

**SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:** Within this constraint that they have to find the time during this session. Otherwise, if we go on whisking away subject after subject. (*Interruption*).

**SHRI RAJ BAHADUR:** I have already said that we will consider it.

12.22 hrs.

**MOTION RE TWELFTH REPORT OF COMMISSIONER FOR LINGUISTIC MINORITIES—Contd.**

**MR. SPEAKER;** We now take up further discussion of the report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. Shri Tarun Gogoi was on his legs.

**SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY** (Cooch-Bihar): The time may be extended by one hour. Let us continue this up to 3 O'clock, and the Minister may reply tomorrow.

**MR. SPEAKER:** The time allotted was five hours. Already, we have taken 3 hours 30 minutes. The time now remaining is 1 hour 30 minutes. We will try to adjust the debate. Do not fix any hard and fast limit. The Speaker has got some margin to be adjusted.

**SHRI TARUN GOGOI** (Jorhat): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to take this opportunity of expressing my deep sense of sorrow for the loss of life sustained in the recent disturbances in Assam, and I would like to convey, through you, my deep sense of sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.

What has been the national policy in regard to education? It has been clearly laid down, and that is a most important constitutional provision, that there should be facilities for instruction through the mother-tongue in the primary stages. With respect to the secondary stages also there is a provision that there should be adequate facilities for instruction through the mother-tongue where the number of students is 60 in the last four classes and 50 in the other classes.

What is the policy with regard to university education? It has been clearly laid down and recommended by the Education Commission, and it has been agreed to by all the States, that the medium of instruction in the universities shall be the regional language. It has been the policy of the Central Government, and the Central Government insist on the implementation of the regional language as the medium of instruction in all the universities of India.

Now, let us examine what was the decision taken by the universities in Assam. There are two universities in Assam—Dibrugarh and Gauhati universities—and both these universities have taken the decision to switch over to the regional language. This is a decision which is perfectly in conformity with the national policy. The Gauhati university or the Dibrugarh university has taken the same decision which has already been taken by the Calcutta university or the Patna university or the Madras university or many universities in any of the States. In Assam, it is not Bengali alone which is the minority community. There are many minority communities; there are the Hindi-speaking people, the Oriya-speaking people, and also Tamil or Telgu-speaking people. Besides, there are more than 100 dialects. I would like to refer to the policy of the CPM regarding the educational policy. It was their policy that every child should get education through their mother tongue from primary stage to the university stage. I would have been glad if it were possible to provide education, particularly university education, to all the children through—their mother tongue. In India there are fifteen recognised languages, besides others; there are a thousand dialects. Could a university provide instruction through all the languages? This is not only Assam. In Bengal, Bihar and other places also, there are many linguistic groups and many dialects. Could Patna University or Calcutta university provide the facility of mother tongue in all the languages? It is neither practicable nor advisable.

[Shri Tarun Gogai]

Then why is there so much trouble and agitation in Assam? It is because there are those who do not want to merge with the interests of Assam, who do not want Assam University to follow the national policy. The Gauhati University took a decision in 1970 that the medium of instruction should be English and Assamese and students have the option to write the answer in Assamese, Bengali and English. This was opposed vehemently by all the sections of the people of Cachar, by their associations and political parties. Naturally it provoked other students and the public in other areas. It raised suspicion and apprehensions in the minds of the people of the Brahmaputra valley, particularly among the student community, that there was a determined bid to make Assam a bilingual State. The students of the Brahmaputra valley agitated that the medium of instruction should only be Assamese. Gauhati university took the decision on 12th June, that the medium of instruction should be Assamese but English shall be retained for a period not exceeding ten years and the students had the option to answer them in English or Assamese. This was vehemently opposed by the people of Cachar. The Assam Assembly in order to accommodate the section of the people living in Cachar unanimously passed a resolution that for the Universities of Assam and Dibrugarh and Gauhati the medium of instruction shall be English and Assamese and for Cachar a separate university should be set up. Even that was opposed by the people of Cachar for whom it was meant.

I refer to Mr. Indrajit Gupta's statement, why the Government revoked the unanimous decision, supported by all the parties of Assam. When the decision has been rejected by all the people whom it affected, is it a democratic procedure and practice to stick to that resolution? The Government of Assam had decided to revoke the decision in conformity with the wishes of the people. This started the whole trouble. I am not minimising it or magnifying it. Certain members want to paint a horrified picture and I do not want to enter into that controversy.

There is violence and looting and we all condemn those things; no sensible person can support it. But what are causes of these disturbances? We have to examine it in proper perspective.

To me there are certain factors. The apprehension in the minds of the people of the Brahmaputra Valley is that there are certain sections of people who want to make Assam a bilingual State; there is also a fear that the Assamese might be overwhelmed. Secondly, there is the economic backwardness of the area, economic exploitation of the area, apprehensions of the youth in matters of employment, failure of a section of the people to merge with the interests of Assam. Why is this fear? Because it is the only place in India where there are large numbers of people from outside the State. It points me that Mr. Frank Anthony and Mr. Chande made allegations against us, that the Assamese were driving out outsiders.

The allegation is made that Assamese are exterminatory the Bengalis. Sir, it is only in Assam that you will find maximum number of people from other States and nowhere else. The number of Bengalis in Assam has been increasing by leaps and bounds according to the 1961 and 1971 census. The growth of population in Assam is mainly among the Bengalis. In spite of that, if allegations are made that Bengalis are being annihilated, it pains us and it is a most irresponsible statement. This makes the matter more and more complicated.

I can say with all the emphasis at my command that nowhere there are such facilities for employment to the minority communities as exist today in Assam. Go to the railways; go to the Post and Telegraphs; go to the banks; go to the I.G.'s office; go to the oil refineries; go to the Central Government undertakings and private firm-everywhere you will find that all the posts are monopolised by the minority community. Will any State allow such monopolisation of jobs? Will Bengal or Bihar or Madras allow it? I am sure not. The whole economy, trade

and commerce, everything is monopolised by the minority community. In spite of that if allegations are made against us, naturally it hurts us. It leads to some confusion and it raises suspicions in our minds. It leads to frustration in our youths that they are not getting their rightful share.

It has been criticised that the Government has failed to give protection to the minority communities. I can say with all the emphasis at my command that Government took all the possible and effective measures sternly and firmly. They resorted to firing not once but on several occasions. They resorted to lathi charge. They clamped down curfew even for a single instance of stabbing 5,000 persons were arrested. Other persons were arrested under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act. CRP was deployed. Army was alerted. Was all this not done only to give protection to the minority community? The Central Government was also fully alive to the situation and concerned about the maintenance of law and order. The Union Home Secretary, the Director of CRP, even the Prime Minister has been there because she was very much concerned with the maintenance of law and order and restoration of peace. Sir, it is a problem of a complex nature. Let us hope for the best. You will be glad to know that normally is fast returning to Assam. Most of the camps constructed by the Government have been closed. Only three camps remain. People have returned to their homes and the houses have been re-built. Don't you appreciate all this?

MR. SPEAKER: He should conclude now.

I think we should avoid the tone which will revive the same old controversy. We should be interested more in finding a solution than in reviving the controversy again. It is our duty.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ग्वालियर):

अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह खेद का विषय है कि इस रिपोर्ट पर सारी चर्चा असमियो बगला के विवाद तक सीमित हो गई है। असम के भाषायी उपद्रव मात्र देश के लिए चिन्ता का विषय है। उन की ग़ौर मदन का ध्यान जाय यह नितान्त स्वाभाविक है, लेकिन भाषायी अल्पसंख्यकों के प्रश्न को केवल असम तक सीमित कर के नहीं देखा जा सकता। मैं इन मांग का समर्थन करता हूँ कि असम के उपद्रवों की जांच होनी चाहिये। मुझे मन्तोष है कि असम के मेम्बरों ने भी हिमात्मक घटनाओं की निन्दा की है, और मुझे विश्वास है कि असम में जो कुछ हुआ है उस की पुनरावृद्धि नहीं होने दी जायेगी।

इस बात का भी पता लगाया जाना चाहिये कि असम के उपद्रवों में कोई छिटा हुआ हाथ तो काम नहीं कर रहा है। मैं जानता हूँ कि उन लोगों की क्या भूमिका है जो असम के बाहर से आये, जिन्होंने पहले अपनी मातृ भाषा असमिया लिखाई और अब बगला लिना रूटे है, और परिस्थिति का लाभ उठाना चाहते हैं।

