

are received, we will decide whether we should proceed with this or drop this. So, I support the motion moved by my hon. friend, Shri Samanta, that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

"That the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 30th June, 1964."

*The motion was adopted.*

15.14 hrs.

CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT)  
BILL

(Amendment of Article 343) by  
Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya** (Rai-  
ganj): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I beg  
to move:

"That the Bill further to amend  
the Constitution of India be cir-  
culated for the purpose of eliciting  
opinion thereon by the 31st March,  
1964."

While moving this Bill, I feel it is  
perhaps the will of Providence that  
my Bill has come in the very nick of  
time. The incidents that have been  
happening in the House during the  
last two days amply demonstrate the  
need for making provision for a  
neutral language for the official  
purposes of the Union. This is ex-  
actly what my Bill wants to do. Arti-  
cle 343 of the Constitution which my  
Bill seeks to amend provides that the  
Official Language of the Union shall  
be Hindi in Devanagari script. My  
Bill seeks to add Sanskrit to Hindi  
in that article.

The Bill is not new. It was in-  
troduced first in February, 1958 and  
has since then been before the Par-  
liament. It has come up now for  
discussion. Before I proceed with the

Bill, I wish to make some quotations  
from the hon. Prime Minister about  
Sanskrit itself.

**Shri Sonavane** (Pandharpur): Let  
him speak in Sanskrit.

श्री च० का० भट्टाचार्य : यदि भवन  
अनुमतिदीयते तदा संस्कृतभाषया एव  
वदितुम इच्छामि ।

**Shri Sonavane:** Continue it; we will  
understand it.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** This is  
what the hon. Prime Minister said:

"If I was asked what is the  
greatest treasure which India  
possesses and what is her finest  
heritage, I would answer unhesi-  
tatingly, it is the Sanskrit lan-  
guage and literature and all that  
it contains. This is a magnifi-  
cent inheritance and so long as  
this endures and influences the  
life of our people, so long the  
basic genius of India will con-  
tinue."

He proceeds further and says:

"Hardly any language in the  
world has probably played that  
vital part in the history of a race  
which Sanskrit has."

He again says:

"India built up a magnificent  
language, Sanskrit, and through  
this language and its art and ar-  
chitecture, it sent its vibrant  
message to far away countries...  
I have often wondered that if  
our race forgot the Buddha, the  
Upanishads and the great epics,  
what then will it be like? It  
would be uprooted and would lose  
the basic characteristics which  
have clung to it and given it dis-  
tinction throughout these long  
ages. India would cease to be  
India."

These are inspiring words and I beg  
to be excused if I have caught the

[Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya]

inspiration. I would only submit that if Sanskrit could play this vital role in the life of India, why should it be debarred from playing that role in free India now? I only repeat the words of the Prime Minister himself. In doing that, when I suggest that Sanskrit be accorded the status of an official language, I do not make a new or surprising proposal. In fact that proposal has been pending before the country since the days of the Constituent Assembly. In the Constituent Assembly, the proposal was mooted by Shri Naziruddin Ahmed that Sanskrit be accepted as the sole official language of India. In the course of the discussion, there was a stage in which it was almost on the point of acceptance.

Though it was not accepted in the Constituent Assembly, the proposal has been before the country all the time and has agitated public mind. The Government of India appointed the Sanskrit Commission in 1956. One of the recommendations of that Commission was that Sanskrit be accorded the status of an additional official language. After the Sanskrit Commission had made that recommendation the matter was taken up in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. The West Bengal Legislative Assembly in adopting a resolution on State language in 1958 gave Sanskrit a place in that scheme. The Assembly decided that "Sanskrit should be used for such ceremonial purposes as the Government of India may from time to time specify." Pursuant to this decision of the West Bengal Assembly I approached the different ministries here suggesting that Sanskrit might be adopted for formal and ceremonial occasions. The ministries that were concerned in this were the Home Ministry, the Education Ministry, the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs and to some extent the Ministry of External Affairs. To them my proposal was that Sans-

krit should be the language for diplomatic credentials, Indian passports, all Government of India certificates and diplomas, university convocations, diplomas and similar matters. But I was told nothing of this could be done unless Sanskrit was included in article 343 of the Constitution.

After this the matter was referred to the Calcutta University. The report of the Sanskrit Commission was circulated to all the universities of India for their opinion, and in forwarding their opinion to the Government of India on the report of the Commission, this is what the Calcutta University observed:

"Although there may be ample and cogent arguments in favour of making Sanskrit the sole official language, the Commission has not recommended that Sanskrit should be made the sole official language of the Union and it has only recommended that Sanskrit should be declared as additional official language by the side of Hindi and English. We of the University see no difficulty in whole-heartedly supporting the recommendation the acceptance of which will bring about a soothing effect over the country and will strengthen the feelings of unity of India."

These were the observations of the Calcutta University that were forwarded to the Government of India.

As will appear from my Bill, I do not want to disturb the position of Hindi or English. But I just want to try to make a way out of the linguistic controversies that we are seeing before us now. The hon. Prime Minister has laid down that the official language of India should not be a foreign language and, at the same time, it must be a language of all India acceptance. I submit, again, that there is only one language in the

world which satisfies both the as-  
pects, and that language is Sanskrit.  
15.24 hrs.

[DR. SAROJINI MAHISHI in the Chair]

It is a language accepted as an all-  
India language and, at the same time,  
it is not a foreign language. This is  
the only language which satisfies the  
test laid down for a language being  
accepted as the official language of  
India. I believe there will be no dis-  
pute to what I have stated about it  
just now.

In putting up the claim for Sanskrit  
I should say that Sanskrit is not un-  
known to the Constitution. The Con-  
stitution has specifically laid down  
that in developing Hindi it should  
primarily draw upon Sanskrit. The  
Constitution having specifically laid it  
down, a recognition is given to the  
language itself. Again, without being  
a regional language, it is included in  
the Eighth Schedule of Indian lan-  
guages recognised by the Constitu-  
tion. Here again, I shall refer to the  
hon. Prime Minister. He has stated  
that all the languages in the Eighth  
Schedule are regarded as national  
languages.

