Sectt II-27—58,004—4-11-46.

E.&.P.H. (194 8) Department.

SERIES.

G.O. NO. Ms.352 Edn.

Dated 25th February 1948.

[Despatch Abstract.]

L.A.Resolution - Schools and Colleges - Provision of Urdu as medium of Instruction to Muslim students - Papers - Recorded.

4

B1

1,002—27-2-47.

Governor's Secretariat.

40415

U.O. Note No. 1177 E/47-1 dated the 11-5-47

Subject :—Madras Legislative ~~Assembly~~ ~~Council~~ Resolution No. 3 by Begum Sultan Mir Moniruddin ~~M.L.A.~~ ~~M.L.C.~~ Instruction in Schools & Colleges through the medium of Urdu. to Resolution

E H H Department may be requested to circulate to His Excellency the file regarding the above Resolution when the attitude of the Government towards it is being considered.

(Sd) J. B. Boson
Governor's Secretary
10 5 47.

E H H Department .uo.

Forwarded/By order

D A Sankaraiah
Superintendent
10 5 47.

DRAFT FOR APPROVAL.

	Date.	Initials.
When received for fair copying ..		
When copied ..		
When examined ..		
When signed ..		
When despatched.		

READ AGAIN ....., dated 19

" " 19

READ ALSO :—

No. ..... From the ....., No. ....., dated 19

" ..... " ..... " ..... " 19

" ..... " ..... " ..... " 19

Order / Resolution Ms. / Rout. No. ....., dated 19

SUBJECT :—

G.P. 18.

J

E & P H (Edn) Dept.

Please see the No note from Governor's Secty on p 4 ante. The bills may be circulated to H. E. when the resolution is noted on and before it is moved in the Assembly - Vide the rountine note on p 3 ante.

13/5/47

Hon
14/5/47

O

72793

Copy kept on the file.

IMMEDIATE.

Secretary, E & P.H.

6 6

Extract on p 7 infra

Please see herewith a list of Bills and Resolutions of non-official Members to come up for the Assembly on the 17th September 1947. It is possible that most of the Bills and Resolutions may collapse and so, the files relating to the Resolutions at 'X' and 'Y' may be put up.

T.S.A.
12--9--47.
H.M.(Education).

Back Papers.

G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.	G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

Further Papers.

G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.	G.O.	No.	Department.	Date.

Secretariat of the Madras Legislature.
Assembly Section.
3-5-1947.

RESOLUTION.

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN, M.L.A.

EDUCATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENT.

R. No. 3 This Assembly recommends to the Government to make provision for Muslim students to receive instruction in schools and colleges through the medium of Urdu, wherever they desire to do so.

Edn. & P.H. (B1) Dept.

SRD/3-5

Advance copy of the Resolution may be circulated to ~~H.M.~~ (Edn.)

This was moved on [illegible] and was discussed in the last session of the Legislative Assembly but the discussion was not over when the Assembly was prorogued.

9/5/47

9-5-47

S/Edn.

W/(B1)

H.M. (Edn.)

10-5-47



Extract from the notice received from the Secretariat of the Madras Legislative Assembly regarding the list of non-official bills and resolutions that were successful in the ballot.

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x x x x

INSTRUCTION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF URDU IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN.

15 (1) This Assembly recommends to the Government ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to make provision for Muslim students to receive instruction in schools and colleges through the medium of Urdu, wherever they desire to do so.

Secretariat of the Madras Legislature.
Assembly Section.
3-5-1947.

RESOLUTION.

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN, M.L.A.

EDUCATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENT.

R. No. 3 This Assembly recommends to the Government to make provision for Muslim students to receive instruction in schools and colleges through the medium of Urdu, wherever they desire to do so.

SRD/3-5

Legis. Assembly No. 12.—1,006—23-3-37.

SECRETARIAT OF THE MADRAS LEGISLATURE,
(Assembly Section.)

Fort St. George ~~Chepauk~~, *dated the* 31st October 193 1947.

1 NOV 1947
86672

The decision of the Legislative Assembly on the following

~~resolution~~ / ~~bill~~ / ~~motion~~ of ~~Mr.~~ Begum Sultan Mir Amiruddin is communicated to the Education and Public Health Department. and Private Secretary to H.E. the Governor.

