

[Shri P. K. Deo]

cere gratitude to the Prime Minister for having corrected his earlier statement—it speaks of his greatness. I thank you also for this opportunity.

Mr. Speaker: Now at least he is a gallant Maharaja.... (*Interruptions*). We take up the other business now

13.05 hrs.

MOTION RE: REPORTS OF COMMISSIONER FOR LINGUISTIC MINORITIES—contd.

Shri Datar: Sir, I was dealing with some complaints made during the discussion on the first report of the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner that Urdu was not treated properly and I pointed out that as early as 14th July, 1948 a circular was issued by the Government of India so far as the recognition of Urdu as a language of sizable minority was concerned and it laid down what was to be done in regard to Urdu language in the matter of educational institutions, recruitment to services, publication of Government material, etc. Hon. Members will find from the report that Urdu was receiving considerable attention from most of the States where Urdu speaking people were in a fairly large number. From the figures I find that Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra and U.P. are the four important States where their number is considerable and I am happy that in all these States they are taking special steps to see that these people suffer from no handicaps. Certain complaints were made about certain handicaps and now most of them have been duly removed. For instance, Urdu teachers are appointed, Urdu books and text books are being duly published and whenever new schools are opened, these facilities are extended if it is found that the children know Urdu or their mother tongue is Urdu. Here too, as in the case of the other minorities, it has been laid down that proper safeguards should be given. So far as my hon. friend's State, Punjab, is concerned,

the Punjab Government are giving due importance to Urdu. In U.P. a special officer was appointed to look after the interests of Urdu population and to give them whatever was due. During the last two or three years, a claim has been put forward on behalf of the Nepalese living in Darjeeling district. It was considered by the West Bengal Government and when they passed their Act about the official language of West Bengal they put a special provision so that in the three divisions of Darjeeling where there are a large number of Nepalese, Nepalese and Bengali, both, will be recognised. Oftentimes certain claims are put forward on behalf of Sindhi population. They are fairly large in numbers in Maharashtra, Gujarat as also in Rajasthan. I was happy to find that these States provided necessary facilities. There is some difference of opinion about the script. Sindhis have their own script which is more or less allied to Urdu or Persian. A suggestion was made that if possible they may accept the Devanagari script so that while learning their own language they may also have the facility of knowing Hindi which is one of the important languages in India. The Sindhi population have not yet seen their way to do so. All the same, we are trying, by providing them with necessary facilities, to persuade them, if possible, to take over to the Devanagari language so that they and other people in India can come into greater contact.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): Devanagari script.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Devanagari script.

Shri Datar: Yes; Devanagari script and Sindhi script and not Sindhi language. Sindhi language has to be provided for. As the House is aware, once a resolution was brought forward either in this House or in the other House that Sindhi should be recognised and noted in the Constitution itself. It was pointed out on behalf of the

Government that they have been extending facilities not only to the languages mentioned in the Constitution but also to all other languages and scripts as well. Under these circumstances, there is no reason for specially including Sindhi in the list of languages in the Constitution, because, in all cases, whether the language is included or not, it is entitled to all the advantages, and such advantages are being given to all the languages including Sindhi. Sindhi has now been recognised as a language in which, if there are very good books, those books can be recognised for a special award.

Of course, I am not prepared to say that the present position has improved in all respects, but it has improved materially in view of the very strenuous labours which were put forth by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. The Commissioner is a very high dignitary; he was a retired Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, and he put forth his labours to the fullest extent for seeing to it that full justice was done. Being once a judicial officer, naturally it is his duty to see that full justice is done to the languages of all the minorities in India. Therefore, he has produced these two reports which, I am confident, will be found satisfactory by all hon. Members of this House.

To the extent that certain recommendations of the Commissioner have not yet been accepted by the State Governments or are under consideration of the State Governments, I may assure hon. Members that we shall be taking up these matters with the State Governments and we shall see to it that as early as possible they take up a favourable attitude also in this respect.

Lastly, in addition to the various suggestions and proposals that the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has made, I shall be very happy to have more suggestions from hon. Members, because all of us are interested, in view of the need for national integration, in seeing that all

members of the Indian nation, whatever their language, derive complete satisfaction and help the nation in achieving national integration without any mental reservations.

Shri Bade (Kharagone): Time will have to be extended because the Minister himself has taken about an hour.

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

“That this House takes note of the Second and Third Reports of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, laid on the Table of the House on the 8th August, 1960 and 24th April, 1961, respectively.”

Now, we started at 12:25. We have spent about 50 minutes already on this subject. For one report we had fixed two hours.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): We shall take both the reports together.

Mr. Speaker: There is another discussion fixed for 3 O'clock. If hon. Members agree and the House approves, we might postpone that, and continue with this discussion and finish it by the end of the day. We might finish this today, and then take the other motion, after this is over.

Several Hon. Members: Yes, yes.

Mr. Speaker: So, I think that is agreeable. Now, may I know how long the Minister would take for his reply?

Shri Datar: I shall not take much time because I have explained the position. I shall take about half an hour.

Mr. Speaker: I have already got the names of about 15 hon. Members who wish to speak. There might be others also. There are signals from Shri D. C. Sharma for inclusion of his name.

Shri D. C. Sharma: This motion was put down in my name.

Mr. Speaker: But this is not the procedure of saying it. If all hon. Members are to signal to me like that for inclusion of their names, that would not be fair. It is not the procedure and it ought not to be done.

Shri D. C. Sharma: I am sorry, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: The time-limit for the speeches must also be put. As I said, I have received 15 names. There will be at least half a dozen or a dozen more hon. Members who may wish to speak. The cumulative effect of all this would be that I would probably have disappointed most hon. Members if not everyone! So, normally, 15 minutes could be taken by every hon. Member.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: There is discretion.

Mr. Speaker: Of course, the discretion is there, but I would request every hon. Member to conclude within 15 minutes.

Shri Daji (Indore): We have two reports before us, which have been given by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. The long-drawn-out prefatory remarks of the hon. Minister, I am afraid, did not add much either to our knowledge or to our enlightenment, and they were only a paraphrase of that which we have already known from the reports.

Mr. Speaker: They may be helpful to those who have not read the reports.

Shri Daji: We expect that those who desire to speak would have read the reports. That is what I understand.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): On a point of information. This report was distributed to the Members in the last Lok Sabha. We have not received this report.

Mr. Speaker: If he desired to have it, we could have supplied it.

Shri Man Singh P. Patel (Mehsana): Even the Library has not got the report.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: It has not been distributed to us.

Shri Man Singh P. Patel: I have got only the second report. I borrowed the third report from another hon. Member.

Mr. Speaker: Was it distributed in the last Parliament or in the last session?

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Last Parliament; the second Lok Sabha.

Shri A. N. Vidyalankar (Hoshiarpur): It was distributed in the last Parliament, not to this Parliament.

Shri Man Singh P. Patel: It was distributed to the second Lok Sabha.

Mr. Speaker: If hon. Members feel that they are not in a position to discuss the reports, just now, even after listening to a long speech,—

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: We will adjust ourselves.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): If the reports are not there, the speech of the hon. Minister was more than a report.

Mr. Speaker: Then we can proceed further.

Shri Bade: The report is not available in the Library.

Mr. Speaker: We would take action. In the meanwhile, I think we can proceed. After a few hon. Members have spoken, other hon. Members will get familiar with all the points that are contained in the report.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Some directions may be given to the office. If available, they may be supplied.

Mr. Speaker: Had they brought it to notice earlier, I would have arranged. Now, at this moment, when the subject has been put on the Order

Paper, what else can we do? If hon. Members had brought it to my notice earlier, I would have certainly arranged and seen to it that copies were supplied. Anyway, I would just now see if some copies of the reports are available.

Shri Himatsingka (Godda): The same difficulty arises in the case of the next motion also, regarding the L.I.C.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Daji will proceed with his speech now.

Shri Daji: It is a matter of regret, first of all, that we are called upon to discuss the reports which are reports under a Constitutional guarantee and protection given to the minorities after more than two years of their submission. If this is the importance that we lay on the guarantee given by the Constitution and if this is the vigilance that we ought to exercise to see these guarantees are carried out, I submit that this is a sad commentary.

Coming to the problems posed by the reports, I submit that we have to consider the question of linguistic minorities in the larger context and background of national integration. One thing must be clearly appreciated and accepted and it is this. The linguistic minorities are not to be merely grudgingly tolerated but to be helped, encouraged and fostered, so that they become equal partners in the comity of the States which form the Indian Union. The report suggests that the attitude of the State Governments has been one of grudging tolerance and at worst they have been positively unhelpful to the linguistic minorities. I am afraid I cannot share the feeling of satisfaction expressed by the Minister. The first report mentioned the same difficulty, the second report repeats it and the third report reiterates the same difficulties. Yet, if we call this progress, certainly we are in the woods.

For example, let us take the question of primary education. The first

report pointed out certain difficulties. It was suggested that a register will be maintained by every school in which the names of the minorities shall be recorded. What is the progress, which is called satisfactory by the Minister? The third report says:

"It is hoped that with the maintenance of register in the States, the people belonging to linguistic minorities will find it easier to obtain admission in schools imparting instruction in their mother tongue. Replies from Gujarat and Punjab are awaited";—after two years—"and the Governments of Assam, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa do not consider the maintenance of the register necessary."

So, even in regard to this simple precaution of maintaining a register to enter the names of those students, this recommendation has not been replied to by two States and three other States pontifically declined to accept it. This progress is called satisfactory. The maintenance of a register is most essential, but even this recommendation is not accepted by five out of 14 States. I submit this is really a sorry state of affairs.

Regarding the question of text-books, some suggestion was mooted in the first report and repeated in the second and third reports. Text-books are not ready. Even if students are enrolled, if text-books are not ready, what are the students supposed to do in the schools? Even in the three States where satisfactory progress has been reported regarding enrolment, the progress is merely this that theoretically the students are admitted, but the text-books are not ready. What they are supposed to do, only the Minister can enlighten us; I fail to understand it.

The suggestion in the first report is that the text-books can be borrowed from neighbouring States.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): The students will learn without text-books.

[Dr. M. S. Aney]

to read just as we debate the resolution without reports.

Shri Daji: This is a helpful suggestion. If we can have a debate without the reports, why cannot school children learn their lessons without text-books?

Mr. Speaker: But immediately I am providing them with the reports.

Shri Daji: But the Ministry is not providing the text-books for the children.

Mr. Speaker: Therefore, there is a distinction, all right.

Shri Daji: Yes, Sir. Surely, this difficulty about teachers is going to be there always. The Commission, after going through all the records, has come out with a very helpful and beautiful suggestion. In Hindi, it is called:

“खोदा पहाड़ निकली चुहिया”

If you cannot get teachers from the local areas, bring them from the neighbouring States and further, give them the same salaries as you give to your teachers, and then the problem will be solved. What a beautiful suggestion! The problem will not be solved. For example, how can you bring a Tamil teacher from Madras to teach in Delhi on the same terms? Unless you give him some better rights, some better facilities and housing at least, where shall he stay in Delhi?

Mr. Speaker: What I understand from that portion of the report was, the Commissioner had this in mind that in the border areas where that population is a minority, but it is a majority in the other State, then teachers can be had from that State for the area where the population is in a minority.

Shri P. K. Deo: There are Urdu minorities in Andhra Pradesh. From where will they get teachers?

Mr. Speaker: This cannot be applicable there.

Shri Daji: If schools have to be provided, teachers and text-books have to be provided as a logical consequence of that. These difficulties are not new. It is not something which could not have been foreseen. As soon as you guarantee the right of primary education, these difficulties automatically flow and you should be able to provide for them. Failure to provide for them ultimately means that the right of the linguistic minorities to have education in their mother-tongue is accepted in principle on paper, but not in practice.

Then, take the much-applauded three-language formula. Let us take a State like U.P. where the formula was declared as accepted and was to be started from this year. But when the session began, suddenly the educationists discovered that it cannot be implemented because there are 6,000 junior schools and for teaching 13 languages in each school, we shall require 6,000 multiplied by 13 number of language teachers and in the absence of these language teachers, nothing could be done and so, the whole formula has been shelved. Now a new formula is sought to be introduced. Instead of 13 languages, just one of the South Indian languages may be taught. But even that would require 4,000 language teachers in U.P. alone. This difficulty should have been foreseen. It is pleaded as a formula for national integration, but when it comes to actual practice, it cannot be implemented. Can we not display some more imagination and better planning? Was it such a difficulty that it could not be visualised by any educationists? As soon as the formula is evolved, it is clear that you will require so many language teachers and if the teachers are not

ready, the formula cannot be worked. Therefore, the intention of the Government is there, but in actual practice, the minorities in every State are being discriminated upon.

In my constituency—Indore—for a simple and well-known language as Urdu, again and again I have submitted signed petitions. Each time Government says, "Yes; we shall appoint teachers", but the teacher is never found. The teachers are never allotted for financial reasons or administrative reasons, whatever it may be and the result is, it is accepted in principle, but never put into practice.

Another important question is this. Certain universities are now beginning to have regional languages as media of instruction. Have we got any policy regarding that? We are still groping in the dark. What will happen to the rights of the minorities? Certain institutions of higher learning have stipulated a regional language test for admission. The report says it should not be there, but it is there.

Coming to the question of tribal languages, it is not a question of tribal language, but script for tribal language. The report says that different Governments are trying to introduce different scripts for the same tribal minority. I was surprised to learn that one particular State Government was trying to introduce the Roman script for tribal people. Another tried to introduce Devanagari script and a third State tried to introduce its own regional script. So, the same linguistic minority in border States are being taught in three different scripts. The result will be, there will not only be no national integration, but there will not be even integration of the tribal people. They will be disintegrated into three different groups following separate scripts. The second report has pointed it out and the third report has reiterated it. But in the period between these reports,

what steps have the Central Government taken to call together the eastern zone States and ask them to evolve a common script for the tribal people in their areas, so that at least there would be some progress and their upliftment would not be retarded?

Another matter connected with the linguistic minorities is the question of administration. We have been given a whole list of places where the minority population is sometimes going as far as 80 per cent, as in the case of Pandurna on the border of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh.

Sir, I say this with the full knowledge and confidence that the safeguard that the administrative measures shall be published in the languages of the minorities is not being observed anywhere. Even for such a vital thing as the electoral roll for the district of Bhopal where the linguistic minority is more than 60 per cent, we had to seek the intervention of the Home Ministry and the Prime Minister and without their intervention they were not prepared to give the electoral rolls in Urdu.

13.31 hrs.

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

Dr. M. S. Aney: That was to delay matters.

Shri Daji: Then, by a queer sophistry, two unimaginable things have happened. In one case the contention of the State Government was that the Home Ministry's circular enjoined upon them to give only the government orders in the minority languages and, therefore, the orders of the cantonment boards, municipal councils and municipal corporations were not to be given in the language of the minorities because the words used were "government orders" and they were not government departments. Secondly, some other States went to the queer extent of saying that only such orders are to be given in the language of the minorities which have a local import and, there-

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fore, orders of a provincial import or all-India import are not to be translated into the language of the minorities. Their contention was that only such orders as affect the minorities in a particular area are to be given in the language of those minorities. I submit, Sir, that both these interpretations are absolutely a negation of the right of the linguistic minorities to get at least important government orders, notifications, gazette, rules etc., in their own language.

