

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

I commend these Demands for the acceptance of the House.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat) rose—

Mr. Speaker: We are not sitting up to 7 o'clock. So, why not we start off with non-official business immediately? The hon. Member may speak on Monday.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Yes.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

EIGHTY-FIRST REPORT

Sardar Hukam Singh (Bhatinda): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Eighty-first Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 29th March, 1961."

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That this House agrees with the Eighty-first Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 29th March, 1961."

The motion was adopted.

16.06 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. DEVNAGARI AS COMMON SCRIPT FOR ALL REGIONAL LANGUAGES—Contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume further discussion of the Resolution moved by Shri Prakash Vir Shastri on the 17th March, 1961, namely:—

"This House is of opinion that Devnagari be adopted as a common script for all regional languages in order to bring them closer to each other."

Out of 1 hour and 45 minutes allotted for the discussion of this Resolution, 1 hour and 30 minutes have already been taken up. Shri E. V. K. Sampath may continue his speech.

Several Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: Let me hear hon. Members one by one. Shri Prakash Vir Shastri.

श्री पद्म देव (चम्बा) अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा अनुरोध है कि उस पर एक घंटे का समय बढ़ा दिया जाय।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (गुड़गांव) : मैं भी मांग करता हूँ कि कम से कम एक घंटे का समय बढ़ा दिया जाय। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय ने भी कहा था कि अगर बहुत से समय इस पर चलने के लिए इच्छुक होंगे तो उसका समय बढ़ा दिया जायगा।

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Sir, I want to submit now that the Members of Parliament are practically getting tired of sitting up to 7 o'clock. It is really very hard. Whether you extend the time or not, you may take this also into account that to sit up to 7 o'clock is not possible.

Mr. Speaker: We are not sitting up to 7 o'clock today. That is why I started non-official business immediately after the Prime Minister's speech. We will conclude at 6:30.

Ch. Ranbir Singh (Rohtak): The time for this resolution may be extended.

Mr. Speaker: Is it the desire of the House that the time for this Resolution be extended by one hour?

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat): We have always been demanding that the time of Private Members should not be curtailed. Normally, we would have started at 3:30 and would have continued for 2½ hours.

Mr. Speaker: We have already started. It is about 6 minutes past 4. I have already called upon the Deputy-Speaker to move his motion. So, the work has started practically at four. If the hon. lady Member wants 5 minutes more, I am prepared to sit. But, it does not matter.

So far as this Resolution is concerned, we will have one more hour. There will be time for the other Resolution to be moved. Shri Sampath who was in possession of the House may continue his speech.

Shri Sampath (Namakkal) began addressing the House in Tamil.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member can speak in English. (*Interruption*).

I may inform hon. Members that both Hindi and English are the official languages now. Any hon. Member who is not able to express himself either in Hindi or in English will be permitted to speak in his mother-tongue in which case the entire speech would not be reported. We have not got the facilities for reporting. The hon. Member must submit in advance a summary of his speech in English or Hindi for incorporation in the official report. I believe the other day he started in English. Therefore, he will continue in English.

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): The other day he merely mentioned, 'Mr. Speaker'. That was all.

Mr. Speaker: 'Mr. Speaker' is English. 'Speaker avergale' is Tamil. Yes; he can give a summary of his speech in English later on.

He may speak in Tamil.

If he wants other hon. Members to follow what he says, he would speak in English. (*Interruption*).

After Shri Sampath spoke a sentence in Tamil—

Shri Khadilkar (Ahmednagar): On a point of order, Sir...***(*Interruptions*.)

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Sampath: May I refer him to the *Directions by the Speaker*—page 59?

Shri Khadilkar: Mr. Speaker, as you have said, if an hon. Member is illiterate so far as Hindi or English is concerned....

Shri Sampath: What does he mean by 'illiterate'?

Shri Khadilkar: In this House, we are supposed to understand each other and then debate a subject. If a Member speaks in a language which is absolutely unintelligible, what is the contribution that he is making to the debate?

Mr. Speaker: I will answer the point of order.....(*Interruptions*.)

Order, order. Hon. Members go on deciding the point of order themselves. Hon. Members will see that no qualifications have been imposed for membership of this House. It is not a qualification for membership in this House that an hon. Member must know either Hindi or English. Any person is qualified to be a Member here: only he should be a citizen of India.

There is the provision in the Constitution that if a person is not able to express himself either in English or in Hindi, which are the official languages, he can speak in his own mother tongue, that is, a regional language; if he does so, he has to submit a copy of his speech for being incorporated in the proceedings. It is for the hon. Member to decide. There may be some people who know some English. Many of our friends may know some Hindi. If they are asked to speak in Hindi and express themselves correct-

[Mr. Speaker]

ly, it may not be possible for them to do so. I can also speak in Hindi but not on every subject. I cannot speak in Hindi except on some subjects about which I am trying to specialise. Therefore, it is for him to decide as to whether he can properly express himself upon a particular matter in Hindi or English or in his own mother tongue. I give that freedom to all hon. Members and I am not going to impose any restrictions.

But I reserve my judgement on this question: if constantly I have heard an hon. Member in the House speaking in English without any difficulty or in Hindi without any difficulty, I will allow him with very great hesitation to speak in any other language. But then, I must also be satisfied. I am satisfied that Shri Sampath will express himself better in his mother tongue.

Shri Khadilkar:* * * (*Interruptions*).

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have been guiding the House most correctly. May I make this plea that it is a very serious thing to make such disrespectful and discourteous references to other languages as Shri Khadilkar has done? We are proud that we have fourteen languages and they have a right to be heard in this House. I plead, Sir, that the words*** may be expunged because they mean disrespect to Tamil?

Mr. Speaker: I did not hear what he said. Let the Official Reporter read out what Shri Khadilkar said.

(*Thereupon the Official Reporter read out the portion.*)

This will be expunged as also his earlier remarks. After I gave a ruling, he raised a point of order. There is no substance in the point of order. It is not a matter which has been decided only for today. As a matter of fact, one hon. Member from Anahra

Pradesh from Srikakulam—I know—was unable to speak in English or Hindi. Sometime ago, an hon. Member from Bengal made a similar request. Therefore all hon. Members who are not able to express themselves, and who, in the opinion of the Speaker have not been able to express themselves in either English or Hindi, will be allowed to speak in any one of the fourteen languages. One language is as good as any other language. I am not prepared to underrate any. Will the hon. Member withdraw his statement?

Shri Khadilkar: I withdraw.

Mr. Speaker: That will be expunged. Already there is so much of linguistic controversy and so much of misunderstanding between one section and another. I do not want that from this House anything should go out to the country, which will create more disturbance and more misunderstanding.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Sir, if Shri Khadilkar could change from this party to that party, people can change their language.

Shri Khadilkar: That is uncharitable.

Ch. Ranbir Singh: We are in favour of Tamil (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Hon. Members must also try to learn one of the South Indian languages. There ought not to be only one-way traffic. Why not hon. Members also learn one of the South Indian languages? (*Interruptions.*)

Tamil is claimed to be a nice language and as old as Sanskrit.

श्री सिद्धान्त सिंह (गोरखपुर) : हम तो चाहते हैं कि हमको दक्षिणी भाषायें मूल्ने के और भी मौक मिलें। जब ऐसे मौके मिलेंगे, तो फिर हम उनको पढ़ने की कोशिश भी करेंगे।

श्री नाथ पाई : आज प्रारम्भ हुआ
 है ।

Shri Sampath: spoke in Tamil.

** (Translation of the Tamil speech is given below):

Mr. Speaker, I wish to speak in my mother-tongue, Tamil, particularly on this occasion when we are discussing a Resolution that seeks to offer a solution to the language issue of India. I have been for the past few years hearing patiently speeches made in Hindi and Urdu without understanding even a word. I remember when once an hon. Member was speaking in Hindi he was referring to Tamilnad quite often. I requested him to say at least that portion in English, so that I could understand, but he who knows English as well as Hindi refused to say it in English. I simply wanted to "inflict" the same kind of treatment on them so that they might realise the plight of non-Hindi speaking Members hearing Hindi speeches. Even now, we see in this House how agitated they become to see a language other than Hindi spoken in the Parliament.

In this context, I wish to say when the demand for a separate State in the South was first raised. It was when, in 1938, Mr. C. R. formed the first Congress Ministry in Tamilnad and introduced compulsory Hindi in schools the demand for a separate sovereign Tamilnad was put forward by the people of Tamilnad. From that day nothing has happened to assuage the fears and doubts of the Tamil people regarding the domination of Hindi, but on the other hand, much has been done by the Hindi chauvinists to aggravate them further.

In European history, there had been many instances where domination by one language group over another by virtue of their political power was

attempted, but those attempts never succeeded. I wish to sound a note of warning to the Hindi chauvinists that similarly their attempts to build a Hindi imperialism will also meet with failure. As fanaticism with regard to Hindi mounts here in the North, so also the spirit of resistance is growing stronger and stronger in the non-Hindi-speaking areas. As such, it is clearly evident that this move, although it has an innocuous look of dealing with some academic question, is a political one. The presence of the hon. Home Minister to take part in the discussion instead of the Education Minister further clearly shows the politics behind this move.

I do not know whether the Mover of this Resolution has any knowledge about the ancient and glorious history of Tamil culture and language. If he had known something about it, he would not have dared to prescribe a script for Tamil.

In the end, I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude for your considered ruling, allowing me to speak in my language. Nay, Sir, you have earned the praise of 40 million Tamilians.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्य क्या कह रहे हैं। क्योंकि मैं इस प्रस्ताव का मूल प्रस्तावक हूँ इसलिए अन्त में मुझे इस प्रस्ताव के सन्दर्भ में उत्तर भी देना है। मैं चाहूँगा कि माननीय सदस्य ने जो कुछ भी कहा है उसका अनुवाद अवश्य कर दिया जाय क्योंकि उन्होंने मेरा नाम भी लिया है और मैं जो कुछ उन्होंने कहा उसे समझ नहीं पाया हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : इसके बारे में मैंने माननीय सदस्य से कहा है कि वे जल्दी से जल्दी अपने भाषण की समीक्षा करें। समीक्षा में मैं श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री को पास कर दूँगा। उसको देख कर वे उत्तर दे सकते हैं।

Shri Tyagi: Sir, I may be allowed half a minute. I would like to say this:

.. ..