I should say, Sir, that Sanskrit enjoys  
a status more than a national language.  
It is one of the international languages  
of the world having got that recogni-  
tion. To establish my point, I should  
refer to some of my own experiences.  
Some time back I was in West Ger-  
many and one of the parties to which I  
was invited along with other journalists  
of India was in Hamburg. It was the  
Mayor's party. There I was introduc-  
ed to the Head of the Oriental Depart-  
ment of the University. I was told to  
converse with him. I was told: "He  
is the head of the Oriental Department  
of the University; you talk to him".  
What did I do? I did not talk with him  
in English. I at once suggested that  
we should talk in Sanskrit. I told  
him:

"भवन्नाखान किञ्चित् देववाणीभाषणं  
श्रोतुमिच्छामि"

He hesitated and replied: "My pronun-  
ciation may not be as correct as yours".  
My reply was:

"यद् भवतु तद् भवतु परन्तु देववाणीभाषणं  
एव श्रोतुमिच्छामि"

Then he began talking in Sanskrit and  
he talked well. I enquired as to where  
he learnt it. He said that he had come  
to Allahabad and he learnt it from a  
pandit there. When we were carrying  
on that conversation the entire Mayor's  
party was looking upon us. After  
carrying on the conversation for some  
time I addressed the party and  
said: "It is not for nothing that I  
have done it today. I wanted to have  
it demonstrated before you that there  
is an Indian language in which an  
Indian can talk with a foreigner and  
that has been established." That is my  
point. Sanskrit has got that recogni-  
tion. It is an Indian language and in  
it an Indian and a foreigner can talk.

In the course of my tour of Europe  
and America I approached every uni-  
versity and tried to find out what  
arrangements were there for the study  
of Sanskrit. I went to the Tubingen  
University and talked to Dr.  
Glassenhapp who died only recently. I  
found on the blackboard in Devnagri  
script:

"ओं ननो गणेशाय"

because he was just beginning to coach  
his students. This was how he was  
beginning his lessons to his students.  
In Harvard, Madam, I had the same  
experience. I met the head of the  
Oriental Department there who had  
had his training in Sanskrit in Calcutta  
under Mahamahopadhyaya Kalipada  
Tharkacharya who received the honour  
from the President. He told me:  
"You are coming from the land of my  
Guru. Do you know him?" I said:  
"Yes, I am related to him". "You  
come from the land of my Guru गुरु  
you are related to him", said he, and  
added: "I must make special arrange-  
ments for your reception". I asked

[Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya]

him how he picked up Sanskrit. I told him that pandit Kalipada Tharkacharya never knew English and I wanted to know how he learnt Sanskrit from him. He said: "I joined the military during the war and was posted in Calcutta. I took advantage of my stay in Calcutta and studied Sanskrit from Mahamahopadhyaya. He does not know English, but I picked up sufficient Sanskrit to talk with him." That is the point I want to make. Sanskrit is not only a national language of India but it is recognised as an international language of the world. Other people pick up Sanskrit to learn our systems of philosophy. This gentleman trained himself in the Bengal school of philosophy, went back to America, wrote a thesis on that and got a doctorate. That is the position that this language enjoys, and that is what I would like to bring forward as the background of my Bill which I am placing before the House today. If Sanskrit is accepted, then Sanskrit will automatically receive international recognition. I will go further and say that it will help international understanding between the East and the West.

Some of the questions which have been raised against this proposal are superficial. One argument is that Sanskrit is a dead language and a dead language cannot be made the official language of a State. I join issue there. If I had the time, I would have gone into the question in detail and I would have quoted Max Mueller *in extenso*. In one of his lectures in the London University Max Mueller deals with this question whether Sanskrit is a dead language and he comes to the conclusion that it is not, for he says that Sanskrit plays a vital role in the life of the people of India and a language which has a vital force in India cannot be regarded as a dead language.

The other objection that is raised is that Sanskrit is not the spoken language. A question is asked whether a language can be accepted as an official language when it is not a spoken language. To that reply is, to be an

official language it is not necessary that the language should be the language of the masses. Today we have English as an official language of India and we have fought for it. In fact, I had spoken for English when the language Bill was moved in this House by Shri Shastri. At the same time, we know that English is not the language of the masses in India. It is the language of only the intelligentsia and a language of the intelligentsia has been accepted in the Constitution as the official language of the Union. In that way, Sanskrit has always been the language of the intelligentsia in India, from the days when Sir William Jones went into this question in 1786. Sir William Jones carried out extensive researches and came to the conclusion that for a long time Sanskrit was the language of administration for courts and used for other official purposes. From the day of Sir William Jones, I would come to the days of the University Education Commission presided over by Dr. Radhakrishnan. The University Education Commission has come to the conclusion that Sanskrit was all the time the *lingua franca* of the world of learning in India. That is the exact expression used by the Commission. Sanskrit was the *lingua franca* of the world of learning in India, and this position Sanskrit has held all the time in India. Therefore, there is not the least difficulty on that score and we may revive that tradition and bring in Sanskrit to the stage in which it may be accepted as an official language.

Then, some of my friends who are raising question—I do not know whether they understand Sanskrit—ask whether Sanskrit is understandable at all. I will just give an example. For example in Hindi we say:

हम जा रहे हैं ? For that, I say in Sanskrit  
 अम यामि What is the difference  
 between the two? How is one easier  
 to understand than the other when one  
 is almost the same as the other?

हम जा रहे हैं और मह्यामि

Both of them are almost equal in sound effect. Therefore, my contention is simple Sanskrit may be developed and used for the official purposes of the Union.