Sir, what to say of the language of the minorities, the Income-tax Department which penalises a man for not filing his returns in time has not been able to give the rules of income-tax in Hindi which is the national language.

An Hon. Member: Not even forms.

Shri Daji: Even forms and notices are still sent in English, leave aside the language of the minorities. If this is the state of affairs, we can very well imagine how the linguistic minorities are fairing under this dispensation.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Where will you stop as regards this point? Will you be satisfied if they can give such things in the regional language or do you want them to be translated into the language of the minorities?

Shri Daji: I would like that.

Then, I would like to raise two wider questions connected with this. It is said in the report that the recommendations have not been implemented. My first suggestion is this. It is true that since the time of the Integration Council this matter has been raised at the level of the meeting of the Chief Ministers. But it is also true that every State seems to be taking it up very tardily, very lukewarmly and more as a matter of fashion and proclamation than as a matter of faith. Therefore, what I suggest is that the Home Ministry,

which is burdened with all sort of work,—it is almost a refugee Ministry because any portfolio or department which cannot be placed on the shoulders of any other Ministry is put under the Home Ministry—with its multifarious activities, is not able to look after this particular branch as energetically as it ought to. Though it has the advantage of commanding better authority, in practice it does not seem to be able to follow up each particular State and see that things are done according to the directions given by it. For example, Madhya Pradesh, which has an Oriya minority of 21 per cent in one taluka, refused to give the administrative papers in that language because it said that the percentage was not sufficient. You have laid down 15 per cent. There they have 21 per cent and still that Government has refused saying that 21 per cent is not sufficient. Who is to call such arrant, truant governments to order? Therefore, at least a special minority manned by a competent Minister should be created so that his sole work should be to follow up these things and see that the State Governments are, actually speaking, carrying out the directions sent out by the Home Ministry from time to time....

Shri Radhelal Vyas (Ujjain): I would like to have one clarification from the hon. Member. I want to know whether the 21 per cent, referred to by him in the State of Madhya Pradesh know Hindi or not. If they know Hindi, I would like to know whether the papers were supplied in Hindi or not.

Shri Daji: I did not say 21 per cent in the whole of Madhya Pradesh. The provision applies even if it is in a particular taluka. They do not know Hindi because they are tribals. I am talking about Bastar. They do not know Hindi, that is the whole problem. Even if they know Hindi, if the provision is that they should be given the papers in their language, I think that should be done. The whole

attitude is, as I said in the beginning, an attitude of grudging tolerance of minorities. The attitude should not be one grudging tolerance, but it should be a friendly attitude, an attitude to help the minorities so that they may be able to do things in their own language, they may be able to follow their own culture and they may be able to develop it further. That is the attitude that is required and not one of grudging tolerance.

There are two more important points. The first one is of the little general import, but it will have certainly its impact on the question of linguistic minorities. After 15 or 17 years of independence we have still not got a clear cut language policy. We are still groping, we are fumbling we are wavering, we are faltering...

Shri D. C. Sharma: Vacillating.

Shri Daji: Yes, vacillating. And, as yet we have not evolved a clear-cut language policy. Someone says it should be English, some other counter and say that it should be Hindi. A third group says that it should be the regional language. Then the Government comes out with the usual compromise with all the three together. Having all the three together is going to put us all in a soup. And, this absence of a language policy is also causing great trouble to the linguistic minorities and to the whole question of national integration. You must have a clear-cut common, democratic language policy. We must all sit together and evolve one. After 15 years of independence, we have not been able to evolve a language policy. Only when the language policy is decided can the question of national language and the minority language be fitted within that formula. Without that, it is very difficult to discuss in isolation the question of minority language. Whether the national language should be the medium of instruction in the higher institutions can be settled only then.

Then the fact remains, and I think the fact be better faced than avoided,

that overtly or covertly the linguistic minorities are being discriminated against. This is a fact which, as I said, may better be faced than avoided. Unless you face it you will never solve it, I am saying this not from the point of view of any parochialism or separatism or communalism. I am saying this very boldly.

There is one thing more. The question of linguistic minorities have got to be solved in a brotherly way by the Hindi-speaking people. I am making bold to say this because I belong to a region which has declared Hindi as the State language. I know Hindi. I am a protagonist of Hindi. Therefore, I say with great confidence that the only way in which we can make Hindi respected and accepted is to accept and respect every language. Those Hindi protagonists who out of wrong fanaticism and misplaced zeal want to foist Hindi on others and who want to see that Hindi replaces English, are committing a grave error. Thereby they are prejudicing not only the claims of other languages but they are hitting on the right of their own language. In this way, Sir, Hindi shall never be foisted on the people of this country.

At the time of the national movement the whole concept was very clear. We had accepted the right of every regional language, the language of every minority to flourish. Then we had, further, the concept of Hindi as a language of inter-communication as the Rashtra Bhasha. Everybody had willingly accepted Hindi as the Rashtra Bhasha. Now, after independence, what is sought to be done is to replace English by Hindi just as a foreign imperialist language was foisted on us—English. Though we belong to States which are big in size and in population, we are not conquerors. Therefore, we have no right to foist our own language on others willingly or unwillingly. We are big brothers. It behoves on big brothers to be more charitable and helpful to their younger brothers rather than

[Shri Daji]

insist upon them to accept something willingly or unwillingly.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

Shri Daji: Sir, much of my time was taken by others.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has taken 20 minutes.

Shri Daji: Sir, I have many other points. I will take only two more minutes.

Therefore, I say that the whole question has to be looked at from this background. It is only when every minority language is really and willingly given the right kind of help that a filip can be created among the people of various languages of our country and they can be made to realise that they are all equal partners in the great programme of nation-building. Unless they are given that feeling, we cannot march forward together. We cannot march forward by simply brandishing the big stick. Therefore, what I submit is parochialism of a linguistic minority is bad and dangerous. Similar or worse is the linguism or chauvinism of the big brother mentality. Both will not lead to national integration, as both are wrong. Which is more wrong, let us not debate now. Anyhow, both are wrong and both prejudice should be sheaved. It is only then that a united co-operative attitude could be evolved, and unless that is evolved, India as a whole shall not become integrated as we want to integrate it.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: It is not my purpose during this debate to go into the greater details about the various facts mentioned in these Reports because the Minister, while moving the motion, has already almost repeated whatever is stated in these Reports. We have now three reports before the House, one after the other, and if they reveal anything

they reveal a very sad state of affairs. They point out how helpless is the position of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, who has been appointed under the Constitution, as he has mentioned in his report, to safeguard the interests of the linguistic minorities on certain aspects like educational safeguards, safeguards relating to use of minority languages for official purposes, safeguards relating to recruitment to State Services and equal opportunity for trade and commerce etc. If these three reports are seen, as pointed out by the previous speaker, even a simple suggestion made by him has not been fully accepted by any of these States. I would have been happy if by the persuasion of the Commissioner, or by his frequent visits and reasoning with the State Governments, the State Governments co-operated with the Commissioner in seeing to it that some of the very elementary difficulties of the linguistic minorities in different States have been removed. But nothing has been done. The Minister has read some portions of his conclusive remarks. I will read the rest of the portion of the same paragraph from the Third Report which the Minister conveniently omitted. The Commissioner says at page 76:

“A sense of dissatisfaction, however, still persists among linguistic minority groups. In many cases, the representatives of linguistic minorities do not seem to be sufficiently aware of the facilities already made available to them by different States. Some dissatisfaction also arises from the slowness of the official official machinery and”

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“the unsympathetic attitude of subordinate officers and an incorrect appreciation of the State Governments' policies and the executive orders issued by them.”

Then he says:

"If the State authorities at the highest level take a more active interest in the welfare of the linguistic minorities and impress upon the subordinate officials the need for treating their representations with sympathy and a sense of urgency much of the dissatisfaction may gradually disappear. At the district level it may be desirable to put the district officer himself in overall charge of the matters relating to linguistic minorities."

This shows that even at the State or district level, where these things ought to be looked into very thoroughly, the officers are completely apathetic and even after the Commissioner has pointed out these things time and again, no steps seem to have been taken by the State Governments which, as has been stated correctly by the previous speaker, very grudgingly look after this problem.

Therefore, a question arises in my mind whether we should be wasting our money by having a Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities with all the paraphernalia of an office, merely because the Constitution provides for the appointment of such a Commissioner. This Commissioner is almost on par with the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. He is also producing reports after reports and we find almost the same sorry state of affairs. He makes visits to the States, he reports to the State Governments, he reports to the President which again goes to the Ministry but nothing is done on his reports. In that case at least, apart from his reports, some developmental activities are carried out in the country which incidentally make the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes come on par with other sections of the society. So, in that case his appointment has some effect. But, in this case, the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has no right or

power to suggest anything new or to carry out anything new. So far as the rights and obligations of the Commissioner are concerned, they have been very thoroughly discussed and debated in different spheres. When this article was embodied in the Constitution there was no question of the linguistic division of the country. Now, after the re-organisation of States on linguistic basis, we have the Zonal Councils, National Development Council and the National Integration Council. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities is not seized with the problem of finding out remedies for the difficulties. He has only to see and report whether the decisions which have already been taken are being carried out or not. It is almost an executive function and, I am afraid, as he is placed today, he would not be in a position to do anything to improve matters.

Now when the Commissioner wants to visit an area where the linguistic minorities live in a good percentage, even the programme of his visit is not sent to the people in those localities. So, people do not know that an officer is coming to receive their complaints. I find from this Report that the Government of Bihar has objected to the Linguistic minorities sending their complaints to a body other than the State Government. The State Government feels that if there are any complaints or grievances for the linguistic minorities, they should, in the first place, bring them to the notice of the State officials concerned. That is the attitude adopted by some of the States. I think it is time that we vest the Commissioner with adequate executive powers so that wherever he thinks some mistakes are committed, or orders not properly executed, he can intervene and set matters right. But I do not think you would probably agree to do anything which is against the wishes of the State Governments. In that case, it is better to abolish this post altogether and have some machinery in the Home Ministry through which it can appoint some officers to go into the

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States and find out the difficulties faced by the linguistic minority so that they can be tackled at a higher level when they meet in these conferences. After all, I fail to understand what these Zonal Councils are for. The Zonal Councils, where the Chief Ministers of the respective States meet, are meant to iron out the differences between different States. If in the Zonal Councils these matters are not raised, or if they are not able to solve them, I do not think the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities is going to do anything better in this matter.

After the re-organisation of States on a linguistic basis, the most important question before the country, apart from the Chinese aggression, is national integration. We want to create a feeling of unity all over the country. So, we have to find out where our trouble spots are. Why is it that even today, after all these attempts, the linguistic minorities in different States complain of not having a fair deal?

It is because the State Governments very much depend on the votes of the people of their States that they are apathetic to taking any concrete steps however much they may say. "We are all one; we want to implement these things; there is no distinction etc." It appears to me, as it is revealed in this Report, that the real trouble arises mostly in the border areas. There may be linguistic minorities here and there. That does not matter. That has to be tackled according to the decisions that have been taken. But the real trouble spots which may assume a great importance from the point of view of our national integration are the places where there are border disputes. This has been very clearly stated in this Report and the Commissioner has pointed out where these difficulties are. He says:

"There are also a fair number of taluks, tehsils, etc. in which

individual linguistic minorities form 30 per cent or even more of the total population. These areas are mostly in the border districts....."

So, the main question before us today is to solve this border problem. If we solve this problem, much of the problem of these border areas where a sizeable percentage of linguistic minorities live would also be solved. Take Belgaum, for instance. You must be knowing about it much better than I do. A friend from the Congress was coming and telling me that in successive elections the minorities have won in all places, yet there is much dissatisfaction and that areas has remained a disputed spot. So also in Seraikela-Kharswan in Bihar. For that area also you will find in this Report of the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner a long explanation given as to how many schools were there, what the percentage of the people in the area to the population is, how many teachers were not appointed etc. Even it is said here that although the population of students reading Oriya, that is, the number of students has increased, the number of schools remains as it was even three or four years ago.

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): It is much less.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: The Government of Bihar has given a detailed report about the schools and very cunningly they say, for which probably there is no answer, that there was an Oriya teacher functioning in a certain school but because there was no demand for that teacher to continue they thought it better to replace him by a Hindi teacher. That is the explanation that is offered.

So, we must apply our mind seriously to this problem. Let the border areas be a criterion and let us find out a solution how these disputed border areas should be divided and tagged on to the States nearby. I still recognise the Pataskar formula

evolved in the case of the Andhra-Madras dispute and which was accepted by the two States, namely, take the Taluk or the village as a unit. Take a census if you like and on the basis of the census report that you have, try to amalgamate these areas with their rightful places so that much of the problem would be solved.

As I said, I would not go into greater details about other things. The last point that I would like to mention is that I find one thing in this Report which, according to me, is a very sinister suggestion made by the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner. I did not appreciate this. I feel that if anybody in this House is to welcome this or is to congratulate the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner on this, he must be our hon. friend, Shri Jaipal Singh, who is not present at the moment. You will find in paragraph 302 of the Report that the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner had the fertile brain to make the suggestion, namely:—

“Certain tribes, who are spread over more than one State, are being imparted instructions in their mother tongue in different scripts. Adoption of one particular script by all the State Governments concerned should prove helpful. The Ministerial Committee of the Eastern Zonal Council can help in laying down a uniform policy.”

Shri P. K. Deo: They never meet:

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Whether they meet or not I do not know. The whole thing is this. What are the dialects? We want that the Tribal people should be given all opportunity to get their education in their mother tongue. That should be provided and if it has not been provided, it should be our special duty to see that in these areas the Tribal people get all facilities so far as their mother tongue is concerned. But if anybody has any knowledge of the Tribal dialects, he will find that even the language or the

dialect that the Tribals speak is not the same in all the neighbouring areas wherever they are. They are largely dependent on the main language spoken in that State. Therefore it is wrong to suggest that we must evolve one script. We have given Nagaland now and this will give further opportunity and scope to a movement which is already there for the formation of a Jharkhand State. I think this suggestion of the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner will not be accepted by any reasonable authority.

That is all that I had to say. I only request again that this matter is of the greatest importance from the point of view of national unity in our country and therefore let us apply our mind very seriously and, through the various organisations official or non-official that we have, try to go into the root of the problem rather than produce reports like this which give us nothing except saying, “Nothing is done, we are helpless; State Governments do not listen; let them be more reasonable.” That helps nobody; rather, it will create a feeling of bitterness and frustration among the linguistic minorities than help them in integrating themselves with the entire population of the country.

Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda (Cachar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I take the opportunity of participating in this discussion because I come from the State of Assam which is full of linguistic minorities, whose languages are not at all similar. Our Constitution has provided safeguards and rights for the linguistic minorities to develop their culture, to foster their languages and to have their own educational institutions. But what we find in reality, at least in my State, is this. I may give you some instances.

It has been stated by the hon. Minister that States Education Ministers' conference in August 1949 made some proposals and those were approved by the Central Advisory Board of Education and the Government of India. If

[Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda]

I may be allowed, I may read that out.
It reads:

"The medium of instruction should be in mother tongue where the mother tongue is different from the regional or State language. Arrangements must be made for instruction in the mother tongue by appointing at least one teacher provided there are not less than 40 pupils speaking the language in the whole school or ten such pupils in a class.