असम की परिस्थिति को बिगड़ने, नहीं देना चाहिये। बगला देश हमारा मित्र है असम की घटनाओं की प्रतिक्रिया बगला देश में भी हो सकती है और इस लिये आवश्यक है कि कानून और व्यवस्था को बृद्धता से कायम किया जाये तथा भाषा के प्रश्न का समाधान सब लोग मिल कर निकालें।

[श्री प्रद्वेक्ष द्विपुत्रो वरुणवर्षी]

मुझे कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार भाषायी अल्पसंख्यकों के प्रश्न पर टुकड़ों में विचार करती रही है पहले उन ने प्राइमरी एजुकेशन के बारे में फैसला किया, फिर इन को विधान में लाया गया। लेकिन आप इन रिपोर्टों को उठा कर देखिये। हर बच्चे को अपनी मातृभाषा में प्राथमिक शिक्षा प्राप्त करने का अधिकार है, लेकिन इस अधिकार पर कहीं शमल नहीं हो रहा है। अब कमिशन ने मुझाव दिया है कि हम को मन्डेटरी बना देना चाहिये। लेकिन मेरा निवेदन है कि अगर राज्य सरकारें चाहती ही नहीं हैं तो विधान में रक्खी गई धारा को मन्डेटरी बना देने मात्र से समस्या हल नहीं होगी।

भारत एक बहु-भाषी देश है। अंग्रेजी को छोड़कर सारी भाषाएँ हमारी राष्ट्रीय भाषायें हैं। उन के द्वारा भारत की आत्मा बोलती है। सब भाषाओं को विकास हो, उन का सम्बर्धन हो यह हमारी नीति होनी चाहिये। लेकिन आज स्थिति ऐसी बिचित्र हो रही है कि जब बगला और असमिया का झगडा होता है तो अंग्रेजी आगे बढ़ती है। अंग्रेजी को अनन्त काल तक बनाये रखने की बात हो रही है। अगर हम भारतीय भाषाओं के मर्बव को समाप्त नहीं करेंगे तो केवल अंग्रेजी लाभ उठायेगी। अंग्रेजी द्वारा लाई गई एकता राष्ट्रीय एकता नहीं होगी, जनता की एकता नहीं होगी। यह दो ढाई प्रतिशत अंग्रेजी बोलने वालों की एकता होगी। अगर हम को सचमुच

भावनात्मक एकता कानी है तो वह केवल भारतीय भाषाओं द्वारा आ सकती है। इसी लिये भाषावार राज्य बनाने का फैसला हुआ था। श्री कैबिनेट ऐनपोसी यहा पर नहीं हैं। अब इस सवाल पर पीछे जाने की गजाइश नहीं है, लेकिन भाषावार राज्य का अर्थ यह नहीं है कि एक राज्य में दूसरे राज्य के या दूसरी भाषा के बोलने वाले लोग न रहे। अगर राज्य की एक भाषा होगी तब भी बहा दमरी भाषा बोलने वाले लोग हो सकते हैं। प्रश्न इस वक्त यह है कि उन्हें शिक्षा दीक्षा में और राज काज में क्या सुविधायें लनी चाहिये।

मैं आप से निवेदन कर रहा था कि प्राइमरी शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में जो निर्णय किया गया था उस को कार्यान्वित नहीं किया जा रहा है। असम के मेम्बर मुझे माफ करे, असम की सरकार यह दावा करती है कि प्राइमरी शिक्षा में मातृ भाषा कौन सी हो यह असम सरकार तय करेगी। वह जो सूचो बनाएगी उसके अनुसार मातृभाषा होगी। मेरा निवेदन है कि मातृभाषा माता पिता तय करे और अगर उस मातृभाषा में शिक्षा की सुविधा मागने वालों की एक बच्चा है तो उसकी सुविधा होनी चाहिये। लेकिन मुझे लगता है कि अभी तो यह प्रश्न भी तय नहीं हुआ है कि मातृभाषा कौन निश्चित करेगा? इस सम्बन्ध में असम की सरकार का रवैया ठीक नहीं है। उसको सूची बनाने का अधिकार नहीं दिया जा सकता। यह तो जो शिक्षा प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं उन से पूछना होगा कि उनकी

भाषाभाषा क्या है और वे उस में शिक्षा प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं या नहीं करने चाहते हैं ।

लेकिन प्रश्न केवल प्राइमरी शिक्षा का नहीं है । सरकार ने पहले प्राइमरी शिक्षा पर विचार किया और फैसला लिया। फिर उसे लगा कि सैंकेंडरी एजुकेशन का भी लाल है । फिर मुख्य मंत्रियों ने सैंकेंडरी एजुकेशन के बारे में निर्णय किया । आप रिपोर्ट उठा कर देख कि सैंकेंडरी एजुकेशन के बारे में कमिशन ने राज्य सरकारों से जो जानकारी मागी राज्य सरकारों ने वह भेजी नहीं । व भेजती ही नहीं है । ऐसा लगता है कि यह कमिशन किसी काम का कमिशन नहीं है । क्या इसका काम केवल सूचना एकत्र करना है और वह भी ऐसी सूचना जो राज्य सरकारें भेजती नहीं है । आप एपेन्डिक्स 9 को देखें । वहां राज्य सरकारों के आगे लिखा हुआ है, इनफॉर्मेशन नाट फॉर्निशड, इनफॉर्मेशन नाट फॉर्निशड ।

बंसे भी यह रिपोर्ट जून 1970 तक की है । यह नवम्बर 1972 है । एक साल पहले इस रिपोर्ट पर दस्तखत हो गए थे । एक साल के बाद यह चर्चा के लिए आ रही है । जानकारी हम में दी सान् पहले की है ।

कमिशन को जानकारी राज्य सरकारों से मिले इसके लिए सरकार क्या कर रही है । सैंकेंडरी एजुकेशन के बारे में कोई निश्चित नीति नहीं है । मुख्य मंत्रियों ने उसकी

चर्चा की थी । कुछ सुझाव दिए थे जिन्हें अमल में नहीं लाया गया । अब सवाल पता हो गया है यूनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन का । प्रश्न के हमारे जिज्ञो को यह कहने का अधिकार है कि हम मन्बन्ध में कोई राष्ट्रीय नीति नहीं है और नीति निर्धारण का काम केन्द्रीय सरकार का है । मेरा निवेदन है कि जब सब भारतीय भाषाओं को हमने अपनी भाषाएँ माना है तो हर भारतीय भाषा में ऊँची से ऊँची शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये । विद्यार्थियों की सख्या की कोई सीमा हो, इसको मैं समझ सकता हूँ, वह भी इसका एक व्यावहारिक पहलू है । एक विद्यार्थी के लिए एक अध्यापक नहीं रखा जा सकता है । एक निश्चित सख्या होनी चाहिये । लेकिन एक राज्य में अगर किसी दूसरी भाषा के माध्यम से लोग शिक्षा प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं तो उस भाषा के माध्यम से शिक्षा की सुविधा देने में किसी तरह की कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये । प्रश्न केवल अमल का नहीं है । पंजाब की भी समस्या है । पंजाब में ऐसे लोग हैं जो हिन्दी के द्वारा अपना काम चलाते हैं । अब उन्हें हिन्दी से काम करने की छूट नहीं है । उन्हें सुप्रीम कोर्ट के दरवाजे खटखटाने पड़े । राज्य सरकार ने जो सुविधा उनको नहीं दी वह सुप्रीम कोर्ट से उन्होंने प्राप्त की । और भी प्रदेशों का यह सवाल है । इसी रिपोर्ट में लिखा हुआ है कि अब तक तमिलनाडु से त्रिभाषा फार्मुला लागू नहीं किया गया है । मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि सारे देश के लिए यह फार्मुला जब बना हुआ है तो क्या इसको एक राज्य में लागू नहीं