Mr. Speaker: Order order. I do not want any fun and frolic like this. This portion will be deleted; it would not appear in the records. This is not a matter for mere frolic here. I allowed the hon. Member to speak, but what is the meaning of this?

Shri Tyagi: I have just got it translated so that he could follow me.

Mr. Speaker: It is very wrong. It will not form part of the proceedings.

Shri Tyagi: May I say it in English?

Mr. Speaker: I would request him to withdraw those remarks with an apology to this House.

Shri Tyagi: I apologise to you without any reservation. You are quite right and I think your ruling is quite right. But my submission is, if I want to reply or to appreciate, I must have some substance of his speech.

Mr. Speaker: I have said it in the manner in which I know Hindi. The same question was put to me by Shri Prakash Vir Shastri. He is the hon. Member who has moved the resolution and he says he has got the right to reply. It is only when Shri Tyagi has a turn to speak that he need answer. Otherwise, he would not be in the same position as Shri Prakash Vir Shastri who has got the right to reply. I told him, I will pass an extract in English of the speech delivered by Shri Sampath and if Shri Prakash Vir Shastri is not able to follow English fully, I shall even give a translation in Hindi. Shri Sampath has undertaken to give a summary of his speech to me. In view of that, Shri Tyagi has absolutely no point.

Shri Achar (Mangalore): We are feeling the same difficulty when a Hindi speech is going on. Either there

must be a simultaneous translation or some substance should be given to us. I have felt it for the last four years. We are not able to follow what are called Hindi speeches, but which are really Urdu speeches. I have taken objection to that.

Mr. Speaker: He need not bring in a controversy between Urdu and Hindi. Hindi is the official language, but I know hon. Members from West Bengal, Madras and Orissa are not able to follow and comprehend the speeches in Hindi. But Hindi is the official language. Therefore, I have been taking steps to instal simultaneous translation in this House as early as possible. I have talked to the hon. Finance Minister. He said he will have a talk with the Prime Minister. I am also negotiating with the companies to instal it as quickly as possible. I shall try to do so, God willing, before the next term starts.

Shri Thanu Pillai (Tirunelveli): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this resolution coming before the House possibly with the intention of unifying the country with one script for all languages, I am sorry to say, will produce a contrary effect. It has produced a contrary effect. My friend, Shri Sampath, treated this House to a very good speech in Tamil which unfortunately many hon. Members would not have understood, because they do not know Tamil; they would not have understood the force of his arguments. But his intention has been perhaps to take this opportunity just to make the others feel how we would feel when we do not know the language. That has been the effect of his speech here.

I would have understood it if a Member does not know English and he speaks in Tamil. But Shri Sampath knows English; nevertheless he thought it fit to speak in Tamil. Simply for the reason that he was agitated perhaps. As he pointed out, Hindi which was accepted by the Constitution, was

opposed in Madras, because there was an element of compulsion in it. That was a handle for some people to start an agitation of opposition. An organisation lives in the name of that opposition and grows only through that. The right policies of our Prime Minister and the moderation which has set in in recent times has alleviated that wound considerably. But now this introduction of one script for all languages will give a plan for the people to agitate in the south; instead of calling it Hindi imperialism, they are going to call it Nagari imperialism. I would beg of hon. Members to see whether we should give opportunity for such agitations in this country when we are already beset with linguistic divisions and the consequential linguistic fanaticism that has grown in this country. Every day we hear from the States in free India, which is considered to be one country, complaints that people are not safe and secure, there is the problem of majority and minority communities. Having that background in mind, can we, as responsible Members of Parliament, endorse this Resolution? Whatever might be the intention of the hon. Member, can it be practically applied today in the present day conditions of India?

The difficulty for a Member is not to learn a language so much as to learn a new script. I would suggest—in fact, I have already suggested it in a committee—that if you want Hindi to be brought in much quicker, the easier method is to publish Hindi books in all the scripts of India. Thereby, the spoken Hindi will go in this country, people will understand each other a little better than what they do today and, in the process, a little more of Hindi will be learnt. Ultimately, if they learn the Nagari script and the Nagari script takes root and becomes a common script as an inevitable consequence of some step, it is a different matter. But to tell the people of this country, when we have

got 14 languages and 14 different scripts, to adopt the Devanagari script as the only script is not fair. Here I may say that in our neighbouring country, Ceylon, there is a great crisis developing and racial and linguistic disturbances are going on, although they have got only two languages in that country. We have, on the other hand, got 14 languages. We have not allowed the issue to reach such a stage because of our policy.

If the language is the spirit, the script is the flesh and blood. If you analyse the scripts of India, you will find that Tamil script has the minimum letters and an easy-flowing style, which is not available in the north Indian languages, which have got the Devanagari script or some derivative of the Devanagari script. Tamil and Malayalam have got a particular type of script which is not akin to Nagari. Then, we have got so many volumes in *olai leaves* (palm leaves) and many books. Do you think you are going to destroy the whole thing and switch over to another script? It will result in a lot of heart-burning. Why create doubt, suspicion and apprehension in the minds of the people that you are trying to take away something which they cherish?

In our approach to the language problem we should be rather more careful than even in other matters. Matters of development here or there, matters of priorities here or there, would not affect people so much as the language problem. The language problem will affect the village people and will go into the root of the country, everywhere. It is easy to excite the people through some approaches and everybody is resorting to the communal approach, caste approach and the linguistic approach, because everybody knows this is the only easiest approach for them to agitate, and to agitate the minds of the people.

You might be wondering why the people of Tamil Nad take great ex-

[Shri Thanu Pillai]

ception to this question of Hindi, which is not seen in any other part of the country. Even in the South Indian languages, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada have got a large content of Sanskrit; Tamil has got the least content of it, and that too by association and impact and not by derivation. Now, as a counter-action to the forces which are trying to introduce or impose Hindi, the people in Tamil Nad, the *pandits* there, they are trying to remove even the few Sanskrit words which are there and revive in their place old Tamil words which would have been there or coin new Tamil words which may be unintelligible even to them. Here is the spirit of retaliation, the spirit of opposition created by some wrong policies somewhere, whoever may be responsible for it. We may think that it is not the Minister who is doing it, but whatever is done in Parliament and is reported, has got a reflection on the people and they react to it. So, should we from here act in a manner which will have a bad reaction is another problem.

Shri Vinobhaji was in the South and said manythings about Tamil. "I am proud of my language. My people will do anything to retain it and will face any consequences not to lose it, not because we are fanatics but because it is our ancient language which our great men have developed and passed on to us." This is what Venobhaji said in Tinneveli in a public meeting. "There are some languages which are ancient like Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, but not modern and current. There are languages that are current like English, but they are not as ancient as Sanskrit or Latin or Greek." He complimented the people of Tamil and who have got a language as ancient as Sanskrit or any other foreign language, and as current and modern as modern English. He complimented us and said, "You have got a message, a responsibility, a duty by the country. A people who have continued to retain

the currency of a language for thousands and thousands of years have got something in them which they should be proud of, should retain and make use of. You have got a message and duty by the country."

An Hon. Member: We are not on the question of language but on the question of a script.

Shri Thanu Pillai: I told you that we are as much concerned about the script as about the language. What is a man without the body? The script is the body and the language is the soul. Let him understand it.

Then, I would submit another thing. Some new type of printing was being resorted to. They wanted to make some minor changes in Tamil letters. One or two papers adopted it, but many have not adopted it. They refused to adopt it. When they are not willing to have minor changes in the Tamil script itself, to go and tell them that you will have to adopt a common language for all purposes.....

Pandit K. C. Sharma (Hapur): Common script.

Shri Thanu Pillai: If somebody would teach me Hindi in the Tamil script, I would be able to pick it up. It will be easy. But to ask me to learn a script is a most difficult thing. Over the question of script, there is yet another school which wants to have the Roman script for Hindi. Roman Script Urdu is the language which is being used in the military. I hope it is being continued. But there are various views and opinions on this question. Let us not add to the complication which is already existing in the country by an approach the seriousness of which has not been well understood.

I only submit that it is not a timely placed resolution. Till Nagari takes root as a common script, the wise thing is not to press for it or ask for it. Wait for the day when Hindi will become the common language of India. If in the process of that unification of

Hindi in Nagari script people acquire knowledge of the Nagari script and adopt it, we are not going to have any objection. But, otherwise, it will create complications. I request hon. Members that this resolution should be negated.

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think the intention of the hon. Member for moving this resolution is quite laudable. But as has been pointed out by most of the hon. Members, it is a most inopportune resolution at this time. Considering the temper and feeling in the different States in the country, I think the best thing that he can do now is to withdraw the resolution; otherwise, it will surely be defeated. I expect that he does not want his resolution to be defeated.

That is from the point of view of the present feeling in the country, but apart from that there is some other consideration also. I think if common script is ever to be devised by India, that should be a script which is scientifically suitable for modern mechanical use. The Nagari script is not quite good for that. Some of the vowel signs go above the line and some hang down below just like a tail. That is the difficulty for the Bengali script also. It is not peculiar to the Nagari script.

Mr. Speaker: The point is simple. Anyhow Devanagari script is there for Hindi which is the official language. Hindi in Devanagari script is provided for in the Constitution. Therefore we need not go into the question whether the Devanagari script is suitable or not suitable. The only point to consider is whether other languages also must be in that script or not.

Shri A. C. Guha: If they have to change their prevalent script and adopted a particular new script, they must see that that script is suitable for the present day mechanical use.

Mr. Speaker: Devanagari script has come to stay. It is the script used for

Hindi under the Constitution. We cannot escape it.

Shri A. C. Guha: The Constitution has undergone eight changes and eight amendments. I think it may undergo many more amendments in the near future. There should not be any difficulty about that.

Mr. Speaker: The only point is whether other scripts should remain or not.

Shri A. C. Guha: Anyhow, I am not one of those who believe that there is any sanctity attached to a particular provision of the Constitution—it may be changed—or any sanctity attached to any particular type of script. The script also may change. After all, what is the Devanagari script? has it not changed through centuries and through ages? It has started from the Kharoshti and Brahmi script and through the ages, it has been changing.

Mr. Speaker: There is no such thing before the House. All that I wanted to say was that there was no resolution that even for Hindi Devanagari script should be abandoned. There is no such resolution. The Constitution stands as it is, and, therefore, the only question is whether when once we learn Devanagari script for Hindi language which is the official language of the Union, it would not be feasible to have one script, or whether we should have so many scripts. That is the simple point.

Shri Thanu Pillai said that there was some sanctity attached to the script, that the script was the very body of a language, that there was sentiment about it and so on.