Resolution/~~Bill/Motion~~.

R. No.3 -- "This Assembly recommends to the Government to make provision for Muslim students to receive instruction in schools and colleges through the medium of Urdu, wherever they desire to do so."

Decision of the Assembly.

The Resolution was by leave of the House withdrawn in the Assembly on the 30th October 1947.

T. Hanumanthappa
For *Secretary, Madras Legislative Assembly.*

To
The Secretary to Government,
Education and Public Health
The Department.
The Private Secretary to H.E. the Governor. P.T.O.

U.O.3466/47-2 M.L.
31-10-47.

-2- 9

Forwarded / By Order.

A. J. Sahesan
SUPERINTENDENT.
30/4/47

Legis. Assembly No. 11—2,006—23-3-37.

SECRETARIAT OF THE MADRAS LEGISLATURE,

Fort St. George ~~Chepauk~~, dated the 8th April 1947

9

Resolutions on matters of General Public Interest.

34406
gpg

RESOLUTION No. 3 for the month meeting of the Legislative Assembly,
~~to be held on the 193~~ .

Two copies of this resolution are forwarded to the E & P. H. Department.

The resolution has been admitted.

mb 8.5.47

8/5

To

The Education & Public Health Department.

Lr No 3466/47-1 M2 8-5-47.

Education and Public Health Department.
(B1).

(Ref: Copy of the minutes of H.M.(Education on p. 6 c.f.).

Please see the resolution on page 1 c.f. proposed to be moved in the Legislative Assembly. It has been successful in the ballot and in the order of preference it comes as the fifteenth resolution. Wednesday the 17th has been allotted for non-official business.

2. The M.L.A. (Begum Sultan Mir Amiruddin) gave notice of the same resolution previously and it was fully noted on - Vide the notes on pages 1-6 n.f. of G.O.Ms.No.930 Education, dated the 6th May 1947. It was partially discussed in the last session of the

P.T.O.

Routine. 3 E & P H (D1) Deptt.

Please see the Resolution on pot of. It was partially discussed in the last session of the Legislative Assembly and the papers ~~have~~ were recorded in No. no. 930 EGN D) 6/5/47. on account of the prorogation of the Assembly That so has been put up in the file re. to the introduction of Urdu as medium of instruction for muslims in Schools & colleges which has been circulated to H+HCE H.P.M and H.E. on 7/5/47. This may lie over till the so becomes available the resolution has already been noted

Cno. 23822 B1/47

9/5/47

9/5/47

9.5.47

assembly and lapsed on account of the prorogation of the Assembly. - Vide the Assembly proceedings on pages 7-21 n.f. of the G.O. referred to above.

3. The file may be circulated to H.M.(Education) ~~for orders whether he will take charge of the resolution and~~ to H.E. with reference to the U.O. Note on page 4 c.f.

12.9.47

This has not come in this session of the Assembly. Possibly it may come in the next session, if it is balloted. The file may be sent back again.

27-9-47

SECRETARY, EDN. AND P. H. 21 SEP 1947 GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

This may lie over till the next session of the Assembly.

27.9.47

[notes from pages 1-2 above]

The resolution on prof has been successful in the ballot held on 11th October 1947 and in the order of preference it comes as the fifth. Wednesday the 15th has been allotted for non-official business. The file may be circulated to HM (Edn).

13.X.47

This Resolution has been taken up for discussion. The file may be sent to me on the day previous to the next non-official day.

17 OCT 1947 GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

17.10.47

(*) The U.O. note is dated 11.5.47. It does not seem that such cases should be circulated to H.E after 15.8.47. Further in this case the subject was partly discussed in the Assembly previously

In the circumstances, I do not think it necessary to go to HM.

Please see the minutes ~~of~~ on (Edn) on page 2 ante. This may lie over till next Tuesday.

17/10/47

~~Thursday~~ Wednesday the 30.10.47 is the non-official day. The file may now be circulated to HM (Edn) with reference to his minutes at 'A' on p2 ante.

