग के लिए पाच सीटें रखी गई थी। अब वे उर्दू के लिए नहीं बल्कि सिर्फ नान हिन्दी वालों के लिए ये सीटें रिजर्व कर दी गई है। उनमें मुश्किल से उर्दू जानने वालों की सीट एक आती है। बेगुमार स्कूल ऐमें हैं जहाँ उर्दू टीचर्ज की जगह है लेकिन उर्दू टीचर्ज ऐसे है जिनको उर्दू नहीं आती है। जब इस तरह के टीचर्ज पढाते है तो वाद में कहा जाता है कि स्टैंडर्ड नहीं है और उन आदमियों को काम नहीं मिल सकता है। मैं चाहती हू कि मन्त्री महोदय को मैं उदाहरण द ताकि वह जानकारी हासिल कर सके और एन्क्वायरी कर सके। मैं दिल्ली का ही उदाहरण उनको देती हू बुलबुलीखा में एक स्कूल है जो उर्दू स्पीकिंग एरिया में है और उर्दू स्पीकिंग मैजोरिटी के बच्चे उसमें है। लेकिन उसमें चालीम परसेंट से ज्यादा टीचर्ज ऐसे है जिनका उर्दू में कोई ताल्लुक नहीं है, जो उर्दू जानते नहीं है वहाँ क्या हालत होती होगी इसको मन्त्री महोदय खुद देख कर बता सकते है।

टक्स्ट बुक्स की बात भी रिपोर्ट में कही गई है। यह कहा गया है कि जब तक टक्स्ट बुक्स का इन्क्वायरी नहीं होता है तब तक पढ़ाई

## [श्रीमती सुषमा जोशी]

कैसे हो सकती है। मैं जानती हूँ कि सभी भाषाओं के साथ यह विवकात है। लेकिन दिल्ली में डायरेक्टर आफ एजुकेशन ने यह कहा था कि हम उर्दू की टैक्स्ट बुक्स जुलाई तक दे देंगे। लेकिन आज तक दिल्ली में उर्दू की टैक्स्ट बुक्स लिये जाने की कोई खबर नहीं है। कब बनेंगी और कब बच्चों को दी जायेगी, कुछ पता नहीं है। वे क्या करेंगे, इसको मन्त्री महोदय स्वयं देखें।

दस और चालीस का जो फार्मुला है, यह भी इम्प्लेमेंट नहीं होता है। इसकी वजह यह है कि कोई एमोसिएशन ऐसी नहीं है जो दस बच्चों को या चालीस बच्चों को इकट्ठा लेकर स्कूल में जाये। मा बाप एक बच्चे को ले जाते हैं तो वहाँ प्रिंसिपल साहब या मास्टर साहब कहते हैं कि आपका तो एक ही बच्चा है, दस होते तो हम टीचर दे सकते थे। फिर दूसरा बच्चा जाना है उसको भी यही कहा जाता है कि तुम एक हो, दस होने तो हम इतनाम कर सकते थे। इसी तरह से तीसरे का कह दिया जाता है। अब एक बच्चा तो एक ही रहेगा, दस नहीं हो सकते हैं। प्रिंसिपल साहब इतनी तकलीफ गबारा नहीं करते हैं कि बहू कोई रजिस्टर रखें या हिस्ट्री रखें ताकि पता चल सके कि दस हो गये हैं या नहीं। इस वास्ते न दस इकट्ठे हो कर जाते हैं और न चालीस। नतीजा यह होता है कि टीचर मिलने का कोई सवाल ही पैदा नहीं होता है। इस तरह से यह जो फार्मुला है यह इम्प्लेमेंट नहीं हो सकता है। इस वास्ते फार्मुला यह होना चाहिए कि जहाँ कोई भी भाषा पढ़ने वाले लोग हैं वहाँ टीचर पहले

प्रोवाइड कर दिये जाये। फर्स्ट कर लीजिये कि कब बच्चे हैं तो अगर वे या दूसरे लोग दूसरी भाषा पढ़ लें या दूसरी भाषा में दिलचस्पी ले तो किसी को कोई नुकसान नहीं होगा। इस वास्ते जो फार्मुला आपने बनाया है, इस पर भी पुनर्विचार होना चाहिए।

1961 में चीफ मिनिस्टर्स की कान्फ्रेंस हुई थी। उस में यह फैसला हुआ था कि सा परसेंट से ज्यादा अगर किसी माइनोरिटी का नम्बर हो तो वहाँ उनकी भाषा को दूसरी भाषा समझा जायेगा। साठ परसेंट जहाँ हो गये वहाँ तो मैजोरिटी हो गई। साठ परसेंट का माइनोरिटी में क्या टाल्लुक है। यह जो फार्मुला 1961 में चीफ मिनिस्टर्स ने पेश किया था इस पर भी पुनर्विचार होना चाहिए।

जिस तरह से धर्म के साथ भाषा को नहीं जोड़ा जाना चाहिए उसी तरह से गिनती पर से भी इस चीज को धाप उखाड़े। अगर गिनती से आप इस चीज को धरल नहीं करते हैं तो इसका नतीजा आपने अभी देख ही लिया है। सैनस कमिशनर साहब की रिपोर्ट कुछ महीने पहले आई थी। उसमें लिखा था कि हिन्दू इतने हैं, मुसलमान इतने हैं, इत्यादि। भालम नहीं ऐसा लिखना उनकी जुरिसडिकशन में था या नहीं। उन्होंने हिसाब किताब लघा कर बताया था कि इतने बरस में इसकी आबादी इतनी बढ़ जाये और इसकी इतनी कम हो जायेगी। मैं कहूँगी कि जो भाषायें आपने संविधान में रख ली हैं उन भाषाओं का कोई पढ़ने वाला, जानने वाला हो या उनमें दिलचस्पी लेने वाला हो उसे आबादी की गिनती किये बिना उसके पढ़ने की सुविधा

मिलनी चाहिए। और उस भाषा की तरफकी होनी चाहिए। उर्दू का उदाहरण मैंने खास तौर पर दिया है क्योंकि इस बात को मैं व्यक्तिगत तौर पर जानती हूँ। पर यह सवाल सभी भाषाओं का आता है और वह एकपुट है। चूँकि हम उसको उस आधार पर नहीं लेने हैं, उसको वह प्रायोरिटी नहीं देते हैं जो देनी चाहिए, इस वास्ते नतीजा यह होता है कि कभी अमम में मुसीबत आती है तो कभी कही और।

एक बात मैं दुबारा अर्ज करना चाहती हूँ। सरकारी प्रचार की सामग्री और सरकारी नोटिफिकेशन कहा कहा किन किन भाषाओं में निकलने है इसको भी आप देखें। उर्दू में तो नहीं निकलते हैं। मुझे मध्य प्रदेश का मालूम है, उत्तर प्रदेश का मालूम है। फिर इन लोगों के बारे में कहा जाता है कि ये मेनस्ट्रीम में नहीं आते हैं। जब उनको जानकारी ही नहीं होती है तो मेनस्ट्रीम में कैसे आ कर ये कूदेंगे। सियासी जमायतों में भी मैं कहूँगी कि वे अपना काम करते बकन लिग्विस्टिक साइनो-रिटीज का ध्यान रखें। उनकी भी प्रचार की सामग्री आदि साइनोरिटीज के पास पहुँचती है या नहीं इसका ध्यान रखना चाहिए। जब तक वे भी यह नहीं करती हैं तब तक हम कोई न्याय लिग्विस्टिक साइनोरिटीज के साथ नहीं कर सकेंगे।

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Shri Indrajit Gupta.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore):** Shri Frank Anthony wanted to speak as he had another engagement later.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** All right.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contn):** May I make a submission? I was a bit late.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** He was absent when his name was called.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA:** I am a heart patient. I take half an hour rest after lunch. Please permit me to move my amendment.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Yes.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA:** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

“This House, having considered the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the period 1st July, 1969 to 30th June, 1970, laid on the Table of the House on the 12th April, 1972, notes with regret and concern that the Central Government has failed to take necessary measures to firmly deal with the situation in Assam, arising out of the present language riots, and let the whole problem of law and order situation in Assam to be handled with local initiative, and urges upon the Central Government to take the following urgent and adequate steps—

(a) to undertake, under Central initiative, proper measures in accordance with the national policies and national objectives to resolutely deal with the violent law and order situation prevailing in Assam and to take effective steps to speedily restore normal conditions in Assam by taking drastic measures against continuation of violent activities directed against the lives, properties and honour of the various linguistic minorities;

(b) to take early steps for giving compensation to those whose properties have been either burnt

(Shri Samar Guha)

or looted and depending family members of the riot victims and to make expeditious arrangements for proper rehabilitation of the riot affected people who have been displaced from their homes;

(c) to immediately release Government employees belonging to the minority groups who have been arrested at the time of the riots and to withdraw suspension orders against other Government employees belonging to the linguistic minority communities and also to release leaders and other members of the linguistic minority communities;

(d) to institute a judicial enquiry into the recent violent happenings in Assam under the Chairmanship of a retired Supreme Court Judge;

(e) to send an all parties' Parliamentary delegation to Assam to restore a relation of faith, understanding and goodwill among the people of the linguistic minority communities and the Assamese speaking community living there and restore confidence in regard to their future security in the minds of the people belonging to different linguistic minority communities; and

(f) to set up a special Commission by the Linguistic Minorities' Commissioner to find out ways and means to resolve the language dispute in Assam in accordance with the Constitutional provisions and accepted national policies regarding rights and privileges of the linguistic minorities in regard to their language, culture and education." (6)

man, my substitute motion reads:

"This House, having considered the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the period 1st July 1969 to 30th June 1970, laid on the Table of the House on the 12th April 1972, notes with regret that the Government has failed—

(a) to prevent and indeed has often encouraged, the growing linguistic-cum-regional chauvinism resulting in increasing discrimination against and indeed, often oppression of the linguistic minorities; and

(b) to prevent and indeed has often encouraged, the growing 'sons of the soil' movements, resulting in dual citizenship and discrimination against, and often oppression, of linguistic minorities".

This Report is significant for what it reveals, but, if I may say so with respect, it is even more significant for what it does not reveal. I do not think many members in this House have any awareness of how art. 350B came to find a place in the Constitution. If I may say so, I have claimed, quite rightly, complete credit for this. I fought a long, bitter, lone fight for it. In the Joint Committee on the States Reorganisation Bill and the Constitution (Ninth) Amendment Bill, there was not any reference to any safeguards for the linguistic minorities. I pointed out the tremendous gap between profession on the one side and practice on the other. The Government kept on mouthing this slogan that 'we will give the linguistic minorities not only adequate but generous safeguards'. I said 'there is not one single safeguard; you are going to remit this to the Governors who can never act, who will never act'.

Then, Mr. Chairman, I met Jawaharlal Nehru three times. I led a delegation of members of this House three times. They accepted my request to

the Joint Committee to have a Linguistic Minorities Commissioner. Pandit Pant, a great friend of mine, said 'no; we won't do it'. Then because the Cabinet brought pressure, we get this provision in. It was my amendment. I had asked: 'All right; have this provision, but also give it teeth'.

'What did the States Reorganisation Commission say? They said, 'we have to point out with regret that wherever we have gone, we have received complaints, not only of cultural oppression of the linguistic minorities throughout this country; we have received complaints of their economic exploitation, of their economic oppression'. They said the Centre must take powers. The Centre was not concerned. It took no powers. Govind Ballabh Pant said 'No; we will not take powers to issue directives'. I asked, 'Why not? You did it for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Why won't you do it for the linguistic minorities?' Then at the last hour, at the last minute, he said: 'We do not have to, because under art. 355, we have inherent powers to give directives to State Governments if they do not safeguard the interests of the minorities adequately'.

Now, Mr. Chairman, what does the Commissioner say? The Commissioner has said, quite rightly, that they cannot be saddled with executive functions, that it is for the Centre to implement measures to see that the linguistic minorities are not reduced to inferior citizenship status. Unfortunately, I lead a minority without many votes! What is the language which the Government understands? The only language to which the Government responds is the language of rioting, arson and unfortunately rape. Only a very few of the minorities, unfortunately, I say have this language which the Government understands.

How little is the Central Government today, in spite of all its mealy-mouthed repetition of the slogan of secular democracy, concerned with the linguistic minorities? Today India

is a country of linguistic minorities. How little the Centre is concerned with them is shown by the fact that the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has had to point out with regret that from 1965, till the 11th report you have not bothered to bring them for discussion before this House.

Then, whom does the politician think of? I am glad that Shrimati Subhandra Joshi referred to Muslims. At one time, I was one of the few Members in this House to take up their cause, till the House broke up in disorder in April, 1964 because I was pleading their cause. I use the word 'politician' because statesmanship has gone by the board in the morass of politics as we see it today. In the muddled politics of today, statesmanship has become the first casualty, and the only consideration is votes. You only consider one or two minorities, but even there you do not consider them too minor. As I told my friend Mr. Bhandare, there has been 5,000 years of oppression of the Scheduled Castes, and fortunately they have the numbers. But unless you take to the streets nobody will listen to you: there would not be a hair's breadth of qualification in the oppression that you have suffered for 5,000 years.

My friend Mr. Bhandare will agree with me perhaps that in spite of all the lip-sympathy given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, they are perhaps the most inferior of all the millions of inferior citizens represented by the linguistic minorities in this country. I am not going to say anything about the Muslims. Otherwise, I will get abused as I used to when I took up their cause. Somebody told me, "Why do you take up their cause?" They are *sui generis*. They are paying for the sins of a thousand years of Muslim rule. They are paying for the sins of partition. But let the Muslims look after themselves because somebody tells you that they are paying for their sins.

(Shri Frank Anthony)

The Sikhs are a comparatively small minority. They are fortunate. They have got their own State. Fortunately, they are also able to indulge in this only language that the Government understands, the language when they have a legitimate grievance, of going out into the streets and underlining them as it were, by rioting, arson and other things.