Shri A. C. Guha: There is sentiment, but not sanctity. But the script has been changing. There is only sentiment; there is some difference between sentiment and sanctity.

Moreover, if ever there is any move in the direction of reforming or evolu-

[Shri A. C. Guha]

ing a common script, then we should also think of some other countries outside India, because the Indian alphabet is in use also in Ceylon, in Burma, in Nepal, in Tibet, in Siam, in Cambodia and in Pakistan also. We should have to take in that case the example of the present Latin script. Only three or four decades ago, the German language was written in the Gothic script, but they have themselves adopted the Latin or Roman script, and it is now written in the Latin or Roman script or whatever you may like to call it. So, when we make a common effort to evolve a scientific script, we must also see that the other States in India and the other linguistic groups and also our neighbouring countries which use the Indian alphabet—it may be that their scripts are different, but I think they use the Indian alphabet—also become participants in evolving a common script for all those languages which use the Indian alphabet.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee stated the other day:

"I know very well that the Nagari script is, phonetically speaking, very nearly perfect and it is most scientifically constructed.....

I think he must have meant the Indian alphabet. I admit that that is phonetically perfect, but the script has nothing to do with any phonetics. I think from the point of view of phonetics, the Indian alphabet is quite perfect, more perfect than any other alphabet in the world, but from the point of view of script, I think that the Indian script is somewhat defective, particularly for the modern-day-use. So, if a common effort is to be made, we should make a common effort to evolve a script which may be acceptable to all the language groups; and the initiative should come from the other language groups rather than from the Hindi language group.

Mr. Speaker: How long does the hon. Minister want to speak?

Shri Datar: About half an hour.

Mr. Speaker: We have allowed only one hour more for this.

Shri A. C. Guha: I shall conclude in two or three minutes.

Another point that I should like to say in this respect is about the Bengali language. The Bengali script is used, and the Bengali literature is in use also in East Bengal, in Pakistan. We would not surely like that our language should be bifurcated into two divisions because of this script difficulty. Surely, Bengal would not like one script for the West Bengal and another script for East Bengal.

So, the hon. Mover should consider all these things and appreciate the difficulties in evolving a common script at the present moment, particularly at this moment, when in India, language has become a factor of disintegration and disunity instead of being, as it ought to be, a factor for unification and integration. So, I would humbly request the Hindi enthusiasts to go slow in this matter. If they try to force the pace, the progress will rather be retarded and there will be more disintegration and more disunity among the different language groups.

Considering all these points of view, I hope the hon. Mover will withdraw this Resolution and leave it to the better sense of the nation. I expect some day the nation will realise the utility of having a common script scientifically adapted to and suitable for modern mechanical use for which the script is meant.

श्री सिंहासन सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने है, उस पर अपने विचार प्रकट करते हुए माननीय सदस्य, श्री सम्पत, अपनी भाषा में बोले और इस पर हाउस में कुछ आवाज उठीं। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा विचार है—और आपने भी सही राय दी है—कि जो माननीय सदस्य यहां पर अपनी भाषा में बोलना चाहें, उनको

ऐसा करने का मौका मिलना चाहिए । जब हम में से कुछ माननीय सदस्य हिन्दी में बोलते हैं, तो दक्षिण के भाई हिन्दी अच्छी तरह न जानने पर भी उसको समझने का प्रयत्न करते हैं । इसी प्रकार यदि यहां पर दक्षिणी भाषाओं में भाषण सुनने का हम लोगों को मौका मिलेगा, तो हम उसको समझने का प्रयत्न करेंगे और फिर उनको सीखने और पढ़ने की रुचि भी पैदा होगी । सदन में यह दूसरा या तीसरा अवसर है कि माननीय सदस्यों ने दक्षिणी भाषाओं में अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं ।

Shri Sampath: May I know what the hon. Member wants to say regarding me?

Mr. Speaker: He need not know.

Shri Narasimhan (Krishnagiri): He is supporting the hon. Member.

Shri Sinhasan Singh: I welcome his speech, but not the spirit of it.

मैंने कोई आपत्ति नहीं की, मैंने बेलकम किया है, स्वागत किया है ।

अगर माननीय सदस्य की भाषा को देवनागरी स्क्रिप्ट में लिख दिया जाता, तो यह तो ठीक है कि हम उसको समझ न पाते, लेकिन उसको पढ़ अवश्य लेते । इस सम्बन्ध में मैं एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ । मैं एक दफा वर्षा में गया था । वहां पर जर्मनी का एक लीडर आया हुआ था, जो आंध्र हो गया था और पढ़ नहीं सकता था । उसको रोमन स्क्रिप्ट में कुछ पढ़ने को दिया गया, जिसकी भाषा तो जर्मन थी, लेकिन लिखा हुआ रोमन स्क्रिप्ट में था । मैं ने उसको कहा कि मैं आपकी हेल्प कर सकता हूँ । मेरे शब्दों का उच्चारण ठीक न रहा होगा, लेकिन फिर भी मैं उसको पढ़ पाया और इस तरह उसकी मदद कर सका एक कामन स्क्रिप्ट होने के कारण ।

मैं अधिक न कह कर शास्त्री जी से यह कहूंगा कि अभी इस प्रस्ताव को लाने का समय नहीं आया था । देवनागरी स्क्रिप्ट में हिन्दी को राष्ट्र की भाषा माना जा चुका है । हिन्दी का प्रचार हो रहा है । पन्द्रह वर्षों में हिन्दी राजभाषा होने वाली थी, लेकिन वह अवधि अब आगे बढ़ गई है फिर भी हिन्दी का प्रचार धीरे धीरे हो रहा है । मैं अपने दक्षिण और उत्तर के भाइयों से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज अंग्रेजी में दक्षिण वाले हमको हराते हैं, लेकिन एक दिन आयेगा कि हिन्दी में भी हमको वे हरायेंगे । दक्षिण के भाई साहित्यिक हिन्दी पढ़ते हैं, जब कि उत्तर भारत के हिन्दी-भाषी लोग हिन्दी नहीं पढ़ते हैं । वे कहते हैं कि यह तो हमारा मातृभाषा है, इसको क्या पढ़ना है ? इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि लेखन में दम बरभ बाद हम उनकी समता नहीं कर सकेंगे ।

श्री थानू पिल्ले ने जो कहा है, मैं उसको मानता हूँ । इसमें हमको घबराना नहीं है । हिन्दी क्या समय स्वतः ही सारे देश की भाषा बन जायेगी । मैं शास्त्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वह हिन्दी के बारे में सत्रिय काम करें और प्रचार के सम्बन्ध में घबरायें नहीं, वह धीरे धीरे बढ़ेगा ।

पंजाब का हिन्दी आन्दोलन हिन्दी के लिये स्वतन्त्रताक मित्र हुआ । दक्षिण में हिन्दी के प्रति विरोध न होता, अगर पंजाब में हिन्दी आन्दोलन शुरू न होता । पंजाब में हिन्दी और गुरुमुखी का झगड़ा हो रहा है, लेकिन वहां के लोग न हिन्दी का प्रयोग करते हैं और न गुरुमुखी का, बल्कि वहां के दोनों बर्ग उर्दू का प्रयोग करते हैं और झगड़ा करते हैं हिन्दी और गुरुमुखी के बारे में । आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि वे हिन्दी और गुरुमुखी दोनों पढ़ें ।

[श्री सिंहासन सिंह]

भारत की जितनी भाषायें हैं, उनके अक्षर और उच्चारण लगभग एक ही हैं। तामिल डिफरेंट हो सकती है। अ, आ, इ, ई और क, ख, ग, घ एक ही हैं। जब दक्षिण वाले हिन्दी पढ़ने लगेंगे और कुल कारोबार हिन्दी में करने लगेंगे, तो गवर्नमेंट को इस विषय में कुछ लिखने पढ़ने की जरूरत नहीं रहेगी। हिन्दी स्वतः ही सारे देश की भाषा हो जायेगी। हम ने अंग्रेजी को प्रेम से नहीं अपनाया उस को इस लिये अपनाया कि अंग्रेजों ने उस को कोट लैंग्वेज बना दिया था। वैसे ही हिन्दी भी धीरे धीरे स्थान लेती जायेगी। शास्त्री जी ने जो मुझाव रखा है, उस में जल्दी नहीं करनी चाहिए। उस से दक्षिण में विरोध का भाव उत्पन्न होता है और वह हिन्दी के प्रचार में घातक होगा। हिन्दी का प्रचार करने वाले, हिन्दी के हितेषी, हम लांग, उन के ही अन्दर इतनी जोर के साथ भावना रखने दें कि वे स्वयं हिन्दी को अपनायें। "धर्मयुग" में मैं ने एक लेख पढ़ा। एक दक्षिण के भाई थे वे हिन्दी के बड़े विरोधी थे। उन के यहां उत्तर प्रदेश के एक भाई मिलने वाले गये। उस समय दक्षिण के भाई घर में बाहर थे। उन के घर में एक हिन्दी का शिक्षक लड़के को हिन्दी पढ़ा रहा था। जब वे लौट कर आये तो उस भाई ने पूछा कि आप तो हिन्दी के इतने विरोधी हैं और उस के विरुद्ध प्रचार करते हैं, परन्तु घर पर आप ने लड़के को पढ़ाने के लिये हिन्दी का शिक्षक रक्खा है। उस मद्रासी भाई ने जवाब दिया कि मैं हिन्दी का विरोधी हूँ, चूंकि नेता हूँ। लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि हिन्दी का भविष्य भारत में उज्ज्वल है इस लिये पिता होने के नाते पुत्र को हिन्दी पढ़ाता हूँ। तो अन्धे पिता होने के नाते पुत्र को हिन्दी पढ़ाता हूँ और लाडल होने के नाते हिन्दा का विरोधी हूँ। आज ऐसी धारणा हो रही है। इस लिये मैं श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री से अनुरोध करूंगा कि

वे अपनी लीडरी को कुछ कम करें दूसरी तरफ लीडरी न पंदा होने दें हिन्दा के विरोध में, ताकि हिन्दा आप में आप प्रचलित हो सके और देव नागरी लिपि हो जाने में हमें कोई दिक्कत न हो सके।

Shri Khadilkar: I would have very much liked to speak in my own mother tongue, that is Marathi. But, as I said, when my hon. friend Shri Sampath started speaking in Tamil, I felt that perhaps this problem of language is likely to bedevil the unity of our country, and my stand is because of this and not because of any enmity or ill-will towards a regional language, of which I am equally proud. Because, after all, we think very easily in our own language. That is accepted. But still, when we sit in this august House, I felt that we are here to take decisions on national problems, and when we make a contribution towards arriving at a decision it is our duty to make ourselves more intelligible to other fellow Members of the House. With this little explanation in order to avoid any misunderstanding, I would turn to the subject under discussion.

