

one table would be found and persons would also be found to sit around the table. That may be done within three months or six months. But then you say that. If you say that, then we will carry this to them and they will wait for six months.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: I have nothing more to add. I will only reiterate that the sentiments and feelings expressed by the hon. Members here will be conveyed to the Prime Minister. I again reiterate that what the Prime Minister has said certainly holds good. I again request Shri Chitta Basu, my good friend not to divide the House on this emotional issue.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Having regard to the sentiments, the Government's policy announced, the Prime Minister's assurance, I do not like to press my Bill for vote. I hope that the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and the Home Minister will convey to the Prime Minister that, in deference to her assurance, I am not pressing this for vote. Remember it that there is a big movement outside, and this assurance will assuage their feelings and create conditions for strengthening the national unity and integrity of our country.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Daga's amendment...

SHRI MOOL CHAND DAGA: I want to withdraw my amendment.

Amendment No. 1 was, by leave withdrawn.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

"That leave be granted to Shri Chitta Basu to withdraw his Bill."

The motion was adopted.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Sir, I withdraw the Bill.

17.34 hrs.

CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL . . .

(Amendment of Eighth Schedule)
by DR. KARAN SINGH

DR. KARAN SINGH (Udhampur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in every great civilisation, language has been looked upon as a divine gift, the *Shabda Brahma* or the divine word. In all the great classics of the civilization that humanity has produced over the last 10,000 years, you will find a special place given to language, because, it is language that has distinguished ultimately our species from the millions of other species that inhabit this world. Man developed as man because of the development of language and the whole magnificent edifice of civilisation that we have seen over the last 10,000 years owes its origin and existence to the development of language. It is, therefore, that language touches something very deep within the human psyche. It is not simply a question of wanting a vote here as my good friend, Shri Moolchand Daga very uncharitably hinted. It is very much more than that, because a people who are deprived of the full utilisation of their language do suffer from some sense of grievance and from some sense of an unfair treatment.

In the development of the Indian civilisation many languages have played their role. The Indus Valley script has not yet been deciphered and when it is, I am sure we will find that the language used in Mohenjodaro and Harappa was also a great and noble language...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH): It is more akin to Tamil, your language, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir.

DR. KARAN SINGH: May be, it will turn out to closely resemble yours. *Deva-vani* Sanskrit is the base of many of the Indian languages. Tamil and other great languages have made their contribution towards building up the Indian civilisation.

Now, about Hindi, in particular, I will say a word.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपकी आज्ञा से अपने मित्र श्री मूलचन्द डागा से बड़ी विनम्र प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी के प्रचार करने का साभोग्य केवल इस देश में ही नहीं, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में भी मुझे मिला है। आपके स्मरण होगा द्वितीय विश्व हिन्दी सम्मेलन मारीशस में हुआ था, और उसमें भारतीय प्रतिनिधि मंडल की अध्यक्षता करने का साभोग्य मुझे प्राप्त हुआ और वहाँ हमने कुछ महत्वपूर्ण निश्चय और निर्णय किये जिससे हिन्दी को केवल भारत की भाषा ही नहीं बल्कि एक विश्व भाषा के रूप में हम आगे ले जायें।

मैं बड़े विनम्र रूप से डागा जी से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि हिन्दी के प्रचार और प्रसार में और डोगरी या नेपाली को अपना उचित स्थान देने में कोई प्रतिरोध और कोई विरोध नहीं होना चाहिए। यदि हमारे सदन में बहुत सारे सदस्य मराठी बोलते हैं और हिन्दी भी बोलते हैं या बहुत सारे सदस्य गुजराती बोलते हैं और हिन्दी भी बोलते हैं, तो क्या कारण है कि यदि हम नेपाली और डोगरी बोलें तो उसमें हिन्दी को किसी प्रकार की क्षति पहुँचेंगी? मेरा अनुरोध है कि यह दृष्टिकोण उचित नहीं है। हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा है, हम राष्ट्रभाषा के रूप में हिन्दी का आदर करते हैं, लेकिन हमारे भारतवासियों की जो मातृभाषा है, उसका एक अपना स्थान होता है।