I am sorry to speak in this way but I am speaking with knowledge and with growing resentment. After all, not even God can help the smaller linguistic minorities today. I am dealing with the problems of a small linguistic minority which I have the privilege to represent today, because not only are they facing increasing arrogance, linguistic *cum* regional arrogance, but they are facing all the discrimination that is endemic in Indian society today: caste first, religion next, and now, most of all, language.

What happened in this House? Alone in this House I was sitting there near Shyama Prasad Mukherjee. I opposed the formation of Andhra Pradesh, and I said, and I predicted it, and every prediction of mine has come true. I said to Katju, the then Home Minister, "Your effigy will be hanged or burnt by posterity for this crime that you are committing against the country." He walked out and he said Mr. Anthony is abusing me. He mistook my perfectly parliamentary vituperation for abuse. What happened? What did I say? I said, first you will destroy the linguistic minorities. As soon as you put one language in the position of political dominance, the linguistic minorities will be destroyed and where there are large enough groups they will be physically oppressed. I made this prediction. Read my speech in 1953.

I said Andhra Pradesh will open up a Pandora's box. It will precipitate a series of linguistic States. But you won't stop there. Andhra Pradesh itself will divide. It will divide

because you will find one Andhra feels that the other Andhra is not prepared to treat him with a sense of equality. And you see the irony of this original sin of Andhra Pradesh today. You think that your five-point formula is going to be accepted; it is not going to be accepted. It is not going to be accepted because you already have *de facto* separate States regional committees and separate budgets. There will be, sooner than later, separate States and you will have both *de jure* States—Andhra Pradesh, Telengana and probably more.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Gwalior): The language is the same.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: That is the tragedy.

15.20 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Once there is this regional chauvinism, you see what happens. I said that multi-lingual States were the only guarantee for a semblance of equality for the minority groups. Once you make one language dominant, you see the result. My friend Mr. Vajpayee said that millions of Andhra-speaking people subscribing to the same Hindu religion talked of nepotism and discrimination. Can you imagine what is the position of small linguistic minorities? You cannot even imagine what goes on, what is happening today under the slogan of secular democracy. It can be better imagined than described; in fact it cannot even be imagined; the imagination boggles at the oppression which the linguistic minorities are facing in the country today. Let me give you some examples. What do we see? We see these evil man-made tragedies. I refer to the evil man-made tragedy in Assam. I have seen reports in different papers that several leading Congressmen have fomented trouble against the Bengalis in Assam; the press is frightened if not

muzzled. When the first reports came in I did not know; I thought it was another periodic exercise against our unfortunate Muslim brothers. Later on I realised that this time it was an exercise, not against - Muslims or Biharis but against these unfortunate Bengalis. What is this exercise? You do not only loot you do not only burn or murder; you rape their women. Some people found; have written that the reports are garbled and have been played down.

This is the extent of the atrocities; they are man-made. In the name of language all this is done. Nobody has got to know the truth. You hid it in 1960; you have hidden it again. But took at the tragedy. I do not want to point a finger at my Assamese-speaking friends because the tragedy was perpetrated in the time of Jawaharlal Nehru when Government gave hostages to linguistic chauvinism to the disintegration of the country. I alone in this House opposed it. What is the basic reason? It may be repudiated; it may be denied. I have read reports that the Assamese are afraid of losing their political-cum-linguistic dominance. They are only 52 per cent. Others say they are only 42 per cent. So the Assamese will be concerned with driving out the Bengalis, Muslims and Biharis so that they do not lose their political-cum-regional dominance. That is the stark truth.

What is happening to the smaller minorities? I was shocked to see what the politicians do, because there is no statesmanship left in the country in this muck-ridden politics that has now become the order of the day. I was shocked. What do the police men do? Dr. Chenna Reddy said that; he issued a statement which was not contradicted; he said that his Telangana Praja Samiti joined the ruling Congress on the understanding with the Prime Minister that the Mulki rules would be implemented in their entirety. This is what Dr. Chenna Reddy has said; that was the price which was paid by the Ruling Congress.

Now this is what is happening to these unfortunate Bengali people. My friend Mr. Vajpayee will not be very happy about my referring, incidentally, to this dubious accolade. Who acquired the first dubious accolade of killing in the name of language? Hindi Senas in Hindi language (*Interruptions*) Read my book and you will find chapter and verse there. That is the tragedy. What do you do?

The report of the Commissioner for linguistic minorities is a scanty report, a superficial report. But what it says is tragic enough. It pinpoints the curse of the unilingual state that Government have inflicted on the country. The Centre likes to wish it away. You mouth the slogan of secular democracy; you think that you have deluded this country and those abroad that there are no minorities; they are all more than happy; there is a state of euphoria among the minorities because they are so well-treated

But what is the position actually? I have only taken some of the extracts from the report. What do the unilingual States say? They say, they have no minorities. Haryana says, it is a unilingual state and there are no Punjabi-speaking people. Punjab return the compliment and says, there are no Hindi-speaking people. When I argued the Arya Samaj case, unfortunately the Arya Samajists did not claim that Hindi was their language, but at least I got the Supreme Court to accept that they are a religious minority; so, article 30 was attracted and we won the case.

What about the Hindi States? What does the Centre do? The Linguistic Commissioner has pointed out how deliberately and brazenly they are flouting the 1956 memorandum. I got Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant to put that memorandum on the Table of the House, because I was interested in article 30 and affiliation of educational institutions. The memorandum says that the States should relax the condition of knowledge of

[Shri Frank Anthony]

the regional language for passing the test for entry into the State service. But the Hindi States are brazenly flouting it. What does the mealy-mouthed politicking Central Government do? Do you have the gumption to tell the Hindi States, "This is a solemn assurance we have given to the minorities?" The UP and Bihar do not allow a linguistic minority to get a job unless they pass this ultra-difficult language test. Do you say anything? You dare not, because overnight your Government will become a minority government. That is the condition to which the linguistic minorities have been reduced. The physical condition of the Deputy-Speaker indicates some kind of physical euphoria. He is more than lucky.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER This is another linguistic confusion.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY because fortunately for them, they have got their own State and they have been saved from this curse of linguism-cum-regionalism.

What are you doing about the sons of the soil movement? It is the most vicious variant of communalism in this country. You are not only encouraging it, you are affirming it. You have got the Shiv Sena in Bombay. You have either too frightened to say anything or secretly you approve of the Shiv Sena ideology, because in every State you have the Shiv Sena ideology. What is it? Maharashtra is not for the Maharashtrians. Maharashtra is for the Marathi-speaking people. God and the devil take those who do not speak that language. That is the ideology in every linguistic State. It is not those who belong to the State, it is those whose tongue is the regional language of the State. You have encouraged it. You are encouraging it at least covertly if you are not overtly.

What does the Linguistic Commissioner say? In Gujarat, even the large groups are being discriminated

against. The Marathi-speaking people cannot get jobs in that State. What in God's name is the fate of the smaller minorities? The position of small minorities is, they are not only inferior citizens, they are not citizens at all. They are only citizens for paying taxes and suffering other restrictions.

Minority is a very small minority. We do not get any jobs in the States because we cannot fulfil the pre-condition being imposed brazenly flouting the memorandum. But at least we try to give education and through scholarships we have more and more young men and women who are educated. But they cannot get into the colleges, because you have got this evil residential qualification. How is it being applied? In Mysore for instance, my people go and say, 'We want our sons to get into the MBBS Course. They ask, 'How long have you been resident in the State?' They say, 'We are Central Government servants. We cannot reside for more than 3 years in any State. Government says, 'We are sorry.' They say, 'My house is here. My father is here. My grandfather is here. But our children cannot get into any of these colleges. You wonder why they are leaving the country. Where in God's name are they to go to?'

In this country they can only live in a ghetto or a gutter. I know I have spoken with some emotion because what is happening is tragic. I do not deny the Scheduled Castes and their reservations. But in Mysore all the dominant political groups have become backward classes.

Fortunately in Tamil Nadu, a similar move has been struck down. In Mysore all the dominant political groups have become backward classes. After the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the artificially created backward classes, there is no reservation left for those who do not call themselves backward.



I know my friend, Shri K. C. Pant. I was a great friend of his father, and I like him although he is a youngster. He tells me "I know as much as you about what is happening to the Anglo-Indians; I know what is happening to the Sikhs", which is a presumptuous arrogation. You do not know a damn thing about what is happening to the small minorities, but you think you do because you mouth the slogan of secular democracy. You may bluff yourself but you are not bluffing anybody else.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Did you say 'dirt'?

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: No. I was going to speak on another issue but since my time is up, I will end on that note.

SHRIMATI JYOTSNA CHANDA (Cachar): Sir, we are discussing the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India. This august House had gone through eleven such reports in the past. The question is whether we have achieved any results in the course of the long 25 years of our independence.

At least we, the large bulk of linguistic minorities living in the State of Assam for generations, would find it difficult to believe that we have achieved anything. Even at this very moment, when we are discussing this report here in Parliament, the life, property, honour and chastity of workmenfolk are in great peril in the Brahmaputra valley in Assam.

For no earthly reason, at least known to the civilised humanity, for the seventh time in succession since independence, from 15th September barbarous cruelty in the form of genocide has been continuing upon us, the Bengalis. The *modus operandi* of the present carnage in Brahmaputra Valley is the same policy to annihilate, to exterminate the Bengali-speaking community by any means, fair or foul.

Firstly, I would like to point out that the provisions of the Constitution are not honoured in some States, particularly in Assam. I now refer to page 10, para 51 of the Report under discussion, where in it is mentioned that the State of Assam have made their own rules which say that the language to be accepted as mother tongue will be in accordance with a list to be prepared from time to time and approved by the State Government, which is in clear violation of article 350A of the Constitution which provides for special directives for primary education in the mother tongue.

In this connection, I would like to mention that the Bengali medium primary schools in the district of Cachar do not get grants over Rs. 1,750 per annum but special primary schools in Assamese medium have recently been started in Hirlakandi in Cachar with *ad hoc* grants of Rs 2,000 each even though these primary schools exist only in paper.

The schools started under article 30 of the Indian Constitution are now under pressure in Brahmaputra valley and some of them have been forced to convert the Bengali-medium to Assamese medium. I may cite as an example that 250 schools in Goalpara district were converted into Assamese medium overnight. The provision for the protection of linguistic minorities is being violated there.

Now, I refer to para 56, page 11 of the Report regarding secondary education wherein it has been mentioned that the Home Ministry's instruction of 1956 has not been implemented as yet. The procedure in Assam is being violated as it existed on 1-11-56.

I come to para 74, page 14 of the Report wherein the Chief Secretary of the State Government is in charge of the work relating to the safeguards for linguistic minorities and is also the Minority officer at the State level,

(Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda)

The Deputy Commissioners are in overall charge of minorities in the districts. But what we find in Assam is that the Deputy Commissioner of the Nowgong district, his Superintendent of Police, his subordinate officers, looked after the Bengali linguistic minorities in such a way that looting, arson, molestation of womenfolk and other atrocities were committed and even now the reign of terror exists in that district. It is a pity, though pointed out to the State Government authorities and Union Government authorities, no action has been taken by any of the Governments.

Similarly, the Deputy Commissioner of Dibrugarh has failed to safeguard the lives and properties of Bengali-speaking minorities there.

At Jorhat, the police remained silent spectator when Bengali shops, houses, were submitted to loot and arson and the Bengalis were assaulted on main roads of the town.

At Golaghat, Sarupather, Sakia-pather, Naojan, Barapather, etc., police arrested not the rioters but victims. The Sub-Divisional Police Officer connived alongwith the officer in charge of Sarupothan Police Station.

Similarly, the Principal of the Dibrugarh Medical College has tacitly helped in eliminating Bengali doctors and students. I understand some girl students of Dibrugarh Medical College have met our hon. Prime Minister and narrated their miserable plight while she was in Shillong.

The Bengali employees of the N.F. Railway in Nowgong area, mainly in Chaparmukh-Moirabaree, Chaparmukh-Silghat and Dibrugarh Railway colony have been subjected to inhuman torture. Even womenfolk have not been spared. Some women are still untraced.

In these atrocities, mostly the persons of Bengali community are being arrested and tortured without arresting the miscreants. It is so unfor-

tunate that the State Government has completely blacked out all these informations and nobody has been allowed to visit the site of occurrences. Even the Minister of State for Home Affairs of the Union Government was not taken to visit these areas and also the Minority Minister of Assam was not allowed to visit those areas.

This recent oppression on linguistic minorities is not the first time in Assam. Not only the Bangalis have been subjected to atrocities but the Marwaris and Hindustanis have also been the victims.

This time, the All India Radio stations of Gauhati and Dibrugarh were continually indulging in spreading hatred against the Bangalis.

The Vice-Chancellor and some professors of the Gauhati University led the students to meet the Prime Minister at Shillong and these persons are paid by the University Grants Commission.

The minority boys and girls have been beaten away and tortured. Their books and belongings were all burnt. They have no safety and security there. But they are being forced to return to their respective institutions. May I know from the Government of India whether they will take the responsibility of their security?

Before I conclude, I would request the Government that this whole sad affair should be probed into and a Parliamentary delegation should be sent even now to make on the spot inquiry of the whole incident.

A high-powered judicial enquiry commission should be set up. At the same time, I humbly appeal to the Central Government that the report of the present enquiry commission which would be set up should not be shelved as it had been done before regarding the report of the Goreswar Enquiry Commission which is still in cold storage.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Allahpore):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir because of the limited time, I do not wish to quote chapter and verse from this Report of the Commissioner, but there is sufficient evidence contained in these pages to indict the Central Government for its failure, for its total failure, to see that the States, many of the States at least, comply with the safeguards and assurances which have been repeatedly given. Between pages 72 and 76 of this Report the Commissioner has pinpointed a whole number of cases of violations which are repeatedly being carried out by a number of State Governments in respect of primary education, in respect of acting with this idea that because a State is a linguistic State, it is a unilingual State, in respect of the idea about recruitment to services being dependent on having knowledge of the State language—all these things have been pinpointed here and the various State Governments responsible are listed.