The Statement of Objects and Reasons attached to the Bill is rather brief and I will take this opportunity to elaborate it a little. Sanskrit presents the greatest common measure of agreement amongst the languages of India, not only in their vocabulary but also in their spirit, and that is why the Constitution in article 351 has accepted the position that Sanskrit should be the basis of our official language. Then again, I believe, more than many thousands of years old Indian culture is based on Sanskrit language and literature and today for bringing about unity in thought Sanskrit would be of great help to India. In fact the unity of India will depend upon the Sanskrit. Then again, it is one of the most advanced languages of the world. Further, from the point of view of national solidarity, special advantage should be taken of the fact that Sanskrit presents a language which is not belonging to any particular region or any particular State. Therefore, if it is accepted as an official language, it will not particularly favour any one or put to any particular difficulty or disadvantage any region or any section of the people. When this language is included in the Constitution, all the States will be equally placed in regard to advantages or disadvantages. Therefore, none of the States will feel its rights or privileges curtailed in any way or will feel that any undue advantage has been granted to another State because of Sanskrit being accepted as an official language of India.

The other question is whether it has the dynamic effect which an official language ought to have. There again, a particular or peculiar feature of this language is that it has helped the unity of India and it has been recognised by all the leading intellectuals of India up to the present day. Here I could mention the distinguished names of the persons who have appeared before the

Sanskrit Commission and suggested that it might be accepted as an official language. Here I might mention the names of Sardar Panikkar, Sir C. V. Raman, Shri Sri Prakasa, Dr. Katju and Shri C. Patanjali Shastri. Shri Patanjali Shastri, after he retired from Supreme Court, suggested in a public lecture that Sanskrit should be accepted as an official language of India. Sir C. V. Raman went a little further. He said that Sanskrit should be declared as the *lingua indica* of India. This shows that there is great support for the demand that this language should be declared as an official language of the Union. In one of his letters, Shri Nijalingappa of Mysore, writing to the Bharatiya Sanskrit Rashtra Bhasha Sammelan, says:

"Let me take this opportunity to congratulate you on the work you have already done. I wish you every success in your attempt to include Sanskrit as an additional official language."

As I have stated, already it has much support in the country. What is wanted is that there should be a move on the part of Government to do the justice which it deserves and requires.

I have already referred to some opinions; I might refer to some opinions again. This is what Shri K. M. Munshi says:

"Without Sanskrit India would be nothing but a bundle of linguistic groups."

Then again, Dr. Rajendra Prasad says:

"For many centuries past Sanskrit has provided the principal basis of unity in India. It enjoyed the status of what we might call the national language."

These are the arguments which I am putting forward. I might put forward many others for supporting the contention that it should be declared as one of the official languages of India. In doing so I am only trying to point out,

[Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya]

as I have already stated, that it is a language which might be regarded as the very basis of our unity and as the basis on which Indian culture has been established for many thousands of years.

I have referred already to some of the objections and whether this old language can be resuscitated as an official language of India. I would point out an example which comes to my mind immediately. The State of Israel came into existence in the year 1948. It is barely 15 years old. This 15-year old State has brought back into existence the many thousands-years old language, Hebrew, and is using it for all official purposes of that State. The acceptance of Hebrew and its introduction and continuation as an official language has not hampered its administration or its progress in any way. If they could have done it, what is the difficulty in our country for not accepting Sanskrit as an official language? The difficulty is that we are habituated to think of it only as a classical language. That is the difficulty. That idea should be shaken off from the mind. It is a living language. Original books are being written even now. Researches are being carried on. There are thousands of persons who speak fluently in Sanskrit and amongst them they speak only in Sanskrit. I know of families where even the womenfolk speak in Sanskrit.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath** (Hoshangabad): Why "even"?

**An Hon. Member:** In Bengal.

**Another Hon. Member:** In Kashmir.

**Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya:** In all parts of India. I am afraid, my hon. friend has yet to discover India. I suggest he try to discover India a little. Even, girls are chosen as brides on the basis whether they can speak Sanskrit. This is my fortunate experience. Therefore it is not a mere classical language; it is not an obsolete language as we are used to think about it. It

is a living language of our culture, our heritage, our literature, our thought, our philosophy and, I maintain, our political administration too.

In referring to the political administration, allow me to refer to one instance only. The White Paper No. II on Chinese matters brought out by the External Affairs Ministry contains a chapter on the Himalayas. In trying to establish its claim on the Himalayas the Government of India had to ransack the entire Sanskrit literature from the Vedas down to the middle ages. It begins from the Vedas and comes up to the days of Kalidasa — "अस्ति उत्तरस्यस्याम दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नागधिराजः" :

So, Sanskrit is not a mere classical language. As I stated, it serves the Government of India in a very urgent diplomatic negotiation and it would be graceful and grateful on the part of the Government if they admit their obligation to the language, the language which has served them even now in such an important matter. I will request my hon. friend who is raising this question to go through the White Paper No. II and read that chapter on the Himalayas in which the External Affairs Ministry has tried to establish the claim of India on the Himalayas. Kindly read what the arguments are that they have brought in, the quotations that they have referred to and the passages which come in there and you will find out how Sanskrit serves the Government of India even now in such an urgent diplomatic matter. That is the point.

If we give it the recognition, we get the advantage out of it. If we do not give it the recognition, it does not do any harm to the language but we lose much of what we should not. That is my submission and I hope with what I have stated the Government will agree to have my Bill circulated. I have not made any very tall claim. I have only suggested that the Bill be

circulated for eliciting public opinion. If the public opinion be there, it will come back to the House and the House will consider it. With that humble submission, I request that my Bill be allowed to go to the public.

**Mr. Chairman:** Motion moved:

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 31st March, 1964."

**Shri N. R. Ghosh (Jalpaiguri):** I move:

That in the motion,—

for "31st March, 1964" substitute—  
"31st December, 1964". (1)

The extension of time is obviously necessary. The object of the motion of my hon. friend, Shri Bhattacharyya, is very modest. He does not want anything spectacular. He just wants that his Bill may be circulated for eliciting public opinion. I would at the very outset want to place my views before the House that it is not a Bill challenging the position of Hindi in any way. For myself I stand by the position that our Constitution has accepted Hindi as the official language and I want to stand by it. Therefore this Bill should not be considered in any way as detrimental to the position of Hindi as such.