I feel that we will have to work out for a common script for India. Now the question is whether we should accept Devanagari, because it is a script of my language. If we look at the evolution of Devanagari, even the German scholars in a school where linguistics is taught and research is carried on, namely the Deccan Research Institute at Poona, have reached the conclusion that from the scientific point of view the only script which is really well evolved and which satisfies all the requirements of a good spoken and written language is the Devanagari script. This is their opinion.

Shri A. C. Guha: Does the Hon. Members mean the Devanagari script or the Indian alphabet?

Shri Khadilkar: The script and alphabet both. And they have reached

this conclusion after centuries of study. They started this linguistic study very early. They translated our Vedic literature into German, and while looking at the evolution of script and language they have reached this conclusion.

But unfortunately the question today is this. The regional languages are coming up with the emergence of the linguistic States, and a certain identity between a language and a State, a certain patriotism around it, a penumbra of all these feelings round about this idea is there. Therefore we will have to proceed very slowly in this matter. But certain positive steps must be taken.

My main complaint is this. A certain note has been attached to the Hindi Commission's report. If we study that we will find how in the Soviet Union they tried to fit in all the regional languages and cultures within a particular culture and a language which is dominating in the Soviet Union, that is Russian. In India, unfortunately, neither the Government nor the Hindi protagonists have made such a constructive effort. That is my complaint.

I will give you one instance. About a couple of years back, a book of selected poems from all the languages was printed in the Devanagari script. It is a wonderful book. I purchased it and tried to understand it. Even the Tamil poetry, I must confess. I could grasp the meaning except a few words. Let the people in the South also understand that after all they have got to realise that if we are to strengthen the unity and commonness of culture, of course, preserving the diversity and separateness, a certain attempt, without any prejudice, must be made at evolving a common script.

I would like to point out that in China there was what was called the *chitra lipi*, pictorial script. (*Interruption*). Now, they have changed that and a supreme effort is being made to adopt the Roman script because

they want to keep up with the advance in science and other things in the world. When we are thinking in terms of making rapid progress, why should we in India lag in this field of language? Why not the Home Ministry take positive steps—just like the publication of the poems from the various languages which I mentioned?

For instance, when I travel from Maharashtra to the south I find the station boards. If, instead of writing the name of the station in Tamil or Kannada or any other language, if you use the Devnagari script, what harm is there? I will easily understand it and know what station it is. The patriotism of the man is safe when I pronounce the name of the station properly. It does not change the character of the station; it is equally Kannada or Tamil or whatever it may be. Therefore, I would humbly submit that the purpose of the Resolution, as I understand it, is to direct the attention of the House and the country to the evolution of a common script in order to strengthen the unity.

My hon. friend just now narrated a story to show that there is a political projection in the language controversy. It was clear from what he said that a man who is equally eager to teach Hindi to his child is not prepared to accept Hindi on the platform because he is likely to lose his leadership. So, fanaticism should be shed from the side of the Hindi protagonists and a certain amount of prejudice equally from the other side. If you are allowing political considerations to prevail in the matter of the development of a common script and a common language in this country, then, I am afraid I will have to refer to that book again. As Mr. Harrison in his *Dangerous Decades* has pointed out, this will be a potential danger to our unity as well as to our freedom. This must be clearly understood.

Therefore, I will appeal to all others. I am equally proud because ours is a sort of area where we have

[Shri Khadilkar]
got certain Dravidian influences on our language and culture as well as Aryan influences. So far as Maharashtra *sanskriti* is concerned, I can say without fear of contradiction that there is a lot of Kannada influence on Marathi literature and language as well as Tamil influence, and also Telugu influence. We see this from the common words that are used.

In our free India if we can act and interact and influence each other, we would like to assimilate our neighbour's thoughts. Today the barrier is script. There is a barrier. Why not remove it? Why not at least make an effort at removing it by accepting a common script which is Devanagari? 17 hours.

One word more, Sir and I have finished. The other day, Shri Mukerjee suggested why not accept Roman script? For the purpose of scientific terminology and world development and other things, Roman script would be all right. We are moving towards one world. But at the present level of development in this country, we should not make this effort, instead of accepting Devanagari script which is a very common script, with some little changes and adjustments as had been suggested by Acharya Kaka Kalelkar. If Bengali and a section of the Dravidian languages adopt this, I am certain that sooner or later, they will be in a position to shed the prejudice and they will share the new creative upsurge because we are sharing all the cultures and by sharing those in the different languages we will be trying to assimilate them and enrich our own culture and our own language. This process will start and a day will come when we will have a common script and a common language, as we all desire. With these few observations, I support the spirit of the Resolution but not the Resolution itself.

Some Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: I am afraid that inspite of the extention of time by one hour, I must call the hon. Minister immediately. Then the hon. Mover has got a right of reply. I will call

only one hon. Member from the Opposition. (Interruptions.) Shri Awasthi and thereafter the hon. Member there.

श्री जगदीश अश्वथी (बिल्हौर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री ने जो प्रस्ताव सदन ने सामने प्रस्तुत किया है उसके सम्बन्ध में इस सदन में एक गलतफहमी पैदा हो गयी है। कुछ दक्षिण के भाइयों को ऐसा लगा है कि देवनागरी लिपि के सम्बन्ध में जो प्रस्ताव है उसका सम्बन्ध हिन्दी भाषा से विशेष रूप से है। लेकिन वास्तविकता यह है कि शास्त्री जी का प्रस्ताव तो केवल इतना है कि देश में एक समान वातावरण पैदा करने के लिए और एकता पदा करने के लिए देश की सभी भाषाओं की एक सामान्य लिपि हो और वह लिपि नागरी हो। लेकिन इसका यह अर्थ कदापि नहीं है कि अन्य लिपियां समाप्त कर दी जायें। उनका विचार यह है और मैं उनसे इसमें पूरी तरह सहमत हूँ कि नागरी लिपि के समूचे देश के लिए एक सामान्य लिपि होने से देश को एकता मजबूत होगी।

जहां तक देवनागरी लिपि का सम्बन्ध है मैं समझता हूँ कि न केवल इस देश के मसत भाषाकारों ने बल्कि विश्व के जितने भी भाषाकार हैं और जो भाषा के विशेषज्ञ हैं उन्होंने आज से बहुत वर्ष पहले इस बात को सिद्ध कर दिया है कि देवनागरी लिपि अन्य सब लिपियों की अपेक्षा अधिक वैज्ञानिक है और अधिक सरल है। इसमें कोई विवाद का प्रश्न नहीं है। वास्तविकता यह है कि जब से यह देश आजाद हुआ तब से जैसा कि हमारे श्री सिंहासन सिंह ने कहा था और ठीक ही कहा था कि भाषा और लिपि का प्रश्न जटिल नहीं है लेकिन अपने राजनैतिक स्वार्थों और विशेष स्वार्थों के कारण उसको जटिल बना दिया गया है। जब कभी सदन में इस प्रकार की कोई चर्चा होती है तो फिर यह उत्तर भारत और दक्षिण भारत का सवाल इसमें जोड़ दिया जाता है। लेकिन वास्तविकता यह है कि लिपि का मामला ऐसा होता है, देवनागरी लिपि का जहां तक सम्बन्ध है उसमें कभी किसी

को आपत्ति हो ही नहीं सकती । मैं समझता हूँ कि आज सबसे बड़ा झगड़ा यदि कोई है तो वह हिन्दी और देवनागरी लिपि या दूसरी प्रांतीय भाषाओं और लिपियों का नहीं है बल्कि वास्तविक झगड़ा तो इस देश के अंदर विदेशी भाषा अंग्रेजी और रोमन लिपि से है । श्री सिंहासन सिंह ने ठीक ही कहा है कि इस देश के अंदर भाषा का प्रश्न इसीलिए मौजूद है क्योंकि नेता लोग उसको बनाये रखना चाहते हैं । इस देश के अंदर सबसे बड़ी भाषा के झगड़े की जिम्मेदारी यह सरकार है जो कि आज तक अंग्रेजी और रोमन लिपि को अपने गले में आभूषण बना कर पहने हुए है और जब तक यह सरकार अंग्रेजी भाषा और रोमन लिपि रूपी आभूषण अपने गले से उतार कर नहीं फेंकेगी तब तक इस देश के अंदर हिन्दी भाषा या अन्य देशी भाषाएँ और देवनागरी लिपि तथा अन्य लिपियाँ उप्रतिशाल नहीं हो सकतीं । वास्तविकता तो यह है कि देवनागरी लिपि का संस्कृत, बंगला, मराठी और दक्षिण की कुछ भाषाओं से बहुत ही सम्बन्ध है । अगर यह देवनागरी लिपि को सब के लिए एक सामान्य माध्यम लिपि स्वीकार कर लिया जाय तो इसका सबसे बड़ा लाभ यह होगा कि आज दक्षिण भारत की वह भाषाएँ जिन्होंने कि उत्तर भारत के लोग समझ नहीं पा रहे हैं, समझने लग जायेंगे । अगर नागरी लिपि में उनका प्रकाशन प्रारम्भ हो जाय, उनका साहित्य प्रकाशन प्रारम्भ हो जाय तो आज उत्तर भारत में दक्षिण, भाषियों के प्रति जो थोड़ी सी गलतफहमी है वह दूर हो जायेगी । इसी के साथ साथ हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में और दूसरी बातों के सम्बन्ध में जो दक्षिण में गलतफहमी है वह भी दूर हो जायेगी । मैं समझता हूँ कि दृग देवनागरी को समान रूप से एक सामान्य लिपि स्वीकार करने में देश की एकता तो बढ़ेगी ही परन्तु सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि आज भाषाओं में जो थोड़ा सा विरोध पैदा हो गया है, एक कृत्रिम विरोध उनमें परस्पर बढ़ा जा रहा है वह भी मट्ट हो जायगा । मैं समझता हूँ कि शास्त्री जी का