28.10.47

Discussion on the Resolution closed. The resolution was withdrawn.

TSA

30.10.47

The proceedings of the Assembly in regard to this resolution may be awaited.

31.X.47

31/10/47

From the Secty. of M.L., 3446/47-2 M.L. dt 31/10/47.

Please see the UO note from the Secty. of the Madras Legislature on pages 8-9 of intimating that the resolution has been withdrawn. The file may lie over till the proceedings of the Assembly are received.

3.11.47

1/11/47

3/11/47

(3) INSTRUCTION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF URDU IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

* BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—" With reference to this resolution, Mr. Speaker, I may point out that I have already finished my speech and that discussions were going on. Mr. Mahboob Ali Baig seconded my resolution and Mr. Hameed Khan supported it but he did not finish his speech on the non-official day, when this resolution came up."

MR. SPEAKER:—" The session was over and the resolution lapsed. Now the resolution has to be moved again *de novo*."

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—" Have I to speak again on the resolution, Sir?"

MR. SPEAKER:—" Yes."

* BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—" Sir, I wish to move the following resolution:—

> '*This Assembly recommends to the Government to make provision for Muslim students to receive instruction in schools and colleges through the medium of Urdu, wherever they desire to do so.*'

" I have already spoken at length on this subject on two previous non-official days. Therefore I do not wish to take up much of the time of the House to-day. The point that I wish to emphasize, is that the demand that is being made by me in pursuance of this resolution is most reasonable for all that I am asking for is that provision should be made for imparting education to Muslim students through the medium of their mother-tongue Urdu in places where a sufficient number of Muslims come forward and declare that they wish to be instructed through this language. In this connexion, I wish to state that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who is in charge of the Education portfolio at the Centre has himself accepted the principle of instruction being imparted to the children of the land through the medium of their mother-tongue. It is also an accepted principle all the world over that the easiest medium whereby a person can receive instruction is his mother-tongue. When the British Government were in power the members of the Congress party cried hoarse against instruction being imparted through the medium of a foreign language. The members of the Congress cannot have one rule for themselves and another for others. Having been pushed backward in education all these years by being subjected to the thraldom of a foreign tongue. Muslims cannot acquiesce to their continued backwardness by the imposition of a language upon them which is not their own. I see, Sir, that the Hon. Minister for Education is not in his place. I wish to know whether he is in Madras at present. What is the use of my speaking when he is not here? We may as well adjourn and resume discussions after he comes."

MR. SPEAKER:—" In his place the Hon. Mr. Bhaktavatsalam is here and he is taking notes."

* BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—" The presence of another Minister is of no use. As a matter of fact, on the last occasion when the Hon. Mr. Avinashilingam was away at Delhi, and the Hon. Mr. Gopala Reddi was officiating as the Education Minister the latter was prepared to accept my resolution. Thus there is no use, Sir, for any other Minister to hear my speech."

MR. SPEAKER:—" I have sent word and if he is in his room he will be coming down presently."

* BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—" It is no use wasting my breath on others."

SRI A. KALESWARA RAO:—" Sir, the Hon. Mr. Bhaktavatsalam is taking notes of the discussion."

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—" After all his views on this subject may be different from those of the Hon. Mr. Chettiar, and the notes will not be of much help."

MR. SPEAKER:—" The Hon. Minister for Education will be here in a minute or two."

(At this stage the Hon. Sri Avinashilingam Chettiyar entered the House and occupied his seat.)

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—" I am glad the Hon. Minister for Education has come. Perhaps he was not sure that this resolution would be reached to-day. (A voice: 'Or he wanted to evade it.') No, no, he would not have evaded it. He told me he would be present.

" Sir, I wish to point out to Mr. Avinashilingam Chettiyar that this is an old resolution which has been pending for a very long time."

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—" The hon. Member must address the Chair, Sir."

* BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—" I have addressed the Chair, Sir, I am sorry the Hon. Minister did not hear it. I wish to point out to the Hon. Minister that this resolution has been pending for a long time; hence I would like the discussions to be completed and votes taken on my resolution to-day, for, otherwise we do not know when this question will be settled. If the matter is delayed, it is possible that the Hon. Minister might be away at the time when this resolution comes up next. I would, therefore request you, Sir, to see that the discussions on this resolution are completed to-day and also that the Hon. Minister gives his reply."