The mother-tongue has a very special place in the life and cultural configuration of every individual. Therefore, it is that there are in India to-day two categories of citizens, and in this House also. One category are those who in this House can take their oath in their mother tongue and whose mother tongue is enshrined in this document which is not a small book but which represents the urges and aspirations

of crores and crores of Indian and which is the end product of one of the greatest national movements that the world has ever seen. In this document the majority of the Members of Parliament find their mother tongue. They can take their oath when they are elected in their mother tongue. But there is a minority of members in this House whose mother tongue does not find any place in this sacred document and who cannot take their oath in their mother tongue. My good friend, Shri Kochak, when he was elected, took oath in Kashmiri. My friends from Punjab can take their oath in Punjabi but when those of us who come from Dogri-speaking areas are elected, we are unable to take our oath in our mother tongue. The same thing applies to the Members of Parliament who are Nepali-speaking, whether it is from Shillong, whether it is from Sikkim and whether in the list of Rajya Sabha... (Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Dr. Saheb, I think you should confine your speech to Dogri. About Nepali hon. Members have already spoken.

DR. KARAN SINGH: Sir, I have some points with regard to Nepali because my Bill covers both. In the last Parliament we had made a list of about 10 or 12 people who were Nepali-speaking from Arunachal Pradesh and so on both in the Rajya Sabha as well as in the Lok Sabha. The Bill that I have introduced seeks to set right one of the anomalies, one of the injustices, that continue to exist in our Constitution. And therefore, I have clubbed Nepali and Dogri together. My good friend, Shri Venkatasubbaiah has pointed out that, maybe, my clubbing the Nepali language with Dogri language is out of certain domestic compulsion. Sir, I would not wholly deny that. But, I would respectfully point out that these languages have something in common which I would urge the hon. Members of this House to give careful consideration to.

Sir, they are both spoken by, I would say, roughly about two million people

each. I know that in the 1971 census there were roughly 1.3 million Nepali-speaking people and 1.3 million Dogri-speaking people—they are exactly the same. I think that over the ten years, there has been development and you will find that in 1980-81 census there will be about two million Dogri-speaking people and about two million Nepali-speaking people which, though not very large, when compared with massive Indians, none the less, is not an insubstantial figure. There are many nations in the United Nations whose population is less than two million. And here we have about two million Dogri-speaking Indian people and two million Nepali-speaking Indians.

My second point is that both these languages are recognised in some States as has been pointed out by Shri Chitta Basu and other hon. Members who spoke just now. Nepali is a recognised language in West Bengal; Nepali is the regional language in Sikkim and is also spoken in some other State. Similarly, in the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, Dogri is recognised. So, it is not as if these are languages which have not been already recognised to some extent. What we are saying is that the level of recognition now should be raised from the regional level to the national level. Both these languages have been recognised by the Sahitya Akademi as independent Modern Indian languages and a large number of works have been written—plays, proses, poetry and so on—in these languages. These are widely published. So, both have the rich tradition, the culture and both have the folk tradition. So, Sir, I would submit that both these languages are spoken by Indian citizens living in very sensitive border areas of this nation. Sir, as you know, the Himalayas are the great birth-place of Indian Culture. Maha Kavi Kalidasa, in his first Sloka of *Kumara Sambhava*, you will recall, says:

नस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि दवेतात्वा, हिमालयो नम
नराधिपतयः ।
पूर्ववरी तापेनिधी उक्ताह्य, स्थितिः पृथिव्या
इव मानदण्डः । ।

This great Himalaya stands like a measuring rod of the worldspread. There are Dogri-speaking Indians and Nepali-speaking Indians who inhabit the Himalayas. We have the proud privilege. We have not come to-day. For centuries, we have laid down our lives for the integrity and unity of this nation. Whenever there is an aggression upon India, we are among the first people who bear the brunt of this aggression.

Certainly, the army is composed of all communities and it is a national army. But, we are proud of it. You take the Dogra regiment, you take the Jat regiment; you take the Gorkha regiment; you take the grenadiers. We are proud that we have given, perhaps, of them as Mr. Venkatasubbajah more percentages of them as Mr. Venkatasubaiyah rightly said. But, it is not a question of percentages. We have given our blood for this country we have given our blood so that the frontiers of India can reach right up to Central Asia.

Sir, I ask you: when the Indian Gorkhas and the Dogras' blood is shed in the service in the *suraksha* of this nation, can this great House not have sympathy, the understanding, to give their language recognition? Why is it that the Dogras just living in the border areas who are within the firing range of the Pakistani guns and why is it that the Nepalis who are living under the threat of foreign guns, should be treated as if they are second-class citizens in their own nation?

Sir, I am making a plea; I am not going into this problem of the language because there are other languages also; they are roughly 20, 22 or 23 major language that have developed from thousands and hundreds of dialects in India. But, Sir, these are two languages that have already reached a certain stage of development; they have been recognised by the Sahitya Aka-

[Dr. Karan Singh]

demi and they have also been recognised by the respective State Governments.