In the secondary stage whose mother tongue is a language other than the regional or State language is sufficient to justify a separate school. Such schools, if organised and established by private societies or agencies, will be entitled to recognition and grants-in-aid from Government in prescribed forms."

14 hrs.

In Assam under the Assam Language Act it has also been provided in one of the sections that Bengali is to be used for administrative and other official purposes upto and including the district level in the District of Cachar to which I belong. Also, in another section it is provided:—

"As regards Hill Districts languages which were in use immediately before the commencement of this Act shall continue to be used for administration and other official purposes upto and including the level of the Autonomous Region or Autonomous Districts, as the case may be, until the Regional Council or the District Council decide by two-thirds majority for adoption of any other language for administrative or official purposes within the Region or District."

But, what has happened in Assam, this House knows better and I do not want to go into the details. In 1960, there

was a holocaust due to this language question. I may state that Assam is a multi-lingual State. The States Re-organisation Commission also has stated that. But, what has happened? After the Assam Language Act was passed—I think the holocaust and disturbance took place before the Language Act was passed—in 1961, when peaceful satyagrahis in the Cachar district took up the movement that Bengali should also be taken as one of the official languages, you know, it resulted in the death of 11 people. A judicial commission was set up and a report has also been submitted to the Government two months hence. But, up till now, it has not been published. In Cachar we have more than 70 per cent of Bengali population. I can give you one or two instances. In the last Basic training school examinations, papers were set not in Bengali, but in Assamese. But, according to the clause which I have just now read out from the Assam Language Act, for administration and other purposes, there should be Bengali in every respect. Even the papers which come to the court are all in Assamese. It has been stated by our Minister that circulars have already been issued to implement the Memorandum of 1956 by the Home Ministry. But, what do we find in Assam? No implementation of these policies or circulars to this effect. Also, we find that in the Zonal Council, the Chief Minister agreed to implement all these policies which have been dictated by our Home Ministry. It has been stated by one of the Members of the opposition that not only in Assam, but in other States also, they do not keep any register of how many schools are there for linguistic minorities. If this is so, how can we expect that the rights will be guaranteed by the States to all the minorities? I would request the Government that they should be more vigilant so that all the proposals and memorandum which has been issued in 1956 are given effect to. Unless our Government rises to the occasion, it is not possible to get the due share of the minorities from the State Govern-

ments. We find that special mention was made of this State Government. But, we do not find any sympathy or anything from them. So, I would request again that the Home Ministry should be more alert. If they had been more alert, I say with confidence that the holocaust which was there in 1960 would not have happened. Again, I urge on the Government that they should be more vigilant and see that all the recommendations given by our Commissioner for Linguistic minorities are implemented.

Shri Deshpande (Nasik): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I rise to express my views on the subject before the House. It would have been far better if the hon. Minister had taken care to see that the reports which are discussed in the House were circulated before the discussion. It is very difficult that one has to speak on the subject when the reports were not in his possession.

The subject that is being discussed is very important. Its importance cannot be exaggerated. Unity of India is very vital for the protection of our freedom. Unity of India depends on the justice that will be done to the minorities in the various States. That cannot be forgotten. For the present, it must be remembered that though some efforts are being made to give legitimate protection to the interests of minorities, the position is far from being satisfactory. A large number of Marathi-speaking people are there in Madhya Pradesh as well as in Mysore. So far as the question of Mysore and Maharashtra is concerned, efforts are being made to solve the border question and I hope it will be solved very soon. I do not want to utter one word which will come in the way and which will spoil the atmosphere.

Taking into consideration, first, the legitimate claims of the minorities for primary education facilities, I have to say that in Mysore and Madhya Pradesh, there are large numbers of Marathi-speaking people. Not a single new school has been opened in these States during all these years when the

population has increased. My information is that some schools have been closed. This is not very fair. We find in the report that the number of pupils in the schools had increased. But, you will find, in Mysore, the schools have increased not because the Government has done anything in the matter, but because non-official voluntary primary schools have been started by people with some sense of public duty. The Government has not encouraged this activity which they were bound to do under the Constitution. If my information would be proved incorrect, I would be too glad to know it. But, I say that this increase in the number of schools and this increase in the number of teachers is due to the voluntary effort of the Marathi-speaking people in the Mysore State. There are certain schools, no doubt, that are being run by the Government. But, I am told that the proportion of teachers to pupils differs very much in the Karnatak schools and in the Marathi schools. Suppose, for instance, there is one teacher for every 30 students in a Karnatak-speaking school, there is one teacher for every 60 students in a Marathi-speaking school. I would request the Home Minister to go into this problem and find out the truth. Somebody has been saying here, what do you find in Bombay. I do not want to defend it if it is so in Maharashtra or Bombay. While I am speaking here, I am speaking not as a Maharashtrian; but I am speaking as an Indian. Don't forget it. If my State is erring in the matter, I would like to say that my State ought to improve. What I would say is that that primary education facility is a facility which has been guaranteed under the Constitution. If something is not being done, it ought to be done. The Belgaum people agitated for this and I am told that they made a certain representation to the Commissioner for Linguistic minorities. After a long time, he obliged them by acknowledging it. I am told that he was requested to visit Belgaum and that area. He promised to do so, but he never found any time to do so. Why is it that they are treated

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so unsympathetically by an officer who is meant for the same purpose? Supposing they had no grievance, it would have been better for the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities to go there and convince them, and ascertain on the spot whether what they say is true or exaggerated. I am very sorry to say that such a responsible officer as that had not the sympathy for these people, in spite of repeated requests, to go and visit the locality.

There are other matters also. For instance, the village panchayats are there, which are locally manned by people who do not know the regional language. Predominantly, about 70 or 75 or 80 per cent are people who know the Marathi language only. A secretary is imposed on them who does not know the Marathi language. He knows only the Kannada language, and he tries to keep the proceedings in Kannada, which the local people do not understand. Is it the way how a gram panchayat should be run? Is it the fault of the people that they do not know the local language? Is it the fault of the people that they are Marathi-speaking? Is it the way that we should treat our own people? If that is the condition which is persisted in, it will not lead to sympathy and understanding between people, and it will not help to bring about the real integration of the country. When I say this, I do not want to say that this is being done everywhere; this might have been done by certain local people, and the people at the top who are very responsible people might not be knowing it thoroughly well. But the time has come when all these things must be taken into consideration.

There is also the question of recruitment. It has been stated that so far as the recruitment is concerned, these people should not be discriminated against. But what are the facts? I would request my hon. friend Shri Datar to find out whether it is a fact that during all these seven or eight years, not a single Marathi-speaking gentleman has been recruited in the

Mysore State for a gazetted post? And if that is a fact, is it not a legitimate grievance that they have? Will he consider this position somewhat sympathetically? I shall be obliged to him, if he will, and I hope he will.

Shri R. G. Dubey (Bijapur North): I think that this is incorrect. Marathi-speaking people have been recruited.

Shri Shivaji Rao S. Deshmukh (Parbhani): Have they been recruited to gazetted posts?

Shri R. G. Dubey: Yes, they have been recruited to gazetted posts.

Shri Deshpande: I am speaking of gazetted posts. I have got this information from very reliable quarters, and very responsible people have given me this information. I do not want to take the time of the House in stating things which cannot be corroborated by facts. However, if my information is incorrect, I shall be glad to know it.

Then, in certain offices, for some public purposes, if we go there, we are required to fill in certain forms. And those forms are supplied in a language which we do not know. That is not a very satisfactory position. People have repeatedly requested that it should not be done. People who are residing in a particular area in a large number and contiguously, and speaking a particular language, say that the form should be supplied in that particular language. That is the concession guaranteed to them under the Constitution. I cannot understand why objection should be taken to such a simple request as that.

Again, in local bodies, you want the local people to participate in the proceedings. If you say that the proceedings must be kept of the local bodies in a language which the majority of the members do not know, that will not be fair. Any Indian will admit that it will not be fair; whether it is

done in Mysore or in Maharashtra / or in Gujarat does not matter, but I would say that it is unfair for anybody to do so. And these are very small things. I cannot understand why responsible people should insist on these things. Many bickerings will be avoided, and much bitterness will be avoided if these things are attended to properly. The country is facing a very serious situation, when we must not take to such a petty-minded attitude as this.

While discussing these reports, I would like to say that I hope that the hon. Home Minister will take all these facts into consideration. I have spoken about recruitment, and I have also spoken about the primary schools. In certain aided English schools which are also started by the Marathi-speaking people themselves, they have a grievance that grants are given to them very grudgingly, and it is insisted that in the pre-primary stage, the local language must be taught, and then and then alone they will be eligible for grants. This is somewhat strange. I have no objection to the local language being introduced in such schools.

As I say, the linguistic minorities have certain rights, at the same time. I do want to emphasise that they have certain responsibilities to bear also. The State in which they live is a State of their own, and they must take that also into consideration.

. So far as the question of Mysore is concerned, I do not want to mix the border question with the minority question. After all, even after the solution of the border problems, there are bound to be, and there will be areas which would be multilingual areas. You cannot have unilingual areas borders after all; so, even after the solution of the border issue also, you will have to face this issue. And the integration of India depends on the magnanimity with which every State will face this issue. I have no doubt that everybody, whether he is a Mysorean, or a person from Madhya

Pradesh or a Maharashtrian will consider that the integration of the country or the unity of the country is of paramount interest; but while implementing all these safeguards to the minorities, guaranteed under the Constitution, a more liberal attitude should be taken, and the office of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities should be a little more effective.

I would request the Home Minister to take into consideration the importance of this matter and to see that in small things, it will go a long way in creating a better atmosphere, if a liberal attitude will be taken by the States; and if more time will be given, to this matter, and if the Home Minister will move in the matter more sympathetically, I have no doubt that things will soon improve. If during the course of my speech, I have offended the feelings of any Member of the House, I apologise for it, for, it is far from my objective to create any bitterness. I am very eager to see that questions between States and States are solved, and solved with the goodwill and co-operation of everybody concerned.

Shri P. K. Deo: This country is a combination of varieties of cultures and languages. Their diversity constitutes the richness of the country. Their preservation and their promotion are the primary duties of any civilised government. I do not agree with those who think that these stand as impediments on the process of national and emotional integration. If you have a glance at the map of the U.S.S.R., you will find that it is a federation of autonomous States organised on the basis of language and culture.

The main plank of our national movement was the formation of States on a linguistic basis. If you go into it further and see the genesis of this national movement, you will see that it was from the Partition of Bengal that it gathered momentum. With this background, is it not the duty of

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this House to see that there is preservation and promotion of the various languages and cultures of which India is proud today? They are so interwoven in this rich tapestry of this land that you cannot draw a line anywhere; there cannot be water-tight compartments; you cannot say that this area is exclusively meant for people of a particular language or of a particular region. In whatever manner you may draw the line, there will be minorities, and their preservation and the promotion of their languages and cultures is the primary duty of any civilised government.

In this connection, I shall be failing in my duty if I do not bring to the notice of the House the magnitude of this problem. We have gone through this report very carefully and we have seen that the recommendations contained therein are observed more in their infringement than in their implementation. Taking into consideration the importance of this aspect, various constitutional provisions have been provided in our Constitution. They are articles 29, 30, 350, 350A and 350B of the Constitution. In the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission (para 767, page 207) they have given various recommendations. There you will find references to cultural oppression and suppression of economic rights. These words sound like genocide. It is unthinkable that in free India there would be instances of cultural oppression and suppression of economic rights when equal opportunities provided to everybody. The preservation of the rights of linguistic minorities is the sacred duty of any government and they have to see that these minorities do not smart under a feeling of inferiority. They should not feel as inferior citizens or second-class citizens in a State. They should be entitled to equal privileges enjoyed by the linguistic majority of the State concerned.

First of all, I cannot understand why this Commission should be locat-

ed at Allahabad. Allahabad is a peaceful area so far as this problem is concerned. There are burning issues at the Maharashtra-Mysore border, at the Orissa-Bihar border, in Cachar and several other places. The office of the Commission could have been easily located in any of these places. If Government are anxious that they should go deep into the matter and bring about a solution, instead of locating the office at Allahabad, they should have the office in any of the other areas where the problem is acute and burning.

Coming to the various recommendations, I would like to quote a few here and there from the Third Report. I would like to draw your attention to paragraph 309, page 73, where it says:

"As regards affiliation of schools and colleges to educational institutions outside the State, the State Governments are generally not in favour of this and have stated that this a matter largely to be decided by the University concerned".

Further on, in paragraph 310, page 74, we find the same note of helplessness on the part of the Commission:

"The State Governments have generally shown some reluctance to take expeditious action for declaring the minority language as the second official language even in a few cases where this question arises".

Again, in paragraph 319, page 76:

"If the State authorities at the highest level take a more active interest in the welfare of the linguistic minorities and impress upon the subordinate officials the need for treating their representations with sympathy and a sense of urgency, much of the dissatisfaction may gradually disappear".

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The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri): Is that the Second Report?

Shri P. K. Deo: Third Report.

There is a pious hope expressed that the State Governments will sympathetically consider the cases of the linguistic minorities and then things will improve. I cannot understand how the Central Government can shed their responsibility in this regard. Of course, the recommendations of the Commission are of an advisory nature. We have seen how they have been flouted by State Governments and the Commission feels a sense of helplessness. I most respectfully submit that the Central Government should give serious thought to this matter and invest the Commission with more powers, and if necessary, to amend the Constitution.

Shri Himatsingka: And override the States?

Shri P. K. Deo: Yes; if it is necessary in the national interest, I do not mind their encroachment on the so-called autonomy of the States.

Shri Himatsingka: Will they agree?

Shri P. K. Deo: Now, I will come to some particular instances. I would be failing in my duty if I do not bring to the notice of the House the miserable conditions of minorities in Sarai-kella and Kharswan, two tiny former princely states formerly merged with Orissa but were transferred to Bihar for administrative reasons. They have been making representations after representations since their integration with Bihar, but all these have fallen on the deaf ears of Government. If the results of the elections are any guide or yardstick in deciding such cases or in assessing the popular will, then in all these elections—1952, 1956 and 1962—they have been sending their representatives to the legislatures and even to the Lok Sabha on this plank. Dr. U. Mishra has been

elected to this House on the communist ticket on the main plank of integration of these States with Orissa.

Take the 1941 census. I have not got the figures for Kharswan, but I have got them for Sarai-kella. The Oriya population was 79,000, the Bengali population 10,000 and the Hindi population 896. If you see the 1951 and 1961 censuses, it is just the opposite. The Oriya population, which is the majority here, has been reduced to a minority and the Hindi population otherwise. I most respectfully submit that this must be due to some manipulation. It cannot be that only the Oriya population there have been practising birth control and there has been no increase in their numbers whereas there has been an overnight increase in the Hindi population in that area. If you go to any weekly market or any market place or bazaar—you shall have to go there without notice; it should not be a conducted official tour of M.Ps.—you will be convinced that the language spoken there is Oriya. How it has been ruthlessly crushed and how a persistent and deliberate attempt has been made to crush the language and culture there would be obvious from the following facts.