MR. SPEAKER:—" Yes, it all depends entirely upon the members and if the members finish their speeches before 4 o'clock, I will ask the Minister to reply at 4 o'clock."

* BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—" I think the members of my party would not take much time."

MR. SPEAKER:—" We shall see."

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—" Sir, with reference to imparting education to Muslims in Urdu I wish to state that some months ago the Hon. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad while in charge of the Education portfolio recognized the desirability of instruction being imparted to the children of this land through the medium of the mother-tongue. I am sure Hon. Members of this House have read the statement that he made in this connexion, which appeared in the Press. My demand cannot be dubbed as unreasonable for it is just the self-same demand that the Congress has been making for the past 150 years, since the British Government assumed power. Ever since then the clamour all over the country has been that instruction should not be imparted through the medium of a foreign language but rather through the mother-tongue. The reason for this is very simple and plain for it is evident that it is only when a child is taught through a language which he speaks at home that he can grasp the subject quickly and make adequate progress in his studies. If, on the other hand, education is imparted to the child through the medium of another language there is no gainsaying the fact that he remains backward in his class. That is why I wish to urge that Muslims who are already backward in education on account of the imposition of a foreign language upon them should not be pushed further backward in the educational field by being made to learn their lessons in a language which is not their own, and in which they cannot with ease express their thoughts and ideas. If my demand is not conceded, Sir, it is plain and incontrovertible that the Muslim community, which is already backward in education will be pushed further backward in the educational sphere. To enable the Muslims to keep pace with the forward communities I have brought forward this resolution.

" Mr. Speaker, Sir, my hon. Friend Mr. Kaleswara Rao in his speech on the last occasion made allusions to what prevailed in a neighbouring state. But I may point out that it is wrong on the part of Members on the opposite side to justify their wrong actions on the analogy of occurrences elsewhere instead of judging an act on its merits as every right-thinking citizen should do. I am sure the hon. Member is well aware that things have changed in that state as well and that instruction there is now being imparted to the children through the medium of the mother-tongue. Sir, if another State acts wrongly, it is not becoming of the Members of this House to say that they would follow its footsteps. Let us exercise our own judgment, our own reason, and come to a decision as to what is right and not blindly follow others. In that State matters have been rectified to the satisfaction of the people, namely, that instruction in elementary schools there is to be imparted through the medium of the mother-tongue. There is a tendency among some Members of this House to justify their acts by reference to what is happening in other parts of the world, but if others commit mistakes, if others have a purblind vision and are not realists, we are not here to follow their mistaken path, rather we are here to do that which we feel is right, dictated

by our conscience. Sir, what I wish to urge is that the resolution that I have moved is a very modest one. I do not say that instruction should be given through Urdu to those whose mother-tongue is not that language. My purpose merely is that those whose mother-tongue is Urdu and who are unable to express themselves properly in any other language should be given the necessary facilities for instruction in their mother-tongue so that they may keep pace in the field of education with others and not be pushed backwards. Sir, the principle of instruction being given in the mother-tongue is one which has been recognized throughout the world. Let the Hon. Minister find out whether this is not so. I have travelled a good deal in western countries. Wherever I went I found that instruction was being imparted in the schools through the medium of the mother-tongue.

" Mr. Speaker, while I do not wish to take up much of the time of the House I wish to urge upon the hon. Members not to view this question from the political but from an academic perspective, for politics, Sir, has been the bane of society and it is politics that has reduced the world to its present plight. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, let us in this House not regard ourselves as politicians but on the other hand let us act as true statesmen. Let us not be guided by political slogans, prejudices and shibboleths but by a spirit of truth, righteousness and a far-sighted vision. I appeal to you, my friends on the opposite side, to be realists in the true sense of the word and be governed by the true spirit of statesmanship. I have great hopes in the people of this province and I am sure that not only in regard to one matter, but in many matters, they will display a balanced outlook. The people of this Province are endowed with wisdom, with a sense of proportion, with balance, so much so that in course of time they will be a lesson to the whole of India. There is a feeling in the North that the people of Madras are not up to the mark with reference to their ideas and their ideals, but I may state that the people of the South will be a model to the people of the other provinces in regard to balanced statesmanship. Therefore, Sir, I wish to urge that this question be viewed dispassionately. I hope hon. Members on the other side would imagine themselves in our position and view this question from the human and not from the political perspective. I ask ' Would not those Members have preferred a similar demand had they been placed in the position in which we are to-day? ' "

MR. SPEAKER:—" The hon. Member may continue her speech after lunch."