So, when the hon. Minister replies to this debate, apart from what else the other members may say here, we want to hear from him at least on what is contained within the confines of this report—whatever has been stated here quite clearly. Remedies have also been proposed, though the remedies, in my opinion, are inadequate. But certain recommendations have been made by the Commissioner. For example, article 350A should be made mandatory and should not remain just as a directive because it is not being honoured as a directive; it should be made mandatory; this is his recommendation on page 73. Then there is the question of the Centre taking the responsibility of preparing some, at least, model text-books which seek to give some idea of national integration, of the essential unity of India and its cultural background, and sending those text-books to various States. On the question of adequate machinery to ensure implementation, in the last paragraph of this Report, a really pathetic plea has been made, of course in very official and polite

language, by the Commissioner saying that it is physically impossible for him to oversee or to ensure the implementation of the safeguards, and he ends up by saying, "what machinery, if any, the Government of India would like to establish at the Centre to oversee and supervise the progress of the implementation of the safeguards for linguistic minorities is a matter which the Government of India may like to consider" Well, that is the official way of writing a report.

When the Minister replies on behalf of the Government, the first thing we want to know from them—because they have had ample time to study this Report—is this. They must tell us precisely and specifically what they propose to do about these maladas, these defaults, these violations which have been pinpointed by the Commissioner himself and what is the thinking of the Government on the specific recommendations, at least three or four of them which he has proposed, very modest recommendations; we want a clear-cut reply.

Now, Sir, of course as other speakers who preceded me have pointed out, all such safeguards and assurances on paper are going to be completely futile if linguistic minorities are going to be subjected to physical oppression, physical violence and physical terror; then, there is no room for argument. There is no room for debate. It is a futile exercise for us to sit here in this Chamber and talk about the assurances and safeguards if outside something is going to happen and repeatedly, which absolutely does away with the very basis of any kind of understanding or any kind of agreed solutions. There can be differences. There can be genuine differences on the question of right of particular language to be medium of instructions or the medium of examination in a particular State or in an area. There can be differences, but the point is: are these differences going to be settled by daggers, by arson,

(Shri Indrajit Gupta)

by looting by rape? If these methods are resorted to, then there is nothing left to discuss.

I humbly submit that what has happened in Assam is not a matter for Assam alone. Assam is a warning, a serious warning to the entire country and Assam shows how an agreed solution, even an agreed solution reached at a political level can be blown up overnight by the sheer force of physical pressure and violence.

I am not going to dwell on details of the atrocities committed and the houses burnt and so on and so on. It will serve no purpose at this moment. Every body knows what has happened.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: We don't.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA Every-body knows. You can go on adding details of incidents I do not think it will solve the problem just now through I fully agree with the suggestion made that a representative Parliamentary Committee should be sent to visit that area, visit particularly those Districts of Nowgong, Jorhat, Dibrugarh, Sibsagar, Darrang and other areas. Let that committee go and meet people and talk to them and see for themselves and hear for themselves and come back and report to us.

But, the only thing I expect from our Assamese friends is that they will join us at least in condemning full-throatedly the resort to this kind of activities that have been going on, without any reservation. We want to hear it. If it is said here on the floor of this House, it will carry much more weight.

The Bengali minority in Assam, the Bengali-speaking minority and, I suppose, the tribal people also,

SHRI KARTIK ORAON (Lohardaga): Yes, you are right.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: They have been deeply shocked at something more. It is not just a question that they have been terrorised and all that. That is there. We know what has happened. They are coming away. People, having left the State, do not want to go back. The students are there. We have seen in the papers that the Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Assam are having discussions as to how the students can go back in security. Even the Government servants are trying to come away. They say that it is impossible to work. All that does not matter. I happened to be in Shillong in connection with some Consultative Committee meeting last month at the height of these disturbances that were going on and we had some limited opportunity to meet some people. The representatives of the Linguistic Minorities Committee came to Shillong and they met us. There were several Members of Parliament and there were some Central Ministers also. They kept on asking us one question: how is it, apart from the linguistic dispute and the merits of the linguistic dispute, that the Prime Minister has not uttered a single word in public, in condemnation of these acts of violence, this oppression that has been carried on? We could not give any reply. They said, this is going on and not a single word from Delhi, not a single statement was issued by the Prime Minister at a time when the whole law and order situation had patently gone out of control of the State Government. That was quite obvious at that time. I charge this Central Government, the Government of India, with abdicating its own responsibility. People were asking us, in other parts of the country, at much lesser pretext, Army has been called out and here, for days and weeks together, the whole matter was left to the State Government, to a State Government which admitted that it

was not able to control the situation and nothing was done'. Everybody knows that plenty of army is available in that area. Not that they have to be brought from far away. People asked this question. I say, the Government of India, the Prime Minister included completely abdicated their responsibility in this matter.

Sir, I would also demand that a judicial inquiry should be set up after a few days, because, these incidents are still continuing unfortunately, as we read in the Press,—perhaps in isolated cases,—but you cannot say whether they are completely overcome or not. But any way, a judicial inquiry should be appointed to go into the whole background of these disturbances to see who were responsible and who were there who took an active part in it. I am sure this thing will surely come out, which I heard for myself when I was there, about how different factions in the State Congress were participating actively in this thing, including,—was told, some people, who were interested in getting the present Chief Minister out of office. That also was playing a part in thing. So, a judicial inquiry is necessary for a thorough probe into this matter.

Next, I want to know about this. The Assam Assembly passed a Resolution on the 23rd of September, 1972. This was passed unanimously. Every single party and group in the State Assembly of Assam was a party to this Resolution which was unanimously passed. So, it was a unanimously agreed thing, may be, not perfect, but the fact remains, having taken all points of view into consideration, a State Assembly by a unanimous Resolution proposed stand by it. (An hon. Member: Including your party?) Not my party; will read. It says:

"This Assembly do now resolve that the medium of instruction at the university stage for the

Gauhati and Dibrugarh universities should be Assamese. English should, however, be continued as the medium of instruction."

—It does not say for how long, it is silent on that point; but perhaps they thought that gradually, later on, they could discuss whether this would be indefinite or a time-limit would be fixed. The Academic Council of the Gauhati University has laid down that English also would be permitted for another 10 years. Anyway, the Assembly Resolution does not say so. The Assembly Resolution then says:

"In the spirit of the Official Language Act, this Assembly do further resolve that a separate University be set up with territorial jurisdiction over the district of Cachar and that the Government of India be moved in the matter."

Sir, in this Resolution, I think and my party thinks, there are two parts. One was to give the Assamese language its rightful status in that State. Sir, nobody can take away that status. That is the language of Assam. That is assured. The position that was there was assured. At the same time, to safeguard the interest of the other two linguistic minorities, that is, the Bengalees and the non-Assamese tribals this was done. I would ask: Why was it repudiated overnight, under attack by chauvinistic and reactionary forces which launched a big attack immediately? What happened was, immediately, practically every party in the Assembly, who were parties to this Resolution, overnight began to say, no, no, we do not stand by it, we do not stand by it. (An hon. Member: including your party?) Not my party; I know it.

And then, things were made worse by the Central Minister, Mr. F. A. Ahmed who went there after a few days. He is reported to have said in a statement which has not been contradicted that this Assembly Resolution is not correct; only Assamese

[Indrajit Gupta]

should be the sole medium of examination for Assam. In that surcharged atmosphere such a statement coming from a senior Central Minister could have no other effect than to add fuel to the flames.

Mr Sarat Chandra Sinha may have been a well meaning, a well-intentioned man, I don't know, but he was quite helpless in the face of these events, and he is reported to have said on the 29th of September when he was met by some student representatives in Gauhati as follows:

"There could be no better Resolution in the present circumstances."

He further added:

'The Assam Official Language Act recognised Bengali as the official language of Cachar district, while for the Brahmaputra valley, Assamese was the sole regional and official language. It would be unfair and unrealistic to impose Assamese as the medium of instruction of that district.'

We do not want either Gauhati or Dibrugarh University to be bilingual. Hence the resolution for setting up a separate university for Cachar."

They had thought of this solution. I met Shri Sinha at that time in Shillong and I asked him what was going to happen. I have never seen a more despondent and dejected man than him. He said 'I thought that this way some solution could be found, but now I see that nobody is willing to listen to anything, and, therefore, as far as I am concerned, there is no solution possible. What solution the Central Government have thought of, I do not know'.

They are talking about some foreign hand behind these disturbances. There may be a foreign hand because on such border areas, we know that in the past also they have been active, but I would

say that even if such people, foreign agencies, had been active there, that should have been even more reason for standing firm behind this unanimous Assembly resolution. But most people became funky and certain factions of the Congress were interested in blowing it up. I do not know what solution will emerge without agreement and without a certain amount of flexibility, I say, on the part of both Assamese—and Bengali—speaking people. A certain amount of flexibility and mutually a commodating spirit has got to be shown. Otherwise, it is not possible to bring about any solution there. Rigid stands taken up will not help the matter at all, but unfortunately, the atmosphere for this is still not being allowed to be created. So, this is a very dangerous warning, a danger signal to the entire country.

As far as the role played by the Central Government is concerned, I think they abdicated their responsibility from the very beginning. We would like to hear them on the subject when they speak later.

I was also going to say something about Urdu. But the case has been very eloquently argued by Shrimati Subhadra Joshi. I just want to add one or two points, because it is a language which though included in the Eighth Schedule, is unfortunately not associated with a particular region or a particular State. Therefore, it tends to be neglected.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: What about Kashmir?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I think Shri Frank Anthony got a bit mixed up because he was talking about Muslims. But this is not the language of Muslims alone.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: Predominantly.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Nor is it the language of all Muslims. The last census of 1961 shows that 30 million

people claimed Urdu as their mother-tongue I do not know what the latest census figures are. But this is enough to show that on the one hand, there are many Muslims in many parts of the country whose mother-tongue is not Urdu, whereas there are many non-Muslims in many parts of the country who claim Urdu as their mother-tongue. But, unfortunately it is not confined to any region. But a political prejudice has been aroused. A political approach over the issue is sought to be raised against Urdu by associating Urdu with Muslims only as though it has something to do with Muslims only.

Many things have been pointed out by Shrimati Subhadra Joshi. I just want to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister one or two things. For example, the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner had earlier laid down the criterion for a linguistic minority language to be given special facilities in a particular district, where at least 30 per cent of the population of the district must have declared it to be their mother-tongue. Personally I think that this is a very high percentage, but even taking that as the criterion, I would like to point out that the Government of Uttar Pradesh had declared five districts in Western UP to come within this criterion where such facilities should be provided for Urdu, and those districts were Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Moradabad and Rampur. This was an administrative order of the UP Government. The Central Government may please check and find out whether it is at all being implemented. The order is there and yet nothing is carried out and no remedy is there also.

In 1958, the Home Ministry in the Government of India issued an order to the Delhi Administration and they have subsequently issued some more orders also providing for petitions and applications to be received by the courts and the Government offices in Urdu; court notices about cases coming up were supposed to be put up in Urdu

also outside the court. This also has been violated, whether it is because it is the Jan Sangh administration or whatever else the reason may be. But the Central Government had given these assurances and directives and it is their job now to find out what is happening about it.

The same thing is happening about Urdu-trained teachers. Schools are opened. Advertisements are given. Even in the advertisements, for the teachers it is not stated that he must be an Urdu-knowing teacher. But he is being recruited for an Urdu-medium school. We are told in the offices there is no Urdu-knowing staff. Why not? Why are they not being recruited? I would submit that the provision of Urdu medium in Urdu-medium higher secondary schools not only in districts which have a certain percentage of Urdu-speaking people but in cities and towns of these districts must be implemented and these schools must be provided with proper teachers and there should be adequate arrangements for training Urdu teachers.

16 00 hrs.

Then there is the question of provision of Urdu books for those classes. There are Urdu-medium schools and classes, but no Urdu text-books. They are told to get them from Kashmir, the only place where Urdu books are available.

Then the right of Urdu-speaking people to submit petitions and applications in Urdu to courts and government offices—this is according to the Home Ministry's own circular—should be ensured, but it is not being carried out. Some machinery should be set up to ensure implementation of these measures.

Finally, one word about the Nepali language. This is spoken by 5 million people in our country. They have been demanding for a long time its inclusion in the Eighth Schedule. Last month the Prime Minister had visited one area, the Darjeeling area, where, I

[Shri Inderjit Gupta]

think, she saw and heard for herself the complete unanimity among all these hill people, the Nepali-speaking people, irrespective of parties, from the Congress on the one side to the CPI(M) on the other, the Gurkha League, C.P.I., and others, everybody was united on this one issue that this language of theirs which has a long literary history and heritage also should be included in the Eighth Schedule. We read in the press that the Prime Minister had assured representatives of the Darjeeling people that a conference would be convened in Delhi in December to discuss and decide on the status of the Nepali language. I would like to know whether this assurance holds good, whether such a conference is being arranged or not, when it is going to be held and whether those people have been informed about it

Lastly, I will just remind the House of what was said in 1956 by our respected National Professor, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. At that time he had said:

"Nepali is not recognised as yet because it belongs to Nepal and Sindhi is confined—"

—Sindhi had not been included in the Eighth Schedule at that time—

"to 700,000 Hindu refugees from Sind and so has not yet been given full recognition. But the above discussion undoubtedly proves...." and so on.

With 5 million people who speak Nepali in our country, no longer can it be said that it is a language that belongs to another country, namely, Nepal alone.