In this connection, I would ask the hon. Members of this House to consider that while under article 343 Hindi has been made our official language, under article 351 it has been laid down that Hindi is to be developed in a particular manner and as a directive it is there that Hindi is to be developed principally drawing upon Sanskrit. As my hon. friend has already pointed to the House, Sanskrit is one of the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule. The position of Sanskrit is to be considered *vis-a-vis* the Constitution. There are some salient features of Sanskrit

which have to be borne in mind by all of us. Sanskrit is definitely the integrating factor to keep the whole of India together.

15.49 hrs.

[SHRI THIRUMALA RAO in the Chair]

But for Sanskrit, India perhaps would have been just a conglomeration of certain regions speaking certain dialects. Sanskrit is the golden thread which knits the whole of India together and which holds it together. It is actually the symbol of our national life. As a feeder language it has got a unique position. As the hon. Members of this House know, so far as the north Indian languages are concerned, which were originally known as the Indo-Aryan languages, actually they are born on the lap of Sanskrit. So far as the south Indian languages are concerned, they have been fed and nurtured by Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, the soul of Sanskrit has equally permeated through all the regional languages of southern India and of the east as well as of the west and north India. You know that so far as the non-Hindi languages are concerned, for example, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, etc., they are practically 80 per cent Sanskrit; Malayalam and Telugu a little less. Our Bande Mataram and our National Anthem Janaganamana are practically 95 per cent Sanskrit. That has been readily accepted by the whole country because Sanskrit has got a unique hold on our emotions. We naturally respond to it and react to it. As a feeder language, our southern friends know that the grammar of Tamil and the grammar of other southern languages has been patterned from Sanskrit. The script is practically Devanagari script only with some variations. Sanskrit travelled beyond India to Burma, Indo-China and other places like Indonesia also. As a matter of fact, the script of Burmese is also a variation of Devanagari. Even the Tibetan script is practically Devanagari. As a feeder language

[Shri N. R. Ghosh]

said, Sanskrit has permeated through all the regional languages of India.

My friend has already given some views of the top men of our country. He has quoted the statements of our Prime Minister. I shall only quote a few more statements of some top men. It is not only that there is the lore and literature of Sanskrit and philosophy enshrined in Sanskrit, but even some of the basic principles of the most important sciences have been enshrined in Sanskrit. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru made the statement before the Sanskrit Commission that Prof. Oppenheimer, the famous American atomic scientist, spends considerable time in reading Sanskrit and Pali. Not that he thinks that Sanskrit is only good because there is a great philosophy in it. As a matter of fact, it is now admitted that it has contributed very richly to medicine, mathematics, astronomy and to other scientific subjects. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru also said:

"I would personally like as many Indians as possible to know Sanskrit, which is the very basis of our culture."

What is India if we leave out Ramayana, Mahabharata and other rich literature and wealth contained in Sanskrit in India? He says, if anyone wants to have a look into the real soul of India, he must have some knowledge of Ramayana, and Mahabharata and for that purpose, Sanskrit knowledge is essential. The late lamented Shri G. B. Pant said that Sanskrit had given symphony to our life. Hon. Members of the House know that Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya etc. were great votaries of Sanskrit. Mahatma Gandhi was also a votary of Sanskrit. He said that the *Gita* was the breath of his life and that if only for reading the *Gita* people should read Sanskrit.

I shall read out another quotation from the *Report of the Sanskrit Com-*

*mission*. At page 66 of the report, we find that:

"The Director of Public Instruction of Madhya Pradesh, who is a Christian, told us that he advised the Anglo-Indian students also to read Sanskrit. It was necessary that, as future citizens of India, they gained an insight into the mind and the culture of the bulk of the Indian people. And this, he added, was possible only through the study of Sanskrit."

This shows the approach of other communities too. My hon. friend the Mover has already said that very big men and the topmost men of our country are in favour of making Sanskrit as the official language of India. In this connection, he referred to the fact that in the Constituent Assembly, when an amendment to this effect was moved by the late Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra, it was supported by Shri Naziruddin Ahmad, and a large number of people, South Indians and also people from other areas supported the amendment. I should mention that Dr. Ambedkar, Shri B. V. Keskar, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, our present Finance Minister, late Dr. P. Subbarayan, Mrs. Durgabai, Shri V. S. Muniswami Pillai and many other Members from Madras and a large number of Members from West Bengal supported that amendment. I am putting forward that fact to show that as a matter of fact, they accepted the position that Sanskrit had got a unique position in India and further, if Sanskrit be now accepted as an associate official language, then much of the bitterness that is raging in the country at present would disappear.

I am asking the House to accept this motion not as a challenge to Hindi, but to make the acceptance of Hindi smoother because it will pave the way for a better atmosphere for acceptance of Hindi.

In this connection, I would mention that practically all the big men, poli-

ticians, the Members of Parliament the Members of the Union Cabinet, the Chief Ministers, Ministers, Governors and other people, learned and great men, were all consulted by the Sanskrit Commission, and they say that there was practically unanimity of views and unanimity of opinion amongst them about the unique position of Sanskrit. This is gathered from what they had stated before the commission.

15.58 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

I would now refer to the recommendation of the Sanskrit Commission themselves in this matter. They say:

"That in view of the cultural importance and pan-Indian character of Sanskrit, and with a view to arresting the growth of fissiparous tendencies and linguistic parochialism, which are at present threatening the unity of India (through the agency of Sanskrit which has, through the ages, played the role of a great unifying force in the country), Sanskrit, which is already one of the languages recognised by the Constitution, should be declared as an Additional Official Language (by the side of Hindi and English, for the time being) to be used for such public purposes as may be feasible."