(The House then adjourned for lunch.)

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

* BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was adverting to the point that if the medium of instruction for the Muslims was made any language other than their mother tongue the effect of that would be to relegate them to a state of backwardness. In stressing this I wish to emphasize that instruction is the essence and medium is only a step; the essence should not be sacrificed for the step. The Hon. Minister, I am sure, is well aware that educationists are of the opinion that the mother-tongue alone should be made the medium of instruction. They have expressed this view at many educational conferences. In this connexion I wish to quote what was stated some time ago, not by a Muslim but by a Hindu gentleman. I am referring, Sir, to the remarks of Dr. A. Krishnaswami. In his inaugural address to the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Association delivered at the Corporation Boys' School, Chintadripet, Madras, which was reported in the ' Madras Mail ' on the 22nd September 1946, he said:—

> ' If Muslims said that instruction should be given in Urdu to Muslim children, I would support their struggle against an administrative tyranny which attempted to stifle their culture.'

He has expressed himself strongly, but I do not believe in strong language. This is the opinion not of a Muslim but of a Hindu gentleman, Sir, in the academic sphere, there is no such thing as Hindu or Muslim. In that sphere, we are to be governed by a broader outlook, namely, that of fostering culture. I have been a member of the Senate of the Madras University for the past seven years and it has been my privilege and good fortune to associate with Hindu members in that body. I may inform the Hon. Minister that for the past seven years, very often the resolutions that I have moved were seconded by the Vice-President of the Mahasabha and very often I seconded his resolutions. The question of Hindu or Muslim does not arise in the academic field; it arises only in the political sphere and it is politicians that try to exploit the differences between the communities.

" Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon. Minister might say that if instruction is imparted to the Muslims through the medium of Urdu, the members of that community would not get their due chances in the administrative departments. In this connexion, I wish to state that Muslims would be learning the regional language also as their second language. Evidently, Muslims would not act in such a manner as would be detrimental to their interests. The question of the medium of instruction must be settled in consonance with the desires of the Muslims themselves and the Hon. Minister need not express any solicitude on behalf of the Muslims with reference to their recruitment to the services. They will look after their own interests in regard to this matter. I wish to emphasize that when a body of people express themselves that they should be instructed in a particular manner, it is the duty of the Government to respect the wishes of that body and allow them facilities for such instruction. It is their own look out as to whether they would suffer by this in the long run and not that of others.

" Another point to which I wish to advert to is that the Congress in the resolutions that it passed in 1933 and also in 1938 with reference to fundamental rights, declared in emphatic terms that it was its prime duty and fundamental policy to respect the cultural and linguistic rights of the minorities. Now, if this Government is a Government not merely of the majority but of the people and for the people, they must remember that the term ' people ' includes minorities as well. Majority rule cannot crush the will and aspirations of the minority and the desire of the minority for self-expression and the preservation of their identity. As such, the rights of the Muslim minority in regard to the preservation of their language and culture ought to be protected. The Hon. Minister, I am aware, is averse to what he calls ' separatism,' and ' fissiparous tendencies.' He wishes that the people of this Province should be instructed through the medium of one language only so as to bring about unity but, Sir, I may point out that unity will not be achieved by his having recourse to this method. Is not the Hon. Minister aware that in the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal, the language of the Hindus and Muslims is the same, viz., Urdu in the Punjab and Bengali in Bengal but that this has not helped to inculcate a spirit of fellowship among the people, for despite unity of language terrible butcheries have been committed in these provinces? Did the people of these provinces live like brothers because they spoke one language? No. On the other hand, we find that we in this Province, in spite of our differences of language, for we have here not only Urdu and Tamil, but also Malayalam, Telugu and Kanarese, have been more united, and have lived more in peace, harmony with one another than the people of the northern provinces where they have only one language. Therefore, Sir, I wish the Hon. Minister to dismiss the idea from his mind that unity in regard to language brings about unity in other spheres as well.