Sir, my plea is after all this is the tribune of the nation. This House of ours is the highest forum where even small minorities can represent their thoughts, aspirations and emotions. We want to knit this nation together in one great unit. Why should you allow people living in your sensitive areas have a sense of grievance that their language is not accepted. Sir, Bengali is spoken in Bangladesh. Tamil is spoken in Ceylon. It is recognised in Singapore.

Punjabi which is one of the Indian languages is spoken in Pakistan. There are Indian punjabis and Pakistan punjabis. There are Indian tamilians and these are Srilanka tamilians. That curious argument which was brought at one stage is no longer relevant. The Nepalis who are seeking recognition are full-fledged Indians and the Dogras who seek representation their language in this great document also are full-fledged citizens.

I will finally point out that some people say what is the advantage of having it in the Eighth Schedule. When it is, recognised by the State.

वही रहने दो, क्या लाभ है?

Let me say there are three major points. The first is the psychological and the emotional point. I do not want to go into emotionalism but I will respectfully submit that emotions and sentiments of Indian citizens when they are genuine, when they are deeply felt and when they do not conflict with any other interest should receive recognition. They should not be brushed aside even if there are 4 million people.

Secondly, Sir, I was incharge of the Ministry of Education for a short while and I know from personal experience that there are many schemes in the Education Ministry which are confined to the development of those languages recognised in the Eighth Schedule. Therefore, it is not as if the non-recognition of a language does not carry with it any disability. I would submit and my friend, Shri Venkatasubbaiah, can check with his colleague, the Minister of Education, that there

are in the Ministry of Education and Culture a large number of projects which are specifically laid down for development of languages in the Eighth Schedule. That means, Sir, the language or the mother tongue of 40 lakh Indians will not get the advantages that are laid down by the Union Ministry of Education.

Finally, Sir, we are developing towards a pluralistic system. The UPSC may start having examinations in various languages. Why is it that the Nepalis and the Dogras who play such an important role when it comes to recruitment in the Army are going to be deprived of the opportunity when it comes to recruitment in the public services. When the UPSC in its wisdom and this House in its wisdom decides that the regional languages are to be used as medium of examination does it mean the Dogras and the Indian Nepalis are going to be deprived of it. I am sure this great House has got a great heart also. It is not a question of getting personally elected or re-elected. As far as I am concerned all the languages are sacred to me whether it is Sanskrit, Hindi or Urdu or whether it is my mother-tongue Dogri or the mother tongue of my wife Nepali. All these language are sacred. There is no attempt to bring in polemics or party consideration. But I would like to point out that this is a real problem. I was very well impressed, if I may say so, by the tone and attitude with which Shri Venkatasubbaiah replied to the debate which was initiated on the Bill by my friend Shri Chitta Basu. I agree, a national consensus is required; I agree that the Prime Minister should take the initiative to call a round-table conference on this matter, to call the connected people. Let her have a dialogue with the various people and let her try and realise—I am sure she does—that this is not simply a demand made for any personal or partisan purpose but this is a genuine demand of many lakhs of Indian citizens, patriotic Indian citizens, who only want to play their full role in the development of this nation, this composite, multi-faceted, many-splendoured nation of

ours in which each community counts, howsoever small it may appear numerically. It is like magnificent tapestry where each colour adds its beauty. It is like a great garden where different flowers add their beauty to the totality of India. This is the vision of India that we have seen. It is in dedication to this vision of India that I would like to commend my Bill the acceptance of this hon. House. I beg to move:

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India be taken into consideration."

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Motion moved:

"That the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India be taken into consideration."

Shri Daga has an amendment.

SHRI MOOL CHAND DAGA (Pali): I move amendment No. 1 standing in my name. I beg to move:

"That the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by 31 October, 1980." (1).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Both the Motion and the amendment are before the House.

Now, Shri Satyagopal Misra.