प्रस्ताव सर्वथा दोषरहित है और उसको स्वीकार किया जाना चाहिए ।

अब देवनागरी लिपि में इतनी विशेषता है कि मैं निवेदन हूँ कि राज्य सभा के सदस्य श्री सत्याचरण शास्त्री पानी के जहाज से जर्मनी से कहीं जा रहे थे । वह जर्मन भाषा नहीं जानते थे । उसी जहाज में उनके साथ एक जर्मन मित्र बैठे हुए थे । उन्होंने शास्त्री जी से पूछा कि आपकी नागरी लिपि की क्या विशेषता है तो शास्त्री जी ने उन्हें बतलाया कि इसकी विशेषता यह है कि हालांकि मैं जर्मन भाषा बिल्कुल नहीं जानता हूँ लेकिन आप जर्मनी में बोलिये और मैं उसको अपनी नागरी लिपि में लिख लूंगा । वह जर्मन मित्र जर्मन भाषा में बोले और शास्त्री जी नागरी लिपि में उसको लिखते गये और बाद में शास्त्री जी ने उसे पढ़ कर मुना दिया और जर्मन मित्र को ऐसा मालूम पड़ा मानो शास्त्री जी जर्मन भाषा जानते हैं । इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दी और नागरी लिपि को ले कर कुछ हमारे दक्षिण के भाइयों में जो गलतफहमी फैल रही है वह दूर होनी चाहिये और नागरी लिपि को सब देशी भाषाओं के लिये एक सामान्य लिपि स्वीकार करने में देर न की जाये ।

श्री शंकर देव (गुलबर्गा-रक्षित-ग्रन्थ-मूचित जातियाँ) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस प्रस्ताव के प्रस्तावक श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री की इस के पीछे जो स्पष्ट है उस का मैं बहुत आदर करता हूँ । मेरी भाषा कर्नाटकी है और हिन्दी के प्रति मेरे मन में कितना प्रेम और आदर है उस से अधिक अपनी मातृ भाषा के प्रति मेरे दिल में प्रेम है । लेकिन इस के बावजूद मैं यह कहे बगैर नहीं रह सकता कि हिन्दी की एक ऐसी भाषा है जिस को कि प्रत्येक भारतीय को स्वीकार करना चाहिये और अपनाता चाहिये ।

हिन्दी भाषा और जो उस की नागरी लिपि है वह तमाम संस्कृत है, संस्कृत ही उस का मूल श्रोत है । अब संस्कृत का जहाँ तक सम्बन्ध है मैं समझता हूँ कि इस देश के अन्दर बायद ही

[श्री शंकर देव]

कोई ऐसा व्यक्ति मिलेगा जो कि संस्कृत को अपनी भाषा मानने से इंकार करेगा और उसे आदर की दृष्टि से न देखता हो। इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि देवनागरी लिपि संस्कृत लिपि ही है और हर एक भाषा भाषी को चाहिये कि वह उसे सहर्ष स्वीकार करे।

नागरी को एक सामान्य लिपि के रूप में स्वीकार करने से बहुत सुविधायें होने वाली हैं। आप के टाइपराइटर्स में, छपाई में इन सब में बड़ी सुविधा हो जायेगी। यह सब सुविधायें तो हो जायेंगी लेकिन एक चीज जो इस के अन्दर यह कहा गया है कि देवनागरी लिपि को अगर हम सामान्य लिपि स्वीकार करते हैं तो हम एक दूसरे के अधिक से अधिक निकट आयेगे लेकिन ज्योंहि यह प्रस्ताव यहां पर रक्वा गया हम ने इस हाउस के अन्दर ऐसा रिऐक्शन देखा, ऐसी प्रतिक्रिया देखी, कि सब लोग हिन्दी और देवनागरी के विरोध में बोलने लगे और हम ने देखा कि एक माननीय सदस्य जो हमेशा आज के पहले इस सदन में अंग्रेजी में बोला करते थे उन्होने अपनी मातृ-भाषा में बोलने का राइट स्टार्ट किया और उस को हमें मंजूर करना पड़ा। इस प्रस्ताव को अगर आप स्वीकार करेंगे तो उस का परिणाम यही होगा और मुमकिन है कि देवनागरी लिपि का सब भाषाओं के लिये सामान्य माध्यम तो स्वीकार होना दूर रहा हिन्दी भाषा का भी नेशनल लैंग्वेज बनना मुश्किल हो जायेगा। इस लिये मैं इसके अन्दर एक प्रैक्टिकल प्रोजेक्शन देना चाहता हूं और वह यह है कि शास्त्री जी अपने उत्तर के अन्दर यह चीज कर दें और अपने प्रस्ताव में यह तबदीली कर दें कि देवनागरी लिपि को सारी भाषाओं की एक सामान्य लिपि न बना कर यह कर दें कि उत्तर भारत के निवासियों को जिन की हिन्दी भाषा उन्न भाषा है उन के वास्ते दक्षिणी भाषाओं में से कोई एक भाषा पढ़ना कम्पलसरी कर दिया जाये। शास्त्री जी अगर

इस तरह का प्रस्ताव लायें तो वे समस्त लोगों और प्रांतों को निकट लाने में समर्थ हो सकेंगे। उन को एकता लाने के लिये इस तरह का रेजोल्यूशन लाना चाहिये था। आज तक जितने भी लोगों ने राष्ट्रपति से लगा कर प्राइम मिनिस्टर और जितने भी लोगों ने इन के बारे में कहा है वह उन्होंने ने केवल अपील ही की है कि उत्तर भारत के निवासियों को दक्षिण भारत की कोई न कोई भाषा सीखनी चाहिये। अब अपील से कुछ नहीं बनता है। यह उन की मर्जी पर छोड़ दिया गया है कि वे चाहे तो कोई दक्षिणी भाषा सीखें अथवा न सीखें। मेरा कहना है कि यह चीज कम्पलसरी कर दी जाये और शास्त्री जी अगर देश में एकता चाहते हैं तो उन्हें इस के लिये प्रस्ताव लाना चाहिये। उत्तर भारत के निवासियों को दक्षिण भारत की भाषाओं को प्रेमपूर्वक सीखना चाहिये। शास्त्री जी के रेजोल्यूशन में जो संकेत है वैसे कदम उठाने के लिये अभी उचित समय नहीं है। अभी ऐसा करने से देश का वातावरण बिगड़ जायेगा। अभी हाल में मद्रास और केरल के अन्दर चुनाव होने वाले हैं और इसलिये आप को इस बारे में सावधानी से काम लेना होगा अन्यथा दक्षिण भारत के लोगों पर इस का बड़ा असर पड़ेगा। इस रेजोल्यूशन का रिऐक्शन यह होगा कि अब जब कि हिन्दी के बारे में पन्द्रह वर्ष की अवधि का बढ़ा दिया गया है, हिन्दी के लोग लिपि के नाम से इन डायरेक्टली हम पर हिन्दी लादना चाहते हैं। मैं यह स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां तक शास्त्री जी के प्रस्ताव का सम्बन्ध है, मैं उस की स्पिरिट का आदर करता हूं। यह स्पिरिट उन की ही नहीं, सारे देश की स्पिरिट है। संस्कृत की भाषा, लिपि कल्चर और साहित्य का दक्षिण का हर एक व्यक्ति आदर करता है। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर इस के बजाय यह रेजोल्यूशन लाया जाता कि हिन्दी भाषा बोलने वालों को दक्षिणी भाषाओं में से

किसी न किसी एक भाषा को सीखना चाहिये और उस को कम्पलसरी कर देना चाहिये, तो अच्छा होता। ऐसे रेजोल्यूशन से हमारा देश एक होता और बहुत सुन्दर साइकालोजिकल प्रभाव पड़ता।

अन्त में मैं उन से अपील करता हूँ कि वह इस रेजोल्यूशन को जल्दी से जल्दी विद्वद्धा कर लें, क्योंकि इस का रीएक्शन ज्यादा होता जा रहा है।

Mr. Speaker: Shri Datar:

Shri Achar rose—

Mr. Speaker: There may be some other occasion for Shri Achar.

Shri Achar: Not an opportunity to speak as such. I wanted to have a say on this subject.

Mr. Speaker: I agree. Shri Datar.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Datar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, if any indication was necessary to show that this resolution was rather inopportune at this time, it has been fully afforded by the speeches of a number of hon. Members from various parts of the country like the south, the west, to a certain extent the north, namely, Punjab and the east, namely, from West Bengal. In such cases we ought to consider the question as dispassionately as possible with a view to see what would promote the highest interests of the country as a whole. It is for these purposes that I have placed before myself for elucidation three points which we have to discuss with a view to see what ought to be the policy not only of the Government of India but of the country as a whole.

The first question to which I shall address myself is as to whether in principle or in spirit, as the hon. Member, Shri Kharilkar said, there

is anything objectionable about the purposes of this resolution. So far as the hon. Member, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri, is concerned, he stated that there had been a move for having a common script in India for the last 50 years at least, and he contended that just as we have accepted Hindi as the official language for the Union along with English for the time being, just as we have accepted the Devanagari script therefor, we can go a step further and introduce the next reform by having a common script not only for Hindi but for all the regional languages as such.

In this connection, so far as this particular principle or the object of this resolution is concerned, there is nothing to which we can take an exception, because, in spite of all that has been happening, in spite of what you might call the indications of a spirit of disruptiveness that is seen here and there, India is one in culture; India is one in a number of subjects, taking into consideration the south, the west and other parts of India. I was trying to find out what were the views that were expressed in this respect by two Commissions which had recently the occasion to consider this question; one was the Official Language Commission and the other to a smaller extent, the Sanskrit Commission. In the Official Language Commission, this question was considered at great length. After considering the other aspects of the question, they applied themselves to the question of standardisation of Indian scripts. They pointed out how there was a basic unity underlying all the extant Indian scripts. They pointed out the historical aspect of the matter and they stated that at one time or other, there were three scripts in the whole of India. One was the Brahmi script. They have further pointed out that this Brahmi script is at the base of all the languages in India, including the southern languages as well as

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northern languages. I am quoting from the report:

"However that may be, two scripts are known to have existed in the ancient India, the Brahmi and the Kharosti, the latter probably confined to the North Western regions of the sub-continent. There is a third script originating from Vatteluthu believed to have originated in South India and claimed by some scholars to be a very ancient script developed independently of the above two. Almost all the modern scripts of India are derived directly from the Brahmi script."

In this connection, a chart has been attached to this report where all the modern languages including Sanskrit have been noted. The alphabets have been dealt with and the authors of this report have clearly pointed out that the southern and northern languages also had a common script, namely, the Brahmi script once upon a time and subsequently it was varied to meet local conditions. That was how Brahmi script had a unifying force.