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

किया जाएगा ? अगर नहीं किया जाएगा तो राज्य सरकार को समझाने बुझाने का या उमसे बात को मनवाने का क्या कोई तरीका केन्द्र के पास है ? केरल में अरबी भाषा के स्कूल खुल रहे हैं। अरबी किम की मातृभाषा है ? लेकिन हिन्दी और संस्कृत की सुविधाये कम की जा रही है। प्रश्न केवल एक राज्य का नहीं है एक राष्ट्रीय नीति के निर्धारण का यह प्रश्न है। मेरा निवेदन है कि केन्द्र हम सम्बन्ध में पज़ल करे। मुख्य मंत्रियों का सम्मेलन बुलाए। विरोधी दलों में भी मलाह ली जाए। यह प्रश्न राष्ट्रीय एकात्मकता परिषद में जा सकता है। लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि नेशनल इंटिग्रेशन काउंसिल को ता किमी ताले में रख दिया गया है। ताले में रखने का क्या कारण है, यह समझ में नहीं आता है। शिक्षा के बारे में एक राष्ट्रीय नीति का निर्धारण होना चाहिये और मैं समझना हूँ कि नीति एक ही हो सकती है कि ऊँची से ऊँची शिक्षा प्राप्त करने का हर एक भाषा भाषी को अपनी भाषा के माध्यम से अधिकार होना चाहिये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय दृष्ट में डर को कोई बात नहीं है। एक भाषी राज्य दो भाषी हो जाएगा एमए डर नहीं होना चाहिये। मेरा निवेदन है कि दूसरी राज भाषा बनाने के प्रश्न की शिक्षा से प्रलग करके देखना चाहिये। शिक्षा की सुविधा देना एक बात है और किसी राज्य की दूसरी भाषा बनाना दूसरी बात है। राज्य की काम काज की जो भाषा होगी उसका ज्ञान उस राज्य के

रहने वाले प्रत्येक नागरिक के लिए अनिवार्य होना चाहिये। लेकिन साथ ही अगर कोई उस राज्य में किसी अन्य भाषा के द्वारा शिक्षा प्राप्त करना चाहता है तो उसकी सुविधा उपलब्ध कराई जा सकती है।

इस चर्चा में उर्दू की बड़ी बकालत की गई है। हम उर्दू भाषा के विरोधी नहीं हैं। उर्दू भारत में पैदा हुई है फली-फूली है। हम चाहते हैं कि आगे भी यह फलेफूले।

मैं उर्दू का केवल मुसलमानों की भाषा नहीं मानता न उर्दू सब मुसलमानों की भाषा है। लेकिन पृष्ठभूमि ऐसी है कि उर्दू को हथियार बना कर साम्प्रदायिक राजनीति इस देश में खेती गई। अब यह खेल बन्द होना चाहिये। जब चुनाव आते हैं तो ये वादे किये जाते हैं कि उर्दू को सैकड़ अफिगल लैंग्वेज बना दिया जाएगा। चुनाव समाप्त होने ही वह बात रद्दी की टोकरी में डाल दी जाती है। अभी तक यह तय नहीं हुआ है कि सैकड़ अफिगल लैंग्वेज बनाने के लिए कौन सी कसौटिया हानी चाहिये। स्टेट्स रिआर्गनाइजेशन कमिशन ने कुछ कसौटिया निर्धारित की थी। अगर उन पर पुनर्विचार करने की आवश्यकता है तो केवल उर्दू के सदर्थ में नहीं हर भारतीय भाषा के सदर्थ में उस पर विचार करना होगा।

लेकिन उर्दू का मामला उठाया जाता है इस तरह से कि जैसे वोट प्राप्ति की राजनीति का एक साधन है। इससे उर्दू का भला नहीं होगा। हम चाहते हैं कि जनता

तक सूचनाये सब भाषाओं में दी जाए । लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार आदि की सरकारों को हर बार कटघड़े में खड़ा किया जाता है और कटघड़े में खड़े करने वाले या करने वाली इसी मदन के सदस्य और सदस्याये होती हैं । आखिर उत्तर प्रदेश में किम दल की सरकार है यह मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ । यह कहा जाता है कि उर्दू के साथ अन्याय हो रहा है । मेरा निवेदन है कि यदि ऐसा है तो अन्याय का निराकरण होना चाहिये । लेकिन मामला इतना सरल नहीं है । उर्दू को दूसरी राज्य भाषा बनाने का उत्तर प्रदेश में बिहार में और मध्य प्रदेश में जो फैसला किया गया है वह किन्हीं साम्प्रदायिक कारणों में प्रेरित हो कर नहीं किया गया है । वह सही फैसला है । लेकिन केन्द्र यह दिखाना चाहता है कि उर्दू के मामले में वह बड़ा प्रगतिशील है और कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी या सेठी जी बड़े प्रतिक्रियावादी हैं । यह मखौल बन्द होना चाहिये । भाषा का राजनीति का हथियार नहीं बनाना चाहिये । अगर राजनीति का हथियार बना दिया जायगा तो असम जैसी परिस्थिति की, पुनरावृत्ति होगी । क्या कोई इसमें इन्कार कर सकता है कि असम में कांग्रेस के लोगों ने भी परस्पर विरोधी बातें कही हैं, उपद्रवों को भड़काया है ?

वहा के मुख्य मंत्री की स्थिति दयनीय है । जो मुख्य मंत्री केन्द्र से थोपे गए हैं वे राज्य की समस्याये हल नहीं कर सकते हैं । अब कभी राज्य में झगड़ा होता है वे किसी

भाग आते हैं । फिर मिर्झा साहब उनको पकड़ कर हैदराबाद ले जाते हैं । पता नहीं उनको किसी खूटे से वाधा गया है या नहीं वाधा गया है । कुछ गडबड हो जायगी तो फिर वे दिल्ली भागे आएंगे । केन्द्र की सूबेदारी काम नहीं कर सकती है ।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय** हममें पहले भी भागने गृहे है ।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी** मरा निवेदन है कि भाषा का प्रश्न आर्थिक प्रश्न भी है । अगर राजगार के अवसर कम हैं बेरोजगार अधिक हैं तो भाषा झगड़ों का साधन बन जाती है । प्रश्न राजनीतिक भी है । इसलिए मरा निवेदन है कि राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर इसको हल करने का प्रयत्न आप करें । प्रशासन के काम काज में सुविधा, हर भाषा के माध्यम से शिक्षा प्राप्त करने की छूट लेकिन भारतीय भाषाओं को आगे बढ़ाने का सकल्प और अंग्रेजी को पीछे लाने की आवश्यकता । कहीं ऐसा न हो कि भारतीय भाषाओं के झगड़ों में अंग्रेजी छा जाय । ऐसा हुआ तो वह समस्या का हल नहीं होगा और अगर वह हल होगा तो समस्या उसमें भी ज्यादा खतरनाक रूप धारण कर लेगी । उससे हम बचे । भारतीय भाषाओं के समर्थक भारतीय भाषाओं के बोलने वाले आपस में बैठ कर फैसले करें और देखें कि उन फैसलों को ईमानदारी से कार्यान्वित किया जाता है या नहीं । यह रिपोर्ट कहानी कहती है ऐसे फैसलों की जिन पर असल नहीं किया गया और

[श्री महेश बिहारी बाजपेयी]

भगर फँसलो कर झमल नहीं किया जाना है, तो एक कभीमान बनाए दूसरा बनाए कोई लाभ होने बाला नहीं है ।

**SHRI KARTIK ORAON** (Lohardaga): It is really unfortunate that we all the time keep ourselves involved in trying to solve the problems which are, I should say, created by ourselves. After All what are these linguistic minorities? I could not understand myself. How do we define a 'linguistic minority'?

We have created States for linguistic majorities. That means that wherever a particular language is spoken, in that particular region of our country, we have created a State for the people speaking that language. Take Andhra Pradesh Andhra Pradesh was created on the basis of linguistic States So also many other States, like Gujarat and others. They came up on the basis of language But have we been able to see whether language has been able to unify people?

We must always try to find out as to what is the basic reason for these troubles—linguistic, communal and religious They all arise out of exploitation, and when we are trying to solve the problems, we create more problems. There are linguistic minorities, religious minorities and then political minorities also and then, sub-human minorities like the tribals of India. We were trying to find out some sort of a solution regarding Mulki Rules. Some people yesterday said that the Prime Minister did not say anything when she was in Shillong. She cannot keep on jumping all the time everywhere. She had found out some solution for the Mulki rules, but that is not acceptable to the people of Telangana. Therefore, these are matters which should be dealt with on some sort of national norms. There should be a national standard. There should be a national policy, whether it be family planning, whether it be creation of States, or whether it be one of languages. Unless

we follow some sort of a national policy, we will not be able to sort out these problems. We cannot keep on moving all the time whenever and wherever there are some linguistic troubles or communal troubles or religious troubles. We cannot go on doing like this.