First of all, I would draw your attention to Appendix IX of the Third Report. There you will find a long list of 65 Oriya primary schools which have been abolished or their Oriya medium substituted by Hindi. In all humility, I beg to submit that it can never be the intention of any government to see that a particular culture or language is crushed. Further, let us look at page 13. There we find that at the time of the merger of these two princely States, there were 59 Oriya schools, of which now only two remain Oriya schools. Formerly, in all the 59 schools, the medium of instruction was Oriya, but now the medium of instruction remains Oriya only in two schools. In the other schools, this Report says that the medium of instruction is both Oriya and Hindi. But with all the emphasis

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I can command and from all the knowledge that I have of that area I say that the medium of instruction in these seventy-six schools in Hindi. In this respect I do not say that all that glitters in my State is gold. In my State also there are areas in which there are linguistic minorities, and proper attention is not paid by the Orissa Government for the preservation and uplift of their culture. In my own constituency, in the Kariar Road Police Station of Kalahandi district, which is a predominantly Hindi-speaking area, though the people there have been making representations to the Government over and over again for the education of their children through the Hindi medium, and through non-official effort have established schools there like the Dattatreya High School and the Saraswati Patashala, it is most unfortunate that no recognition is being given by the Orissa Government to teach them through the Hindi medium. It is very unfortunate that there could be a barrier even in our cultural or linguistic boundaries and that the approach of the Government should be parochial in this regard.

As a remedy to all these maladies I would suggest that there should be a boundary commission to make a final settlement regarding the integration of these areas.

My friend Shri Daji was making a reference to the Oriya minorities in the Mahasamund and Gariaband taluk of Raipur district. They constitute as much as fifty per cent, nearabout fifty per cent. But there has been no mention regarding the activities of the Minorities Commission so far as it relates to the preservation and the uplift of the culture of the people in that tehsil of Raipur district. So, most respectfully I beg to submit that a Commission be appointed and a formula be laid—it may be the Pataskar formula—and the village may be taken as an individual unit or the taluk may

be taken as an individual unit and the popular opinion there may be assessed. At the same time due regard may be given to administrative and other conveniences. But something should be done in this regard if the Government is really sincere that there should be an end to this frustration.

I was referring to Saraikella and Kharswan. I spoke only about language; I did not speak about the *chhou* dance. The *chhou* dance is an important dance for which Saraikella is famous. Instead of patronising this traditional *chhou* dance in Saraikella, the Bihar Government has been subsidising another vulgarised edition of the *chhou* dance, under a different name. This should not be there. If they want that the proper *chhou* dance should be patronised, then all the subsidy should go to the traditional *chhou* dance which is already there.

Regarding the various administrative papers it was pointed out, I think, by Shri Daji that many Government papers are circulated in such languages which are not intelligible to the minority community. In Saraikella and Kharswan proper I know that the land revenue *parchas*—because the settlement is just over—are being given in Hindi, whereas the people there can understand only Oriya. Instead of giving these land revenue *parchas*, which they should understand, in their own language, they are being given in Hindi.

Lastly I want to say this. We all want that there should be an emotional and national integration in this country, and we should feel as part of an integrated whole. In that regard the National Integration Conference had made certain suggestions in prescribing a code of conduct. They said that political parties should not resort to agitation for seeking redress against any grievances relating to communal, caste, regional or linguistic issues, which is likely to disturb peace

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and to create bitterness or increase tension between the various sections of the public, before exhausting all methods of conciliation and mediation. I fully endorse the suggestion of the National Integration Conference, and I beg to submit that avenues for conciliation and mediation should be open. Unless the avenues are open, unless they get a proper place to put forward their grievances, and unless attempts are made to solve this problem once for all, it is no use passing pious resolutions like this.

Shri Heda (Nizamabad): **Mr. Deputy-Speaker**, first let me congratulate the hon. Minister of State for his masterly speech: in the short space of forty-five minutes he has practically covered every point in the Second and Third Reports. My only regret is that had I known it, I would not have gone through all these pages. Thus I would have saved my time.

So far as linguistic minorities are concerned, broadly speaking, they can be divided into two categories: one who are in the urban areas, big cities and towns, and the other who are in the border areas. Since I live in a city and represent a border district I can claim that I am fairly aware of the problems of both the categories.

Coming to the border area, there is no problem of the language so far as the linguistic minority is concerned. Every person belonging to the linguistic minority in the border area knows very well the regional language. In that language he is as proficient as anybody else. The only point is that since he knows one more language, an additional language, this should go to his advantage and not to his disadvantage. In a country like ours where there are so many languages, one who is proficient in more than one language should have an advantage over the others. But if we look at the general state of affairs it does not appear like that.

The States Reorganisation Commission had given a very valuable suggestion. Unfortunately our Government has not accepted it so far. The suggestion was that in the all-India services' cadre, more than fifty per cent or at least fifty per cent should belong to other States than their own. Already there are a few all-India services, like the I.A.S. and other services, and there are going to be a few more. Had this suggestion been accepted there would have been practically no trouble and no complaint so far as the linguistic minorities are concerned.

I have a suggestion to offer to the Home Minister. I would very much like that the hon. the Home Minister makes a silent survey of the various places, particularly on the border where the linguistic minorities live and find out how the people felt when the Collector of the area belonged to the regional language group and when the particular Collector belonged to any minority language group. I have observed in my own constituency for the last twelve years and I feel that if some such survey is made—generalisations are no good—but if some such survey is made and the States Reorganisation Commission's suggestion, namely that more than fifty per cent of the people belonging to these all-India cadres be taken from outside the State concerned, is accepted, the linguistic minorities would feel very much safe and secure in their particular areas.

The hon. Minister of State was good enough to refer, along with educational, to the cultural and other activities. So far as cultural activities, and even educational activities, are concerned, the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities suffers from one big lacuna or handicap. He generally does not move unless the complaint is made to him. This is a very wrong thing. I am one of those who would never like minorities to make a complaint, particularly. Already they are suffering politically. My hon. friend,

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Shri Dwivedy, has already stated that all those who come from the border areas, whether they belong to the linguistic minority or not, have less influence in State politics because they are farther from the capital, and they are in the borders. So, already politically they are under a handicap, and on top of it if they are asked, expected, to make a complaint, or a representation, to the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner, I think it is no good. It should be the duty of the Commissioner to probe these areas and find out how things are. He should not wait for any representations or complaints. Leaving apart the educational part, if he probes into the cultural activities and tries to find out how things were there five years before and how things are there now, he will come to his own conclusions, and that will be a good thing.

I am glad the second and third reports do not suffer from the defects that the first report suffered from to the same extent. But if you look at industries and other activities, there is very little there. In the third report we have got a small chapter, Chapter V, giving only two paragraphs, out of which the first paragraph is the crux. It says:

"There do not appear to be any restrictions or discrimination against the linguistic minorities in the fields of trade and commerce."

"There do not appear"—this is a very guarded and vague statement. The point is: has any attempt been made to find out? As I said, nobody is going to make a complaint. It is not good and it will never be done. Secondly, the industrialist or businessman would never make a complaint. Therefore, if they want to know how these linguistic minorities are faring so far as industrial development is concerned, it should be the duty of the Commissioner to probe into these matters, to find out how many licences have been

given, how many were rejected, how many of those who got licences belong to the minority group, and thereby he may come to his own conclusions. There may be very valid and good reasons for the rejection of the licence, there are always, but unless some such thing is done, I do not think these linguistic minorities would be in a position to overcome their difficulties.

Again, I would refer to what Shri Deshpande said very forcefully, to which some hon. friends objected. The point here really is that if you go into the various appointments in the various States—I am not talking of Andhra Pradesh or Maharashtra or Karnataka, it is an all-India affair—you will find that unless the man belonging to the linguistic minority makes it appear hundred per cent that he belongs to the original language group, he has no chance. That is why I have been seeing a new trend in my constituency. Formerly it was difficult to say who was Marathi or Telugu speaking, because they spoke both the languages, and because of inter-marriages it was difficult to say whether one's mother tongue was Telugu or Marathi, because sometimes the mother came from a hundred per cent Telugu-speaking area, while the aunt was from a hundred per cent Marathi-speaking area and so on. A few years ago, they were giving their names in the Marathi way i.e. one's own name first, then father's name and in the end the surname. Now an interesting trend has developed. Now first comes the surname, which is the Telugu way. Either it is the old surname, or they have given up the old surname totally and have taken the name of some village from where they or their ancestors came. Then comes the father's or grandfather's name which is given by an initial, and the person's own name comes last long and full. Why has this trend come up? Why is it that a person who was some years ago trying to show that he was a Marathi-speaking man,

*Commissioner for
Linguistic Minorities*

now tries to show that he is not a Marathi-speaking man, though in those days as also now he has been proficient in both the languages? In these areas, they are proficient in both the languages.

For instance, in the first general elections, a part of my constituency was very peculiarly placed. Marathi, Kannada and Telugu, all the three languages were spoken there. I addressed a gathering in Marathi, the Taluk Congress President addressed the same gathering in Kannada, while the District Congress President addressed the same gathering in Telugu. The audience understood every one of us, and after the meeting some members from the audience spoke to us in the languages in which we had addressed them. When I asked them how they could follow all the three languages, they said that as it was easy or natural for one to learn one language, equally it was easy or natural for them to learn all the three languages, because that was the area where all these three language groups joined and Marathi, Telugu and Kannada were spoken. I refer to Narayankhed of the old Bidar District. Generally in the border areas they are bi-lingual, they are not linguistic minorities.

The point is whether they are suffering from anything or not can be found out not from the representations that you get or the complaints that you receive or the replies that you get from the State Ministers and all that. I think that should be the last thing by which you can judge matters. Therefore, it should be the duty of the Commissioner, if he wants to adhere to the spirit and not the word alone of the Constitution and so many other provisions, to probe into things himself, think of many more problems. These days, various types of surveys can easily be made. He can make surveys and find out whether these linguistic minorities are really suffering or not.

Before I conclude, I would like to repeat my appeal to Government that they should give more thought to the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, get the concurrence of the States, and see that in all the All-India service cadres every State gets more than a 50 per cent quota of officers belonging to other States.

With these few suggestions, I express my happiness at these reports, the quality and presentation of which have improved, and I do expect that in the fourth and fifth reports there would be much more material which would lead us to think on the lines of national integration.

Shri Mohsin (Dharwar South): We are discussing a very important topic, namely, the safeguards for the linguistic minorities who constitute about 40 per cent of the total population. Though the States have been formed on a linguistic basis broadly speaking, in every State there are linguistic minorities who form about 40 per cent of the population of the State.

An Hon. Member: Cannot be.

Shri Mohsin: All the linguistic minorities put together. For instance in Mysore, though Kannada is the State language, about 40 per cent of the population speak other languages—Marathi, Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Tulu etc. In the same way in Maharashtra also, the Marathi-speaking population may be 60 per cent, and 40 per cent of the people speak Urdu, Kannada, Sindhi, Hindi or any other language. Like that, nearly 40 per cent constitute linguistic minorities in the States.

Great importance is to be attached to the safeguards to this population. Prior to the formation of the States on a linguistic basis, it was not necessary to think of the safeguards for these minorities. Even though some articles like articles 29 and 30 and 350 did find a place in the Constitution, they

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were made to safeguard the right of conserving one's own language and right to run institutions and so on. But, after the formation of the linguistic States, there was the necessity of amending the Constitution; and, consequently, articles 350A and 350B came to be included. It is only in pursuance of those articles that the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities was appointed and he has submitted three reports till now.

Article 350A purports to give some safeguard to the linguistic minorities. But, I am of opinion that it is not sufficient. It only states that instruction should be given, up to the primary standard, in the mother-tongue. If a boy finishes his primary course, what is to be his future? Even the Government does not seem to have given any thought at all, on secondary education even though the Education Ministers of all the States have met and decided and even the Central Board of Education has taken a decision on the same lines.

Speaking of primary education, as such, I would say that States are not giving so much attention to the problem of the linguistic minorities as they ought to. In every State there is a language which is called the State language. But a language which is the State language in one State becomes the language of the minority in another State. We love our own language. There is no objection. Let us love our own language. But, loving one's own language should not result in hatred of another language. Actually, it is becoming like that. Too much love for one language has resulted in hatred towards other languages. That is why conflict has arisen. That is the reason why a Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has been appointed, just to see that the rights of minorities are safeguarded.

In my opinion, the Central Government does not seem to be a quite opti-

mistic about safeguarding the minority rights. Of course, the hon. Minister, Shri Datar, referred, in his speech, to a very important point, namely, the approach of the States Reorganisation Commission.

"While minorities are entitled to reasonable safeguards to protect their educational, cultural and other interests, it has to be borne in mind that such safeguards should not so operate as to perpetuate separatism or to impede the processes of natural assimilation;"

I do admit that there should not be any separatist tendency. But, the linguistic States have, in a way, created that. If love for one's own language, means separation, then, the formation of the linguistic States has, itself, brought this separatism. Otherwise, we were one and we were thinking in terms of one language. If Government wanted to have one language for all the States. I would have welcomed that. But the reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis has created separatism in a sense. It has to be ended. But the Government wants that the linguistic minorities should undergo a process of natural assimilation. That means, natural elimination.

Government does not want to go on protecting the rights of linguistic minorities and minority languages. In fact, in its own memorandum, it has come to this conclusion:

"We wish to emphasise that no guarantees can secure a minority against every kind of discriminatory policy of a State Government. Government activity at State level affects virtually every sphere of a Person's life and a democratic government must reflect the moral and political standards of the people. Therefore, if the dominant group is hostile to

the minorities, the lot of minorities is bound to become unenviable."

So, this shows the Centres' inability to go to the help of the linguistic minorities if the State Government is against them. If we begin with such kind of helplessness, I do not know how the safeguards guaranteed to the linguistic minorities could be safeguarded.

Shri Himatsingka: The linguistic minority of one State is the majority of the other State because every one there speaks that language.

Shri Mohsin: That is correct. But my friend from Maharashtra was making much of the hardships of the linguistic minorities of the border area in Belgaum border of Mysore. But, he failed to see what is happening in Sholapur, South Satara and Kolhapur where the Kannada-speaking people are put to trouble. (*Interruption*). We fail to understand all these things. But we fail to give protection to the members of our minorities in our own States; but we forget to see our own backs. That is the pity of it.

So far as Urdu is concerned, it is still worse. It is not the regional language of any State though it is spoken by a large number. (*Interruptions*). Perhaps, it may be in Kashmir.

An Hon. Member: In Andhra Pradesh.

Shri Mohsin: As far as I have read the report, it is not the official language of any State (*Interruptions*). It is spoken by the largest number of Indians, as a whole. (*Interruption*). I am subject to correction, because the Hindi-speaking population may be bigger. Even then it may become the language spoken by the second largest number; but, still, it is not a State language. If regional languages are to be given more and more importance year after year, and if they are to be introduced in the

secondary stage and even in the University stage, what is to be the lot of Urdu speaking minorities? I think it will undergo natural assimilation; in fact, natural elimination. Of course, primary education is guaranteed by the Constitution. But there is also apathy and antipathy towards Urdu institutions and sufficient schools are not opened; sufficient number of teachers are also not trained; the number of training institutions are not sufficient. Because it is provided in the Constitution, something is being done in that direction. As Shri Daji pointed out, there should be a spirit of harmony and understanding; between the majority and the minorities and a proper approach is needed. But, that is absent.