Dr. Chatterjee urged in his note in the minority report of the Official Language Commission in 1956:

"Other Indian languages will have to be added to the Eighth Schedule following the wishes of their speakers and their importance. For example, Sindhi

and Nepali, (Gorkhali, Khas Khura or Parbatia)".

This he said prophetically in 1956. Subsequently, in 1967, this Parliament unanimously adopted a Bill which we all welcomed including Sindhi—mark you, it is spoken by only 700,000 people who have come away from Sind—in the Eighth Schedule.

Now I would like to know why the claim of the Nepali-speaking people who number 5 million in this country is being ignored. These linguistic rights are not the object of some charity or generosity on anybody's part. These are part and parcel of the cultural fabric of the country and if we want to strengthen and preserve that fabric, these rights must be given the proper respect and dignity they reserve in the larger interests of the country. I hope the Government will at least in future give up its neglectful ways and do the needful.

SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI (Lakhimpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we have the 12th report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities before us and we are discussing it. The report is to my mind a perfunctory one. It does not reveal the real problem and indicate the course of action to be taken by the different governments and the Union Government. I hope that in future the report will give the facts and the problems over which the Parliament will debate.

For instance, one previous speaker, Mr. Deb, pointed out that Bishnupriya has not been recognised as the medium of instruction at certain levels in Assam. I wish that it is recognised, but the report does not say if Bishnupriya, being a small branch of the Manipuri language, in the State of Manipur itself, has been recognised or not. That fact should have been brought out in this report. Therefore, I say that the report is perfunctory, and in future we expect a better and good report.



Sir, language is a very delicate problem, not only today but from time immemorial. Even from the prehistoric days, we have got the records that there were rivalries between two groups of people on the question of pronouncing a particular word. One group pronounced a particular word as "he aranyak" (meaning 'o enemies') and the other group pronounced it as "he alyyak" (meaning 'o enemies'). Therefore, it was a delicate problem. It has been handed down to us from time immemorial. So, the attitude of the Government and the people should be very cautious.

Coming to the question of Assam, which has been referred to in the course of this discussion by some previous speakers. I would like to say some thing on the question of the medium of instruction in the universities. What has happened in Assam is quite unfortunate and we condemn the violence that took place. As Mr. Indrajit Gupta has just now stated, we are not happy over it, and every wise person, sane person, will condemn the violence. But we must go to the root of the problem and consider what are the causes of the problem.

I am sorry to have interrupted this time Mr. Indrajit Gupta to ask whether he recognised Assamese as a language. It has a purpose, because 130 years ago, some Bengali employees under the British in Assam did not recognise Assamese as a language. Assam came under the British administration in 1826, and practically, entire Assam came into the British administration in 1836, and in 1838, the Government, at the instance of some Bengali employees, in violation of section XXIX of 1837 rules declared that Assamese is a patois or a dialect of Bengali and therefore it should not be recognised as a language. Bengali was introduced in the schools and the courts since the year 1838.

SHRI S M BANERJEE (Kanpur): None of the Members were alive then. Why is all this referred to?

SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI: Because the background is necessary.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Our background is that we are all home sapiens.

SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI: This is all in records. The injustice done to Assamese language and people is in the report of the Maftat Mill, Collector of 24 Parganas who was deputed to make a survey of the situation in Assam.

After 36 years of struggle, Bengali was substituted by Assamese in April, 1873 in the primary schools and courts. Since the introduction of Bengali, all the services were monopolised by those people who were better educated, well off, who went to Assam along with the British people. Therefore, it is a hundred years' struggle for survival so to say. It has come out today in a different way to make Assam bilingual. This background has to be understood properly. (Interruption)

SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY (Cooch-Bihar): Just one intervention. Who recognised Assamese language in the university stage of education at the Calcutta University? Even before the birth of the Gauhati University, who recognised Assamese language in the Calcutta University? Assamese was a language of study up to the M. A. standard, and who recognised that?

It was the great Bengali leader, Ashutosh Mukerjee, the tiger of Bengal who recognised Assamese language and give it a place in M. A. classes in the Calcutta University.

SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI: We admit it with a sense of gratitude.

**MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER** Are you speaking on the problem of linguistic minorities or on the evolution of the Assamese language?

**SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI**  
No Sir, linguistic minorities

**MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER** Is Assamese a linguistic minority in Assam?

**SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI** Yes according to them because they say we are 42 per cent according to their statistics, 42 per cent is less than 50 per cent. An Assamese dictionary was prepared by Dr Mbs Bronson in 1907. 599 words out of 688 words were marked as Bengali by some interested employees. It was referred to the scholar civilian Ramesh Dutta for his opinion. It was that great man who pointed out that it was a separate language.... (*Interruptions*). Besides him, some noble hearted Bengalis also safeguarded the interests of the Assamese people. It was Ashutosh Mukerjee who introduced Assamese as a medium of instruction in high schools and made it as a language subject upto M A standard.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA** Do you find one Bengali who does not recognise Assamese as the natural language of the people of Assam?

**SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI** In 1910 Acharya Profulla Roy came to Tezpur to preside over the Assamese students conference and he made a pointed reference to the "provincial patriotism and national concept of certain Bengalis" living in Assam. Now I'm coming to the present situation.

It is the national policy of the Government of India and also the Education Commission that the regional language should be the medium of instruction. There is no denying the fact that the report on language policy says that the medium of instruction at school and college and the development of modern Indian language are inextricably linked. So a place is given to that in the educational sys-

tem, especially at the university stage. Therefore there is nothing wrong if the University in Assam had adopted a resolution that Assamese should be the medium of instruction along with English. When the academic council of the Gauhati University passed a resolution giving option to give answers in English or Hindi or Bengali that was objected to. There was another meeting where they confined the choice to Bengali and English and Assamese that was also not accepted. Then they passed a resolution that Assamese should be the medium of instruction and English also for not exceeding ten years for the convenience of linguistic minorities. That was rejected by the people of Cachar. Is there any State in India where there are two regional languages as media? Is there any university where apart from English and the regional language other languages are allowed? If that is the policy followed in other parts of the country there is no reason to object to it in Assam. But why different standard for Assam alone?

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA** It is absolutely wrong information. In West Bengal there are innumerable schools and colleges with Assamese, Hindi and other languages from primary to the university level. In Bihar also, especially border areas all over the country.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA** Can you tell me of any State in India where in one district the overwhelming majority of the population 96 per cent or whatever it is speak a language which is a minority language in relation to the whole State?

**SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI** That is why there is the provision for Bengali for the district of Cachar in the State Language Act. That is why the Assam Assembly wanted to solve the problem by establishing a separate university. But it was not accepted by the people of Cachar because they are not satisfied with themselves alone.

they want to have a supervisory role to play over the other Bengali-speaking people living in other areas. That is why they rejected it. If it was accepted by the Cachar people, the situation would have been quite different. (*Interruption*). Sir, I am not yielding. The hon. lady member had the audacity to abuse the entire people of Assam as uncivilised but we have taken it smilingly. But while I am speaking, she is interrupting.

When the Assamese students of Assam decided to observe hartal on the 5th October, on that day there was an incident in Kharupetia. The people in that small township did not observe hartal. A young teen-aged boy Mr. Muzammil Haque was killed. Is this killing civilised? "Following the death of Muzammil Haque in connection with the incident of Kharupetia, the situation at Dhubri became very tense and took a communal turn. This town witnessed some communal clashes only about three months ago over the sale of fish in the market." This is the starting point. Again, there was a mourning day on 7th October to be observed by the students of Assam for the death of Muzammil. That was resisted by the people of Hojai. A young student leader, Anil Bora, Vice-President of the Students' Union was butchered. His head was cut, his stomach was opened and was filled in with stone and sands and stitched. The body was packed in a gunny bag and thrown into a river-side. It was discovered after 10 days. Is this civilised action? After that there were a series of incidents, but it goes to the credit of the student community of Assam that they did not participate in them. They simply started agitation against the Government of Assam and not against the Bengali-speaking people. They started *satyagraha* in front of Government offices.

They started *satyagraha* in front of all the schools and colleges. It was not against any particular community, religious group or section. There was

no attack on government property either. I am sorry, the other day while participating in the discussion on the supplementary demands for grants for railways, the hon. Member Shri Samar Guha, stated that a number of railway stations and staff quarters were burnt down. I challenge him to prove that.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I accept the challenge. I can give the names of the stations the train numbers where they have been dislocated, burnt or looted etc. I can supply every information. I have written to the Railway Minister and the Prime Minister. I am expecting a statement from the government. If I am given an opportunity, I can prove everything.

SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI: Let him prove that any railway station in the Brahmaputra valley has been burnt. Of course, I am not speaking about Cachar.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Cachar is not a part of Assam?

SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI: Then, so many insinuations have been made in this House regarding Assam Government's action. I would say that the Government of Assam have done their best. I have got with me figures of persons arrested and punished, 14 officers were suspended out of whom 9 were Assamese-speaking officers holding high posts as District Magistrates or Superintendents of Police. This shows that the Government of Assam have done their best to protect the lives and properties of the minority people.

I would like to cite an instance as to how provocation comes. The other day after the incidents were over, a group of small students in Dibrugarh while returning from their schools were attacked near a Bengali colony. Shri Samar Guha can deny it.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA:** I only want to tell my friend that if he goes to Dum Dum airport, he will find everyday hundreds of Bengalis are flying away even now from Dibrugarh. So, how can a Bengali living in Assam attack his neighbour who is an Assamese? It is fantastic even to suggest.

**SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI:** I will now come to the population figure, to which a reference was made, by Shri Daschowdhuri.

**SHRI G. VISWANATHAN** (Wandiwash): Now you are provoking another member.

**SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI:** While dealing with the census figures he said that it is a biological phenomenon.

**SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY:** I said that it is a biological miracle.

**SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI:** During the period 1931—51, there is an increase in the Assamese-speaking population by 4.28 per cent in North Cachar and Mihar hill districts. The reason is that these were fallow lands and nobody was going to settle there. During this period people from East Bengal and other parts of Assam went there and settled. It is known to everybody here that the Muslims who have migrated from East Bengal, all of them have adopted Assamese as their language. That is a hill district.

**SHRI DINEN BHATTACHARYYA** (Serampore): They have been forced to do that.

**SHRI BISWANARAYAN SHASTRI:** Perhaps it is not known to everybody here that in 1926 there was an agreement between the Government of Assam and the Ministry of Railways that any person from Bengal wanting to travel to Assam can travel to any station in Assam by paying only Rs. 5. So, there was a migration. A number of people from undivided Bengal went to Assam and

this swelled the population in Assam. As I have stated that some of them have adopted Assamese as their language. That is the reason why there is so much of increase in population during this period of 20 years.

Therefore, there is no miracle if there is an increase by 149 per cent in whole of Assam. Again, there is an increase in population between the period 1951 and 1961. The all-India average is 24.57 per cent whereas an increase in Assam is about 34 per cent, that is, 10 per cent more. Therefore, it is quite natural that everywhere there has been an increase in population and increase in Assamese speaking population.

Regarding minorities, there is absolute freedom and absolute option for having schools in their mother-tongue. I have got the figures, how many high schools and higher secondary schools are there with different media of instruction. For instance, there are educational institutions with Hindi medium, with Nepali medium, with Bodo medium and with manipuri medium also besides Bengali medium schools. Therefore, there is no restriction on the use of their mother-tongue even at secondary stage, not to speak at primary stage.

Now, I would refer to the speech made by the hon. Member, Sarinmati Jyotsna Chanda, that there is a primary school in Hailakundi. It is stated that 96 per cent are Bengali-speaking people there. For argument, I accept it; I do not dispute that. There is still 4 per cent minority there. If there are a few Assamese-speaking people there and they want to have a primary school in Assamese medium, why should she object to that? This reveals the attitude of the people living there. The whole trouble lies there. It is their conception that the Assamese-speaking people are not like the people living in other States of India. Their conception is that they are less educated and they are poor people and, therefore, they can be subjected to any condition.

I conclude by reciting a Sanskrit verse:

ब्रह्मं नैव राज नैव सिंह नैव च नैव च ।  
यज्ञापुत्रं बलिं दद्यात् दुर्जनस्य बलियैः ॥

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contd.):**  
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, today, I do not know how to speak, what to speak and where to begin from.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER :** That is my difficulty.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA :** I will show you why I have said so. I have spent not one but quite a few sleepless nights. These are the pathetic letters and the telegrams I have got from Assam. If I read any of them, that will add fuel to fire. I do not want fiat. These are all the letters I have got from there. Every day, when I go home, I am getting these letters. These are all from Assam. So, from where to begin, how to begin, I do not know.

I do not say that there cannot be conflict of aspirations as regards the language of the majority and the language of the minority. It is quite probable that in a big country like ours, as regards the majority language, particularly, in certain areas which are not as developed as other areas, they can have certain aspirations so that their language may be lifted to a certain standard, not only that, to a certain elegance and brilliance also. At the same time, if we concede that it is the constitutional right of the minorities who are born in this country, who have been given the constitutional right, who have been given linguistic rights, they have also their aspirations to defend their own linguistic rights. I think, I cannot blame either the majority community or the minority community.

16.30 hrs.

[**SHRI K. N. TIWARI** in the Chair]

Sir, even after reorganisation of our States, we find that the conflict of languages remains. People speaking

the same language have been divided into various States. In one State there are multi-lingual communities. That is the reason why the States Reorganisation Commission had set certain principles, how these problems of linguistic minorities, conflicts between the aspirations of the linguistic minorities and the majority should be resolved; the Constitution has also given some guarantees; the UGC has given certain directives; and there are also national policies that we have adopted.