*SATYAGOPAL MISRA (Tamluk): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, while extending my support in principle to the Bill which seeks to include Dogri and Nepali in the 8th Schedule of the constitution, I would like to say a few things. Sir, India today is comprised of many communities and we have to acknowledge the entity of each community when we think of our country. The existence of each community depends on its language, its culture and its literature. So, vital are these factors, that we cannot afford to miss any one of them. Whenever we think of the emotional and national unity of our country. We have to think it in the light of the concept of unity in diversity that the multiple communities of our country present and if we try to ignore the separate contributions that these com-

munities make towards the total unity of the country and the separate existence of each of these communities then it would amount to give credence to immaturity. It is very pertinent and important to consider how a man grows in his personal life. The most important factor that accounts for the development of a man is his language. It is through his own language that his intelligence develops, his thinking develops, his outlook develops and in fact his existence evolves and grows through it. But this growth and development is achieved best when one can speak and think in his own language and the moment any other language is imposed upon him it reiterates a barrier and retards and obstructs the smooth growth which otherwise could have been achieved if only he were allowed to speak his own language. There is another question that needs to be considered seriously. There are many linguistic minorities in our country and we have to consider it seriously whether it would be just and proper to impose the language of the linguistic majority on those who comprise, the linguistic minority. In my opinion, Sir, it would be a great calamity if we venture to do it in any form for this will seriously impair the national unity. Unfortunately some people prefer to think that there should be only a few recognised languages in our country and these should be imposed on others. Every language has to grow by its own right and it has to character a course of its own development. Not only Dogri and Nepali but there are other languages in our country which exist and are growing. We have to ensure that nothing is done that will create hinderance in their growth. We have been consistently saying this in the past and we will continue to take the same position in future also. If such hinderances are created then the emotional and national unity of our country will be in jeopardy. We have, therefore, to consider how we can include Dogri and Nepali in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution. Sir the 8th Schedule of the Constitution does not anywhere say that only the

The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

[Shri Satyagopal Misra]

languages that are enumerated there will be there and no other language can be included therein. The makers of the Constitution did not introduce a full stop after including some languages in the Schedule. If that is so then we can proceed to consider the factors that will make a language eligible for inclusion in the 8th Schedule. Some of the factors in my opinion are whether a particular language has attained a level of development where it merits to be grouped among the national languages already enumerated in the 8th Schedule, whether the number of persons speaking the language is substantial, whether the language has its own script, is rich in literature and finally we have to see whether the language has helped the growth of the culture of the community that speak the particular language. We are now to test whether both Dogri and Nepali, fulfil these conditions or not. Sir, as has been stated by my predecessor speakers, both Dogri and Nepali are spoken by a very large number of our population, both have their own script and in both the cases the literature is substantial and rich. The fact of their being rich literary is substantiated by the fact that Sahitya Academy have recognised these two languages already. Not only this, even at Government level both the languages have been recognised by some State Governments. When we refer to the languages being recognised by States some people say that these are raised as vote catching devices. I regret to say that such statements coming from whatever corner they may be only show how narrow minded we can be. We indulge in many tall talks but in reality our actions do not always conform to the lofty principles that we preach and Dr. Karan Singh as the mover of the present Bill is strongly urging for the inclusion of these two languages in the 8th Schedule and on principle I am supporting it. But can we forget the fact that when in the past similar requests were made, the Government

of which he was a part had turned down such requests? Where was he then? Therefore, we have to be honest about what we say. There should be no gulf between what we say and what we do. Sir, so far as we are concerned I have no hesitation to say that we have been both consistent in our speeches and our action. The Government of West Bengal have recognised not only Nepali but they have given recognition to Santhali—the language of the minority tribals that inhabit the State and true to their profession they are trying their best for the development of these two languages. Thus if we follow what we say then not only our credibility will be honoured but it will do us and nation a lot of good. A little while ago the members of the treasury bench expressed some sympathies for Nepali language. But as stated already mere words would not carry us anywhere. The words spoken by the then Minister will have to be supported by matching action and our future will bear testimony how far the Government lived upto what it said. There is another point that I would like to stress upon. It is a common knowledge that in our class ridden society the ruling class has always adopted very many ways to strengthen and perpetuate their stranglehold on the society so that their right to exploit the society and its members gets a perpetual lease. The exploiters will always try to impose a language on others, particularly, the linguistic minorities at the national level because it suits their purpose. They would never like the idea that a very large number of people who constitute the linguistic minority are able to grow and rise in the national sphere through their own languages. They cannot brook the idea of these communities standing on their own legs and develop to make their own existence felt through their own languages. The very concept runs counter to their scheme of exploitation and it is never dear to them no matter whatever good words they may choose to speak in favour of such linguistic minorities. But is it really impossible

to achieve the objective and accord legitimate growth to all the languages which are not there in the 8th Schedule? (How have the Soviet people with multiple languages solved their problems? Can't we charter some such course for ourselves in solving the problem of the linguistic minorities?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Mr. Misra, you may continue your speech next time.

18 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, June 16, 1980/Jyaistha 26, 1902 (Saka).