As far as secondary education is concerned, I am afraid that the directions issued by the Government so far, may not be of any use. It has been provided in the memoranda that if one-third of the students learning in a school want some other language, i.e. a minority language, then, arrangement should be provided. I am afraid that if one-third of the total strength of the school is of a minority group, then, there will be no necessity of safeguarding. In every State we cannot find such a state of affairs—to see that the institutions are attended by one-third of students belonging to a minority or speaking a minority language. It is impossible, rather.

But, in the South Zonal Council, consisting of the States of Mysore, Kerala, Madras and Andhra Pradesh, they have taken a very realistic approach, as regards secondary education; and that is exemplary also. I may point out the view put forward by Madras in the Zonal Council.

"The point of view put forward by Madras was that the reference in the resolution of the Provincial Education Ministers' Conference to 1/3rd was unsatisfactory from the point of view alike of the linguistic minorities and Government, since in large schools sepa-

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rate sections may become necessary and possible even if the ratio was less than 1/3rd while in small schools separate sections may be uneconomical and therefore impracticable even if the ratio exceeded one third."

"There was considerable discussion as to the minimum strength in each class and in the school as a whole which should be insisted upon for provision of facilities for instruction in minority languages."

They have come to a decision that

"For the purpose of providing facilities for instruction in the minority languages where such facilities do not exist, a minimum strength of 69 pupils in new standards VIII to XI of the Higher Secondary Course and 15 pupils in each such standard will be necessary."

So, if 15 students attend a class there is this facility and it is a very realistic attitude which should be followed by other States as well.

15 hrs.

Shri Himatsingka: Is that strength less than one-third in a class?

Shri Mohsin: In certain cases it may be less than one-third; in some it may be more. The hon. Education Minister announced sometimes back that university education would be in the medium of regional languages. What will happen to the lot of linguistic minorities? Will they migrate to other States where their language will be the medium? Will there be provision for instructions in their own mother tongue? Universities are autonomous and the Government will express their helplessness. I am finishing in a minute, Sir.

As regards the States' services, it is said that the examination would be in English or Hindi or in a minority lan-

guage if a particular linguistic minority consists of 15-20 per cent. I am afraid whether really 15-20 per cent of that minority exists in any State; it is a clause which could not be made use of. If the examination for State services are in Hindi or the regional language, what would be the lot of the linguistic minorities? Such problems have not arisen so far because the examinations are held in English in the South. But what will happen when that comes to be the position?

In the posts and telegraphs department, it is the concern of the Central Government—for clerical posts, the marks obtained in English, mathematics, geography and in Hindi or the regional language or Sanskrit are taken into account. What about those persons who have learnt Urdu, whose mother tongue is Urdu? They cannot go into any of the services in the posts and telegraphs department. This is the state of affairs in a department run by the Central Government, leave alone the Central Government instructing the State Governments. Even the marks obtained in Sanskrit could be taken into account, but not Urdu. This is the attitude of the Government towards Urdu students. I would only appeal to the Government to bestow more thought to this problem and save this Urdu language from total elimination. It is one of the important languages of India.

श्री बड़े : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं ने कमिश्नर फौर लिगविस्टक माइनारिटीज की सेक्रेड और थर्ड रिपोर्ट को देखा है। उन रिपोर्ट्स को देखने में मालूम होता है कि कमिश्नर महोदय ने केवल फक्ट्स दिये हैं और सुझाव दिये हैं कि ऐसे ऐसे करना चाहिये लेकिन दरअसल उन को कोई शक्ति नहीं थी। मध्य प्रदेश में माइनारिटी की जो लैंग्वेज है उस के बारे में उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्ट में यह कहा है कि सरकार को उस का शिक्षण देने की समुचित व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये लेकिन उस के बारे में उन को

शक्ति नहीं दी गई। अपनी सेक्रेट रिपोर्ट में उन्होंने यह कहा है कि माइनारिटी लैंग्वेज पढ़ाने के लिये टेक्स्ट बुक्स मुलभ नहीं हैं और ठीक टेक्स्ट बुक्स न होने की बात कमिश्नर महोदय ने अपनी तीसरी रिपोर्ट में पेज ७४ पर पैराग्राफ ३१० में कही है और कहा है कि टेक्स्ट बुक्स की शिकायत अभी भी है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा है कि माइनारिटी लैंग्वेज के लिये शिक्षक नहीं हैं। इस तरह से ७४ पेज पर उन्होंने वही पुराना बात दुहराई है। जो रिपोर्ट उन्होंने पहले की थी वही रिपोर्ट फिर रिपोर्ट की है। उस से आगे वह बढ़े नहीं हैं। मराठी भाषा में जैसे कहा जाता है :—

गडम च सास्वडं चैव सासवडंश्च गंडचैव
ब्राह्मण लुडबुडायते ।”

ठीक इसी प्रकार से कमिश्नर महोदय इधर से उधर जाते भर हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह कौन सी भाषा है ?

श्री दातार : यह मराठी भाषा है।

श्री बड़े : दातार साहब समझे इस वास्तु में ने इसे कहा। कमिश्नर साहब अपनी सेक्रेट और थर्ड रिपोर्ट में इस से आगे नहीं बढ़े हैं। मैं श्री दाजो के इस कथन से बिलकुल सहमत नहीं हूँ कि अंग्रेजी भी देश की मुख्य भाषा बनी रहे। मेरा तो निश्चित मत है कि देश की राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी होनी चाहिये।

हम महाराष्ट्रियन भाई जहाँ अपनी मराठी भाषा की उन्नति चाहते हैं और उस के शिक्षण की उचित व्यवस्था चाहते हैं वहाँ एक चीज यह साफ कर देना चाहते हैं कि इस देश की अगर कोई राष्ट्रभाषा हो सकती है तो वह हिन्दी ही है और ठीक ही उसे वह दर्जा दिया गया है लेकिन यह चीज जोर जबरदस्ती से नहीं बरन प्रेम के साथ होनी चाहिये।

अंग्रेजी तो वह जगह ले ही नहीं सकती है। दूसरे भारतीय बच्चों को अंग्रेजी की अपेक्षा हिन्दी पढ़ाना कहीं आसान है। अब बच्चे को हिन्दी में तो आसानी से कुत्ता शब्द सिखलाया जा सकता है लेकिन अंग्रेजी में कुत्ते के लिये आप को बच्चे को “डॉग” सिखाना होगा जिस में कि डी, ऑ और जी अक्षर होते हैं। लेकिन इसी डॉग को अगर उलट दिया जाये और बजाय डी, ऑ, जी के जी, ऑ, डी हो जाये तो उस का मतलब भगवान हो जाता है। जरा से अक्षरों के उलटने से कितना महान् अन्तर पड़ जाता है अर्थात् कुत्ता न हो कर उस का अर्थ भगवान हो जाता है। अब जाहिर है कि बच्चों को ऐसी भाषा पढ़ाने में अपेक्षाकृत कुछ अधिक दिक्कत होगी बनिस्वत हिन्दी सरीखी सरल भाषा के। मैं खुद बच्चों को पढ़ाया करता हूँ और मैं जानता हूँ कि बच्चों को इसे सीखने में कितनी कठिनाई अनुभव होती है और गड़बड़ हो जाती है।

मैं तो कहूँगा कि हिन्दी को सही मायनों में राष्ट्रभाषा करने का कमी तो श्रीगणेश करना चाहिये। हम में जब यह कहा कि हिन्दी देश की राष्ट्रभाषा होनी चाहिये तो हमारे ऐसे कहने से दक्षिण भारतीयों में एक क्षोभ की भावना उत्पन्न होती है कि उन पर हिन्दी भाषा क्यों लादी जाती है और वह अंग्रेजी को बनाये रखने की मांग करते हैं। श्री दाजो ने अभी कहा कि हिन्दी भाषा के साथ साथ अंग्रेजी भाषा भी रहनी चाहिये। मैं उस के विरुद्ध हूँ और मेरा मत है कि राष्ट्रभाषा केवल हिन्दी ही होनी चाहिये। हिन्दी की देश में सर्वत्र व्यापकता का आप इसी से अंदाज लगा सकते हैं कि कहीं भी जाइये, रेलवेज में जाइये या बाजार में जाइये सारे महाराष्ट्र में लोग अपने व्यवहार के लिये हिन्दी इस्तेमाल करते हैं, हिन्दी समझते और जय हिन्द बोलते हैं। लेकिन केवल एक भावना या सेंटीमेंट वश या अपने राजनैतिक स्वार्थ की पूर्ति के लिए कुछ लोग हिन्दी का

[श्री बड़े]

विरोध करते हैं और अंग्रेजी की वकाजत करते

Shri Daji: I want to clarify: I did not say so and I did not mean what he says. I am not a protagonist of English. I am a protagonist of Hindi as the national language.

श्री बड़े : आप ने जो अभी कहा उस के लिए मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ लेकिन यह आप का सेकेंड थोट आया है . . .

Shri Daji: There is no question of second thoughts.

श्री बड़े : जहाँ तक हमारी मातृभाषा का सम्बन्ध है उस को हम कैसे भूल सकते हैं ? उस की गोद में तो हम पले हैं और हम ने जन्म लिया है । उस की उन्नति होनी चाहिये और उस के समुचित शिक्षण की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये जोकि अभी उपलब्ध नहीं है । मध्यप्रदेश में जहाँ कि लोग मराठी भाषा बोलते हैं वहाँ मराठी के शिक्षण की कोई माकूल व्यवस्था नहीं है और उस के अभाव में हो यह रहा है कि बच्चे ठीक और शुद्ध मराठी नहीं सीख पा रहे हैं । "आई जम्प" का अर्थ हिन्दी में "मैं कुदता हूँ" होता है । मराठी भाषा में उस को "मिउड़ी माली" कहते हैं । लेकिन अब मराठी हिन्दी मिक्स हो कर "मो कुदलो" हो गया है । हमारी मराठी भाषा इस तरह से अशुद्ध हो गई है । इस तरह के मिक्सेड शब्द हो गये हैं जन का कि कोई अर्थ होता नहीं है । ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये । जरूरत इस बात की है कि मराठी भाषाके उचित शिक्षण की व्यवस्था हो । माइनारिटी लैंग्वेज की उन्नति करनी चाहिये । मैं आप के सामने थर्ड रिपोर्ट के पेज ६ पर पैराग्राफ ६ को पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ । उस में यह लिखा है :—

'The total population of the State is about About 77 per cent of these have Hindi as their

mother tongue. The more important minority languages spoken and their percentages are..... Rajasthani, Marathi, Urdu, Oriya, Sindhi, Gujerati, Punjabi, Telegu, Bengali."

जहाँ तक प्राइमरी एजुकेशन का सम्बन्ध है, इस रिपोर्ट के पेज ६, पैराग्राफ २५ पर लिखा हुआ है :—

"As stated in the Second Report, the State Government has accepted the agreed safeguards for linguistic minorities relating to primary education and generally speaking education at primary stage is now being given through the medium of Rajasthani, Marathi, Urdu, Oriya, Sindhi, Gujerati, Punjabi, Telegu and Bengali."

पैराग्राफ २६ में मराठी, उर्दू, सिंधी, गुजराती और बंगाली आदि भाषाओं में शिक्षा देने और प्राप्त करने वाले टीचर्स और विद्यार्थियों का उल्लेख किया गया है, लेकिन उस पैराग्राफ में राजस्थानी का कोई जिक्र नहीं किया गया है और उस के टीचर्स की नियुक्ति के बारे में कहीं पर कुछ भी नहीं कहा गया है ।

जिस क्षेत्र से मैं चुन कर आया हूँ, वह शिड्यूल ट्राइब्स, आदिवासियों का एरिया है । वहाँ पर तीन लाख आदिवासी रहते हैं, जिन की भाषा बिल्कुल अलग है । मध्य प्रदेश में "घूस देना मना है" और "पंच-वर्षीय योजना से देश की प्रगति है" आदि जितने बड़े बड़े बोर्ड लगे हुए हैं, उन को कोई समझता नहीं है, क्योंकि उन की भाषा बिल्कुल अलग है । जैसाकि मैं ने अभी कहा है, वे आदिवासी तीन लाख की माइनारिटी हैं । लेकिन वहाँ पर जो टीचर्स रखे जाते हैं, वे संस्कृताइज्ड हिन्दी और खड़ी हिन्दी के टीचर होते हैं । इस कारण उस क्षेत्र में कोई पढ़ने नहीं जाता है । वहाँ पर झूठे रजिस्टर रखे जाते हैं कि इस स्कूल में चालीस बड़के शिक्षा प्राप्त करते

हैं, जबकि वास्तव में वहाँ पर केवल तीन चार लड़के ही आते हैं, क्योंकि वे उस भाषा को नहीं समझते हैं। सोमवार, मंगल-वार आदि दिनों के नामों के लिये वे अन्य नाम प्रयुक्त करते हैं। उदाहरण के लिये वे शनिवार को "थावर" कहते हैं—वे "शनिवार" को नहीं समझेंगे। मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि उन की पूरी की पूरी भाषा अलग है।

मैं ने इस बारे में मध्य प्रदेश गवर्नमेंट को बहुत दफा लिखा है कि उस क्षेत्र में उन भोलों आदि आदिवासियों की भाषा में, जो कि गुजराती, मराठी और हिन्दी से मिक्सड है, टैक्स्ट बुक्स, पोस्टर्ज और नोटिसिज आदि प्रोवाइड करने की व्यवस्था की जाये और उन की भाषा के शिक्षक वहाँ पर भेजे जायें। उन लोगों की ग्रैमर बिल्कुल डिफ़रेंट है। उदाहरण के लिये उन की भाषा में स्त्री-लिंग का रूप देने के लिये किसी शब्द के अन्तिम से पहले अक्षर में "ई" प्रत्यय लगता है। लेकिन शासन की ओर से इस ओर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। हाँ, मिशनरी लोगों ने इस ओर ध्यान दिया है। वे लोग उन आदिवासियों की भाषा में ही प्रचार करते हैं और उन की भाषा ही बोलते हैं। वे उसी भाषा में शिक्षा दिला कर और परीक्षा पास करवा कर शिक्षकों को वहाँ भेजते हैं और उन को बराबर वह भाषा आती है।

इस ट्राइबल एरिया में पहले, जबकि मध्य भारत राज्य था, तेरह लाख लोग थे, लेकिन आज मेरे क्षेत्र में तीन लाख लोग हैं। मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ कि उस क्षेत्र की असेम्बली की सीटों में से पांच आदिवासियों की हैं और तीन सवर्णों की हैं। मैं ने इस रिपोर्ट को बड़े ध्यान से पढ़ा है, लेकिन मुझे इस में उस ट्राइबल एरिया में शिक्षण की व्यवस्था करने, टैक्स्टबुक्स तैयार करने और उन लोगों की भाषा के टीचर्ज नियुक्त करने आदि कार्यों में मध्य प्रदेश गवर्नमेंट के योगदान का कोई उल्लेख नहीं मिला है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उस का कारण यह है कि

यह कमिश्नर केवल शहरों में जाते हैं और पार्टियां ले कर चले आते हैं। अगर वह हमारे गांवों में, हमारे डिस्ट्रिक्ट, खारगोन, में जायें, धूप खाते खाते, बीमार पड़ते हुए जंगल में जायें, तो हम लोग उन को बराबर बता देंगे कि हमारी यह भाषा है और हमारे यहाँ इतने लोग हैं और हमारी ये समस्यायें हैं।

श्री दाजी : माननीय सदस्य जब पहले ही उन को यह कह कर डरा रहे हैं कि वहाँ पर वह धूप खायेंगे और बीमार पड़ेंगे, तो वह काहे को वहाँ जायेंगे ?