I want to know this from you, Sir, I want to know this from this House. I want to know this from the Government, I want to know this from the nation. I am not speaking as a Bengali today. Certain fundamental principles are involved. Suppose there is a conflict between the aspirations of one community and those of another community, linguistic or otherwise, is it the prerogative, is it the sovereign right of any community, be it Bengali, be it any community in any part of India, that, disregarding all national policies, disregarding all the Constitutional rights, disregarding all the laws passed with national perspective, disregarding the national logic, objectives of national unity and national integration, disregarding our concept of belonging to one nation, disregarding the concept of commonness of our people and community can take the law in their own hands? They want to resolve this problem not through democratic means, not on the basis of accepted national principles, but through the language of violence, through killing, through murder, through loot, through arson, through abduction, and worst of all, by snatching the honour of our mothers and sisters.

This is the eighth language riot in Assam: first it happened in 1948, then in 1950, then in 1955, then in 1960, then in 1968, then in 1970, then in 1971 and now; it is the eighth language riot in Assam. This is the situation in the Silver Jubilee Year of our

[Shri Samar Guha] independence, after 25 years of our independence! I want to know from the hon. Minister, I want to know from this hon. House whether this has happened in any other part of the country that linguistic minorities have been subjected—during the last 25 years not once, not twice but for eight times—to these barbarities, savageries and atrocities. Once it was Bengali *kedda* then it was Bihari *kedda*, then it was Marwadi *kedda*; drive away the Bengalis, drive away the Marwadis, drive away the Biharis; these were the slogans when language riots were there. I want to know from the hon. Minister and from this hon. House, be it a communal riot, be it a regional conflict, be it a language riot, has it happened in any other part of the country during the last 25 years—for over two months continuously murder, killing, loot, arson, abduction of women and such barbarities?

I ask this question. Is Assam a sovereign country? Is it within the Constitution of India or not? Is it not to obey the democratic principles of our country to resolve disputes? You have to resolve the disputes through democratic means, through Constitutional means. Today it may be Assam; tomorrow it may be Belgaum. The other day in the other part of the country, in border areas, this conflict of linguistic minorities are there. Therefore, I will ask the House not to look at the problem as a conflict between Assamese and Bengalis, not to look at the problem as a conflict between Assamese and Biharis or Marwadis, not to look at the problem as a conflict between the Assamese and the tribal people there. It is a basic question. Even after the reorganisation of the States, this problem remains. Unless you can evolve a certain civilised democratic code of conduct or democratic principle, God alone knows, nemesis may overtake the concept of national unity and national integration of our country. This is the warning that the whole nation should take from Assam. It is very unfortunate.

During the 1960 riots Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Assam. Lal Bahadur Shastriji was sent there. A parliamentary delegation headed by Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain visited Assam. A judicial inquiry was instituted in 1968 when our Marwari friends were brutally assaulted. Mr. Chavan, who was then the Home Minister, rushed there and he came back here and made a statement on the floor of the House. But, it is a matter of extreme regret that on this occasion our Government did not take it in a national perspective, and as a national problem. They considered it as a regional problem, that it should be treated as a hush-hush policy and nothing will come out. It is a matter of regret that the whole affair of Assam has to be raised in this House in an indirect way and during the discussion on the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner's report. It is a matter of shame that when hundreds of women and hundreds of mothers and sisters have been dishonoured there, we could not raise it on the floor of this House—a major national problem. The result has been, only Mr. Mirdha and Mr. Ahmed visited Assam. I am sorry to say it to Mr. Mirdha. Mr. Mirdha did not even visit those riot-affected areas where the linguistic minorities had to face the atrocities. Even Panditji visited those areas in 1960. But, our Minister of State, Home Affairs, gave a good exit to the Assam Government just sitting in Gauhati. Mr. Ahmed, you also did not visit all the affected areas. It is better that he should have kept silent. Therefore, I say it is a matter of regret that you are adopting a hush-hush policy.

India is a vast country but you have taken a regional perspective, not a national perspective. The PTI, UNI have not circulated a single sentence about the disturbances there. Recently, in Calcutta, we had a Linguistic Minorities' Right Conference. It was opened by the Retired Chief Justice of the Patna High Court and presided over by the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court and friends from Punjab, UP, Bihar and tribal leaders

of Assam attended that conference. Many other eminent personalities also attended that conference. But, not a single line was reported by the P.T.I. When I inquired, 'What happened?', they said, 'It is our instructions not to send a single line about it.' The result was that there was no news in the national press..

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please be brief.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I am trying.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No question of trying. Please brief.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: It was agreed in the Business Advisory Committee that I will be given sufficient time. It was unanimously agreed in the Business Advisory Committee that I will be given sufficient time.

What I want to point out to you is and I am sorry to say that, that even the national Press has failed to discharge its duty. They should have criticised. What the Assam Press did? Day in and day out they poured venom. I will just read out one letter from a professor in an Assam paper:

"Further, the Action Committee made it clear that the present problem of medium of instruction was only the symptom of the disease—the cancerous growth of Bengali expansion in the body of Assamese nationality in all the aspects—linguistic, economic, cultural, political and social...."

Day in and day out, the Assam press was giving the news that hundreds of primary and secondary schools are automatically getting themselves Assamesed. Day in and day out news comes out on the All India Radio station of Gauhati, controlled by the Centre, about these things and its bulletins virtually became the bulletins of the agitators. I condemn it and I demand that the Government place all the Assamese news bulletins of that period on the Table of the House.

What is the reason? Because we do not look at the whole thing from a national perspective.

This has to be thrashed out as a national problem, in the national perspective, not on regional basis. There are regional problems of language in Punjab, in Tamil Nadu, in Kashmir, in Nagaland, etc. These have to be discussed and looked into and resolved on the basis of national policy, and from the national perspective. When we talked to Prime Minister, she said that the problems be solved with local initiative and under local leadership. How can you depend on the local leadership there? The local leadership is divided. One group tried to throw out Mr. Sarat Chandra Sinha—he is a good friend of mine. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda issued a strange statement. It is there on record. He said: A set of people want to oust Sarat Chandra Sinha. Mr. Lalit Dalai, President of the Assam Congress issued a statement saying that there is a conspiracy to oust Mr. Sarat Chandra Sinha.

Sir, in respect of the Calling Attention Motion here the other day the hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs said that 18 persons were killed. He said some arrests etc. were made. Either the Assam Government is completely ineffective...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Well, I will say one thing please. Kindly hear me. Are we covering all the points, law and order and everything, or are we discussing this Report? Riot took place due to language trouble. That I have allowed. But don't take so much time only law and order.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I am coming to the point. This is absolutely wrong. I can give you the date; I can give you the names; I can give you all the statistics to show how many people have been killed. I will give you names. I will give you all the data. 3,000 houses have been completely gutted....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Again, you are coming to law and order.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: 500 houses were looted; about 300 mothers and sisters were dishonoured. Lest I may be misunderstood since this is a sensitive subject, let me read from an Assamese newspaper of theirs. This is what it says:

"Many dead bodies were seen floating in the river near Dibrugarh. Reports of chopping off breasts of women are also coming."

In this area news has come that so many people have been burnt alive. He said about Dibrugarh. In one area 38 or 35 families were surrounded on three sides the river in Gauhati valley. 66 persons of these families were burnt alive.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I don't allow this.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: This is law and order, the most important problem.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We are discussing language issue.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I am coming, Sir. In Dhubri, in Nowgong, in many other areas, the Durgapuja could not be performed. Many images were damaged. This is a law and order problem. I can give the events day by day. I can give you name by name. I can give you data area by area. I want a judicial enquiry. Everything, every name, every place is before me; I can give this to you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your time is up. You have already taken 18 minutes. You must now conclude.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Gwalior): Let him complete.

MR. CHAIRMAN: How long? If the House wants that he should complete, I have no objection. But, I will not allow others to speak.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Sir, five hours are there. What I have been saying is that it is not at all language riot. You will be kind enough to appreciate this. What is the problem? The problem is this. In the primary school and at the secondary stage the Bengalees are theoretically allowed, but in Goalpara district in Nowgong and other areas, primary schools of Bengalees and secondary schools have been abolished. In some of the areas, 90 per cent of the students in the colleges are Bengali-speaking. But they only wanted to retain English at least as a safeguard, they did not want that Bengali should be introduced as the medium of instruction. Even that is not conceded.

In fact, at the university level, the question of regional languages as medium of instruction is absolutely theoretical. Nowhere in India is there any regional language as the medium of instruction at the university level; in fact, the UGC have set out the policy and that was spelt out by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri in his agreement with the minorities in Assam; and this has been given in the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner's report also, namely that up to the primary and secondary level, even if 30 per cent of the students, or even if 40 students want to have their mother-tongue, they should be allowed to have their primary and secondary education in their mother-tongue. But the UGC has remained silent on the university level of education, because it is theoretical. Nowhere at the University level or at the post-graduate education are textbooks available in the regional languages. No books are available in the regional languages at those levels. In Assam, they are fighting over this language issue at the university level for nothing. All the students, whether they be Bengalees or Assamese or the tribal people, are fighting over a theoretical issue in Assam. English is the medium of instruction for all students at the university level.



No science book is available in the Assamese language at the post-graduate level. There is not a single Assamese book or Bengali book available at that level. Therefore, the fight which is going on there is an unreal one. I wonder how the UGC has given about Rs. 1 crore for translation of books only into Assamese regional languages. There are others like the Bengali language or the Bodo language, such as the language of the Mikirs and the plains and hills tribals, who in all, about 19 lakhs of people, have also a language of their own. This Rs. 1 crores should have been divided between them. This whole movement has been started by those Gauhati university teachers and publishers, about 213 in number because they wanted to grab all this money so that they could get the benefit out of this....

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have given 20 minutes to the hon. Member already. Now, he should conclude. I shall not allow him to go on any further.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I am going to conclude.

MR. CHAIRMAN: In place of three minutes to which he was entitled, I have given him 20 minutes already.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: How can a Member be expected to finish in three minutes?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: They were all members of the Business Advisory Committee and they should have seen to this....

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right, he should conclude in three more minutes.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Here is the Assam official language agreement which was reached with Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. What Mr. Chatterjee said was that the medium of instruction at all levels should be the mother-tongue. I do not want to say what measures were taken and what

has happened this time. All the Assamese sources were silent this time. My hon. friend Shri Dharnidhar Das was there; he was brutally beaten, and he had the courage to stand and say that he would not agree to sign on the dotted line of the students, and he was brutally beaten up for that.

The worst thing that has happened is this. I would say that about 60 to 80 per cent of the incidents were done by persons other than students. My hon. friends from Assam know about it. Therefore, I say that it is a matter for investigation. They were done by the elements from the Yahya Khan regime or the Yahya Khan elements who percolated and escaped from Bangla Desh; they were the spearhead; truckloads of people were coming there and living in colonies and villages and plundering one area after another. The students, as a whole, did not participate in anything; it was mainly the Pakistani agents who had done these things. That is one of the reasons why there should be a judicial inquiry.

I shall discuss the question of medium of instruction at the university level when the UGC report comes up for discussion. But the substitute motion that I have given reads thus.

I forgot to mention one other thing....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, I am not going to allow him. I have already given him more than 20 minutes.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: All right, I am concluding.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He must conclude now. This is very unreasonable on his part.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I have suggested in my substitute motion that this problem should be solved not on a regional basis but according to our accepted national policy laid down under the Constitution in regard to the rights of the linguistic minorities.

[Shri Samar Guha]

and on the basis of the principles enunciated by the States Reorganisation Commission. I would suggest that a special commission by the Linguistics Commissioner should be set up to resolve the entire linguistic problem in Assam.

Again, I would like to submit that strangely enough, 80 per cent of those of the minority community, who have been the victims, have been arrested. I would request the leaders of the majority community to look after about 3500 refugees who are in need of shelter should be given proper relief....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, he should conclude.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I am concluding. I would just mention one more thing....

MR. CHAIRMAN: At this rate, he will never conclude. We are tired of this.

In place of 3 minutes, I have given him 25 minutes. Still he is not satisfied.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I am concluding in one minute.

Lastly, I want to suggest that there should be a judicial probe because there are external agents behind it. Not all the Assamese people, not the sane people, are in it. All the political parties have decried it. But there are hands behind it, enemy hands. Therefore, there should be a judicial inquiry, as was done in 1960, as was done subsequently also.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. You cannot monopolise the time of the whole House. Shri Goswami.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: \*\*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing that he says will go on record. He thinks he can come here whenever he likes and say what he wants to say for

whatever time he likes. The Chair cannot be put under threat by any hon. Member. Shri Goswami may come to the front. Only what he speaks will go on record.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GO-SWAMI (Gauhati): Mr. Chairman, Sir....

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: \*\*

MR. CHAIRMAN: In place of 3 minutes, I have given him 27 minutes. Still he is not satisfied. He is creating a row in the House. He should mend himself. Nothing that he says will go on record.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): We are thankful to you so much for the time you have given Prof. Samar Guha. He has only one concrete suggestion to make which can be finished in a few seconds.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No. After this attitude, I will not allow him.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: This is a very sensitive issue. Kindly give him a few seconds more.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All right.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I say a parliamentary delegation should be sent there so as to bring about a rapprochement between all the communities and create confidence and a sense of brotherhood among the people there so that normalcy is restored. Otherwise this national problem cannot be solved in a national way.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I want to say this to Shri Samar Guha. You are a professor, a very learned man. Still you insist on your own rights without taking account of the rights of other members. You look to your own facilities and you do not care for the facilities of other hon. members of the House.

In future, I request you not to insist like this.

**SHRI SAMAR GUHA.** The Business Advisory Committee agreed that I will be given sufficient time and, on the basis of that, I spoke. (Interruption).

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** सभापति महोदय, प्रापने माननीय सदस्य को हम से पहले बुना लिया। प्रापने यह हमारे साथ अत्याय किया। लेकिन हम चुरा रहे।

**सभापति महोदय :** जब इनको पहले बुलाया गया, तो यह हाउस में नहीं थे। हाउस में बैठे भी नहीं, जब आयेगे, तो जब चाहे, जितना चाहे बोलना चाहते हैं। क्या यह प्रापर है ?