I would only mention here that for thousands of years Sanskrit has been the national language of India. Shankaracharya in olden times and even recently, Dayanand Saraswati preached throughout India the *Veda* through the medium of Sanskrit. Vivekananda in many of his discourses, when pandits of the south and the north assembled together, had to speak in Sanskrit. Sanskrit holds such a unique and great position in India that the Bill, which is a very modest Bill, should be accepted unopposed.

In conclusion, I submit that the House should consider whether its

approach is going to be to strangle the Bill at this stage, to strike it down or to allow it to be circulated for eliciting opinion of the public. For that purpose, it is only necessary that a *prima facie* case is made out. I would submit that the facts which I have submitted and the Mover has submitted make a strong *prima facie* case, and I would ask the whole House to allow the motion that it may be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion.

16 hrs.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There are a very large number of Members wishing to speak. We will give 6-7 minutes to each hon. Member.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** What is the time allotted?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** 2 hours.

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur):** My name may also be put down in the list.

**Shri Warrior:** I support the Motion of Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya to circulate the Bill for eliciting opinion thereon. This is a very important subject. I hope the Mover did not bring the Motion forward to avoid the vital issue of what should be the national language of India or the State language of India.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** And then to withdraw it, later.

**Shri Warrior:** That apart.

This is an important issue. This has been stated by the Sanskrit Commission itself. There is a large consensus of opinion in the country saying that Sanskrit should be made the national language precisely because they are pacifists who do not want to fight for any particular language, especially that language which is suggested at present as the national language of India. For instance, people coming from Bengal cannot say that Bengali should be made the national language;

[Shri Warrior]

at the same time, they do not relish very much—naturally; I do not say unnaturally—Hindi being foisted upon them. So as a *via media* they suggest that Sanskrit be made the national language.

I do not agree with this very much because that is a suggestion which is dangerous to the unity of India—the suggestion to make Sanskrit the national language of India. First of all, to our misfortune, Sanskrit had actually stagnated after some time to be a living language of the people. Sanskrit itself means 'refined'. The refining is done of some crude. So the crude was the real language of the people. Some refined people wanted a refined language. That was made Sanskrit. So Sanskrit is not an original language as such.

**Shri Raghunath Singh** (Varanasi): Who said? ?

**Shri Warrior**: I am told so by pandits. I do not know.

**Shri Raghunath Singh**: Here is a pandit from Kashi saying it is an original language.

**Shri Shamlal Saraf** (Jammu and Kashmir): Pandits in Kashmir . . .

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath**: There are pandits in Kerala and Kashmir also.

**Shri Warrior**: There are higher pandits than the pandit from Kashi.

Even the Kashi pandits realised the importance of Sanskrit only after Maxmueller from Germany came over to India. I am told by vedanta pandits that there is no mention of Sanskrit as a *bhasha*. *Bhasha* means language. But Sanskrit is not mentioned in the four vedas.

**Dr. M. S. Aney** (Nagpur): The language was there.

**Shri Warrior**: After Sanskrit became a vehicle of communication it

remained only between the upper strata, especially the male strata of the population. In the dramas of Kalidasa, Bhasa and others, they speak of Prakrit as the language for the womenfolk and vidhushakas, while Sanskrit is refined language, for refined people. I do not say we are not refined. The old concept was that womenfolk were not refined. I do not accept that. They were using Prakrit which was the crude or raw material for Sanskrit, from which pandits who had much erudition, learning and versatility, refined Sanskrit.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath**: In their refinery.

**Shri Warrior**: So, Sanskrit could not be made the speaking language of the ordinary people. Not only that. In course of time, they adopted more instruments of living, more utensils, more implements, more such things, and those things do not find any representation in Sanskrit.

**Dr. M. S. Aney**: Who says that?

**Shri Warrior**: I am saying that. The revered Member has the right to oppose it and give his point of view. But this is a fact of which I have been told by very learned pandits of Sanskrit.

**Shri Raghunath Singh**: Wrongly informed.

**Shri Warrior**: Even with all these limitations, I think that this subject will arouse much academic interest at least among the enlightened people, and as such it will be worthwhile, it will not be futile in my opinion, to have it circulated and get the considered opinion of at least the uppermost strata in our society.

**Dr. Sarojini Mahishi** (Dharwar North): The Bill before us is to further amend the Constitution of India, and include Sanskrit as one of the official languages.

English was allowed to continue for a period of 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution, with greater opportunity being given to Hindi for its development. After a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, the article was to be read as if the words "or in English" were omitted, but we have seen that the life of English has also been extended. Along with English and Hindi which are now our official languages and have proved to be a source of much controversy, Sanskrit can also be added and accepted as an official language. I do welcome this Bill, and the hon. Member has rightly brought this Bill at this particular moment when there is so much of harangue in the House about the official language.

Right from the beginning of the Constituent Assembly, time and again a move has been made to make Sanskrit one of the official languages of India. Of course, it is very difficult for even pandits—I am not referring to the pandits who may have advised my hon. friend in the Opposition, but those who are genuine pandits—to find out the origin of Sanskrit. Whether it came along with the Aryans, or developed in the Indus valley or the Mohanjadaro valley it is very difficult to say. Even the Ramayana and Maha Bharata, which, according to certain pandits, depict the conflict that arose between the Aryans and the Dravidians, are written in Sanskrit, and they are considered the highest classics of India. The Ramayana starts with the verse:

मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।

यत् क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधौः काममोहितमः ।

That shows that, even transgressing all canons and rules of poetry and other things, Sanskrit had risen to such heights that for expressing the highest emotions and feelings, it was the only language that was considered fit, and on the banks of the river Tamsa, Valmiki was inspired to use

this language and wrote his classical work. That Sanskrit was a great language can be seen from the literature available in that language. My friend on the Opposition spoke that women, servants and other low class people were using or speaking Prakrit language because it was supposed that they could not pronounce the Sanskrit words properly. In Mrichakatika, of Sudraka it said:

स्त्रो खलु संस्कृत पठान्तं स सू शब्दं करोति

We do not agree with it. That is a different thing. The learned people used to speak in that language; it was the court language. That was the language of the people also. But that was not patronised. Upto Shankara, Ramanuja and Madhava's period all these intellectual discourses were written in Sanskrit only. In due course, because of geographical distances and communication difficulties, people could not pronounce the words correctly and a number of Prakrit languages developed from Sanskrit and from them again, Hindi, Gujarati, Bengali, Chattisgari and all those other languages. I do not agree with my hon. friend who said that the Dravidian grammar and Sanskrit grammar are alike. That belongs to a different group; Sanskrit language belongs to the Indo-European group. If all the languages of the world had been classified by experts by philologists, they will say that Sanskrit belongs to the Indo-European group along with German, French and such other languages. We find that for "Pitr" in Sanskrit, they say in German Peter and in French also the same; for "Mathr", they say Mater. So, there is such similarity; we all owe our grandeur, history, culture and magnanimity and nobility of our life in India to that language . . .

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Dr. Sarojini Mahishi:** I hope you will give me a few more minutes.

[Dr. Sarojini Mahishi]

All that nobility and magnanimity has been enshrined in the finest Sanskrit language. That was called "Girvan Vani" the language of Gods. I do not know whether any of the Gods were speaking at that time in that language. The pandits of the south and the north entered into certain discourses in that language. That was the language recognised by the whole of India. If I may quote a few words, the greatest scholar, well known scholar, Dandin comes from South. There are so many poets and one of the great poets is a lady, Vijayanka,

“अर्वाचो यदि गद्यपद्यरचनेश्चेत्प्रच-  
मन्कुर्वते ।

तेषां मूर्ध्नि ददामि दा वामचरणं कर्णाट-  
राजप्रिया ॥”

They are from Karnataka, coming from the southern region. It says that there are only two or three poets to whom we can bow down and offer our obeisance and not to others.

“एकोऽमून् नलिनान् ततश्च पुलिनान्  
वल्मीकितश्चापरः ।

ते सर्वे भवन्ति कवयस्तेभ्यो नमस्कृवंहे ॥”

Only to these people, Valmiki, Vyasa and others we bow down and not to any other. This was the scholarship of that great lady. In that language, they can say things in small sutras, in aphorisms. You will kindly excuse me if I quote a sentence like that. In fact things which take whole sentences to explain or pages and pages to explain, could be put down in two words; it will contain a lot of meaning and a number of commentaries are written upon that. I shall quote one sentence of Bana which is a description of hunting; the whole has been done in one sentence.

“एकदा तु प्रभानसन्ध्यारागलोहिते

अपरजलनिधितटमवतरति चन्द्रमसि,

शलाकासंमार्जनीभिरिव समुत्सार्यमाणे

तारागणे, विघटमानकमलब्रंडमधुशोक-  
रासारवर्षिणी, कुसुमामोदतापितालिजाले,  
निशावसानजातजीडम्भि, मन्दमन्द सन्चारिते  
प्रवाति, प्रामातिके भातरिष्वनि, इतस्ततः  
संचरत्सु वनचरेषु महान् मृगया  
कालाहल- ध्वनिद्वन्द्वचरत् ।”

It is only one sentence. So also, in just two words the meaning can be compressed in such a way that a number of commentaries can be written upon them.

“दगी क्वी शब्दी महदन्तरम् सूचयतः”

“क्व सूर्यप्रभवो वशः क्वचालपविषया  
मतिः”

Panini says that a great incongruity can be brought out by the use of these words. In this way, Sanskrit language is such that it possesses a very rich vocabulary and a power of expression wherein all sciences, all arts, the whole of history, indeed everything, can be expressed. Therefore, I say that this is a great language which should be studied. But then the students of Sanskrit do not study Amara Kosha. Amara Kosha is never learnt by them, because there is now a simplified method of visual instruction. I do not know what can be studied or seen in that. The students are trying to learn Algebra in an easy-chair and Geometry in the examination hall. They do not go in for Amara Kosha or other great literature.

Therefore, in order to understand the spirit of our Indian culture, our highest literature, our great heritage, it is necessary that we shall have to give a proper place for Sanskrit not only in the examination hall, only for study at the honours class, but in our offices, in our society, in our politics and in our life as a whole.

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : उपाध्यक्ष  
महोदय, मैं श्री चपलकान्त भट्टाचार्य को

हजारों साधुवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इतना सुन्दर बिल इस सदन में रक्खा । मैं उनसे भी निवेदन करता हूँ कि वे स्वयं संस्कृत के उपासक हैं, उनका यह मॉशन है । हमारी मर्यादा के पुरुषोत्तम राम हैं और भगवान राम के यह वचन हैं :

रामो द्विवर्नविभाषिते”

राम जो कुछ कह लेता है उसे वासप नहीं लेता । इसलिये श्री भट्टाचार्य जी अपने प्रस्ताव को वापस न लें । मुझे अपने गृह मंत्री जी से भी यह अनुरोध करना है कि आज की घड़ी फिर नहीं आयेगी । यह बड़ी सुन्दर घड़ी है, आज आप यह वचन दें कि आप संस्कृत को रायज करेंगे और संस्कृत के जरिये ही अपना काम करेंगे ।

कई भोले भाई कहते हैं कि यह जवान पुरानी हो गई है । लेकिन जवान पुरानी कहां हुई है । जिस जवान में गीता है, जिस जवान में वेद हैं, जिस जवान में रामायण है, जिस जवान में उपनिषद् हैं, वह पुरानी नहीं हो हो सकती । वह जिन्दा जवान है । जब कि इजराइल की सरकार दो हजार साल पुरानी हिब्रू रूट्स को जिन्दा कर सकती है, जो जवान कि मर चुकी थी, जो बोसीदा हो चुकी थी, तब कोई कारण नहीं है कि भारत में सब से ऊंची जवान को रायज न किया जाय । आज इस काम को करना ही है । अगर आज आप इसको नहीं करेंगे तो फिर इसे आप पीछे डालेंगे और आने वाली सन्ततियों आपको कांसेंगी । आपका यह सब से पहला फर्ज है कि आप आज इसका एलान करें कि जिस भाषा ने संसार को उपदेश दिया था :

“यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतानि आत्मन्येवानु-  
पश्यति

सर्वंभूतेषुचात्मानं ततो न विजिगृप्सते ।”

जिस भाषा ने यह उपदेश दिया था कि सारा संसार तुम्हारा एक परिवार है, सब में भगवान

की आत्मा है, जिस भाषा में भगवान कृष्ण ने उपदेश दिया, ऐंग्रिमैंट लिख कर और हस्ताक्षर करके दे दिया भगवान कृष्ण ने कि :

“यो मां पश्यति सबद्र सर्वत्र मयि पश्यति,  
तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मे न प्रणश्यति ।”

उसको हम अपनी काम की भाषा बनायेंगे । अगर आज ऐसा नहीं हो सका तो कभी नहीं होगा । जैसा मैंने कहा जब दो हजार साल पुरानी हिब्रू रूट्स को, जो कि बोसीदा हो चुकी थी, जिन्दा किया जा सकता है, तो संसार की महानतम भाषा संस्कृत को क्यों रायज नहीं किया जा सकता ।

आज सब से बड़ा प्वाइंट यह है कि जिस जवान के पीछे हम दीवाने हो रहे हैं उस अंग्रेजी ने संसार में तीन “डब्ल्यू” दिये हैं : वार, वाइन एंड बीमेन । जिस जवान ने ईट, ड्रिक एंड बी मेरी का उपदेश दिया है, जिस ने ईट, ड्रिक एंड बी मेरी और खून खच्चर के सिवा दुनिया को कोई चीज नहीं बतलाई है, उस जवान को हम उपासना कर रहे हैं । अगर वाकई संस्कृत को जिन्दा रखना है तो इसके लिये आज का दिन है । जब कि कांग्रेस के लोग भी कह रहे हैं, ट्रेजरी बेंच के लोग कह रहे हैं, अपोजीशन के सम्बर भी कह रहे हैं, तो कोई कारण नहीं है कि आज यह जवान रायज न हो । अंग्रेजी जवान, जिसका हमारे कल्चर के साथ कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है, उस की बात देखिये । अपनी भाषा में हम जिसको सार्वजनिक कार्यकर्ता कहते हैं उसको अंग्रेजी में पब्लिक मैन कहते हैं । अपनी माताओं वहनों तथा महिलाओं को हम सार्वजनिक वायकर्ता कहते हैं, लेकिन अगर पब्लिक मैन का उल्टा हम पब्लिक बीमेन कर दें तो इसके कितने अश्लील अर्थ हो जायेंगे । उस जवान से हमारी संस्कृति मेल नहीं खाती, उससे हिन्दुस्तान का कल्चर मेल नहीं खाता । हमारी जवान से सूरज की तरह रोशनी सारे संसार में गयी है । मेरी

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

मातृभाषा में कहीं ताला शब्द नहीं है। क्योंकि हमारे देश में चोर नहीं थे तो ताला शब्द कैसे आता। जब चोरी होती है तभी ताले की आवश्यकता होती है। यहां चोर नहीं थे इसलिए हमारी भाषा में ताला शब्द नहीं है। हमारा जवान में "स्टेप मदरलो ट्रीटमेंट" के लिए कोई शब्द नहीं है। वेद कहता है :

मित्रस्याहं चक्षुषा सर्वाणि भूतानि समीक्षे

वेद कहता है कि सिर्फ इन्सान ही नहीं बल्कि प्राणि मात्र का हम मित्र की दृष्टि से देखते हैं।

तो मैं यह बिल लाने के लिए श्री चपल कान्त भट्टाचार्य जी को बहुत बहुत मुबारकबाद देता हूं और निवेदन करूंगा अपने गृह मंत्री जी से कि इतने सुन्दर और इतने दिव्य और सौम्य बिल को जरूर मंजूर करें। सारे हाउस की यही राय है कि इस पर राय न ली जाए और इसको सर्व सम्मति से पास किया जाए।

**Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri** (Ghatal):

Sir, I have got a very short time at my disposal. I cannot make a learned speech about the history of Sanskrit or whether Sanskrit came first and Prakrit after or Prakrit came first and Sanskrit after. But I welcome the proposal made by my esteemed friend, Shri Bhattacharyya for this reason that I feel that Sanskrit has a merit which is beyond the merit of all the current languages today in India, which entitles it to be considered as a national language.

Much of what I want to say has already been said. What should be the criteria in modern times for any language to occupy the position of national language? Firstly, it must have its origin in the country. Sanskrit has that. In fact, as suggested by practically everyone of my friends, Sanskrit is the mother of all languages. It should not have any conflict with other languages. What question

is there of conflict between mother and daughter? Everybody accepts that Sanskrit is suitable. It is not that Sanskrit comes into the arena for the purpose of disputing the position of Hindi. That is not the idea.

Let us consider what Sanskrit can do. If this language is used for the purpose of every-day business and conversation, one has got to see whether it meets the requirements. For that my suggestion is that Sanskrit is a language which by its very construction and grammar is capable of absorbing into itself and expressing any new idea or novel idea which comes in. I do not think—although I am no pundit and I have not been advised by a pundit—I would be wrong in saying that there are certain astrological books still extant which are written in Sanskrit which are still read and understood. Sanskrit has never eschewed the journey into it of other languages or other notions. In fact, it has always absorbed words from other languages. If we accept it today for our purposes, there is absolutely no reason why that process should not go on and why we should not take into it words from other languages and distil it through the means of Sanskrit grammar. That can be done.