As a matter of fact, everybody is very keen about his own language. Bengalis must have their own language and they must be protected. But where is the question? There is the question of protection? There is the question of the necessity of preparing a good climate where, regardless of what language people speak, they must be able to live and learn to live together in a harmonious way If that atmosphere is not created, it will not matter whether I am in Bengali area or in any other area I should be able to feel that I am a free citizen of free India. There should be no question of where I come from.

In fact, everybody talks in terms of his own language. Why should we talk in terms of a language In fact, nobody has paid any care for the languages of the tribal people. If people like you whose languages are so rich fight with each other, what about the tribal people who have two hundred dialects all over India. And the Government has done nothing about it and they do not bother about it. If you people, civilised people, fight like cats and dogs—what is this? —what about tribals? We do not quarrel. We do not fight . . . (Interruptions) The tribal languages should be developed. We will fight for it. When we find that you stop fighting, we will stop.

You start fighting for Bengali language or some other language; you say, linguistic minorities, this and that. We can always say that the tribal people have a right to develop their language. They must not speak in any language other than the tribal dialect. I feel sure about it. Sir, all this trouble arises out of fragmentation. The Mulki rule trouble and all the troubles arise out of fragmentation. Therefore, let us go to the root cause of



the matter. What is the root cause, Sir? It is exploitation. Let us go deeper into the matter. We should punish the people who are responsible for creating ill-will and disaffection among the people. We should not create ill-will among the different sections of the people on communal ground or religious ground or political ground. Whoever creates that sort of trouble must be punished severely. There should be the same rule for everybody.

Whoever commits offence which is against the State must be punished, irrespective of whatever language he speaks, irrespective of whatever religion he may belong to. This is my submission. If he does anything wrong to the State he must be punished.

Sir, the tribal people of India constitute 3 crores. They will also start trouble and drive out everybody from the jungles. Nobody will be allowed to stay there.

Therefore, we should forget about the linguistic, caste, religious, communal and political passion and prejudice. If there is any breach of peace in the country, the person concerned must be punished. Such activities should not escape any punishment. This is my submission.

Yesterday we witnessed in this House much mud-slinging and sabrerattling against one another, purely on ground of religion, State or language. Members of Parliament have to give a good account of themselves in the presence of the people from the whole country in the public gallery. I do not know why they should make a show of their religious, State and linguistic passion. This is not proper.

Sir, I suggest that there should be a kind of Fire Brigade. Let the Home Minister take note of my suggestion. They must have a 'National Council of Action' and this 'National Council of Action' must be composed of fifty strong people. Wherever there is trouble, they must immediately rush to that spot and then submit a report to the Government, so that Government can take action imme-

diately and punish the guilty persons concerned. There is no question of Bengali or Assamese or any other linguistic minority. Whoever commits the mistake must be punished. It is only then that we may be able to stop all these troubles. Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: Should I also have a 'Fire Brigade' in this House?

SHRI KARTIK ORAON: I will say one thing. I want to point out that whatever happens in this country can very well be brought under the law of sedition. The law of sedition relates to the uttering of seditious words and publication of seditious libels and conspiracies, to do an act for the furtherance of a seditious intention. Sedition under the criminal law may be defined as an intention to bring into hatred or contempt or to excite disaffection against persons or the Government and the Constitution of the land as by law established or either House of Parliament or the administration of justice; to excite the subjects or to attempt otherwise than by lawful means the alteration of any matter in religion or State by law established, or to raise discontent or disaffection among the subjects, or to promote feelings of ill-will and hostilities between classes of such subjects. I do not know whether our Government are going to be guided by this definition, but they should not be guided merely by excitement and emotion.

13 hrs.

Lastly, I would say that it is the birth-right of every citizen in the country to discuss fully and freely any matter which concerns the State, but such discussions must never be directed towards creating breach of peace or creating heat or generating passions amongst classes of people. Therefore, I must say that whatever has been done very wrongly. We are discussing the report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities and not about Assam and Bengal. But we find that Members have been speaking mostly about Bengal and Assam, as if minorities mean only Assamese and Bengalis. I would suggest that we should take a national view and there should be a national policy, and if there is a violation

[Shri Kartik Oraon]

of the national policy, then anybody and everybody concerned must be punished

Thank you very much, Sir

MR SPEAKER I did not ask the hon Member to sit down I was just ringing the bell for lunch

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE  
Now, he has finished his speech

SHRI KARTIK ORAON I have finished Sir Thank you

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour) His speech is a good appetiser

MR SPEAKER Yes it is a good appetiser

SHRI B V NAIR (Kanara) Could we not forgo the lunch because there are quite a few speakers from various parts of the country and they would like to participate? It is too important a subject is it not possible for us to forgo the lunch? It has been mostly an Assam Bengal debate so far This country is much larger than Assam and Bengal I would therefore make this request because there are many other participants from other parts of the country who would like to present their viewpoint Or you may kindly extend the time

MR SPEAKER Now, he may kindly sit down please

I think Shri Shyamnandan Mishra wants to start his speech after lunch?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai) Yes after lunch

MR SPEAKER The time allotted was five hours Quite a few speakers have already participated It is not very essential that

SHRI B V NAIR: If I may submit, the majority of them or about two-thirds of them are from Bengal and Assam The Members from the rest of the areas in the country did not have a chance.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated Anglo-Indians) When is the hon Minister going to reply?

MR SPEAKER How much time does the hon Minister require?

THE MINISTRY OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND  
IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PERSON-  
NEL (SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA)  
Half an hour

MR SPEAKER In that case, he may start at 3 p m

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU At 3 p m we are having the food discussion

SHRI B K DASCHOWDHARY He can reply better tomorrow after having time for preparation

MR SPEAKER He can reply to morrow At 3 p m we are taking up the discussion on the food situation in the country So it would be so much better if we continue this discussion till 3 p m and the hon Minister replies tomorrow  
13.03 hrs.

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

*The Lok Sabha reassembled after Lunch  
at five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock*

[MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

श्री टी० सोहनलाल (करौलबाग)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, दिल्ली के अन्दर हैजा शुरू हो गया है और जनसंघ प्रशासन जो दिल्ली के अन्दर कार्पोरेशन में है, वह उसकी तरफ बिल्कुल तबज्जह नहीं दे रहा है। आपको यह पता होना चाहिये कि जब कि भगियो के नेता ने यह कहा है कि जो आदमी जितने दिन हड़ताल पर रहे है उन की तनखाह दे दी जाय और जो एरेस्ट हुए हैं उनको छोड़ दिया जाए तो बँ काम पर आने के लिए

तयार हैं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि उनकी तरफ से हड़ताल तोड़ने के बारे में सकारण होने पर भी जातंत्र वाले कर्षों जान-बूझ कर इनको बचान नहीं कराना चाहते हैं।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि हेल्थ मिनिस्टर साहब इसके बारे में सोचें और इसको जल्द खत्म कराने की कोशिश करें। बारिश पड़ने से बीमारी शुरू हो गई है, पॉलियो और हैजा फैलना शुरू हो गया है और मैं यह भी कह सकता हूँ कि मेरे पड़ोस में हैजे से मौत भी हुई है . . . . .

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What is to be done now? This was raised before.

श्री शशि भूषण (दिल्ली—दक्षिण) :  
वह चाहते हैं कि हेल्थ मिनिस्टर साहब इसका जवाब दें।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have raised your point now. Please sit down. Mr. Shyamnandan Mishra.

14.06 hrs.

MOTION RE. TWELFTH REPORT OF COMMISSIONER FOR LINGUISTIC MINORITIES—Contd.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, it is clear from the report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities that there have been failures all round and at all levels. Although there are provisions in the Constitution safeguarding the interests of the linguistic minorities, broadly speaking, these provisions have remained non-operational; they have remained a dead-letter, or one might say, they have remained mere adornments in the Constitution; only as a catalogue of the intentions and good wishes.

In the first instance, in this connection, one would like to point out that the major share of responsibility has to be borne by the Central Government. The Government at the Centre has not been able to impart meaning or vitality to these provisions of the Constitution, and they think that they had already done their duty by bringing out a memorandum in the year of grace 1956 and by holding occasional conferences.