श्री बड़े : हमारे प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री जी उस क्षेत्र में आयें थे और उन्होंने ने कहा था कि वहाँ पर जो व्यक्ति जायेगा, वह धूप और धूप खा कर बीमार पड़ेगा।

जैसाकि मैं ने अभी कहा है, कमिश्नर वहाँ पर शहरों में पार्टियां खा कर और मिनिस्टर से पूछ कर वापस चले आते हैं। मैं यह साबित करने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि मेरे डिस्ट्रिक्ट में कभी भी कोई अधिकाारी माइ-नारिटीज की भाषा और उन की अन्य समस्याओं की एन्क्वायरी करने नहीं आया है। मिनिस्टरों ने जो बता दिया, वही भाषा रहेगी।

हमारे यहाँ एग्जामिनेशन्ज हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी में लिये जाते हैं। जहाँ तक शिक्षण का प्रश्न है, पहले हमारे चन्दे से वहाँ एक मराठी स्कूल चलता था, लेकिन उस को हटा कर हिन्दी रख दी गई और अब केवल एक टीचर मराठी पढ़ाने के लिये रखा हुआ है। जब वहाँ के भोलों ने कहा कि हमारी भाषा में शिक्षा की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये, तो उन को कहा गया कि अगर सीखनी चाहो, तो सीखो, इसी भाषा में शिक्षा दी जायेगी। वहाँ के अपारिटीज इस तरफ ध्यान नहीं देते हैं।

पेज ७५ पर पैराग्राफ ३१८ में जो कुछ लिखा हुआ है, मैं उसकी बिल्कुल ताईद करता हूँ। उस में लिखा हुआ है :—

"Generally speaking, the linguistic policies of the State Govern-

[श्री बड़े]

ments conform broadly to the agreed scheme of safeguards. It is hoped that the few instances of material departure pointed out in this Report will be rectified early by the State Governments concerned. A sense of dissatisfaction, however, still persists among linguistic minority groups."

लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि वह कैसे इस कनक्लूजन पर पहुँचे कि लिम्बिस्टिक माइनारिटी ग्रुप्स में सैन्स आफ डिस्सैटिस्फैक्शन पाई जाती है। वहाँ असन्तोष की भावना कहां पर है, इसका पूरा विवरण इस प्रतिवेदन में नहीं दिया गया है। अगर वह इस विषय में पूरा विवरण देते, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वाकई कमिश्नर ने वहाँ जाकर पूरी तरह जांच करके अपनी रिपोर्ट दी है। ऐसा करने के बजाय केवल यह कह देना कि लिम्बिस्टिक माइनारिटी ग्रुप्स में सैन्स आफ डिस्सैटिस्फैक्शन है, एक तरह से आंसू पोंछना है और यह केवल एक व्हाइट-वाश है।

इसके आगे यह कहा गया है :—

"In many cases the representatives of linguistic minorities do not seem to be sufficiently aware of the facilities already made available to them by different States. Some dissatisfaction also arises from the slowness of the official machinery and the unsympathetic attitude of subordinate officers and an incorrect appreciation of the State Government's policies and the executive orders issued by them".

मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि रिपोर्ट में इस प्रकार लिख देने से कोई फायदा नहीं हो सकता है। इस रिपोर्ट में यह बताया जाना चाहिये था कि इस बारे में कमिश्नर ने क्या लिखा और उसने मध्य प्रदेश गवर्नमेंट को क्या डाइरेक्टिव दिया।

मेरा क्षेत्र एक वाडर एरिया है। वह खानदेश से बिल्कुल लगा हुआ है। वहाँ पर एक साइड पर मराठी बोली जाती है और दूसरी साइड पर गुजराती। मेरे क्षेत्र के आदिवासियों में एक भिन्न प्रकार की भाषा, संस्कृति और आचार-विचार बहुत सालों से पैदा हो गये हैं। उनकी गाथायें और उनकी माइथालोजी अलग है। वह अपने तरीके से पूजा-पाठ करते हैं। वे लोग अपने हंग से जीवन बिता रहे हैं, लेकिन शासन उनकी तरफ और उनकी समस्याओं की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं देता है। जब वे नौकरियाँ मांगते हैं, तो उनसे पूछा जाता है कि हिन्दी आती है या नहीं। अगर वे इनकरेक्ट हिन्दी में लिखते हैं, तो उनको कहा जाता है कि इससे काम नहीं चलेगा। जहाँ तक कोर्ट्स की कार्यवाही का सम्बन्ध है, हम लोग उनको समझाते हैं कि क्या हो रहा है, लेकिन जब उनके पास कोई नोटिस आते हैं, तो भाषा न जानने के कारण वे नहीं समझ पाते कि वह क्या है। वह कहते हैं कि मुर्गी के पांव लगे हुए हैं। हम उनको कहते हैं कि ऐसा नहीं है, यह हिन्दी भाषा है, जो कि संस्कृता-इज्ज की हुई है और हम उसका अर्थ उनको उनकी भाषा में समझा देते हैं।

इस रिपोर्ट में तामिल, तेलुगु, मराठी, उर्दू आदि भाषाओं का उल्लेख किया गया है, लेकिन ट्राइबलज की एक अलग भाषा है, उनकी कान्शासनेस कमीशन और शासन को नहीं है। मुझे इस सम्बन्ध में पुराना अनुभव है और ईसाई मिशनरियों से लड़ते लड़ते मुझे पन्द्रह साल हो गए। इसीलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि जिस तरह से ईसाई मिशनरियों ने टैक्स्ट बुक्स और किताबें निकाली हैं, उसी तरह सरकार को भी निकालनी चाहिए।

इस सम्बन्ध में यह भी कहा गया है कि अगर तीस परसेंट माइनारिटीज हों, तो

उनकी भाषा के टीचर्स की व्यवस्था की जायेगी। प्रश्न यह है कि तीस परसेंट न हो कर अगर माइनारिटीज २६ परसेंट, २८ परसेंट या पच्चीस परसेंट हों, तो क्या उनके लिये कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की जाएगी और उनको कोई सुविधा नहीं दी जायेगी। माननीय सदस्य, श्री होमी दाजी, ने मध्य प्रदेश सरकार की आलोचना की है। मैं भी बताना चाहता हूँ कि एक डिस्ट्रिक्ट में २२ परसेंट उड़िया जाति के लोग हैं, लेकिन उनके लिये कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। स्टैटिस्टिक्स तो रांग हो सकते हैं और दिये जाते हैं। उनके बारे में कहा गया है कि "Statistic is just like a lady's dress; it hides much and discloses very little" स्टैटिस्टिक्स में तो हर प्रकार से प्रयत्न किया जा सकता है— २२ परसेंट भी हो सकता है और पच्चीस परसेंट भी हो सकता है। इसलिये मेरा कहना है कि यह परसेंटेज का सिद्धान्त नहीं रखना चाहिए।

जब मैं 'केसरी' समाचार पत्र और अन्य समाचार पत्र पढ़ता हूँ, तो देखता हूँ कि मैसूर और महाराष्ट्र के बीच में बेलगांव के लिये झगड़ा चल रहा है। यह झगड़ा क्यों हो रहा है? किसी ने कहा है, "बीज बोए पेड़ बबूल के, आम कहां से खाए।" जब पहले से ही लिग्विस्टिक आधार पर प्रान्त बना कर बबूल का झाड़ बो दिया गया, तो अब उससे कांटे उग रहे हैं और हर जगह डिसइन्टेशन हो रहा है। बेलगांव के बारे में कहा जाता है कि वहां पर साठ परसेंट से ज्यादा मराठी भाषी लोग रहते हैं। वहां पर इस बारे में आन्दोलन करने के लिये एक संस्था बनाई गई और लेजिस्लेटिव असम्बली के चुनाव में उसके मेम्बरज कांग्रेस के विरुद्ध जीत गए। उन्होंने उसी प्वाइंट पर चुनाव लड़ा था। वह प्राबलम अभी तक वैसे का वैसे पड़ा हुआ है।

इस सम्बन्ध में नियुक्त एक कमेटी में चार मेम्बर रखे गए, जिन में से दो तो श्री पाटस्कर और श्री भट्ट हैं और दूसरे दो

मैसूर के मेम्बर हैं। वे चार कमी इकट्ठे नहीं होते थे। उन में से दो ने एक अलग रिपोर्ट दे दी और बाकी दो की रिपोर्ट अभी तक नहीं आई है।

Shri Mohsin: I rise to a point of order. He is referring to the border dispute. Is it relevant? We are now concerned with the linguistic minorities as such.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

श्री बड़े : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माइनोरिटीज के शिक्षण की क्या व्यवस्था है, इसका ही मैं जिज्ञा कर रहा हूँ। मैंने 'केसरी' में पढ़ा था कि वहां पर जो मराठी भाषा भाषी हैं, उनकी गर्दन दबाई जाती है। मैं तो वहां से बहुत दूर, सात आठ सौ मील दूर, रहता हूँ और मैं यह सब कुछ नहीं जानता हूँ लेकिन ऐसा मैंने 'केसरी' में पढ़ा हुआ है। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह के झगड़े बिल्कुल न हों। भारत एक है, अखण्ड है और वहां पर पूरे भारत में हिन्दी भाषा होनी चाहिये और सब काम इसी भाषा में होना चाहिये। जो मेरी पार्टी है वह भी इसका प्रतिपादन करती है कि हिन्दी राष्ट्र भाषा होनी चाहिये और जहां तक इंग्लिश का सम्बन्ध है, उसको जाना चाहिये। लेकिन जो महाराष्ट्र और मैसूर का थोड़ा सा झगड़ा चल रहा है, उसकी तरफ भी शासन का ध्यान जाना चाहिये। दो तो रिपोर्ट दे देते हैं और बाकी दो नहीं देते हैं। मराठी का वहां गला दबाया जा रहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार तुरन्त इस ओर ध्यान दे।

अन्त में मुझे इतना ही निवेदन करना है कि जो ट्राइबल्स हैं, जो भील भीलाले हैं, इन लोगों की भाषा के वान्त मध्य प्रदेश को लिखा जाये और पूछा जाये कि क्या उनकी भाषा अलग है, उनकी टैक्सट बुक्स अलग हैं, ग्रामर अलग है? मैं चाहता हूँ कि कमिश्नर महोदय इनकी भाषा के बारे में अवश्य विचार करें और भील भीलाले जो हैं, जो आदिवासी हैं, उनका किसी तरह से ग्रहित न होने दें।

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): Sir, this is a very important matter not only from the point of view of linguistic minorities, but from the point of view of national integration and the future solidarity and continuity of our nation. In the very beginning, I should like to draw the attention of the House to what has been stated in the States Reorganisation Commission's report and endorsed by the Government of India in their 1956 memorandum:

"We wish to emphasise that no guarantee can secure a minority against every kind of discriminatory policy of a State Government. Governmental activity at State level affects virtually every-sphere of a person's life and a democratic government must reflect the moral and political standards of the people."

So, whatever safeguards we may put in our statutes and whatever instructions this Government may issue to the State Governments the real welfare of the linguistic minorities would depend upon the goodwill of the people concerned, i.e. of the majority section of the people as also of the State Governments. It is a question of creating a healthy public opinion, on which only the linguistic minorities can feel any degree of safety and security. On that basis only, we can develop national integration. Many directives of the 1956 Memorandum have not been implemented by the States.

I would like to draw the attention of the House to another portion from the third report to show how far these safeguards for the security of the linguistic minorities can be carried and to what extent we can go:

"No safeguards, no provision should be made so as to perpetuate separatism or to impede the processes of natural assimilation."

The previous speaker has interpreted natural assimilation as natural elimination. It might be that in the process of assimilation, some elements may be eliminated. But we should consider the whole issue from the standpoint of our national integration.

Both these reports have some interesting facts. Rajasthan has got, according to the 1951 census, 16 million people, out of which 11 million people reported themselves as Rajasthani-speaking. But in the whole State, I do not think there is any Rajasthani school or primary school for imparting education through Rajasthani. That State has accepted Hindi as the State language and the people have accepted Hindi as their language. Similarly, the languages of Bihar are Maithili, Magadhi and Bhojpuri, but Bihar has accepted Hindi as the State language. I do not know what would be the attitude of Government if some linguistic, irredentist or revivalist movement is started in Bihar or Rajasthan to revive their regional languages..

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore): We are entirely national in our outlook.

Shri A. C. Guha:...and to ask for the protection of those languages which the present Governments of those States have practically relegated to the storehouse of history. I do not think it would be prudent on the part of the Government to give any protection to such claims and to lend their support in the name of protecting the linguistic minorities.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Is he aware that there is a movement for the revival of Maithili?

Shri A. C. Guha: I know there is a movement in regard to Maithili language. As a Bengali, I might have some sympathy for that language, because Maithili is very much akin to Bengali. But Bihar has adopted Hindi, which is the national language of India. I think no reverse step should be taken to put the progress back.

I find from this report that there has been some representation made to the Linguistic Minority Commissioner for giving recognition to Konkani. Many decades ago, we were reading the survey of a great linguistic scholar—I forget his name....

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Grierson.

Shri A. C. Guha: Yes; Grierson. I think he was the first man to compile the linguistic survey of India. It was a scholarly piece, but the motive behind that survey was not so much of linguistic research as imperialistic design. Even then, Konkani was tried to be given recognition as against Marathi, because Marathis were somewhat more troublesome. So, they thought it would be better to split up the Marathi community by creating a subsidiary language.

Shri Tyagi: Were they troublesome even then?

Shri A. C. Guha: Not so troublesome as the Bengalis; anyhow we were co-travellers in that respect.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Uttar Pradeshis are not troublesome.

Shri A. C. Guha: I now find that the Central Government, the national Government, is also going to give some recognition to the Konkani language.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: For Goa.

Shri A. C. Guha: Not only for Goa, but for other regions also. I think it will be a retrograde step and it should not be done.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Is he aware that Halbi, which is spoken by a majority in Bastar district is shown as a dialect of Marathi in Grierson's report?

Shri A. C. Guha: If I may again refer to Grierson's report, the eastern portion of India was almost a museum of languages. We used to read about languages spoken by 200 people, 2,000 people, 1,000 people and so on. As far as I recollect, even languages spoken

by 200 or 300 people were shown as languages. In the north-east frontier region, starting from Assam up to NEFA, which was not then surveyed, even excluding NEFA, in that region more than 250 languages were shown in that survey.

Even now the census report may show about 100 languages or something like that—I am not sure. Anyhow, the number of languages must have come down considerably. But still there are a large number of languages in the eastern region of India on the Assam frontier. What should be the attitude of the Government? I fully sympathise with the claims of the hill tribes. I know they have genuine grievances against the Assam Government, as the Bengalis also have their genuine grievances against the Assam Government. We may condemn certain actions of the Assam Government. But, then, that does not solve the problem. What should be the attitude of this Government for the consolidation of that region? Will it be wise to keep all those various small languages separate or should we try to develop some common language for that region?