It is certainly a matter of congratulation for us that this language raises no dispute between one region and another which a regional language may do. It certainly has the other virtue that it does not try to claim excellence over any particular language.

The position today is that we have had to keep English alive because no particular language, not even Hindi, has that universality or universal acceptance in the country, which would make it useful to every citizen of the country. Sanskrit is capable of that because there is no resistance to it from anywhere. There has been

learning of Sanskrit even in the remotest of villages in the country. You will find a few men in every village in India—I make bold to say this because I am saying this from personal experience after having travelled all over India—who can speak Sanskrit and who can express themselves in Sanskrit—it may not be classical Sanskrit, it may not be learned Sanskrit but it will be enough to understand a person from any part and enough to express one's thoughts to make a conversation possible.

The English language claims to be a language which is of universal appeal, which opens the door to the west. The door to the west was opened by the Sanskrit language as has been demonstrated by Shri Bhattacharyya, because the first glimmering of culture of India travelled to the west through the Sanskrit language and its study. Therefore, it is evident that it is capable not only of opening but keeping open that window which lets in western light and takes our light to the west.

If these are good reasons, that this language is capable of being brought to life again and if it has been sleeping it has only been sleeping and not died, if it is also true that other countries have taken interest in this language and learned people in other countries have studied the language sufficiently to converse with learned people in our country, why should this proposal be not accepted? If these are not good reasons for this language being included along with Hindi in our Constitution as a national language, I cannot think of any better reason, and I challenge that this House cannot think of any better reason.

There is only one other thing that I want to bring to the notice of this House. A certain amount of doubt has been raised as to whether Sanskrit is a dead language or the language is alive. I am not going 2000 years back. I have told you that today the language is studied. The language is

capable of rendering any thought. In support of that, if I may introduce a note of personal experience, I want to tell you one instance. It is not very old in terms of time. It is an incident only about 30 or 35 years back. There was a gentleman by name Anand Shastri. He was from the south, a very learned man, a professor in Sanskrit of the Madras University and later transferred to the University of Calcutta. That gentleman had one of his books plagiarised. He wanted to have a copy right. He was not well versed in English. He spoke only little Hindi. The only language in which he conversed with people in Northern India or even Bengal was Sanskrit. He came along seeking somebody who understood simple Sanskrit. It was my good fortune to meet him. He wanted to ask whether the court had jurisdiction or not. The word "jurisdiction" has been sought to be translated into modern Indian languages and I am yet to come across a word which correctly represents it. The word copy right is also considered as rather difficult of translation. This gentleman had no difficulty in translating it. I do not know whether I will be wasting the time of the House and your time, Sir, if I tell you what he said. What he said to me was this:

अस्य धर्माधिकारस्य स्थानाधिकारत्वम्  
विषयाधिकारत्वम् अर्थाधिकारत्वम् वर्तते  
वा नो वा

Has this court got jurisdiction as to the territory, as to the subject matter and as to the amount involved?

पुस्तकास्य अनुभार सत्व विषये व्यवहार  
दानुम इच्छामि

I wish to institute a suit in respect of—I am translating literally—the copy right of my book. This is what he said, simply, clearly and without any difficulty for me, who does not claim to be a Sanskrit scholar, in understanding what he said. If the language is capable of rendering

[Shri Sachindra Chaudhuri]

thoughts which are entirely modern, which are discussed in modern courts and the language has been used in the past for expressing every kind of scientific thought, is it a language to be eschewed? Is it a language to be denied the place which it pre-eminently deserves, in fact a language which is enshrined in our Constitution earlier? Is it a language which has got to be denied its chance of recognition by the country as an official language? It is not a question of whether it should or should not get into the Constitution. That is a very moderate suggestion or submission made by my esteemed friend, Shri Bhattacharyya. If I have taken up your time, I apologise, but I think the occasion demanded that something should be said by somebody who does not claim to be a Sanskrit scholar and who has got every admiration for the English language.

16.31 hrs.

#### CRASH OF I.A.F. HELICOPTER

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Y. B. Chavan):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, with great sorrow, I rise to inform the House that an Alouette helicopter belonging to the Indian Air Force crashed near Poonch this morning. According to the information available, the following passengers were killed in the tragic accident:

Lt. Gen. Daulat Singh, G.O.C. in C. Western Command,

Lt. Gen. Bikram Singh, Corps Commander.

Major General N. D. Nanawati, MC.

Brigadier Sri Ram Oberoi, MC.

Air Vice-Marshal E. W. Pinto,  
Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Western Command.

Flight Lt. S. S. Sodhi.

In the death of these officers, our defence forces have lost very distinguished, able and promising leaders.

The cause of the crash is under investigation.

Sir, particularly in the death of Lt. Gen. Gault Singh and Lt. Gen. Bikram Singh, the Western Command has lost very able leadership. The work they did during the last operations in Ladakh will remain a tribute to their military leadership.

Air Vice Marshal E. W. Pinto, who did excellent work in the last exercises, was with us only two days before to explain to us the details of the air exercises when the Finance Minister and myself flew to Patiala. Sir, he was one of the most able air officers that our Air Force had, and the other two officers, whose names I have just mentioned, had both of them very distinguished military career and won Military Crosses in the last war. Really speaking, in their death we have received a very severe blow to our military officers' cadre and their leadership.

I think this hon. House, and Government particularly, share in the loss sustained by the families and I would suggest that, as a tribute to their memory, possibly the House may stand adjourned.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is a great tragedy. I join the Defence Minister in expressing the deep sense of sorrow of this House in the death of these gallant officers. I also express sympathy to the families of the bereaved on behalf of the House. They were very efficient officers and we lost them when we needed them most. I hope the House will stand in silence for a short while to express its sorrow.

*The Members then stood in silence for a short while.*

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** As a mark of respect to the deceased, the House stands adjourned.

16.35 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, November 25, 1963/Agrahayana 4, 1885 (Saka).*