Then, the State Governments too have been very much remiss in this matter. The State Governments and their administrative set-up do not seem to attach much importance to this work and they have, if at all, only minimal sensitiveness to the needs and the miseries of these people.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, this is also my firm view, that the Parliament of India has been no less slack or remiss in its duty because it has found time for everything under the sun to discuss but it has not been able to discuss the report which concerns these sections of our community. So that once in eight years we have now this opportunity of discussing this report of the Commissioner.

A few words, about the office of the Commissioner. Though the office of the Commissioner is useful, there seems to be serious limitations on its usefulness.

AN HON. MEMBER: Even in the constitutional provisions?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The office of the Commissioner, I report, has serious limitations.

Now, the speech of the hon. Member, Shri Frank Anthony, is a clear evidence of the fact that a considerable feeling of concern and consternation exists among the linguistic minorities. To my mind, much of this is due to the refusal of the ruling party to accept the point of view of the majority of the Opposition that those clauses in Chapter III of the Constitution which relate to fundamental rights of particularly the linguistic and cultural minorities, should be insulated from the amending powers of Parliament. That is

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra]

one of the main causes for concern and consternation among the minorities.

Then, it beats us completely why the National Integration Council has been put out of action. This was one body where many of these problems concerning the linguistic minorities could be discussed at the highest level. For mysterious reasons, it seems that the National Integration Council is as good as disbanded.

In this connection I should also like to suggest that there should be a body like the Press Council to take cognizance of the complaints of the linguistic minorities and to take such steps as might be deemed fit for the redressal of their complaints. In fact I would even go to the extent of suggesting that there should be a commission on civil rights to which citizens might go and register their complaints how their rights, very legitimate and fundamental rights, are not being cared for. The Government should take steps immediately to set up a body like this. This is my concrete suggestion.

I am also clearly of the view that there should be a special programme for the development of the languages of all the linguistic minorities. At the moment we do not seem to have even an anthology of some of the best pieces that exist in different languages of the linguistic minorities. It is strange that the Government should not have taken care to produce even an anthology of the best specimens of these languages. While I am on this point, I should suggest that there should be funds provided not only by the States but also by the Centre for this purpose.

The basic thing to my mind is that the linguistic minorities must not have a feeling of being refugees in many of these areas. They must not have a feeling of inferiority or that they are second-class and third-class citizens. There must be a comprehensive plan embracing the development of not only their language, but also of trade, commerce and employment opportunities and so on.

So far as Urdu is concerned, I find that it falls between two stools; it has neither the status of a major language nor the protection of a minority language. It is my fear that probably Urdu would disappear from Pakistan because of the regional fanaticism that is being fostered there. If it would remain in India, it should remain in India and we should take all possible steps to see that Urdu remains in India because Urdu had been one of the unique contributions of India to world culture. At the moment we find that Urdu which is one of the most vital and beautiful languages of the world is in a pitiable condition. *Madrasas* are in a bad way, teachers of Urdu are disappearing from the schools and one does not know whether there is any one who is thinking of either the existence or the development of this language. We are keenly looking forward to the report of the Gujral Committee—or is it Commission—and we hope that this would make concrete suggestions for the development of this language.

I now come to the most sensitive aspect of the present linguistic situation, that is, the language problem that arose in Assam and which is perhaps continuing still with a little abated virulence. Clearly, there has been failure in this case of leadership both at the State and at the Central level. Otherwise, things would not have been allowed to cross all norms of civilised behaviour. After all, why do these language riots occur? Why did not the Assamese clash with Gujaratis or Maharashtrais or with Hindi-speaking people? To my mind, these languages clash because the economic dimensions of these languages clash. If there was no clash in the economic dimensions of these languages, perhaps there would have been no clashes at all. You do not find any clash between Assamese and Gujarati. If there is no disability arising out of a language in the form of employment or lack of trade and commerce facilities and so on. I think there would not be much of the troubles which we are confronting at the present moment. But speaking specifically in the context of Assam, my suggestion is, if no adjustments seem to be coming

about at the local level, there must be a national approach brought to bear on it. In the initial stage, a large part of the concern of even the central leadership was to see that some kind of adjustment or accommodation was brought about at the local level. But we have waited for a long time and a national approach must be brought to bear on it. If the Government finds it impossible to come forward with a solution, this should be remitted to the care of Parliament and we shall give such suggestions as we think fit in this connection.

It has been suggested that a parliamentary delegation should be sent to Assam. I am all for this kind of suggestion, because I do not think this delegation would exacerbate the problem as it would be visiting the area in a constructive spirit. It had been done in the past also when similar situations had arisen.

On behalf of many languages claims have been urged for their recognition and inclusion in the Eighth schedule. Some amendments have been tabled to that effect. I think Government should appoint a Commission to examine their claims and take the necessary decisions in this matter. I would not like to go into the individual claims of some of these languages, though I do have some kind of a soft feeling for the Mythili language. So my submission is that there should be a commission appointed by Government to go into the claims of many of these languages for their recognition and inclusion in the Eighth schedule.

Finally, my submission would be that there should be a body at the national level, as suggested by the Commissioner, to oversee the implementation of the safeguards embodied in the Constitution. As pointed out by another hon. member, steps should also be taken to incorporate in the Constitution an amendment which might make some of these safeguards mandatory. But even if these are made mandatory, I do not think much would be done unless there is a body at the national level to oversee their implementation not as the Commissioner does, but

as a body which has the responsibility to bring about the implementation. To what extent and in what manner this kind of executive responsibility could be given to a body like this should be considered seriously. Although the Government had tried to bring into being a machinery consisting of the Vice-Presidents of the Zonal Councils that has not met after one or two meetings. So, Government must see to it that there is a body set up at the national level which does have the responsibility of getting the safeguards implemented in an effective manner.

With these words, I would commend this report, which has got many lessons for the Government and for Parliament. It is indeed a very useful report that has been presented to us.

**SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY** (Cooch-Bihar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, while discussing this Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in our country, we have come across several speeches which had nothing constructive or positive to suggest for the protection of the linguistic minorities. The Report itself does not very clearly recommend any specific or adequate steps to protect the interests of the linguistic minorities spread over the different parts of the country. Even though under a constitutional provision steps should have been taken by the Government of India, they have not acted very promptly to arrest some of the unhealthy developments in Assam and other parts of the country where minorities are residing. Even if one goes through the Report of the Commissioner in a casual manner, one will find that most of the State Governments are not very much helpful to the Commissioner. In fact, even the statistics asked for by the Commissioner are not supplied in proper time. This is the case not only in Assam but in many other States. Although 11 reports have been presented by the Commissioner and this is the Twelfth Report that we are considering, even at this stage we have not seen any enthusiasm on the part of the Central Government to take effective measures so that all the linguistic minor-

[Shri B K. Daschowdhury]

ties can have their protection, can have a chance to develop their mother tongue and get medium of instruction through their mother tongue wherever they like to

Special attention has been focussed on the recent disturbances and language riots in Assam and an attempt has been made by some of the hon Members from Assam to give a colour to the whole incident saying that certain particular linguistic minorities were responsible for the recent language riots and mention has been made to what happened at Kharupetia in the first week of October and also at Hojai at the same time. I feel it my duty not to go into the details so as to avoid arousing any controversy about this matter. But if one cares to study the situation prevailing in Assam on the language issue for the last two and a half months one will find that it did not start with what had happened in the first week of October in Kharupetia and Hojai but it started in the third week of September this year. At that time certain people whose names I do not like to mention certain groups or sections gave a call for hartal or protest and some linguistic minorities did not respond to that call. The trouble started with that. This was published in the *Assam Express* of 22nd September. Although the *Assam Tribunal* which always gives a communal and provincial tone, does not mention it the *Assam Express* published from Assam does make a mention of it. So should I not mention it that the incidents were not confined to Kharupetia alone but Barapeta and other places in the last week of September and also in the first week of October in Dubri sub-division of Goalpara district? Without mentioning any details of the incidents I would say that the linguistic minority groups have been tortured, oppressed, their houses burnt, property looted and women folk molested and raped in Dibrugarh, Nowgong, Jorhat Tezpur, Dhubri, Gauhati and almost in all parts of the Brahmaputra valley.