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** सभापति महोदय, प्रोफेसर के लिए थोड़े में बोलना जरा मुश्किल होता है।

**SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Jainagar):** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the period 1st July, 1969 to 30th June, 1970, laid on the Table of the House on the 12th April, 1972, is of the opinion that the Government—

(a) has failed to guarantee and promote linguistic and cultural development of the linguistic minorities; and

(b) has rejected the demand for inclusion of Maithili, Nepali, Bhojpuri and Rajasthani languages in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution." (5)

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU** I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely —

"This House having considered the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the period 1st July, 1969 to 30th June, 1970, laid on the Table of the House on the 12th April, 1972, is of the opinion—

(a) that the Government has failed to safeguard the linguistic and cultural freedom of linguistic minorities in different regions and States under articles 350, 350A and 350B of the Constitution of India;

(b) that according to Commissioner's own admission 'in the States of Assam, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab, and the Union Territories of Chandigarh, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Laccadives, Minicoy and Amundivi Islands, North East Frontier Agency and Tripura, the facilities provided for instructions in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups are not in accordance with the provisions of Article 350A of the Constitution';

(c) that the Central Government has refused to honour the demand of the Nepali-speaking population of Darjeeling, West Bengal, for inclusion of Nepali language as one of the official languages of the Indian Union through an amendment of the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution;

(d) that the provisions of the Official Languages Act, as amended in 1968, have not

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

been strictly adhered to by the Government;

- (e) that the Government has failed to solve the language problem in Assam where Assamese language should be the medium of instruction and administration and at the same time the linguistic minorities in that State must get their education through their mother tongue in primary, secondary and university levels and same principle should be followed in respect of other States and Union Territories also but the Government has failed to take positive steps in this regard;

and urges upon the Government to adopt a time-bound programme to protect the linguistic, cultural and educational interests of linguistic minorities in different States and regions under articles 350, 350A and 350B of the Constitution."(4)

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GO-SWAMI (Gauhati): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are discussing here the 12th report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, but, as ill-luck would have it, it seems to have transformed itself into an Assam debate.

Sir, Mr. Indrajit Gupta asked us whether the Members of Parliament from Assam are prepared to condemn violence. Without any reservation, I condemn the violence that has taken place in my State. I do not stand for violence. I know that violence and democracy cannot go together. Violence undermines the political democracy; it hits at the country's economy and vitiates the social atmosphere. Therefore, let there be no misunderstanding that we are opposed to violence for whatever reasons it may take place. But, I would ask Members of Parliament, in the Opposition, and particularly, Shri Indrajit Gupta, to bear with me and try to understand why it is that violence has been resorted to in Assam from time to time in the name

of language. You have seen the Members from Assam here. We are not the people who lose our composure easily. Even in the House, whenever there is an emotional uproar, we hardly lose our composure. But why is it that in Assam, the people who are decent, hospitable have a tendency of violence in the name of language which has often showed its ugly head. That must be understood, and unless one tries to understand the basic reasons for which violence has taken place in Assam, one cannot solve this problem by mere condemnation of it.

This issue has two aspects: the language aspect, and the aspect of violence. And the two issues must not be confused. The language aspect is that there is a national policy on language; that the medium of instruction at the university level should be in the regional language. One can debate the justifiability of this policy. I am prepared to enter into a debate whether it is proper that at the university level the regional language should be the medium of instruction, but unfortunately, none in this House, except Mr. Frank Anthony, has questioned the national policy. If you do not question the national policy, and you stick to that policy that the medium of instruction at the university level should be in the regional language, I ask my friends, "Should this policy be applied in the same manner in Assam or not?" Or, is that it is to be applied in the rest of the country; but so far as Assam is concerned, there should be a discrimination on this issue. So long as the national policy stands, we should try to follow the policy and stand by it. Obviously in pursuance and in conformity with national policy, the Gauhati University has taken a decision that the regional language, the Assamese language with English as an alternative, should be the medium of instruction in the Gauhati University and Assamese should be the medium of instruction at the Dibrugarh University.

It is not that only Gauhati has taken the decision. In fact, from the report itself I find that some 35 universities have already taken the decision. Now, a question was asked of Shri Mirdha sometime back, in this House, "Why are you not introducing the regional languages in the Public Service Commission examinations? Shri Mirdha replied that because all the universities in this country have not adopted the regional languages as the medium of instruction, the Government have not been able to implement this policy of having the Public Service Commission examinations through the regional languages.

17.00 hrs.

Look to the figures. There are students in 35 universities having their education through regional languages medium of instruction. But they are asked to appear before the Public Service Commission in English, simply because some other universities have not accepted the regional language as the medium of instruction. By asking these students to undergo their education in a particular language and asking them to appear in P.S.C. examinations in a foreign language, are we not putting them in a greatly disadvantageous position? Therefore to remove these difficulties and in conformity with the national policy the Gauhati university took a decision that Assamese with English as an alternative language will be the medium of instruction. Thereafter we find that an agitation grew in Cachar. Cachar students, the Chatra parishad and other organisations observed hartal in Cachar against this decision on the demand for Bengali language. Seeds of violence were first sown in Cachar and a Member of Parliament was assaulted in Cachar. (Interruptions) He is a Member of Rajya Sabha. Mr. N. Chaudhury.

2031 LS.11.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I have not seen him injured; he was taking coffee.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI: You do not know him. That was the place where it started. When this demand for Bengali grew in Cachar, coupled with some other factors—Mr. Samar Guha tried to mention one factor—reservations grew in the minds of the people of the Brahmaputra Valley and they felt that there was deliberate effort to make Assam a bilingual State. After all it is a serious apprehension that a majority of a particular State will be turned into a minority by continued influx. This is not an apprehension in Assam only; it is true throughout the country, and even in other countries.

For example, let me say to Shri Indrajit Gupta about Soviet Russia. In Soviet Russia, a big nationality whose name is Bears and which has a definite size of the population is constitutionally afforded guarantees to ensure its independent existence. It is done by a peculiar procedure and the procedure is that republican citizenship is granted by each State in order to ensure that it continues to maintain their majority in that particular State and by this procedure, the apprehension of a majority population turning into minority is avoided. However, there is no provision like this in our Constitution. I am not advocating such a provision; I am asking my friends only to bear in mind that the apprehension is there. When my friend Daschowdhury says that Assam is a State with 42 per cent of Assamese and therefore Bengali should be the medium of instruction, should I not, as a normal being, have this apprehension? There is a feeling among young people that there is conscious design by a section of the population to make Assam a bilingual State and deny the people of Assam their rightful place.

(Shri Dinesh Chandra Goswami)  
That apprehension to a great extent is at the root of language agitation.

The other aspect is one of un-employment. Whether in Assam or Andhra Pradesh or Punjab, the troubles have a root cause—insecurity of the younger generation. The younger people who go to the colleges feel that their future is bleak and dark because there are no employment opportunities. In Assam employment opportunities are very limited; the Assamese people are not adapted to business; they are almost entirely confined to jobs. I want the Central Home Minister to enquire into this. The Assamese boys in the Central Government undertakings are very limited in number. The headquarters of almost all the Central Government undertakings doing business in Assam are not located in Assam but outside Assam. For example, the petro chemical complex's headquarters is located at Baroda, that of Oil and Natural Gas Commission at Dehra Dun, similarly in respect of the cement factory, at Calcutta. People are employed in these outside headquarters and transferred to Assam. When we say that local boys are not getting employment, the reply given to us that these are all India posts and all India transfers are allowed. I can give specific cases where persons were appointed on a particular date and the next day they were transferred to Assam. When there are thousands of unemployed persons on the streets in Assam, will they not have a feeling of reservation when they find that they are not even allowed to compete for their jobs? I am asking my friends of other States, don't you think in such a situation the same turmoil would have been caused in your State? So long as this insecurity continues, unrest is bound to continue. In Assam it may be in the name of language. In other States, it may be on other issues. This basic cause must be remedied. The apprehension in the minds of the Assamese people, because of the unfortunate propaganda by certain interested sections of the population that Assamese language is going

to lose its rightful place in Assam because of the continuous influx from other areas, must be removed, and there should be adequate safeguards in the matter of employment. I do not say that Bengali boys should not get employment. But this unscrupulous method of employing people outside and transferring them to Assam the next day should be given up. Let everybody have equal opportunity for employment. These are the basic causes, which I hope my friends will try to understand and appreciate.

There is a third cause of violence this time in Assam. Unfortunately this time violence has erupted for the unforseen hands of some other forces. I am not going to name them. It is for the Home Ministry to find out. Mr. Guha has agreed that the student community in Assam by and large has been peaceful in these disturbances and I give full compliments to them. Let us look at certain facts. When the Gauhati University took the decision to make Assamese the medium of instruction, resistance in Cachar grew and certain petitions were filed in the Supreme Court against the decision of the Gauhati University. Because of this, there was an apprehension in the minds of the students that Assamese language may not get its rightful place, that the national policy of having education through the regional language may be thwarted. Therefore, a day of bandh was observed in Assam on the 5th October, 1972. In a place known as Kharupetia, this hartal was not observed. Some students went from neighbouring Tezpur town went there and disturbances took place. You will be astonished that out of the 40 persons injured, 38 were young Assamese boys. One Assamese boy was brutally killed. That is the first day on which disturbance took place. I ask my friends from the other States: If in their State, while pleading for a legitimate cause 38 young boys of their State are brutally injured and one boy is killed, will they be able to maintain peace in their State? (*Interruptions*).

Sir, I am not yielding. On the 5th this took place. Let the Home Ministry deny these facts. On the 7th, a day of mourning was observed throughout Assam to pay respect to the departed soul of that young boy who was killed. In a place called Hojai, this mourning was not observed. *(Interruptions).*

MR. CHAIRMAN: When you were speaking, Mr. Guha, nobody interfered. Whatever you wanted to say you have said. Now hear the other side.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI: As I said, the hartal or mourning was not observed in a place called Hojai. Two Assamese students, Anil Bora, General Secretary of Nowgong College and Naren Barua, General Secretary, A.D.P. College, went to that place to request the persons to observe the hartal. They were persuaded by local authorities to go back because there was tension. These boys came back. While they were coming back, Anil Bora was kidnapped by some unknown persons and his dead body, mutilated, with the head cut off, was found after 10 days, i.e. on 17th October, 1972. The other boy was brutally injured. I am asking my friends on the other side, even Shri Samar Guha, if it happens that while a young university student, the Secretary of a particular college, when he is taking part in a movement for a legitimate demand, if he is brutally murdered, can anybody prevent violence from erupting in that State?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Since he has mentioned my name, I want to ask him a question.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI: I am not yielding.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: In that group 90 persons were non-students. He has named the wrong person.....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI: I am not justifying violence but I am asking: can you guarantee

peace and tranquility and absence of violence in such provocative conditions? I am not accusing any community of creating these conditions. Certain forces have brought it. It is for the Government to find out these forces.

In Golaghat another boy was murdered on the 29th October, a student leader, and his dead body was found in Sarupathar area. I am asking you, if in your State you found that bright young boys who are student leaders are murdered by some unknown forces, can you say that violence will not erupt? If you can guarantee it, I will hold myself guilty for whatever has happened. I do not know who has done it; I do not know who has killed these people. It is for the Home Minister to enquire and find out the culprits. What I am trying to put before the House with all the emphasis at my command is that the student community in Assam have acted very responsibly. Because of such provocative actions which have taken place in Assam at that particular moment on the delicate language issue, it was not possible for the government to stop the violence. As I have said, I do not stand for violence and I do not support the violence that has taken place in the entire State. These facts have to be taken into consideration.

I have given the facts. Let the Home Ministry deny the facts. If any of the facts which I have mentioned are found untrue, I am prepared to resign my seat in the Lok Sabha. I take responsibility for the facts that I have mentioned and I am prepared to resign my seat if they are proved untrue. Let Shri Samar Guha accept the challenge. If his facts are found to be untrue, will he resign?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Surely, I will also resign my seat in Lok Sabha if there is an iota of untruth in what I have said in this House. I have all the papers with me. I am happy that my friend is prepared for a judicial inquiry to find out ...*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI** Though you have not accepted the challenge, for a peaceful debate, I am withdrawing the challenge (Interruptions) I have withdrawn the challenge

Now, with that background of violence, I come to the language policy. Shri Indrajit Gupta asked me this question why is it that a unanimously passed resolution of the Assam Assembly about a separate university for Cachar was later withdrawn? When the Gauhati university took the decision, Assamese and English were the medium of instruction in this university. The Assam Assembly by a unanimous resolution took the decision that for the district of Cachar a separate university will be given because there were some doubts that Cachar have a majority of Bengali population. Can you conceive of a State offering a university to a district but the district refusing it saying "we do not want the university"? Why was it refused? It was refused because the people of Cachar district not only wanted to protect their own interests but they wanted to act as the guardian of the Bengali population of the Brahmaputra valley. Who has given them the authority to act as guardians of Bengali community in Brahmaputra valley? I represent Gauhati. Why should I or the people of the Brahmaputra valley including the minority community allow the people of Cachar to act as the guardian of the Bengali population of the Brahmaputra valley? We are the elected representatives to look after their interests. Therefore, the entire conflict has been that the people of Cachar have not tried to identify with the aspirations of the people of Assam. Ultimately, when the Cachar people did not want it, when the Brahmaputra valley people did not want it, the Government found itself in a helpless position and therefore, had to withdraw from the Resolution.