Sir, almost a similar situation prevails in Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana area. I am sorry Shri Jaipal Singh is not here. The Santhals, the Oraons, the Ho's, the Mundas and several other tribes have their separate languages. They have been speaking more or less a sort of broken Hindi. Some may speak a sort of a broken Bengali also. But what would be the policy of the Government? If all the tribes in this region would have got one language, surely I would have suggested that that language should be developed. But when that is not the position, should we try to disintegrate that area and keep one tribe from another tribe by encouraging small languages spoken by a few thousand people? It will not be to the interest of those men and it will not be to the interest of India from the general broader point of view.

[Shri A. C. Guha]

Sir, for a State we consider whether a State would be viable or not. For any industrial unit, we consider whether with so much of investment that industrial unit would be viable or not. I think for a language also we should consider whether the language to be protected should be viable or not. If it is not going to be viable, I think it would be better if the Government take a strong attitude in respect of such languages.

I regret, the Government policy in this respect is vacillating, in some cases perhaps deliberate or in some cases through mistaken notions and ideas. The Tripura State even during the days of the Maharajas was a Bengali-speaking State. There was no other language spoken there. But now if I find that the Government is trying to revive the Tripuri language in which hardly a few thousand people may speak, in which there is no alphabet, no grammar, no sequence, no proper construction of sentence. I think it will be not a progressive step but it will be a retrograde step. So, when we consider the question of giving protection to the linguistic minorities we should see how far we should go. We should see whether those languages to which those minorities may belong will be viable or not. If you feel that they will not be viable languages, it is no use giving any protection to them because, after all, the people speaking those languages will not be benefited by that.

It would not be to the ultimate good of the small tribes in Chotanagpur to revive their small languages. They would not have the modern amenities, the modern ideas, the modern culture through their languages. It is not possible. Take, for example, cinema. Even out of the 14 languages mentioned in the Constitution, some could not have the opportunity to develop a proper film industry. For example, there is Oriya. It has not been possible for them. It has become difficult even for the Bengali to develop

a proper cinema industry from commercial point of view. Assam also is feeling the same difficulty.

An Hon. Member: Very small.

Shri A. C. Guha: Because of the small number of people speaking a particular language, it is not possible for that language to have all the modern amenities and to use the language as a vehicle of modern ideas. It is not possible for those speaking in that language to do so. So from the broader point of view we should see how far the policy of protecting the languages of linguistic minorities would lead to the integration of our nationhood and also to the better standard of living for the people who speak those languages.

An hon. friend there raised the question of Urdu. A large number of people professing Islamic faith speak Urdu.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Though their mother tongue is Bengali.

Shri A. C. Guha: The Muslims in Bengal, whether in East Bengal or in West Bengal, all speak Bengali except a few in Calcutta—these Muslims from outside speak Urdu. The Muslims of Bengal do not know any Urdu. But what is the policy of the Government about Urdu? The number of Urdu-speaking people may be large, but they are mostly bi-lingual and dispersed all over the country. A Marathi-Muslim may know Urdu, but he must know Marathi. A Hyderabad Muslim may know Urdu, but he must also know Telugu or Marathi. So Urdu cannot be treated on a par with other languages. It is not the language of a particular region. Therefore, any question of giving protection to Urdu as such cannot be considered on the basis of parity with giving protection to other linguistic minorities.

Lastly, I would like to draw the attention of the Home Minister particularly, though he is not present here,

to one thing. I think something deserves to be done regarding Seraikella and Kharsawan. Two hon. Members, both from Orissa, spoke vehemently about it. As a student of Indian politics, I feel that some grievous wrong has been done to Orissa as regards these two regions. It is better the Government realise and recognise the false step they have taken and the mistake they have committed.

Shri K. N. Tiwary (Bagaha): Sir, is the hon. Member talking about the language of the minorities or about new demarcation of the boundaries?

Shri A. C. Guha: That is for the Chair to see. Sir, I think something should be done about these two regions.

Before concluding, I would like to remind those who have been using small languages that Wales, Ireland and Scotland today cannot go back to their original language. In spite of these years of attempt it has not been possible for the Irish Republic to revive their Gaelic language. So, small languages, wherever they may be, have their own limitations, and within these limitations surely protection has to be given but not beyond those limitations so as not to jeopardise the integrity of our nationhood.

Shri A. N. Vidyalkar: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, out of the two reports that we are discussing today, one is over three years old and the other is about two years old. I feel that the Home Ministry should have given more importance to this question and should have taken the opportunity to present before this House for discussion these reports much earlier. I feel that many of the observations made in these reports might be too old for us to discuss. Therefore, my suggestion is that in future the Commissioner's reports should be discussed in this House as early as possible after their presentation.

Secondly, in the course of the discussion you must have noticed that

much of the discussion has been about execution of many of the provisions suggested by the Reorganisation Commission in order to safeguard the languages of the minorities. The difficulty is about execution and not with regard to policy. I do not agree with the opinion of Shri Daji that the Government of India and the State Governments have no policy and, therefore, all these difficulties arise. Now, we have left the execution of the policy to the States. So, my suggestion is, while we should discuss this report here in this House, the State Governments should be asked to place this report, at least the portions relating to their States, before their Legislature so that the recommendations of the Commissioner could be discussed in the State Legislatures and the representatives of the minorities could place their viewpoint before the State Governments so that they also could know the feelings and reaction of the linguistic minorities. If that is done, many of the objections that have been raised here need not be raised here because the spokesmen of the minorities will try to get their interests safeguarded in the respective State Legislatures.

Then, so far as the States are concerned, the Government of India has no power to get these things executed in the States. It can only make suggestions or recommendations. So, I would suggest that we should vest the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities with certain executive powers so that he would be able to execute these policies.

Then, something tangible should be done in this direction. After saying all things, after ventilating all the grievances and difficulties, what do we do? We are not passing any resolution today. The matter is discussed and talked out. So, I hope the Home Minister will tell us what he is going to suggest for the proper execution of the recommendations of the Commissioner.

So far our policy is concerned, it is very clear. During the British days

[Shri A. N. Vidyalankar]

the foreign rulers decided that their language should be used by everybody. But in a democratic set-up it is the peoples' language that the rulers have to learn, adopt and use. So, if there are any linguistic minorities in a State, the majority people should understand and appreciate that since it is the language of the people should be used there, they should treat the language of the minorities with complete respect. We should create a climate where we have proper respect for all the Indian languages. At present what we generally see is that the linguistic majorities attach too much importance to their languages without showing respect for other languages. Of course, I know the Government of India is not following that policy. The Government of India has rightly decided that all the Indian languages have equal respect, status and position.

But in some of the States the majority people sometimes treat the minority languages with contempt and that creates difficulties. So, we have to create the proper climate. Unless we show equal respect to all the Indian languages and give all of them the same status, no language in this country will get any status at all. At present, the English language is dominating. Why? Because we do not respect our own languages. We talk about languages too much. When it is our own language, we become dogmatic about it. But we do not give the same respect to other languages of India. That is the reason why we are having domination by English, and so long as English dominates, no Indian languages will get the status that is their due. So, if we want our languages to flourish, it is absolutely necessary and essential that we should uphold the cause of all the Indian languages and give them equal status.

I know that the Government of India is adopting that policy and it desires to execute that policy in its true spirit. But the difficulties arise when we go to the States. It is unfair

to blame the Government of India or the Home Ministry. In our own respective areas we have to create the proper climate. That is what the Government of India wants and that is the spirit of our Constitution too. The States should learn to treat all the languages with sympathy, and whatever they do for the minority languages should be done wholeheartedly and not grudgingly.

15.47 hrs.

Shri Narendrasingh Mahida
(Anand): Sir, on a point of order. There is no quorum in the House.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may resume his seat. The quorum bell is being rung. Yes, now there is quorum. He may continue.

Shri A. N. Vidyalankar: Shri Heda referred to the border areas and stated that the people of the border areas are multi-lingual. Our country is a multi-lingual country. We have many languages. And national integration requires that every citizens should be truly multi-lingual. We should try to learn more Indian languages other than our own mother tongue. In that respect, I regard the border people who are considered as linguistic minorities better citizens of this land because they are much better to the ideas of integration than the others. Whereas most of us know only one language, people in border areas know more languages. Since the people of the border areas are more proficient in learning other's languages, I feel they deserve our greater respect.

With regard to people who come from other States for employment, it is good that certain concessions are given to them, and they are expected to learn the language of that State later. Those who come and seek the hospitality of the other States should know that they should respect the language of that State whose hospitality they sought. I feel this should

[Shri Tyagi]

The other was that Government always listened to whatever little criticism was there. After all, the government of a country, particularly the type of government that our Union has, must be strong enough to resist demands which are not really very healthy for the unity of the nation. We started yielding first because there was some demand for the re-organisation of States. I remember, I had vehemently opposed that. That was the first nail in the coffin. It was on account of that weakness of the Government who yielded to that demand for having a States' Re-organisation Commission that the trouble started. Once you appoint a commission, you must be ready for all types of demands to come. Once the politicians start raising the demands, quite a lot of trouble is fomented and they are backed because they raise popular slogans with the result that they gather strength and it becomes difficult to resist that afterwards. There was not much of a demand except in a few places. If in the interest of the nation and of the unity of the country the Government were bold enough to resist these demands, they will not be raised. But because people know that a little resistance means surrender by the Government—this is the policy of the Government from end to end—there are all these demands. I appeal to the Government to be strong now. After all, when else will the Government be strong enough to resist such demands which ultimately break the country into pieces.

Let us understand a simple question as to how it is that English has become popular in India. It is not because English is the only source for knowledge but it is primarily because during the British days anybody who passed his matriculation, BA or MA in English was accommodated in the services. People felt that it was a good chance of making progress. Therefore everyone who had the means to teach English to his children

used to do so. Likewise, Hindi could come. Once we had recognised Hindi as the national language, the natural result was that people in Madras and everywhere had actually started teaching Hindi to their children. It is not as if Hindi is hated. It is only for the purpose of elections, raising slogans and for gathering strength that the politicians are doing this. Otherwise, factually speaking, those very people who are fighting for any particular language are encouraging their children to learn Hindi because they know that their future prospects lie in their qualifying in Hindi, that being the national language. If you go and enquire, you will find that the people as a whole are learning it. But in spite of that there are slogans and we pay heed to them with the result that we are not allowing the slogans to die out. I would suggest that Government should pick up strength and resist these slogans.

As far as primary education is concerned, it is no use imposing a language on children which they do not speak. Language is only a means for gaining knowledge and for communication. The knowledge of mathematics can be had in any language, whatever be the language in the world. Any language could give you the knowledge of geography, history or mathematics. It is not very difficult. So, I think, because children do not know other languages and they must have some primary education, without enacting any law or anything of that kind, let it be the policy of the Government of the whole Union to teach children in their moth tongue generally up to the upper primary or primary stage. Then, children will use Hindi. Hindi must be emphasised. If we do not emphasise the national language, we shall be nowhere. There cannot be any integration of the nation unless there is one language. So, there must be a central language. We

cannot go on depending upon English for all our life. The hon. Home Minister has got a great responsibility. I know, it is difficult for him sometimes to resist. But if he made bold and withstood all this, after some time these slogans will die out because they are not real. So long as we are not demaging any regional language, so long as we are not deliberately trying to shut out a language, people will not have any grouse because they themselves are anxious to have a language in which they can communicate with the whole of India. Therefore my submission is that too much of linguistic commissions, too many enquiries about the regional languages and about the re-organisation of the boundaries of States—all that is something which, in my opinion, is anti-national. Because, it rakes up controversies which become difficult to set at rest. I, therefore, suggest that the Government be strong and stand by the Constitution at all costs.

श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी (कोपपल) :
 अध्यक्ष महोदय, लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज के कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण रिपोर्ट है। इस रिपोर्ट पर जो डिस्कशन हो रही है, उसमें हिस्सा लेते हुए बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने भाषावार प्रान्तों के निर्माण की नुक्ता-चीनी की है। मैं इसका सख्त विरोध करता हूँ। माननीय सदस्यों को यह जानना चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान का बुनियादी कल्चर इस देश की तमाम भाषाओं का सम्मिलित कल्चर है। इसी दृष्टि से कांस्टीट्यूशन बनाते वक्त हिन्दुस्तान को यनियन आफ स्टेट्स और एक फ़डरल स्टेट कहा गया। इसलिए इसका मकसद यह नहीं है कि किसी विदेशी भाषा या इंगलिश को ज़रूर रखना है। उसका मैं सख्त विरोध करता हूँ। हम हिन्दी की, जो कि हमारी नेशनल लैंग्वेज है, आव-भगत और स्वागत करते हैं और उसको सीखना बहुत ज़रूरी है। जब तक इंगलिश को खत्म नहीं किया

जाता और भारत वर्ष की चौदह भाषाओं के विकास के लिए जब तक पूरी अपरटूनियो नहीं दी जाएगी, उस वक्त तक हिन्दुस्तान की एकता और यनिटी कायम करना बहुत मुश्किल होगा ?

जहाँ तक लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज के प्राबलम का सवाल है, वह हर प्रान्त में मौजूद है। इसलिए अगर मैं अपने क्षेत्र से सम्बन्धित कुछ बातें कहूँ, तो यह न समझा जाये कि मैं रिज्जल इन्स्टीट्यूट की वजह से कह रहा हूँ। वक्त की कमी की वजह से मैं सिर्फ अपनी जनता की चन्द मुश्किलत और प्राबलमज का जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ।

It is well said by one that Karnataka is a land ruled by other language people, by others.