Instead of going into all the details, I will first of all submit to you, Sir, and through you to the Government to accept

this proposal to send a Parliamentary Team, as suggested by some of the hon. Members in this House yesterday and today. Just now Shri Shyamandan Mishra also made the same suggestion. That will give us a chance to understand what has happened and where the trouble lies. After the 1960 language riots a parliamentary team under the leadership of Shri A P Jain was sent to Assam for an on-the-spot study. A similar committee can be formed and send there to study the situation now prevailing. It is not a question of how many persons were killed or how many women were raped or molested. We have to go into the basic reasons for these incidents. It is not enough that doctors belonging to a linguistic minority gave a report declaring that particular girls were molested that girls were raped. Let there be even doctors from other parts of the country those who are not living in that part of the country I mean Assam so that there may be a fair judgment of the whole situation.

A doubt has also been raised about the population figures that I mentioned in connection with the Call Attention motion in this House on the 14th last. Some hon Members from Assam wanted to give a twist to the extent that probably the figures were not correct or they wanted to give their own interpretation.

I would like to quote from this book *Census of India, 1951, Volume XII, Assam Manipur and Tripura, Part I-A Report*. Why the percentages of some of these linguistic minority groups have gone down and the percentage of some particular linguistic groups the Assamese-speaking people, has gone so high? It is mentioned in the Report. Without mentioning all that I would simply quote one line:

"All this decline has gone to swell the percentage of the people speaking Assamese in 1951."

It may be recalled, the other day I mentioned, according to the 1931 Census, 19,93,106 is the population figure of

Assamese-speaking people and, in 1951, it went upto 49,70,493, roughly speaking from 20 lakhs to 50 lakhs in the course of two decades, that is, 20 years. This is what the Superintendent of Census Operations, Mr. R. B. Vaghiswalia, an ICS official, has said. I quote :

"All this decline has gone to swell the percentage of the people speaking Assamese in 1951. The figures do not fail to reflect the aggressive nationalism now prevailing in Assam, coupled with the desire of many persons among the Muslims as well as tea garden labour immigrants to adopt Assamese as their mother-tongue in the State of their adoption. It is not unlikely that some amongst the persons who have returned their mother-tongue as Assamese have done so from devious motives, even though their knowledge of Assamese may not amount to much."

This is how the game started, the ball set rolling. Since the partition of this country and since the referendum took place in the district of Sylhet which was a part of the Assam State, as you know, Sir, this was the process how it started, that it happened to such an extent and that is how the figures have been showing an increase of 150 per cent, roughly, from 20 lakhs in 1931 to 50 lakhs in 1951.

I am not mentioning about other linguistic minority groups as to how the figures have gone down. It is clear from the lines I have read out here that the percentages of other linguistic minorities have come down. If I were to mention the whole list, it will take a long time.

The process started there even long before that. Before the Census operations took place in 1951, there were so many instances. Immediately after the partition of the country, some leaders of Assam, the Ahom Jantia Mahasabha, said that Assam is the place which should be declared as sovereign and independent, not to have any connection with the rest of India. On the 4th January, 1948,

after having a conference of their own, on an earlier day, the President Ahom Jantia Mahasabha sent a telegram to the President, to the then Naga National Council leader, Dr. Imti Aliba stating, "Whatever you are claiming for sovereignty, not to have any connection with the rest of India, we wholly support it. You also kindly support us."

This is all on record. I would not like to go into those details. Even then, whatever might be the situation in Assam, the language formula and the solution that was arrived at in 1960, even in that solution, it was said that in Assam, having its peculiar geo-political situation, here are so many linguistic minorities and all those linguistic minorities should be given a chance to develop their own language. No doubt, Assamese is one of the national languages and it must have scope for its own development. There is no doubt about it.

It is stated in Assam Language Act, 1960, even in State service, any person knowing Assamese, Bengali or other local language or Hindi should be quite competent to compete in the Assam State Civil Service. All these solutions and formulas were evolved. A special provision was made for the district of Cachar, that the people of Cachar district will regard Bengali as the State language for that part of the State. That was accepted. I do not know what happened even with all these solutions and formulas, and what we arrived at, at a later stage, under the patronage of great leader, Lal Bahadur Shastri. I do not know what happened. This situation has been cropping up in Assam State again and again; not only this year, but in the past few years also this had been happening.

While mentioning all such instances, I would simply like to give you one or two more examples. Very recently, one circular has been issued. It is Government of Assam, Education (G) Department's letter No. ESS. 211/72 dated the 14th September 1972, from Shri B. N. Das, Under Secretary to the Government of Assam, to the D.P.I., Assam, Shillong :

[Shri B K Daschowdhury]

'SUBJECT *Provincialisation of deficit secondary schools*

I am directed to request you to write to the Managing Committee of each deficit secondary school enquiring if they are agreeable to the provincialisation of the respective institution with their assets and submit a consolidated report to the Government indicating the assets and liabilities, member and category of approved teaching staff along with the opinion of the Managing Committee of each institution

It may be pointed out in this regard that Government may not take over any staff nor approved nor sanctioned by the department for the institution concerned

An early action is solicited in the matter "

There are so many secondary institutions in Assam, particularly belonging to the linguistic minorities, for example Bengali-speaking and others, and those secondary institutions are running at a loss or deficit. Now the Assam Government has sent this order that all these deficit secondary institutions may be taken over by the Government provided they agree to provincialisation. What does this mean? They want to have Assamese as the medium of instruction and no other language. Does it not go to that extent? It is the pressure created by the Government of Assam that the medium of instruction should be only in that particular language, Assamese, and in no others. Does it not go to that extent that the Government of Assam, by their action are violating the Constitutional provisions regarding protection for linguistic minorities—as embodied in our Constitution? Does it not go to that extent that it is a calculated process to assassinate the cultural traditions of these linguistic minorities, Bengalis and other plain tribal people those who are speaking Dima, those who are speaking Bodo, those who are speaking Hmar, etc? What does it mean? I do not know whether the Government of India has got knowledge of this parti-

cular order. This much I feel that the Government of India, as the protector of the rights of linguistic minorities throughout the country, must take note of all these situations.

This is how these things spread from one to the other. Innumerable pamphlets lakhs and lakhs of pamphlets in Assamese language, without the printer's name or the publisher's name, have been distributed to create a scene that something is going wrong and that the Assamese Nationalism must have to rise on this occasion. What have they said in these pamphlets? My Assamese friends here will excuse me if I am wrong. In Assamese language it has been mentioned (*Quotation in Assamese*) By this if I am correct they have meant to say that the Indira Government is nothing but the dancing doll in the brains of Bengalis for example Bongaigaon refinery, Bangladesh liberation and many more things.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Dancing doll in the monopolists hands

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER If you go on reading every letter every leaflet .

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU On a point of order, Sir

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER I am just attending to him

In English, in Assamese—how long will you take? You have already taken fifteen minutes. Kindly be brief and if you go on reading every letter, in Bengali, in English and in Assamese and then you translate it you will be taking such a long time that you cannot make your case.

SHRI B K DASCHOWDHURY I will finish within two minutes. I would not raise any controversy.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER I am only pointing out that you can make your speech more effective by not going into so many details.



**SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY:** I would like the Government of India to take a serious note of the situation.....

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** In that case you will take two hours to argue your case.

**SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY:** I want the Government to take a serious note of the situation. I humbly submit that it will be possible on their part to come to their own conclusions. What are the reasons behind this?

There is another pamphlet in Assamese stating the message for the language revolution—'Myopic stature of the Assam Chief Minister'. Thereby, they denigrated and threatened the Chief Minister of Assam for changing the Assembly resolution of 23rd September 72 and the Chief Minister yielded to them.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** He has mentioned the name of the Prime Minister but you prevented us....

**SHRI B. V. NAIK:** The Prime Minister is our leader.

**SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY:** These are the things that have incited the recent situation. There are reports like that, that even now the linguistic minority groups are pressurised to adopt the Assamese language and declare that they will never make a demand to have the medium of instruction in their own mother tongue. These are the pressures created

To-day I have received a letter from the Secretary of the Linguistic Minorities Rights Committee. They say that they have started realising a sort of collective fines in most parts of the Brahmaputra Valley, I would request the Government of India to take a note of this.