I will conclude by saying that if from the language disturbances any-

body has suffered, it is we the people of Assam. Because of the language disturbances, there has been social tension there, economy has been crippled for months together and political atmosphere has been vitiated. We are sick of this language trouble in Assam. We the people of Assam want to get rid of it. There are only two possible solutions to get rid of this language problem. One is to evolve a national policy on the basis of already existing guidelines by which all the States can be guided. If no national policy is evolved pending the evolution of the national policy, the only alternative is that it is for the minorities to make integrated efforts for all round progress of the State and accept the basic policies in the State including the policy of language. I appeal to the minorities of Assam to identify themselves with the aspirations of the people of the State. If they identify with them there will be no problem. If they do not identify and they want to try to create an atmosphere that they have got a special identity of their own unfortunately, the agitation for language in Assam with its accompanied tension in spite of all our pious wish may erupt again.

**\*SHRI J MATHA GOWDER** (Nilgiris) Mr Chairman, Sir, on the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India, I would like to express my views.

Articles 29, 30, 347 and 350 of our Constitution have a direct bearing on the safeguards for linguistic minorities. Similarly, Articles 14, 15 and 16 of the Fundamental Rights Chapter of our Constitution also operate as safeguards for the linguistic minorities. In view of these specific constitutional provisions for safeguarding the rights of the linguistic minorities, it is incumbent on the part of the Government to see whether actual protection is being given to them in the matter of enforcing these safeguards. From what I have understood while perusing the 12th Report, I feel that the safeguards



exist only on paper but not in actual practice. Article 16 of our Constitution provides for equality of opportunity in the matters of public employment. But, in many States, knowledge of the State official language as a pre-requisite for entry into State Services is being insisted upon. I have to say that this nullifies the right of equal opportunity in the matters of public employment as enshrined in our Constitution. What machinery the Government of India has set up to supervise the progress of the implementation of the safeguards for linguistic minorities, I would like to know.

Here, I am constrained to point out that the right to property, which is a fundamental right, is being enjoyed only by the rich sections of our society, which today form a microscopic minority, while for the majority of the poor it is just a mirage. Whereas the Government are zealous in protecting the right to property, they show total indifference in the matter of protecting the constitutional rights of the linguistic minorities. This is the position obtaining in the 25th Silver Jubilee Year of our Independence. I have gone through the Commissioner's Report of the last four or five years. I have to regretfully point out here that all these Reports contained similar catalogue of failures in implementing the safeguards of linguistic minorities. The 12th Report is also just a monotonous repetition of the same kind of failures. If this is all that the Commissioner has to say year after year and also express his or her helplessness, I get the feeling whether there is any need for the Commissioner at all.

The hon. Minister may take umbrage under the plea that these are implemented by the State Governments. Is the position any different in the Union Territories which are directly under the control of the Central Government? From the 12th Report I find that the performance of the Union Territories is no better.

The basic requirement for implementing these safeguards is that there should be an institutional set-up. In the Punjab and Nagaland, so far no such machinery has been set up. I would like to know what steps have been taken by the Central Government to ensure that such a machinery is set up in these States. The States of Assam, Jammu and Kashmir, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal have not so far made available to the linguistic minorities the specific safeguards provided for them. They have not yet published any pamphlet detailing these safeguards. Can we not expect this elementary thing from these States? Surely we can. If they have not done this, how are they implementing these safeguards? Though the Union Territories of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Delhi, Manipur, and Tripura have such an institutional set-up, yet they have also not published these safeguards so far.

It cannot be controverted that the Commissioner can function effectively only if the State Governments provide him with the necessary information and statistics. But, for the years 1967-68, 1968-69 and 1969-70, in regard to the statistical data about the educational facilities in minority languages for primary education, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Maharashtra, Nagaland, Orissa, Punjab and West Bengal as also the Union Territories of Manipur, Laccadive and Minicoy Islands, Goa, Delhi, Chandigarh have not forwarded the required information to the Commissioner. Some excuse may be found for other States, but even Delhi State is remiss in this regard. I have stated this to show with what interest the safeguards given to the linguistic minorities are being implemented and how the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner is being assisted in the discharge of his duties. In the U.P. and the Punjab, no minority language is used as medium of instruction at secondary education

(Shri J Matha Gowder)

level. That is so in primary education level also. In the Chapter on Education in the Union Territories, Chapter X, of 1971-72 Annual Report of the Ministry of Education, it has been stated that in the Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the primary education is being imparted in Hindi, Bengali, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Nicobarese, English and Karen. If the Ministry of Education could be supplied with this information, why should not the Commissioner be given the same information for incorporation in the Report? I would like to know the reason for the Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands not sending this information to the Commissioner.

In West Bengal, Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, UP, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and Maharashtra, knowledge of the State official language for recruitment to the State Services is compulsory. This only means that the linguistic minorities are being deprived of their fundamental right of equal opportunity for public employment. I am surprised to see this position in Delhi State also. You know, Sir, that Delhi is a cosmopolitan city and being the capital city of the country, people from all over the country are living here. Such a provision militates against the constitutional right given to the linguistic minorities. During the year under Report, out of 307 complaints received by the Commissioner, as many as 194 pertained to non-implementation of educational safeguards. This has been pointed out, not by me from the Opposition, but by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, Barings, Tamil Nadu, where my party is in power, in almost all the other States. Knowledge of the State official language is essential prerequisite for entry into public services. I need not say that in these States, the Congress Party is in power and the Central Government under the same Congress Party continues to remain a silent spectator, instead of exercising their

influence on these State Governments for implementation of constitutional safeguards given to the linguistic minorities in the State of Mysore, where the Congress Party is in power, recently a Resolution regarding 'the Sons of the Soil' was passed. Only yesterday Dr. Gajendragadkar in his Nehru Memorial Lecture has warned the nation of the inevitable disintegration if the policy of the Sons of the Soil gains credence as also momentum. Recently a well-known dancer from Tamil Nadu was prevented from staging her dance performance in Mysore by people owing allegiance to the ruling party just because she refused to declare that she belonged to Mysore State.

SHRI B V NAIK (Kanara): Tamilians are in a majority in our Capital—Bangalore City—and they are living in good harmony. I hope the hon. Member will not disturb that harmony.

SHRI J MATHA GOWDER: I do not deny that Tamilians are in great number in Bangalore City. All I am saying is that the Mysore Legislature has passed a Resolution on "the Sons of the Soil".

SHRI K P UNNIKRISHNAN (Badagara): I know what treatment you are meting out to the Malayalee minority in Gudalur. I do not want to disturb you.

SHRI J MATHA GOWDER: I will tell my Kerala friends that only in Tamil Nadu the linguistic minorities are getting full protection.

SHRI K P UNNIKRISHNAN: You are using the DMK split to terrorise the Malayalees in Coimbatore and Madras. I can prove that before the House. Your party is guilty of all these things.

SHRI J MATHA GOWDER: I would only say this to my Kerala friend, that so far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, we have always been giving full protection to the linguistic

minorities and we will continue to do so for ever. I may tell my hon. friend that the Kerala people are spread all over the country and I am only pleading that all linguistic minorities should be given full protection throughout the country.

**SHRI B. V. NAIK:** How about M.G.R.? Is he not a son of the soil?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** One or two interruptions are all right, but not too many.

**SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER:** In Mysore State there is no protection to the linguistic minorities and it is so in all other States where the Congress Party is in power. Yet, the Central Government are silent spectators. But, when the Tamil Nadu Government has ensured that all the constitutional safeguards given to the linguistic minorities are implemented, the two Central Ministers seem to be determined in creating difficulties for the State Government in maintaining peace and tranquility.

**SHRI K. GOPAL (Karur):** How is it relevant to the subject? Is the Centre responsible for law and order?

**SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER:** Before I conclude, I would like to point that the Central Government should not utilise the constitutional safeguards given to the linguistic minorities in the country for achieving partisan political ends. Unless there is a realistic change of attitude and approach on the part of the Central Government so far as the implementation of the safeguards is concerned, mere discussion on the Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic minorities will serve no useful purpose; this Report can as well be consigned to the archives of the Government.

With these words, I conclude.

**श्री राम सहाय पांडेय (राजदगांव) :**  
हम लिग्विस्टिक माइनोरिटी की बारहवीं रिपोर्ट पर विचार कर रहे हैं। मेरी दृष्टि से

यह विवाद सदन में कुछ भावनात्मक हो गया है और कुछ प्रादेशिक भी हो गया है। हमारा उद्देश्य इस रिपोर्ट को रखने का यह था कि इसका लेखाजोखा किया जा सके और देखा जा सके कि जो वादे हमने किये थे भाषा के नाम पर अल्पमत के लोग जो अन्य प्रदेशों में रहते हैं, विभिन्न प्रदेशों में रहने हैं, अपनी भाषा गोखने की दृष्टि से नौकरियों की दृष्टि से, यूनिवर्सिटी की दृष्टि से और जो प्रावधान हमने आर्टिकल 350ए और बी में किये थे वे पूरे हो रहे हैं या नहीं। उनके इम्प्लेमेंटेशन की जो मशीनरी है, वह भी ठीक से काम कर रहा है या नहीं कर रही है और उसको किम तरह से सुदृढ़ किया जाये। हम यह भी देखें कि उस मशीनरी न फायदा पहुंचाया है या नहीं पहुंचाया है। असम और बंगाल को लेकर जो विवाद यहाँ छिड़ गया उसको देख कर दुःख भी हुआ है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है और इस सदन में स्मरण हो हो पाता है कि हमारे नेताओं ने स्वतंत्रता के बाद जब यह सोचा था कि प्रादेशिक प्रशासन की दृष्टि से भाषावार प्रान्तों की रचना हो जाय तो कहीं इस कल्पना के पीछे कोई भूल तो नहीं हो गई? कभी कभी ऐसा महसूस होता है कि भूल सी हो गई है। कारण यह है कि स्वतंत्रता के पहले धर्म सम्प्रदाय, आदि के नाम पर झगड़े तो बहुत होते रहे हैं लेकिन स्वराज्य के बाद 25 वर्ष के इतिहास का जो प्रवाह है उसमें कहीं ऐसा पता नहीं चलता है कि इसके पहले भाषा के नाम पर कोई झड़ हुआ हो। प्रशासनिक दृष्टि से परिकल्पना रही होगी कि भाषावार प्रान्त अच्छे चल सकते हैं। एक इकाई की भाषा बन जाय तो

[श्री राम सहाय पांडेय]

काम अच्छी तरह चल सकता है। सम्प्रदाय के नाम पर झगड़े होते थे, धर्म के नाम पर भी होते थे लेकिन भाषावार प्रान्तों को रचना के बाद महाराष्ट्र, तामिलनाडु आंध्र, आसाम बंगाल इत्यादि में ऐसा लगता है कि भाषा के नाम पर झगड़े होने लग गये हैं। हम न जोड़ने वाली जितनी शक्तियाँ और तत्व थे, तत्वदर्शन थे सब अलग-अलग के थे। इतिहास यह कहता है कि हमारी दुर्बलता का सबसे प्रधान कारण जातीयता था। यदि हम हिन्दू के नाम पर यह कहे कि हम हिन्दू हैं और हिन्दू धर्म के तत्वदर्शन या धर्म दर्शन को लेकर हम चले तो क्या हम अपने आप में गौरवान्वित होने का दावा कर सकते हैं कि करोड़ों हरिजनों के लिए हम ने मन्दिर बन्द कर दिये हैं, अर्चना और वन्दना पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया है? ऐसा करके हम ने धर्म की सेवा नहीं की है। धर्म ने हम को जोड़ा नहीं है। भाषाओं ने भी हमको जोड़ा नहीं है। हमको अगर किसी चीज ने जोड़ा है तो भारतीय मन्कृति ने ही हमको जोड़ कर रखा है। उसी के नाम पर हम थोड़ा बहुत जुड़े हुए दिखाई पड़ते हैं। वरना जितने भी दूसरे तत्व हैं उन्होंने हम को भड़काया, झगडावाया और लड़ाया और हमारे सामाजिक ताने बानेको बिखेरा है।

सदन में बंगाल और आसाम की चर्चा हुई है। बंगाल बहुत अच्छा प्रदेश है। उसने बहुत से विद्वान और मनीषी पैदा किये हैं। अरविन्द जी का नाम लें तो सारा बंगाल उसमें समा जायगा। उनके व्यक्तित्व, उनकी प्रतिभा, उनके कान्तिमय जीवन और उनकी परिश्रमता, उनकी राष्ट्रीयता में सारा बंगाल

समा जायगा। आसाम एक बहुत ही सुन्दर प्रदेश है। वे लोग बहुत अच्छे हैं, शान्तिप्रिय हैं। जब हम इस रिपोर्ट पर बहस करते हैं तो इन पटनाओं के सदस्यों में बहस करेंगे तो हम अपना गस्ता छोड़ देंगे, आक्रोश होगा, दुख होगा। हम सीधे चर्चनेके बजाय पत्र-व्यवहार ही करेंगे।

एक व्यक्ति अगर दूसरे प्रदेश में रहता या उसका बहा दामफर हो जाता है तो उसके बच्चों को क्या सुविधा मिलनी चाहिए उस प्रदेश में उसका हम ने सविधान में प्राविधान किया है। उसका यह सुविधा मिलनी चाहिए। उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार आदि का कोई व्यक्ति आसाम या बंगाल या महाराष्ट्र या मैसूर में जा कर अगर बस जाता है तो क्या उसका यह अधिकार नहीं है कि वह सन ग्राफ दि सायल कहलाये? तरह तरह की सेनाओं का निर्माण हुआ है। कोई कहता है महाराष्ट्र फार महाराष्ट्रियन्स, मैसूर फार मैसूरियन्स, आंध्र फार आंध्रियन्स। जब इस तरह की बातें होती हैं तो सन ग्राफ दि सायल को बात समझ में नहीं आती है। धरती एक है। जिस भारत मा की बंदना हम ने की जिसको हम ने धरती माना है उस धरती की मिट्टी के टुकड़े से क्या हम सब बचें हुए नहीं हैं? क्या भूगोल की रेखा खींच देने से कोई सन ग्राफ दि सायल नहीं रहेगा? अगर कोई यह कहता है कि जिसके जो अधिकार हैं वे उसको नहीं मिलने चाहिए तो यह एक संकीर्णता है। यह एक राजनीति है। कांग्रेस शासन में कभी इसको उन्साहित नहीं किया है। पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, सरदार पटेल आदि की यह कल्पना थी कि भाषावार प्रान्तों से