कर्नाटक एक सादा इकानोमिकली मिडिल-क्लास पीपल का लैंड है, इसलिए वहाँ पर बड़े-बड़े व्यापारियों और एक्सपोटर्स में ६६ परसेंट गुजराती और दूसरे लोग हैं। यह बात कहने के लिए मैं गुजराती भाष्यों से क्षमा चाहता हूँ, लेकिन वहाँ पर स्थिति वही है, जो कि मैंने बयान की है। जहाँ तक लेबर क्लास का ताल्लुक है, ज्यादातर तेलुगु और तामिल वर्कर्स ही वहाँ पर हैं। इस वजह से वहाँ के लोगों की यूनियो में भेद पैदा हो रहा है। वहाँ की स्थिति ऐसी है कि वहाँ पर कमिश्नर फ़ार लिग्विस्टिक माइनारिटीज नहीं बल्कि कमिश्नर फ़ार लिग्विस्टिक मजोरिटीज मुकर्रर करने की प्राबलम है।

आप वहाँ के सैक्रेटेरियट के आफिसर्स या गैजेटिड आफिसर्स की लिस्ट को देखिए। उस में साठ परसेंट से ज्यादा दूसरे ही प्रान्तों के लोग हैं। लेकिन फिर भी हम उन की आव-भगत करते हैं, उन का स्वागत करते हैं और वहाँ पर उन की मौजूदगी को प्रज नहीं करते हैं। नवाल यह है कि वहाँ पर बंगलौर में या मैसूर में जो नेशनल इंडस्ट्रीज कायम हो रही हैं, उन में भी हार्डली दस फ़ीसदी

[श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी]

लोग कन्नड़ बोलने वाले होंगे। मैं ने इस बारे में एक शार्ट-नोटिस क्वैस्टियन का नोटिस दिया था, लेकिन अभी तक उस को स्वीकृति नहीं मिली है।

इस स्थिति की एक ऐतिहासिक बैक-ग्राउंड है। तीन चार सौ साल से कर्नाटक प्रान्त के रूप में निजाम हैदराबाद की हुकूमत में रहने की वजह से और वहां पर फ्यूडल एलिमेंट्स का प्रभाव होने के कारण यह अवस्था हो गई थी कि अगर कोई कन्नड़ बोलने वाला तहसीलदार हो जाता, तो यह समझा जाता कि उस ने कोई बहुत बड़ी डिग्री हासिल कर ली है। आज किराने का थोक व्यापार करने वाले काठियावाड़ी हैं। जहां तक खानों की सम्पत्ति के उपभोग का प्रश्न है, गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की १९४८ या १९५५ या १९५८ की माईनिंग पालिसी के अनुसार लाइसेन्स का पहला क्वोटा उन लोगों को दिया जाता है, जो कि पहले से बिजिनेस में हैं और वे लोग दूसरे प्रान्तों के हैं। इस प्रकार खानों का काम करने के लिए किसी कन्नड़ बोलने वाले को लाइसेन्स नहीं दिया जाता है। अस्सी परसेंट आउट-साइडर वहां पर है।

इसी तरह वहां पर इंडस्ट्रीज स्थापित करने के लिए दूसरे लोग आते हैं। अगर को-आपरेटिव बेसिस पर शूगर फ़ैक्ट्री कायम करने की कोशिश की जाये, तो उस में भी सफलता नहीं मिलती है। इस लिए इस मौके पर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कर्नाटक को आप एक ऐसा प्रान्त समझिये, जहां भारतवर्ष के सब लोगों का हम स्वागत करते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि दूसरे प्रान्तों वाले भी उसी विशाल हृदय और बड़े दिल से काम करें।

इस रिपोर्ट के पेज ७०, पैराग्राफ़ २६४ में लिखा है :—

"There do not appear to be any restrictions or discrimination

against the linguistic minorities in the fields of trade and commerce."

कमिश्नर की तरफ से लिखा गया है कि कामर्स और इंडस्ट्री के बारे में डिस्क्रिमिनेशन की कोई शिकायत किसी प्रान्त से हम को नहीं मिली, लेकिन उस के आगे पैराग्राफ़ २६५ में कहा गया है :—

"The only complaints received were from Kannada linguistic minorities in Kerala who complained against Sales Tax Check Posts resulting in great hardship for the traders and cultivators. It had also been complained that all the trade of Kasaragod Taluka is linked with the Malabar market and restriction is placed in the matter of transport to and from Mangalore have resulted in hardship on this account. The complaints have been referred to the State Government whose reply is awaited."

इसी तरह से आप वहां के किन्हीं आंकड़ों को या लिस्ट्स को देख लीजिये। आप पायेंगे कि कन्नड़-भाषी लोग न कंट्रैक्टर हैं, न एक्सपोर्टर हैं, न बिजिनेस करने वाले हैं और न माइन-ओनर हैं। प्रश्न यह है कि इस हालत में कन्नड़-भाषी जाति की प्राबलम कैसे हल की जा सकती है। इस स्थिति का विरोध करने के लिए मैसूर और बंगलौर में एक मूवमेंट पैदा हो चुकी है, लेकिन गलत तरीके से एक्सप्लायटेशन करने के लिए उस को भाषा का झगड़ा बताया जाता है। मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार पर यह अपवाद और आरोप लगाता हूँ कि उस की वजह से यह माइनारिटी प्राबलम ज्यादा हो रही है। जब लिग्विस्टिक आघार पर प्रान्त बने, तो उन प्रान्तों के वार्डर्ज़ की प्राबलम को जल्द से जल्द हल करना चाहिए था। मैं कह देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं मैसूर गवर्नमेंट की इस राय के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ कि हम कोई गांव

देंगे भी नहीं और दूसरों का गांव आने भी नहीं देंगे। इस तरह की रेस्ट्रिक्शन को मैं मानने वाला नहीं हूँ। मैं तो इस बात के पक्ष में हूँ कि एक तत्व को आधार बनाया जाये और उसी के अनुसार सीमा का निर्धारण किया जाये। उस से दस मील उधर या एक मील उधर हो सकता है। जिस तरह बेल्लारी शहर का तसफिया किया गया, उसी तरह अगर कोई जज मुकर्रर कर के या कोई हाई-पावर वार्डर कमीशन कायम कर के दूसरे बड़े बड़े शहरों का भी तसफिया कर दिया जाये, तो राज्यों में परस्पर कटुता पैदा नहीं होगी।

अभी भी वारह लाख कन्नड़ बोलने वाले शोलापुर वगैरह वार्डर एरियाज में बँटे हुए हैं। हम लोग उन की आव-भगत और स्वागत के लिए एंक्शस हैं। इसी तरह आन्ध्र प्रदेश में मड़गासिरा, आलूर, आदोने और रायदुर्ग आदि में कन्नड़-भाषी ६४ परसेंट हैं। वहाँ पर इसी तरह के प्राबलम्ब हैं।

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: What about Kolar?

Shri Sivamurthi Swami: If any formula is evolved from the Centre, I will support that idea. But, some principles must be laid down by the Centre. That is my request.

पर अगर थोड़ा बहुत इलाका इस आधार हमारे प्रान्त से लिया जाता है, तो इस के लिए भी हम तैयार हैं, लेकिन स्टेट्स री-आर्गनाइजेशन कमीशन की रिपोर्ट को फ़ाइनल नहीं समझना चाहिए। अगर इस आधार पर महाराष्ट्र वालों को कुछ भी तकलीफ़ है, तो हम जरूर उस तकलीफ़ को दूर करने के लिए तैयार हैं। पार्लियामेंट के माननीय सदस्य इस में हमारी सहायता करें।

जहाँ तक शोलापुर का ताल्लुक है, Sholapur is nothing but a Kamanda

city. वहाँ के लोगों को आप देखिए, वहाँ का कल्चर देखिए, उस शहर को देखिए। उस शहर की तीन लाख आबादी में से कम से कम दो लाख आबादी कन्नड़ बोलने वालों की है। घर में वे कन्नड़ बोलते हैं, लेकिन उन का तमाम शिक्षण मराठी में होने की वजह से वह शहर अब महाराष्ट्र में है। बड़े बड़े शहरों के बारे में फ़ैसला पाटस्कर फ़ार्मूला के मृताविक नहीं किया जा सकता है। जिस का उद्भूल यह है कि गांवों की जन-संख्या देख कर सीमा निर्धारित की जायगी। शहर की हिस्टारिकल और कल्चरल बैकग्राउंड को देखना चाहिए। मानाडरिटी को कम किया जा सकता है। सिर्फ़ कमिश्नर के पास यह तमाम दुख दूर करने की कोई ताकत नहीं है। अगर ऐसे मामलों को स्टेट मिनिस्ट्रज को रेफर किया जाये, तो वे कुछ भी नहीं कर पायेंगे। एक बिल्कुल दूसरी भावना पैदा हो रही है और इस सदन को जल्द से जल्द उस को रोकना चाहिए।

इस रिपोर्ट के पेज ७५ पर एक बात कही गई है, जिस की ओर मैं इस सदन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। उस में कहा गया है :--

“There has also been a move of late in some States that preference be given to the “Sons of the Soil” in the matter of employment in both the public and private sectors. The expression “Sons of the Soil” has not been defined but is interpreted to cover only those persons who are domiciled in the State and sometimes only those who speak the principal regional language as mother tongue. These concepts are not only harmful to the growth of unity in the country but are also contrary to the spirit underlying the constitutional guarantee of equal opportunity for all and the consequent abolition of domicile restrictions in different States.”

सन आफ दी सायल हर भारतीय है, भारत की हर भाषा बोलने वाला है और हम यह

[श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी]

नहीं कह सकते हैं कि जो कन्नड़ बोलने वाला है, वह तो सन आफ दी सायल है या मराठी बोलने वाला तो सन आफ दी सायल है और जो दूसरी भाषा बोलता है वह सन आफ दी सायल नहीं है। हमें चाहिये कि हम हर इंडिविजुअल को, हर हिन्दुस्तानी को इज्जत की निगाह से देखें और उसको गौरव का स्थान प्रदान करें। तमाम जितनी हमारे यहां कल्चर्ज हैं, उनका आदर करें, यह समझें कि वे हमारे लिये गौरव की चीजें हैं। अगर हम ने ऐसा किया तो भारतवर्ष एक रह सकता है, उसकी युनिटी कायम रह सकती है।

इसी दृष्टि से मैं उत्तर भारत वालों को कहता हूँ कि वे भी अपने झगड़े मिटा दें। उत्तर भारत में भी रीजनल लैंगुएजिज की प्राबलम है। मैं पंजाब में जा चुका हूँ और वहां के बारे में काफी कुछ मुन चुका हूँ। वहां की जो प्राबलम है, उसका भी कोई हल निकलना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि लोगों की भावनाओं का हमें आदर करना चाहिये, उनकी भावनाओं से हमें खिलवाड़ नहीं करनी चाहिये। अगर हम उनकी भावनाओं को न समझ कर उन से दूर चले गये और उन के विचारों को हम ने आदर की दृष्टि से नहीं देखा और उन की समस्याओं का हल जल्दी से जल्दी नहीं निकाला, तो हमारी समस्यायें बढ़ती ही जायेंगी। जनमत के सामने हमें झुकना ही होगा। मैं जानता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट ने एजीटेशज के सामने यील्ड करने की एक भावना सी बना दी है। मैं समझता हूँ कि चूँकि यह एक डेमोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट है, इस वास्ते इसको लोगों की विशिज के आगे झुकना ही चाहिये।

A democratic Government must yield to the democratic wishes of the people. विशिज आफ दी पीपल के आगे यील्ड करने का एक तरीका होता है, एक दृष्टिकोण होता है और हमें चाहिये कि हम भारतीय दृष्टि-

कोण से उस को देखें और उसके मुताबिक करें। लेकिन कोई भी भाषा हो, चाहे वह कन्नड़ हो, मराठी हो, हिन्दी हो, पंजाबी हो, हमें चाहिये कि हम लोगों के दर्द को महसूस करें, जो उनकी तकलीफें हैं उनको महसूस करें, उनकी मुश्किलात को देखें और अगर हम ने ऐसा नहीं किया तो हमारा बहुत अहित होगा। मैं उत्तर भारत वालों की समस्या को समझता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि भारत में यूनिटी आफ आंस कल्चर्ज तथा आफ आल लैंगुएजिज हो। सभी कल्चर्ज और सभी लैंगुएजिज को हमें फलने फूलने देना चाहिये, उस में उनका सहायक बनना चाहिये और ऐसा ही नहीं होना चाहिये कि केवल इंग्लिश को ही हम फलने फूलने का मौका दें। संस्कृत बड़ी समृद्ध भाषा है। दुनिया का कौन सा शब्द है जिस का उस में इंटरप्रेटेशन नहीं हुआ है। उस में हर एक चीज को इंटरप्रेट किया जा सकता है। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि एवरी वर्ड इज ए ट्रेजर आफ दी वर्ल्ड, लैंगुजिज। इस दृष्टि से हमें चाहिये कि हम सभी भाषाओं को बढ़ावा दें। लेकिन जहां तक इंग्लिश का सम्बन्ध है, उसके साथ जो हम चिपके रहना चाहते हैं, वह हमारे दिमागों की गुलामी है। बड़े जोरों से कहा जाता है कि वह इंटरनेशनल लैंगुएज है। यह ठीक है। लेकिन हमें अपने यहां हिन्दी को पूरे तरीके से नेशनल लैंगुएज बनाना होगा और उसको फलने फूलने का मौका देना होगा। उसके साथ ही साथ रिजनल लैंगुएजिज को भी हमें फलने फूलने देना है, उनको भी प्रोत्साहन देना है।

जहां तक ग्रीवेंसिस का सम्बन्ध है, न सिर्फ उनको हम स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स को रेफर करें बल्कि देखें कि वे रिड्रेस होते हैं या नहीं होते हैं। चुप बैठे रहने से काम नहीं चल सकेगा। चुप बैठना उन लोगों के साथ जिन को ग्रीवेंसिस हैं, अन्याय होगा। कन्नड़ वालों के जो प्राबलम हैं और उसके बारे में जो

मूवमेंट हो रहा है, उसको आईवाश करके बन्द नहीं किया जाना चाहिये। उनकी प्राबलैम को सेंटर को हल करना चाहिये। ८० प्रतिशत जो कन्नड़ बोलने वाले हैं, उनको क्या आप इंडस्ट्री में तथा दूसरे फील्ड्स में भी ५० प्रतिशत हिस्सा देंगे या नहीं देंगे। अगर उनको अपने राज्य में कोई हक हासिल नहीं है तो और कहां हो सकता है। मैं इस और गृह मंत्री जी का ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि वह इस बारे में जरूर कुछ न कुछ करेंगे।

16.14 hrs.

RE: CALLING ATTENTION TO
MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IM-
PORTANCE

Mr. Speaker: I am interrupting the proceedings just at this moment. This morning, we had a calling-attention-notice and the hon. Members here felt very much agitated about that cartoon that was there, and the hon. Minister of Home Affairs had to make a statement.

Since then, I have received a letter from Shri H. N. Mukerjee that this whole thing has created, according to him, some misunderstanding in the minds of the hon. Members, and that that cartoon and that pictorial representation have not been rightly understood.

So, I shall give him an opportunity just to say a few words about that, so that the Members might have their view and Shri H. N. Mukerjee's view as well about that statement, before it goes to the press.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Is it on behalf of the Party that he is speaking?

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): Is he responsible for that? How is he giving the explanation on behalf of that newspaper? Is he the manager or some office-bearer of that newspaper?

Mr. Speaker: Because the whole indictment was against the Communist Party, as the leader of the party, he is giving the explanation.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): That newspaper also belongs to his Party.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta Central): I am grateful to you for the opportunity you have given me of correcting what I consider to be a serious misunderstanding which arose after the calling-attention-notice was raised this morning.

I was very much astonished to hear the statement made by my hon. friend, the Home Minister, but I did not intervene at that point of time because I had not seen the paper in question and the cartoon which was mentioned. As soon afterwards as possible, I contacted our office here, and I got also a copy of the paper which I have forwarded to you, Sir, and I could say that it was a complete misunderstanding which led to the calling-attention-notice being raised, in the first place, and to my hon. friend the Home Minister giving the sort of reply, which he did, in the second place.

I have not got the paper with me at the moment. It is somewhere on the Table of the House, I think.

Mr. Speaker: The paper is being given to the hon. Member just now.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: To any Bengali reader of this paper, who looks at this pictorial representation, there will not happen even the slightest impression that this has any treasonable content; he will not even imagine for a moment that it has any reference to the border or the border dispute. He will find two sets of people, peasants on the one side, and industrial workers on the other side, the peasants having put on a thing which in Bengal we call the *Toka*, which is something like a mat which is put on during the period of heavy rains, to protect them from the downpour; and