Finally, I would like to submit that the attitude shown by some of the hon. Members of this House even to declare it inside the House—Sir, I would just quote the speech of one hon. Member:

"I appeal to the minorities of Assam to...."

I am not going to mention the name of the hon. Member.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Why do you quote him? You can mention it in brief.

**SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY:** "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 language movement in Assam in spite of all our wish that it should not happen, may happen."

In this regard, I would request that if this is the sort of attitude of my friends coming from Assam, then, it will not solve the language problem. The linguistic minorities and the tribal people speak different languages. They must all be given a chance to develop their own language and culture and if this sort of attitude continues, then, in future, what will happen to Assam which has already been carved out into various States. The tribal and minorities people have already started asking for protection of their rights or to their a separate State. Then, the Bengali-speaking people who are mainly populated in Cachar, North Cachar and some portions of the Nowgong District such as Lumbding, Hojai and Lanka, etc. must demand for a separate State which will not be in the interests of the country.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Will you spare the Chair your linguistic domination now?

**SHRI B. K. DASCHOWDHURY:** Not that. I only say that this will happen if this attitude continues.

Therefore, I will appeal to the Government, I will beseech my friends, I will beseech the Government, Let them sit together and have a compromise solution. Otherwise, Assam will face further bifurcation....

**MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** And I will beseech you to conclude

**SHRI B K DASCHOWDHURY** The loud are the linguistic minorities in Assam, the voice is up and nobody can check it.

Thank you

**SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI** (Gauhati) On a point of personal explanation, Sir

**SHRI P VENKATASUBBAIAH** (Nandyal) On a point of order Sir

The Linguistic Minorities Commission's report was being discussed on a wider context. But unfortunately, the whole debate has been converted into a Bengali-Assamese controversy and some of us who want to participate in the debate are denied of that. I hope you will keep this in mind.

**MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER** I am keeping that very much in mind.

**SHRI B R SHUKIA** (Bahrain) You know, Sir, that I was the first member to speak on this question but I have been denied that privilege.

**MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER** I say I am keeping that in mind. At the same time I am keeping in mind the lists submitted by the Whips of the Parties.

**SHRI LILADHAR KOTOKI** (Nowgong) Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir I agree with my hon friend, Shri P Venkata subbaiah that it is unfortunate that instead of discussing the Twelfth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities yesterday and today we had to deal mostly with a so-called linguistic problem and the troubles that have developed in my State.

Sir, at the very outset I would like to place before the House certain cardinal points. The medium of education of Gauhati and Dibrugarh Universities is sought to be brought in here to be the cause of the present troubles in Assam. The

medium of instruction in universities is guided by the National Policy on Education, 1968, which states as under. This is from paragraph 3. There is a sub-para (a) which I will quote.

"Development of languages (a) Regional languages: The energetic development of Indian languages and literature is a *sine qua non* for educational and cultural development. Unless this is done the creative energies of the people will not be released. Standards of education will not improve, knowledge will not spread to the people and the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses will remain if not widened further. The regional languages are already in use as media of education at the primary and secondary stages. Urgent steps should now be taken to adopt them as media of education at the university stage."

This is exactly Government of India's policy. This is the national forum of Parliament where we can discuss all these issues. We are discussing national problems. Many hon Members have made out a case that the situation in Assam should be treated from a national approach. That is the point which was made. Sir, I entirely agree with that and therefore I have brought up this aspect of the National Policy on Education. But what we find is that they bring in the provisions of the various Articles of the Constitution governing the right of the linguistic minorities in the primary and secondary stages of education in order to mix up with the medium of education adopted in the universities of Gauhati and Dibrugarh. This is something which is not germane to the issue.

I appeal to the hon Members of the House and the people outside, particularly in my State. We have got so many communities. Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, you also belong to our regions. You know the whole history (*Intermission*). During the last 15 years I have never interrupted the speech of another hon. Member. It is not my habit to interrupt anybody. I be-

speech my friend, let me have my say within the limited time that I have

The Hon Speaker, during the pre-lunch period, had counselled us not to rouse passions which were already very high. Shri Indrajit Gupta appealed to us yesterday to make a categorical statement on the floor of the House denouncing or condemning violence, in a full-throated voice. We condemn violence. My hon friend Shri Dinash Chandra Goswami yesterday and Shri Tarun Gogoi have also condemned it this morning. I go a step further to share this information with the House that as early as the 25th October eight of our Members from Assam who happened to be in Delhi issued a statement to the press which appeared also in the national press here and also in Assam and Bengal and which it is relevant to quote. The statement read thus:

We most unequivocally condemn all Acts of violence and lawlessness committed by anybody in any part of Assam. Violence and democracy can not go together and no problem can be solved by violent methods.

I need not go further. The Chief Minister himself has condemned it in his statements. The ten political parties that exist in my State have also unequivocally condemned the violence. Various associations and other organisations are also condemning it. So we are pained when we are counselled like this, ignoring all that has happened, exaggerating things that may not have happened, overlooking the fact that we are ourselves concerned and overlooking the fact that the State Government are taking all the steps that are possible. Instead of appreciating that, and instead of helping the situation which is still under high tension, the type of speeches that have been made here is really very unfortunate in the light of all this. That was why I began my speech with an appeal. You saw it yesterday and also today. The other day, when my hon friend Shri Prava Ranjan Das Mushi spoke, on the calling-attention-notice pertaining to the

same subject, he paid tributes to the youth and particularly the students of my State who exercised the utmost restraint despite provocations. As I have said unequivocally, and in terms of what Shri Indrajit Gupta—He is not here, still, for his benefit I would say this with all the loud noise that I am capable of—I am condemning violence anywhere, and I condemn it in my State. What I am pleading for is only this. Let them also come forward and join hands with us. The appeal is to all. It applies both ways.

There is a saying that it requires two to quarrel. One cannot go on quarrelling along. Therefore, there should be two. Why should this issue of the medium be allowed to go to that extent as to create a holocaust, and misery to so many innocent people? I am mourning it, not the deaths of members of one community or the other only. The other day while participating in the discussion in the miseries caused by national calamities I expressed my agony, today I express my deep anguish at the calamity that has beset the various people in my State as a result of man-made calamities. I understand the limitation of time that I have, but still I would crave your indulgence to correct a factual information that my hon friend Shri B. K. Daschowdhury sought to place before the House. Provincialisation in our State as you know means the taking over of an institution by Government to be run with Government funds. Therefore, at the time of taking over certain rules have to be conformed to. Many high schools and other institutions are started and run by private people, for them there is a system of deficit grants, which means that whatever deficit there is paid by Government, there, this question of provincialisation does not arise. It is this type of distortion of facts and coupled with the excitement and passion which goes with it, which is responsible for the provocation that comes from the other side.

Therefore, I appeal to my friends from Bengal, more particularly to my friends from Cachar, not to create that kind of tension which we want to avoid.

[Shri Liladhar Kotaki]

Lastly, in the speech of Shri Goswami, to which Shri Daschowdhury referred, he made an appeal. He put it in a particular way. Again that was sought to be distorted. How unfortunate it is? Because we happen to belong to a particular community, because we happen to be situated in a particular part of the country, should we be treated so unkindly as is sought to be done? I am quite sure that the great men of Bengal who have been the thinkers of our country will never countenance the kind of insinuation, incitement and accusation that is sought to be made against the people of Assam as a whole. I repudiate it.

Again I make an appeal to them and hope they will understand the problem and help us and the Governments both Central and State to restore normalcy and to find a solution which will bring peace so that this backward region may develop economically and socially.