Dealing with the question of Devanagari, they have pointed out that in respect of certain languages, which were called the daughter languages of Sanskrit by the Prime Minister on one occasion, there were certain scripts which are more or less closely allied to each other. For example, you will find that for Sanskrit and Hindi we have got the same Devanagari script. As Shri Khadilkar rightly pointed out, in Marathi also the same Devanagari script is used. Gujarati script is almost the same except that there is absence of the upper line which is called *Sirorekha*. Bengali and other scripts also can with certain variations be brought nearer to the mother language or the sister languages. They suggested, as a first step let us try to have all the daughter languages of Sanskrit or the sister languages in the south and the west

brought together with a view to evolve a common script because there are a number of similarities, if not identities, so far as these are concerned. To find out that, long ago from 1904 onwards, very great attempts were made by the people from the south, by the leaders from the north and the south for having what they called *Ek Lipi Prachar*, i.e. propaganda for having one script. In this respect they have mentioned particularly the names of two great persons, one Bengali Judge and the other a South Indian Judge. They have pointed out that Justice Shradacharan Mitra from Bengal and Mr. Justice Krishna Swami Iyer from Madras held a conference, which is of historical interest. After considering the different languages, after taking into account the various dialects and scripts, Mr. Justice Krishna Swami Iyer pointed out that at that time, in 1910 there were 20 scripts in the land and there were as many as 147 languages spoken in the country. Now, perhaps, the present number is also likely to be slightly more, because the dialects have been coming into their own. Konkini has now got a consciousness about itself and we have got certain other tribal dialects which are trying to come into their own. Tulu is also there. Thus, you will find that even as early as 1910 there was an organised attempt. And before this Lok Manya Tilak was the first leader of all India importance in the field of politics, who took up this question and stated that the time has to come when we should develop a common script.

May I point out here by way of parenthesis that Gandhiji was not only a political leader but was a leader of vision, was a leader of great political and social division, and he pointed out that Hindi ought to be the language, the Devanagari ought to be the common script; but it should be said to his credit that he stated that so long as there was a desire, we might use the other scripts also. That is how Gandhiji approached this

question and even in one of his articles he has stated that Devnagari was the common script and it should be considered as an essential script. This is ultimately what was the observation of the Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. He stated:

"This question is not even an academic one in India today. The first step left for us seems to me the adoption of a common script for the daughter languages of Sanskrit—Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Gujerati. As it is, their scripts have a common origin and do not differ greatly and it should not be difficult to strike a common mean. That would bring these four sister languages much nearer to each other."

So, after what has been pointed out by me up till now about the history of the whole question, the question that has to be considered was as to whether the Devanagari script should be imposed upon the nation.

That takes me to the next question. The next question is whether we can have a common script and under such circumstances, if there is no imposition at all, if there is at least a feeling of imposition, as we have seen here. Therefore, they suggested that a beginning should be made in due course at a proper time, of making the Devanagari script optional for use for the writing of the other Indian languages besides the Union language. That is what they pointed out, and very prophetically also they dealt with the misunderstanding that was likely to be created if Devanagari script was forced or imposed, even indirectly, upon the nation. This is what they said in conclusion:

"We would, therefore abjure any forms of action savouring of compulsion in this behalf and advocate merely the use of the Devanagari script for the writing of the regional languages at the option of the writer."

This is what they have stated not on behalf of the administration even. Because, the administration would come in after there has been a fairly good effect by the propaganda made in this respect.

In this connection, my hon. friend, Shri Musafir pointed out the other day how at one time he was in favour of Devanagari as a common script for all the regional languages and how he feels after a lapse of certain years that certain difficulties have arisen. He pointed out that he had occasion to change or revise his opinion, but ultimately he promised that a time might come when we might rise above all these feelings of what can be called, misunderstandings and bitternesses also.

That was given expression to in this report also. Sir Teja Singh's opinion has been quoted, namely,—

"The change in script is a very vital change for any language with a rich past, for the script is the most intimate part of its literature."

May I here add, as you pointed out, that the script is like a body to the soul or like skin to the body itself? Therefore you cannot change the script at your own wish without affecting the feelings of the people there. All these things have to be done only gradually.

Then they made a reference to the misunderstanding that was likely to be aroused in case even an indirect attempt at imposition of the script was made. They say here—

"...to avoid any misunderstanding that this is a first step towards the elimination of languages like Urdu and Punjabi..."

He was dealing with Urdu and Punjabi in the Punjab; but here we have got the same case and two hon Members, if I mistake not, have pointed

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out that. They saw in this resolution a motive which, I am quite sure, the hon. Member, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri, did not have that this is only a thin end of the wedge and that ultimately the scripts of all the regional languages should disappear and there ought to be a common script. This is the opinion that we have so far as the Official Language Commission is concerned. They have pointed out that we ought to move with great caution.

So far as the scripts are concerned, whatever might be the propriety, the accuracy, or whatever it is, we ought to understand that there is a lot of sentiment behind them and when the sentiment is there we ought to be extremely careful. That is the reason why I have pointed out here all these circumstances in the first instance. Though the object behind this resolution or the spirit of this resolution is commendable and perhaps when all the din and the dust of controversy has died down a time might come, not from Government level—please understand that it has to come from below from the people themselves and, as Shri Musafir pointed out and I agree with him, it ought to come from the non-Hindi members of the Indian nation so that there can be no fear or suspicion that any attempt is made for evolving a common script in the sense of obliterating other scripts—this has to be fully kept in view, in particular when we have such opposition from the Punjab State in the North.

There also we have a fine script which is known as Gurmukhi namely the script of the great Gurus of Punjab and other areas. There is a sacredness of that expression Gurmukhi. In the south we have got the great and ancient Tamil language which can be considered only as a sister language of Sanskrit. May I add for the information of the hon. Members of this House that there was a two-way traffic. Sanskrit took a lot from Tamil and Tamil has also taken a lot from Sanskrit. Only the

other day a philologist told me that the word Dravida in Sanskrit was derived from the word Tamil in the Tamil language. Tamil became Damil and passing through various stages it became Davida and then Dravida. Dravida in Sanskrit has come from the word Tamil in the Tamil language.

There are a number of such words.

There is the Kittel's Dictionary in Kannada where it is pointed out that it is not that only Sanskrit has fed these languages, but in turn the South Indian languages have also fed Sanskrit. With some changes those words have been evolved in Sanskrit. Therefore, when there is an opposition from the Punjab, and when there is an opposition from the southern most State, Tamilnad or Madras, we ought to be extremely careful.

In this connection, may I point out what the Sanskrit Commission stated? The Sanskrit Commission dealt naturally with the question of Sanskrit language and literature. They also indirectly dealt with the question of the script for Sanskrit language which was, as we generally think, the Devanagari script. It is true that in most of the northern areas, Sanskrit is written in the Devanagari script. But I may point out to hon. Members here that even the Sanskrit literature, even the Vedas and other things have been written in the South Indian scripts? In my own State, you will find that Sanskrit writings are in the Kannada script. They are also in the Telugu script and also in the Tamil script, and also in the Malayalam script in Kerala. That shows that naturally those people were giving the largest measure of importance to taking Sanskrit but to facilitate the understanding of the great literature in Sanskrit, they had it through their own script. This fact was fully taken into account by the authors of the Sanskrit Commission's report and they stated that what we wanted was the spread or the rejuvenation in a way of the Sanskrit language and literature, and we were not so keen as to have a compulsion in respect of the script to be used even

for the Sanskrit language, I shall read out their sentence from the report in this respect. They said:

"For this reason, and considering also the fact that scripts other than Devnagari have been serving the Cause of Sanskrit to the fullest extent, the Commission is of opinion that while the knowledge of the Devnagari script should be made universal as the pan-Indian script for Sanskrit, the employment of the local script as the potent aid in the dissemination of Sanskrit should be continued."

So, we have got two reports. Those two reports naturally lay the greatest stress on what might be called the policy of caution in this respect. Nothing should be done, especially when we are working in a democratic set-up, to give room even to a suspicion of the imposition of any script. Unfortunately, there are certain movements, perhaps, with a political motive, which are carried on with a view to divide our great and ancient country into certain compartments. In fact, in spite of the apparent dissimilarities or variations here and there, may I point in all humility that India is one, and all these varieties through the various languages and scripts only promote the essential similarity if not the identity of Indian culture?

After dealing with the first question, I have also incidentally dealt with the second question as to whether, assuming for the sake of argument that we accept this resolution, it will or will not be an imposition by itself, or it will or will not promote a feeling of suspicion that there is an imposition. The hon. Member should have made it clear, while speaking the other day, that he had no desire to have the other scripts obliterated or extinguished or destroyed. They would remain so long as they are. But I agree with one hon. friend who suggested that perhaps in the fullness of time, when the whole position is ripe and when the matter is taken up at non-official

levels, perhaps, the adoption of a common script along with the maintenance of the preservation of the other scripts till such time as the people desire, or if necessary, for all time to come, may facilitate the understanding of the various languages and the ideas in those languages by us.

In this connection, may I make a reference to the great step that the Sahitya Akadami has taken in this respect? My hon. friend, Shri Khadli-
 kar, alluded to a similar idea. If for example, as he stated, the writings are through this common script, whichever it might be, Devnagari or the reformed Devnagari, as the Official Language Commission have put it, it would be easy for others also to understand the great ideas in those languages. It has been my experience when I went to Bengal or to the Tamil country that just after a few hours of continuous hearing of Bengali or Tamil, I could follow the language and follow what they were saying, though it was in Bengali or Tamil. If, for example, the great writings in all these languages were to be published through a common script, through the Devnagari script as it is at present, it would be more easy for us, the southerners, northerners, easterners and westerners to know what is contained in the other languages.

There are two things which ought to be noted in this connection. One is that India's culture and way of approach is common to all the languages, whichever it might be. You might go to Kanyakumari or you might go to the Himalayas; you have got the same current of cultural life. That culture has become the composite culture when we derived certain sustaining influences from languages like Urdu and others. Thus, if for example, it is possible to have a common script like Devnagari understandable by all, it would be easier to transmit ideas. While transmitting ideas, what will happen is that we shall shed misunderstandings.