प्रशासन चलाने में सुविधा होगी और दूसरे प्रदेशों के लोग अगर इन प्रदेशों में जायें तो उनको संरक्षण मिलना चाहिए। बहा झगड़े हो गेमी किसी की भावना नहीं थी। संरक्षण देने की दृष्टि में जो मशीनरी बनाई गई है कमिश्नर बनाया गया है और जब कभी वह रिपोर्ट देता है तो उस रिपोर्ट को सदन में पेश किया जाता है, इन वास्तवों का उमका लेखा जोखा हम कर सकें यह देख सकें कि कितना उस रास्ते पर हम आगे चल सकें हैं।

क बान में माइनिंग के सम्बन्ध में भी कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं अपना ही उदाहरण देता हूँ। 29 साल पहले मैं उत्तर प्रदेश छोड़ कर बम्बई चला गया था। मेरे बच्चे वही पले हैं। मेरे बच्चे आज भी बड़ी अच्छी मराठी और गुजराती बोलते हैं। मैंने प्राथमिकता इस बान को दी कि टासा जलाशय का पानी पीने का हमें कोई अधिकार नहीं है जब तक कि हमारे बच्चे मराठी नहीं सीख लेते। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि मेरे बच्चे बड़ी सुन्दर, परिष्कृत मराठी भाषा बोलते हैं और किसी को यह पता नहीं चल सकता है कि वे राम सहाय पांडे के या देशपांडे के बच्चे हैं। महाराष्ट्र में या अन्यत्र ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए कि माइनिंग में माइनिंग, माइनिंग की बान होती चली जाये। मारवाड़ी महाराष्ट्र में माइनिंग में है लेकिन सारे महाराष्ट्र को उन्होंने अपने कब्जे में कर रखा है, सारा व्यापार, सारे उद्योग धंधे उनके हाथ में हैं। उनको कौन से संरक्षण की आवश्यकता है? जो संरक्षण मांगते हैं वे दुर्बल होते हैं। महाराष्ट्र में वे बच्चों को मराठी क्यों नहीं पढ़ाते हैं, दूसरे प्रदेशों में जा कर उस प्रदेश की भाषा

क्यों नहीं सीखते और बोलते हैं? हम अपने विदेश नीति के सम्बन्ध से कहते हैं भारतीयों को कि युवावादी वे गये लेकिन युवाडियन नहीं हो सके, केनिया में गये, केनियन नहीं हो सके। जब हम अपने भारतवासियों को जो विदेशों में जाकर बस गये हैं इस तरह की बातें कहते हैं तो भारत में अन्य प्रदेशों में जा कर वे बसते हैं तो उनको उन प्रदेशों की भाषा और संस्कृति अपनाने की सलाह क्यों नहीं देते हैं? भूगोल द्वारा खींची गई रेखाओं की परिधि में रहने वाले लोगों को भी दूसरे लोगों के प्रति महनशील होना चाहिए।

यह जा प्रश्न है यह आर्थिक भी है। अगर सबको नौकरी मिल जाये, पढ़ा लिखा न भी हो, अगर उसको विदेशों में जाकर जहा पढ़ा लिखा होना जरूरी नहीं है, नौकरी मिल सकती है, जाब मिल सकता है, और यहा भी अगर ऐसा ही हो जाता है और आर्थिक समस्याएँ हल हो जाती हैं तो माइनिंग और मजोरिटी का प्रश्न हल हो सकता है, इस प्रश्न का उसी दिन समाधान हो सकता है। उसी दिन युद्ध बन्द हो सकते हैं, द्वन्द्व बन्द हो सकते हैं, वर्षा बन्द हो सकते हैं। आर्थिक विकास की दृष्टि से, उसके सदर्भ में हमें इसका समावेश करना होगा। भाषा का प्रश्न अर्थ की तुला पर जब तोला जाता है और वह खरा नहीं उतरता है, तब झगड़े होते हैं।

अपने बतव्य को उपसंहार की ओर ले जाते हुए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि समय आ गया है कि कता और संस्कृति के नाम पर, अगर राष्ट्रीयता कोई चीज है, भारतीयता कोई

[श्री रामसहाय पांडेय]

बीज है, आचार और आचरण कोई बीज है, तो भाषा के नाम पर झुंझ या झगड़े नहीं होने चाहियें। भाषा को अभिव्यक्ति से एक दूसरे का परिचय होता है, आत्मसात होता है, भाषा झगड़ा नहीं, भाषा प्रेम करना सिखाती है।

SHRI TRIDIB CHAUDHURI (Bengal): After the sober speech we have just listened to, it is very difficult to enter into controversial matters, but even then I will be failing in my duty if I do not raise certain issues which cannot but be very controversial today. But at the outset, let me tell the House, and also Government which has failed in its duty not only today but for the last 25 years, that it is not a problem between Bengalis and Assamese in Assam or between this linguistic minority or that linguistic minority and the majority in a particular State, Assam today is very much before people's eyes because of certain deplorable things that have happened there very recently. I do not blame the Assamese people, but for that matter, I would ask Government not to find fault with the Bengali people either. This is a national problem. Let us recognise that we have failed as a people, as a nation, as a Parliament, to lift this issue of linguistic minorities out of the controversial maze in which it finds itself. Today it is in Assam. Tomorrow it will be in Mysore. Day before yesterday it was between Andhras and Tamils and so on. It will go on happening like that.

That is why in my amendment, I have proposed that the leaders of all parties should seriously consider whether it is not high time that we all again sit together to consider the whole matter anew. I have suggested in my Amendment that a high-powered commission composed of leaders of all parties in both Houses of Parliament should examine this question and come to an agreement.

If this is not acceptable, let the Government appoint a high-powered commission who will deal with this problem and find out lasting solutions. And lasting solutions can be found provided we are determined to do it. If we do not do it, things like those that have happened in Assam will continue to poison the political atmosphere again and again.

It has been mentioned in this House that this trouble has cropped up not once but five or six times. We have also to consider the fact that it has a long history. After the grant of provincial autonomy in the days of the British, this problem has inevitably come up. Under the British administration, they divided the whole of India into provinces to suit their own convenience. In that region known as Assam, there was a conglomeration of various people along with the Assamese people. I have no doubt in my mind that the Assamese people have as much right to have a linguistic State of their own and determine their political and economic future as they deem best, as any other people in other regions. I have no doubt in my mind that that right should be ensured and protected by all means.

But the difficulty of the situation has been that the other communities, the non-Assamese speaking people, have been joined together in that region which was known as the British province of Assam. Look at the result. The inevitable result has been that we have been forced, much against our will, much against the will of the Assamese leaders themselves, to break up the State of Assam into seven or eight independent units which have had to be formed.

When Nagaland State was being formed, when that Bill was being debated here, when the late Mr. Govind Ballabh Pant, one of our great national leaders, was piloting the Bill, I hailed the introduction of that Bill by saying that really this is the beginning of the end of the imperialist policy that the British were

following in the eastern region of India which was then known as the British province of Assam. After Nagaland, you know now that Mizoram has come; then Manipur has come; then, on this side, Tripura has come; Arunachal Pradesh, formerly known as NEFA, has come. Whether viable or not, this Parliament had to surrender to their demand, and we could not resist it. Because Assam is today very much before our mind, I would like all the leaders of Assam and also the Government to seriously consider one proposal in a constructive spirit. There is no doubt about the fact that the Assamese-speaking people are in a majority there, particularly in the Brahmaputra valley. The whole trouble in the Assam region has been the competition between the Bengali middle classes and the Assamese middle classes for the various opportunities that have come in the wake of what used to be provincial autonomy before independence and what is now called State autonomy. If you really want now to remove this issue from the arena of all controversy and to eliminate the violence that also erupts from time to time, in order to ensure that the majority of Assamese people in the Brahmaputra valley may not be subject of any further attack or challenge, the question has to be asked whether the Bengali-speaking district of Cachar should not be separated from Assam and made a Union territory or made into whatever type of unit you think best but you must take it out of Assam so that there may not be any controversy on this issue.

As my hon. friend Shri Goswami was just now telling us, the Assamese-speaking people, particularly the student community and the university teachers and others, had a feeling that the people of Cachar were trying to dominate Assam. If that be the source of trouble, separate Cachar from the State of Assam, and make it a Union territory if you will or make it a separate State if that is thought best. If Mizoram could be a

viable State in your scheme of things, then Cachar too can very well be a separate State in that region. Actually that demand has been raised by the people of Cachar, and I would say that even by the elected representatives of the people who belong not to this side of the House but to the other side of the House this demand has been raised.

If good counsel and constructive imagination is not brought into play, what will happen? I remember the day, ten or eleven years back, when in 1961 riots took place in Assam, I sought an interview with Prime Minister Nehru. He said: young man, why are you agitated? and I replied: I am not agitated, my heart is full of fear. I am afraid not at what happened to Bengalis in Assam; I am afraid of the repercussions in Bengal. I again sound a note of warning. You may have a very efficient Chief Minister there, Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray. But an under-current of discontent, under-current of uneasiness amongst the people is running high in the whole State because of things happening in Assam; and Ray or no Ray the Minister of Home Affairs in that State Subrato Mukherjee has already declared a students hartal on the 29th of this month. He said that he was doing it as a leader of the Chhatra Praishad. I do not know whether the hands of Subrato Mukherjee will be stayed; he is your partyman. But there are other people to take up that sort of call. It is now in the eastern region; tomorrow it may be in another part. That is why I say, for Heaven's sake, for the sake of the future of this country take courage in both hands and do the right thing. The Prime Minister does not lack courage; she has faced odds in her political life and in the comity of nations she has raised the position of this country high. She has faced the military dictatorship of Pakistan and she has changed the history of this region for sometime to come. Let her, let Parliament, let the Government take courage and appoint a high-power commission and give them a clear directive: you have to

(Shri Tridib Chaudhuri)

find a solution to this problem. Let us, all parties sit together round a table and say what right we would guarantee to our linguistic minorities in different States; let a directive go from here that not only their linguistic rights but their citizenship rights must be upheld.

My charge against this Government is this. Other speakers have made reference to things which I will not go into in detail. Although this matter concerns law and order in 1953 it was possible for us to raise this matter with Govind Ballabh Pant who was the Home Minister. We could raise this matter by tabling adjournment motions and we could get an assurance and get action initiated. In 1961 the Chairman of the other House and the Speaker of this House appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Shri A. P. Jain which visited Assam and tried to put forward certain constructive suggestions. Those suggestions were never acted upon. I have made an appeal with all the seriousness at my command to consider the two constructive suggestions that I have put forward. Let there be a high-power commission to consider the issue. Secondly, let our friends from Assam and let the Government also seriously consider my suggestion to allay the constant suspicion in the minds of the Assamese majority in the Brahmaputra valley, that their supremacy in Assam is challenged and would always be liable to be challenged because of the Bengalis from Cachar and Bengali immigrants. Stop immigration by all means. But also take Cachar out of the bounds of mischief and make it a Union Territory. I do not have the figures with me. At least 11 or 12 lakhs of Bengali-speaking people would be taken out of Assam. From that angle also you may consider the situation, so that Assam will be saved from the threat of Bengali supremacy or domination. Let Cachar be ruled by the Centre or let it have its own State. I am appealing to my Assamese friends—Shri Goswami, my senior friend,

Shri Lhadhar Kotoki and others—let them give serious consideration to this suggestion and let us try to evolve a lasting solution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Gogo.

श्री नूतनचन्द्र झाणा (पाली) : सभापति जी, श्रीर कोग भी बोलने पावेंगे आसाम और बंगाल के सिवाय या नहीं ? राजस्थान भी सारे हिन्दुस्तान में फैला हुआ है ।

SHRI TARUN GOGOI (Jorhat): Sir, India is a vast country, almost a continent full of diversity, where people of different regions speak different languages. There are 15 recognised languages besides other and there are thousands of dialects. So, the nature and magnitude of the problem of linguistic minorities could very well be imagined. States were reorganised on linguistic basis to mitigate the difficulties of language, but still the problem has not been solved. Various attempts have been made by the Government of India. There are several provisions in the Constitution for the safeguard of linguistic minorities. The problems have been reviewed from time to time by zonal council conferences, Education Ministers' Conferences, Chief Ministers' Conferences etc. Many recommendations have been made by these conferences and the State Governments have been trying their level best to implement the recommendations, although almost all the States have not implemented the recommendations into.

I come from Assam, which recently witnessed a mass movement the like of which it has never seen before. It was spontaneous. Lakhs and lakhs of people came forward and offered satyagraha and thousands courted arrest. Why the minds of the people have been so agitated and surcharged with emotion? What is the cause? Of course? Of course, it is a fact that anti-social and anti-national elements took advantage of the situation and there have been acts of violence, loot and arson. I am one with everybody in condemning these acts



of violence. The people of Assam not only disapprove of it but condemn it in the strongest terms. All the political parties have condemned it. Even the student leaders who have spear-headed the agitation have condemned it. The students have been praised by Mr. Priyaranjan Das Muni for the restraint shown by them in spite of great provocation. Otherwise, the situation would have gone almost unchecked.

18.00 hrs.

What has been the issue? It is a very simple issue. The issue has been

relating to the medium of instruction in universities. What is the rational policy regarding medium of instruction in respect of linguistic minorities?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He may continue his speech tomorrow.

18.01 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, November 29, 1972|Agrahayana 8, 1894 (Saka).*