श्री बीरेन्द्र मिह राव (मन्नेन्द्रगढ़)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, भाषा के झगडों में जो कुछ इस देश होना रहा है वह बाकई बहुत ही अफसोसनाक, दर्दनाक और तश्चोशनाक है। हर भाषा के लिए मुझे पूरा पूरा एहताराम है क्योंकि मेरी निगाह में भाषा एक ऐसा मन्दिर है जिसमें बोलने वाला की आत्मा बसती है। उन का इतिहास बसना है उनकी संस्कृति बसती है और उस भाषा के लिए हर एक आश्रमी के दिल में, बालन बालों के दिल में प्यार होना लाजिमी है। भले अफसोस के साथ एक बात कहनी पड़नी है कि जितना विकसन निगिबस्टिक माइनारिटीज युंक्स ही 1972 में कमेन्टर फार निगिबस्टिक माइनारिटीज की रिपोर्ट के ऊपर हुआ है वह सब आउट ऑफ कांटेक्ट है। हमने अब को-वही पकड़ा कि इन सारी खराबियों को अब क्या है? इस नये को काउंटे है

और शाखाओं को पानी दे रहे हैं। यह इतना बड़ा देश है। इसके अन्दर लिगिबस्टिक माइनारिटीज के लिए जो सेक्युयर्स कास्टीट्यूशन में प्रोवाइड हुए उन के कुछ आधार हैं। प्राफिशियल लैंग्वेज के ऊपर एक अलाहिदा सेक्टर है और वह सेक्टर शुरू होता आर्टिकल 343 से। आर्टिकल 343

कहता है कि The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script

SHRI B V NAIK On a point of order Now that the time for this discussion is coming to a close I would like you to tell us one thing. The entire debate has literally become an Assam-Bengal debate whereas actually this is a debate in respect of linguistic minorities. About 75.80 per cent has not been represented.

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER You come to the point straight.

SHRI B V NAIK There should have been a separate allocation of time for the purpose of the Assam-Bengal debate. Is it not fair that there should be an extension of time at least to let the views of the other areas to be represented?

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER Why can't you put that in one sentence? You are an intelligent man. I understand what you want. I think what the House feels will be conveyed to the Speaker. These things I hope will be taken into consideration. Beyond that, I cannot say anything just now.

SHRI B V NAIK The other day it was said that certain documents are not confidential. We have also seen the list. All of us have presented our names for that purpose. (Interruption)

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER Order, please. What is that document? About the extension or allocation of time ..

SHRI B V NAIK Since I quote that list in which all our names are included, I do not think it would be an improper quotation. We would request you once again to really convert this and appropriate the time that would have been given for the purpose of the Assam-Bengal debate as an additional time for this.

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER All this will be kept in mind and will be conveyed to the Speaker for his consideration.

श्री श्रीरेन्द्र सिंह राव उम के बाद  
 आर्टिकल 344 प्रोमीजर लेडाउन करता है कि एक कमीशन होगा हिन्दी के लिए और वह कमीशन एक कमेटी को रिपोर्ट करेगा जो कमेटी पार्लियामेंट के 30 मेम्बरान की बनेगी। वह कमेटी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट पर गौर करके राष्ट्रपति को अपनी रेकमेडेशन भेजेगी। जो सेफगाइस वास्टीट्यूशन मे लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज को दिये गये है वे कुछ गिवन कडीशस मे दिए गए है। वे कुछ एस्मशन रख कर दिए गए है कि 15 साल के अन्दर इस देश की राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी होगी और 344 आर्टिकल के अन्दर यह कहा गया है कि कास्टीट्यूशन के लाग होन के पाच वर्ष बाद एक कमीशन बनेगा। वह कमीशन अपनी रिपोर्ट देगा कि कहा तक हिन्दी की प्रोग्रेस हुई है और अग्रजी के इस्तेमाल को कहा तक रेस्ट्रिक्टेटेड किया जाय। हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर, और उसके बाद फिर दूसरी शर्त रखी है कि दस वर्ष के बाद दूसरा कमीशन बनेगा जो पन्द्रह वर्ष के अन्दर तक रिपोर्ट देगा कि कहा तक हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा बनाने मे सरकार कामयाब हुई है। आज पन्द्रह वर्ष नहीं पञ्चीस वर्ष हो चुके हैं और अफसोस

की बात है कि जहाँ लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज के कमिश्नर की बारहवी रिपोर्ट हाउस के अन्दर डिस्कस हो रही है, कास्टीट्यूशन के अन्दर कोई प्रावीजन नहीं रखा गया है कि क्या कुछ किया उस कमीशन ने, क्या किसी कमेटी ने विचार किया और राष्ट्रपति ने क्या डाइरेक्टिव दिए, वह इस हाउस के सामने आए। हाउस के सामने यह सब कुछ नहीं आया। जो लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट है वह कास्टीट्यूशन के तहत पार्लियामेंट को पेश करनी होती है। लेकिन जो कमीशन हिन्दी के मतारिलिक बै है, अभी तक एक ही बैठा है, उसकी रिपोर्ट आज तक हाउस के सामने नहीं आई।

14.58 hrs.

(SHRI K N TIWARY in the Chair)

मैं सभापति महोदय, यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ हर भाषा बोलने वाले को इस देश के अन्दर अधिकार दिए गए हैं, सब से जरूरी चीज यह है कि हम जहाँ लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज को प्रोटेक्शन दें, वहाँ मेजारिटी को इग्नोर न किया जाय। अगर मेजारिटी को नगलेक्ट किया जायगा तो जो नेशन बिल्डिंग की प्रोसेस है वह रिवर्स हो जायगी और आज अगर देश के अन्दर नये नये तरीके से नई नई टेडेसीज उभर रही है जिस इन्टीगेशन की, अलग होने की तो उसकी वजह यह है कि आज देश के अन्दर एक भाषा नहीं है। भाषा के जरिफ से विचार व्यक्त होता है और अगर भाषा की आइडेंटिटी नहीं है, किसी देश के अन्दर तो कभी नेशन की आइडेंटिटी नहीं हो सकती, कभी विचारों की आइडेंटिटी नहीं हो सकती। आप देखते हैं, बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि किंग

[श्री बीरन्द्र सिंह राव]

जर्ज के स्टैंड को तो हम बदल नहीं कर सकते, उसके लिए तो ग्रान्टालन हो सकते हैं, उस स्टैंड को तोड़ा जा सकता है लेकिन किम जाँचें इंग्लिश आज उसी तरह से उसी शान से यहाँ चल रही है जिस शान से इंग्लैंड के अन्दर चल रही है या अमेरिका के अन्दर चल रही है ।

MR CHAIRMAN Please resume your seat

SHRI BIRENDER SINGH RAO Sir, most of my time was taken up by others I want some more time

MR CHAIRMAN Please continue to-morrow

#### MOTION RE FOOD SITUATION

14.59 hrs

MR CHAIRMAN We are now taking up the motion by Shri Fatehsinghrao Gaekwad and Dr Karni Singh, namely,—

That this House do consider the food situation in the country”

SHRI Fatehsinghrao Gaekwad

SHRI IATLH SINGHRAO GAEKWAD (Baroda) Mr Chairman I beg to move

That this House do consider the food situation in the country”

This Government has indeed earned the gratitude of the entire nation for the most efficient manner in which it has gloriously bungled on the food front. Roughly about this time last year its spokesmen were thumping their backs proudly announcing to the world that the country had at last reached self-sufficiency and there would be no need to further rely on food imports.

We were further told that the green revolution was a success and that a buffer stock of 9 million tonnes had been created. These pronouncements were received with great joy.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (ग्वालियर) सभापति महोदय, खाद्य मंत्री जी कहां हैं ?

क्या माननीय सदस्य वह यहाँ बठ हैं ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ये पूरे खाय मंत्री नहीं है—माफ कर । कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर कहा है ? शिंदे पाहब काबिल भ्रादमी है लेकिन कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर क्या बनाये गये है ? आप शिंदे माहब को कैबिनेट में लीजिये, हमे यहाँ वाई शिवायत नहीं है । हम समय पड़ निश्चयन घेट है ताम उम पर डिक्शन कर रंग है आर फूड मिनिस्टर गायब ।

संसदीय कार्य तथा नौवहन और परिवहन मंत्री (श्री राजबहादुर) सभापति महोदय मैं बड़े भ्रम में बड़ा चाहता हूँ—यह मिश्रण के खिलाफ बात है । जब एक मिनिस्टर तो उस मिनिस्टर या रिजर्वेंट बरने है, यहाँ मौजूद है तो फिर वाई आपति नहीं उठाई जा सकती । ओर इसके बारे में रुतब भी है तो हममें कोई आपति नहीं हानी चाहिये ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी हाउस के कान को प्राथमिकता मिलनी चाहिये ।

सभापति महोदय आज तक यह प्रॉब्लम रही है और यह कन्फिडेंस भी है कि कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर की सम्मेलन में स्टेट मिनिस्टर या डिप्टी मिनिस्टर यहाँ रहते हैं तो भी डिबेट हो सकती है, काम चल सकता है ।