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As you, Sir, pointed out, Tamil is a great and ancient language and it has one of the finest literatures, religious and otherwise. Even in the non-religious field, we have an ancient work on polity and on social subjects which evokes the admiration even of the present people in the other areas. Thus if an attempt is made to see that we carry this not from Government downwards but from the people upwards, if we can carry it in the field of education and in other fields, it would bring good results. I was very happy when the hon. Member pointed out that even though on political grounds sometimes we do something with a certain ulterior motive, we really take to Hindi because ultimately Hindi has a place in the future of our great nation.

Shri Sampath: Question.

Shri Datar: Let us be understanding; let us not offend the feelings of any people. Then I am confident that the non-Hindi-speaking people themselves will come forward and say that a time has come when in the larger interests of India and for the greater dissemination of knowledge, it will be better to have a common script.

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): May I know if the hon. Minister is supporting the Resolution?

Shri Datar: I am, therefore, pointing out that it would not be proper in present circumstances, whatever the object might be of the Mover of the Resolution, to give support to it as it is. Let it come from the people themselves, and in due course with the goodwill of all the people concerned, in the north and the south, perhaps it might be possible to evolve a script by certain changes and other things, after all this misunderstanding has completely disappeared.

Before I conclude, may I refer to one or two statements of the Prime Minister?

He was speaking about the Roman script and other things, and he said:

"Its success in Turkey and Central Asia had impressed me, and the obvious arguments in its favour were weighty. But even so I was not convinced, and even if I had been convinced, I knew well that it did not stand the faintest chance of being adopted in present-day India. There would be the most violent opposition to it from all groups, nationalist, religious, Hindu, Muslim, old and new."

Then he stated so far as script is concerned:

"But this question is not even an academic one in India today. The next step in script reform for us seems to me the adoption of a common script for the daughter languages".

—please understand how cautiously he move—

"of Sanskrit—Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati. As it is, their scripts have a common origin and do not differ greatly, and it should not be difficult to strike a common mean. This would bring these four great sister languages much nearer to each other."

May I point out to you that the scripts of Kannada and Telugu are very near each other? In fact, with some variation here and there, if we evolve a common script for the Kannada and Telugu languages, then it would be a great step towards having a common script with the good wishes of all the people like the one that the Prime Minister has pointed out.

Under these circumstances, in view of the fact that the underlying motive is above broad, I would request my hon. friend not to press this resolution, so that when the time comes it may take some years, and it may require

some educative effort also on a perfectly persuasive basis—then the objective that he has in view might be better accomplished than by pressing this resolution at this time when it will lead to very great friction and great misunderstanding.

Mr. Speaker: What Shri Sampath said was that in 1938, when the Congress Ministry was in office in Madras, Rajaji himself, according to him, made Hindi a compulsory language in all schools; and it was then that the movement for a separate Dravida State was started. Since then no attempts have been made to reconcile this and every attempt that is being made is to strengthen that opinion that there is a kind of an Hindi imperialism sought to be imposed upon them. And he thinks that the attempt to have a common script, which is the script for Hindi, is another such attempt to force one common script and elbow out the other languages in this country. He is proud of his language and his script and therefore thinks that far from strengthening the forces of unity, this is a disintegrating one. Therefore he says that it is not proper and there is no good pressing it.

Shri Datar: May I say one word by way of reply to this, because I did not know what he said? So far as this is concerned, the Congress Governments formed in 1937 in the States did not use an imposition at all as he states. In fact the extent to which they introduced it, if I mistake not, was that in the secondary stage they had it, and it had a very good and salutary effect. With due deference to my hon. friend Shri Sampath may I point out that there are more Hindi-knowing boys and girls and people in the South than what he imagines? And it has brought the South and the North together, and if we carry on in this way it will bring us still more together.

Shri Sampath: The hon. Minister must also know that due to our agitation it was withdrawn subsequently.

They had introduced compulsory Hindi at the High School stage in all the High Schools in the State, and it was subsequently withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker: Very well. Shri Prakash Vir Shastri.

Shri Tyagi: Shri Sampath knows English.

Mr. Speaker: He knows some English (*Interruption*).

Shri Datar: My friend Shri Narasimhan points out that teaching was compulsory without any examination.

Shri Narasimhan: And Shri Gopala Reddi was in the Cabinet.

Mr. Speaker: There was an agitation and people were sent to jail. Shri Prakash Vir Shastri.

श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित करने के पश्चात् इस सदन में जो भाषण हुए हैं, उन में तीन प्रकार की सम्मतियां व्यक्त की गई हैं। एक: सदस्य वे थे, जिन्होंने इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन किया और इस प्रस्ताव के सम्बन्ध में अपनी सम्मति अनुकूल व्यक्त की। दूसरे कुछ सदस्य इस प्रकार के थे, जिन्होंने यह कहा कि यह प्रस्ताव ठीक है, इस के पीछे भावना भी ठीक है, परन्तु उस के लिये अभी समय उपयुक्त नहीं है। तीसरे प्रकार के सदस्य वे थे, जिन्होंने अपने विचारों को प्रकट करते हुए यह कहा कि इस प्रकार से सब भाषाओं के लिये एक सामान्य लिपि स्वीकार करने में उन की असहमति है। जहां तक पहले बन्धुओं का सम्बन्ध है, जिन्होंने इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन और स्वागत किया, मैं उन का धन्यवाद करता हूँ। जिन सदस्यों ने यह कहा कि बात बिल्कुल ठीक है, लेकिन समय अभी उपयुक्त नहीं है, उन को भी मैं हृदय से धन्यवाद देता हूँ। परन्तु उन बन्धुओं को भी, जिन्होंने

[श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री]

ने इस प्रस्ताव से अपनी असहमति व्यक्त की, मैं धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ, इसलिये कि उन्होंने ने देश के सामने एक प्रश्न-वाचक चिन्ह उपस्थित किया है कि भाषा और लिपि के सम्बन्ध में हम और थोड़ा गहराई में जायें और इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ अनुकूल वातावरण तैयार करने के लिये हम निर्णय लें ।

जहां तक श्री सम्पत के विचारों, जिन की व्याख्या अध्यक्ष ने सुनाई, और श्री धानू पिल्ले के इस मत का प्रश्न है कि हर एक भाषा के साथ उस की अपनी लिपि होती है, उस के साथ कुछ आत्मीयता होती है, जिस के कारण कोई अपनी लिपि को छोड़ना नहीं चाहता, मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर व मेरे प्रस्ताव की भाषा को पढ़ लेते, तो उन को इस का विरोध करने की आवश्यकता न होती । मेरे प्रस्ताव में यह लिखा है कि भारत की प्रादेशिक भाषाओं को एक दूसरे के निकट लाने के लिये एक सामान्य लिपि के रूप में देवनागरी को स्वीकार किया जाय । मैं ने अपने शब्दों की व्याख्या करते हुए बड़े विस्तार के साथ कहा था कि मेरा यह अभिप्राय कदापि कदापि नहीं है कि जिन भाषाओं की अपनी लिपियां हों, उन को समाप्त कर के उन के स्थान पर देवनागरी लिपि को स्थापित किया जाय । उन की वह लिपि सुरक्षित रहनी चाहिये, क्योंकि उस का अध्ययन करने वाला एक बहुत बड़ा वर्ग है और उस के पीछे एक इतिहास है । मेरा अभिप्राय तो यह है कि भारतवर्ष की जितनी भाषायें हैं, उन में उन का अपना साहित्य है, विचार-धारा है, परम्परा है, लेकिन वे छोटे छोटे क्षेत्रों में जो सिमट कर रह गई हैं, वे वहां से निकलें । कर्नाटक के साहित्य और परम्पराओं को बंगाल वाले जानें । बंगाल की परम्पराओं और इतिहास को तामिलनाडु वाले जानें ।

तामिलनाडु के इतिहास और साहित्य को मालाबार वाले जानें । इन तमाम बातों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए मैंने कहा था कि इन भाषाओं की एक सामान्य लिपि होनी चाहिये । एक प्रान्त के व्यक्तियों को दूसरे प्रान्त के साहित्य को पढ़ने में एक सामान्य लिपि बहुत सहायक होगी ।

मेरे मित्र, श्री शंकर देव ने, जो कर्नाटक के हैं, कहा कि आप अगर इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित करते समय यह कहते कि प्रत्येक उत्तर भारतीय के लिये दक्षिण भारतीय भाषाओं में से एक भाषा को पढ़ना आवश्यक होगा, तो अच्छा होता । मैं अपने मित्र के विचारों का स्वागत करता हूँ, बल्कि मैं तो उस से भी दो पग आगे जा कर कहना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे प्रस्ताव में तो यही भाव है कि वह कहते हैं कि दक्षिण भारत की एक भाषा को पढ़ना आवश्यक हो, किन्तु मैं कहता हूँ कि दक्षिण की सब भाषाओं को उत्तर भारत के लोग सीखें । लेकिन उन के मार्ग में लिपि की कठिनाई होती है, जिस से हर एक आदमी विदक जाता है । यदि लिपि की वह दीवार बीच में से हट जाये, तो हर एक व्यक्ति को दूसरे की भाषा सीखने में सुगमता होगी । मुझे ज्ञात है कि सभी भारतीय भाषाओं की अपनी अपनी महान् परम्परा है, साहित्य है, इतिहास है । मैं जानता हूँ कि तमिल, मराठी, बंगाली, तेलुगू आदि भाषाओं के पास बहुत बड़ा साहित्य का भंडार है, किन्तु इन भंडारों से दूसरे लोग अपरिचित हैं । केवल उन्हीं क्षेत्रों के लोग उन से परिचित न रहें, इसलिये मैं ने चाहा था कि उन के बीच में स्थित लिपि की भित्ति को हटा दिया जाये ।

अभी जब मेरे मित्र, श्री धानू पिल्ले, इस प्रस्ताव पर बोल रहे थे, तो आप ने कहा था कि यह प्रश्न भाषा का नहीं है, लिपि का है । मुझे थोड़ा कष्ट हुआ कि ऐसे भी कुछ छोटे हृदय के व्यक्ति हैं जिन के

मन में भाषा की भाड़ में जो राजनैतिक गुबार भरा हुआ है, उन्होंने उस को लिपि जैसे साधारण प्रश्न पर निकालना चाहा। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि भाषा के सम्बन्ध में मेरा कदापि कोई अभिप्राय यहाँ नया विवाद खेड़ने का नहीं है। मैं पवित्रता के साथ कहता हूँ कि संविधान में जिन भाषाओं को मान्यता मिली हुई है, उन सब की अभिवृद्धि हो। पर उनको एक-दूसरे के निकट लाने के लिये ही मैंने यह प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया था।

यह भी कहा गया है कि लिपि के बदल जाने से भाषा की आत्मा समाप्त हो जायगी। मैं नहीं समझता कि तुर्की भाषा जो रोमन लिपि में लिखी जाती है, तो उसकी आत्मा कहाँ समाप्त हो गई, कैसे उसकी स्प्रिट खत्म हो गई। इंडोनेशिया की भाषा अगर रोमन लिपि में लिखी जाती है तो क्या इंडोनेशिया की भाषा की आत्मा समाप्त हो गई ?

भाषा के साथ उसका अपना गौरवपूर्ण साहित्य होता है, हर भाषा का अपना इतिहास होता है, लेकिन लिपि के परिवर्तन से, जिसमें कि दूसरों को भी अन्य भाषाओं की जानकारी मिले, वह भाषा अपनी परम्परा और आत्मा को समाप्त कर बैठगी, इस प्रकार की बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती।

हां, एक बात मैं अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ, वह यह कि पिछली बार जब इस सदन में यह प्रस्ताव के ऊपर चर्चा हुई थी तो उस चर्चा में कई माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि यह बात सही है, लेकिन इसके लिये देवनागरी लिपि ही हो, इसकी आवश्यकता क्या है ? मैं थोड़ा सा समय लेकर अपनी बात को शीघ्र समाप्त कर दूंगा। सब इस बात को भला प्रकार समझ सकें इसके लिये मैं कुछ उदाहरण रखना चाहूंगा।

मैं मलायालम भाषा से बिस्कुल परिचित नहीं। लेकिन मेरे हाथ में "देव नागर"

नाम की पुस्तिका है और यह संसद की हिन्दी परिषद् की ओर से प्रकाशित होती है जिसमें भारत की सभी भाषाओं को देवनागरी लिपि में लिखा जाता है। मलायालम के एक बहुत अच्छे कवि हुए हैं वल्लतोल। वल्लतोल की कविता को देव नागरी में लिखा गया है तब मैं देखता हूँ कि उस भाषा को मैं कितनी सुगमता से पढ़ सकता हूँ। वल्लतोल कहते हैं :

"निरुद्ध चैतन्यमपौरुषात्तल्ल
 चुरुण्टु कूटोल्ल मगम्यंर वीण्टुं
 गु प्रदत्ताक्षर विघ्ननेटि
 तिरुतणं नो विधि दुविलेखं ।"

अब यह वल्लतोल की भाषा है, लेकिन देवनागरी लिपि में लिखी होने की वजह से आप देखें कि यह कितनी अधिक संस्कृत के निकट है। इस कविता का अर्थ यह है :

"मेरे भाइयो, फिर से हम निरुद्ध चैतन्य न बनें, अपने अपौरुष में न डूब जायें। गुरुजनों द्वारा दी जाने वाली विद्या को सीख कर दुर्विधि के लिख हुए लेख को सुधारें।"

इसी प्रकार से उड़ीसा में जो भाषा बोली जाती है उसको उड़िया कहते हैं। हमारे सदन के माननीय सदस्य श्री सुरेन्द्र महन्ती हैं, उन्होंने उड़िया भाषा में एक यात्रा लेख लिखा है। भले ही वह उड़िया भाषा में हो लेकिन मैं देवनागरी में उसे बड़ी सुगमता से पढ़ सकता हूँ। उन्होंने अपनी येन यात्रा का वर्णन करते हुए लिखा है :

"अस्वस्ति कर, विरक्ति कर, उत्पीड़क यात्रा । दिल्ली मेल र गोटिए संकीर्णं प्रथम श्रेणी कम्पाटमेंट । गति र बेग रे । कर्षटा केते बेले नाषु बिला, केते बेले दोहनुबिला, प्राउ केते बेले वा चक बिला । ऊपर

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

अर्थ रे मारवाड़ी भद्रलोक यात्री
निद रे घुंघड़ि मारिलेणि प्रा :
पु: लुहा धारणा ऊपरे चुडा
र चक्र घषि होइ सृष्टि करिछि
यात्रा र संगीत अनात्
अनात्, अन् ।”

अब यह उड़िया भाषा है लेकिन देवनागरी में लिखी होने के कारण मैं इसका अभिप्राय समझ नेता हूं। इस तरह से उड़िया भाषा भी संस्कृत के कितने निकट हो गई है। इसी प्रकार से और भारतीय भाषायें हैं जिनके साहित्य संस्कृत के निकट हैं। पंजाबी भी उसमें है, तेलगू है। मुझे एक जगह ग्रान्ध में जाने का अवसर मिला। मुझे पानी पीने की आवश्यकता थी। मैंने मोचा कि जब यह मेरी भाषा नहीं समझते तो मैं उनकी भाषा को क्यों न सीख लूं। मैंने ग्रान्ध प्रान्त के लोगों से कहा। उन्होंने कहा कि आप दो एक वाक्य याद कर लीजिये।

“सल्लटि मञ्चि नीरू कावाले”

मैंने उसको याद किया। लेकिन फिर जब मैंने उस वाक्य पर ध्यान दिया तो मुझे पता लगा कि यह भाषा भी कितनी निकट है संस्कृत के।

सल्लटि का अर्थ है शीतल, मञ्चि का अर्थ है मंजु और नीर का अर्थ है नीर। अब आप इनकी तुलना संस्कृत से कीजिये। मैंने इस अभिप्राय को लेकर इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित किया है कि भारतीय भाषाओं में जितना सामीप्य हो उतना ही अच्छा है। लिपि यदि एक हो जाय तो वह बीच की दीवार हट जायेगी और वह हमारे हाथों में देश की एकता को सुरक्षित रखेगी क्योंकि भाषावार प्रान्त बनने से देश की अखंडता जब खंडित होती चली जा रही है तब मेरा यह प्रस्ताव देश की एकता को पुष्ट करेगा।

अन्त में मैं अपनी बात को इन शब्दों के साथ समाप्त करूंगा। जिस राजभाषा कमिशन ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में बहुत से उद्धरण दिये और जिसने बड़े चिन्तन के पश्चात् वर्षों के, देश की राजभाषा के सम्बन्ध में अपना निर्णय लिया, उस राजभाषा कमिशन ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में लिपि के सम्बन्ध में लिखा है कि तिलक महाराज की सम्मति क्या थी, गान्धी जी की सम्मति क्या थी। पंडित नेहरू की सम्मति क्या है, राष्ट्रपति जी की सम्मति क्या है, और उन सब सम्मतियों को देते हुए अपनी सिफारिश में लिखा है :

“इन सब बातों पर विचार करने के बाद हम संवीय भाषा के अतिरिक्त अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं को वैकल्पिक रूप से देवनागरी में लिखे जाने की सिफारिश करते हैं।”

यह राजभाषा कमिशन की अपनी रिपोर्ट है, जिन्होंने बड़े चिन्तन के बाद अपनी सम्मति दी है। तो मेरा अपना अभिप्राय यह है, जैसा कि हमारे गृह मंत्री जी ने कहा, अभी इसके लिये समय उपयुक्त नहीं है, मैं भी नहीं चाहता कि अपना प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करके कोई इस प्रकार का विवाद देश में उत्पन्न करे जिसका प्रभाव देश की अखंडता पर जाकर पड़े। अगर इसके लिये अभी समय नहीं आया है, तो मैं सन्तुष्ट हूँ इस बात से कि मेरा यह प्रस्ताव, यदि आज नहीं तो २५ वर्ष पश्चात् या ५० वर्ष पश्चात् जब देश की अखंडता पर विचार किया जायेगा तब यह सारी संसद की कार्रवाई इस मामले में एक कड़ी का कार्य करेगी कि संसद में भी कभी इस प्रकार का गम्भीर विचार हुआ था, लेकिन चूंकि वह समय उपयुक्त नहीं था, लोगों के दिलों में राजनैतिक विष भरा हुआ था, इसलिये राष्ट्र की एकता की को मजबूत करने के लिये, इस प्रस्ताव क

Devanagari As Common Script for All Regional Languages

उस समय स्वीकार नहीं किया जा सका । लेकिन गृह कां. मंत्री ने मेरी भावना और प्रस्ताव के अभिमत का स्वागत किया है इसलिये मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ, और इस प्रस्ताव को लेकर देश में कोई विवाद उत्पन्न न हो जाय इसलिये मैं उस को वापस लेता हूँ ।

Mr. Speaker: There are two amendments moved by Shri N. R. Muniswamy. The amendments will have to be disposed of before the Resolution can be withdrawn. The hon. Member who moved the amendments is not here. I shall put them to the vote of the House: The question is:

"For the original Resolution, substitute—

"This House is of opinion that Devnagari script be adopted for all regional languages in order to bring them closer to each other provided that approval is given by all the State Legislatures without exception."

"For the original Resolution, substitute—

"This House is of opinion that Devnagari script be adopted as a common script for all the regional languages except Tamil, provided that State Legislatures agree to this by their respective Legislations."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: Now, I take it that the hon. Member who moved the original Resolution has the leave of the House to withdraw his Resolution

The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.

RESOLUTION RE: NATIONALISATION OF COAL MINES

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Basirhat): Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House is of opinion that all the coal mines in private sector be nationalised."

Sir, as you know, this is a matter which has been agitated over for a long time, and from the time of the First Five Year Plan this matter has been considered on various occasions. Now that we are just on the eve of the Third Five Year Plan, it is time again for us to raise this matter, because the arguments that were put forward earlier both by those who opposed this proposal as well as the hon. Minister were that it was not a practicable proposition.

17.57 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

The question of practicability has been raised earlier by various committees also. Though they agreed that nationalisation was the only solution for many of the ills which persisted in the industry, they felt that it was a question of practicability. The Coalfields Committee had said that it should not be taken up within ten years. That Committee had said that during that period of ten years their recommendation about the question of rationalisation of coal industry should be implemented. Ten years from 1947 have passed, and many things like the question of amalgamation, the question of safety, the question of conservation etc., which are of utmost importance for the coal industry of our country, have not yielded satisfactory results. We have passed one or two laws also like the Conservation Law and the Acquisition Law with regard to coalfields or coal-bearing areas. But, as the Minister himself has admitted the pace has not been fast enough and the ends that we had hoped for have not been achieved. Therefore, it is necessary that we should take it up again, now that we are on the eve of the Third Five Year Plan.