" Humanity, Mr. Speaker, is diverse in culture and multitudinous in expression. These differences must be respected, for they are the logic of necessity and cannot be wiped out by the efforts of any politician. It is unnatural to expect uniformity in the world. Unity may be achieved, but not uniformity which is different from unity, for it connotes the destruction of individuality. Look at the birds, the beasts and the colours of the landscape. Has God made them all the same? Is there uniformity to be found in the work of creation? Nay. The colours of the landscape, the beasts in the forests and the birds in the air are of different tints, forms and varieties. Sir, humanity is different and will continue to remain so. Politicians must learn to respect those differences instead of attempting to wipe them out, for it is precisely the efforts of politicians to eradicate the differences that exist between the members of various communities that create discard, disharmony and dissension. Let politicians remember that unity is perfectly compatible with diversity. Let them give up their narrow outlook and adopt a spirit of sympathetic understanding and become statesman, in the true sense of that word, then and then alone would the emotions and passions that dominate the atmosphere subside; then and then alone would there be peace, harmony and happiness in this land.

"Sir, the Hon. Minister is of the opinion that differences in language create differences in other spheres, but I wish to emphasize that this is not correct. There are other ways of producing unity among the people than through uniformity in language. The true basis of unity is the creation of a spirit of good will and fellowship. India is in the throes of chaos because the mental approach of the people is defective, because our educational institutions ignore implanting into the minds of the young the ideal of fellowship. I am afraid I cannot entertain much hopes from the members of the older generations, because they have already formed their opinions; they are adamant in their prejudices and not prepared to shed their narrow outlook. But I entertain great hopes from the youths of the land who, I believe, if trained on the right lines, will produce a state of society which will be a model to the whole world. I wish to ask the Hon. Minister as to what he is doing to create the necessary mentality among the youths of this Province to achieve communal harmony?

2-45 p.m.

"A relation of mine narrated to me how years ago before the Russo-Japanese War broke out, the Japanese Government created a mentality among their people to fight the Russians. It seems when he was travelling on board the steamer and found a batch of Japanese as his fellow-travellers, he asked those gentlemen as to what they were teaching in their schools. The Japanese informed him that at that time they were concerned most with the impending Russo-Japanese War and that the first lesson that they were imparting to their school children was that of fighting the Russians. Thereupon, my relation inquired: 'How are you doing that?' To this, the reply was: 'We are creating the mentality for it thus. When the children assemble in the schools every morning, the headmaster or the headmistress is instructed to ask them the question: 'What have you come here for? What are you prosecuting your studies for?' To this, the children are required to reply in chorus 'We are being educated here in order to fight the Russians.' That is how the mentality to fight the Russians was created in the minds of the Japanese children and eventually the Russo-Japanese War did break out. In like manner, I wish to urge upon the Minister to create a mentality among the younger generations in this Province to live in peace and concord with those pursuing other faiths and impress upon them the imperative need for unity and harmony in the land. I wish to appeal to the Hon. Minister to take necessary steps in this direction. The best method that he can devise is to instruct the headmistresses and headmasters of schools to instil ideas of fellowship in the minds of their pupils. Let the heads of educational institutions daily put this question to their pupils when the latter assemble: 'Why are you being educated?' and let the school children thus reply in chorus: 'We are being educated to live as brothers with members of other communities. We are prosecuting our studies so that the Hindus and Muslims may live in this land in peace and harmony.' When this idea of fellowship is instilled into the minds of the young from their earliest days, they are bound to grow up different from the older generations. It is no use expecting people whom age has hardened to reform themselves and shed their narrow outlook. The hope lies with the youth of the land. Realizing the efficacy of moulding the supple minds of young people, Hitler and Mussolini utilized the schools for the purpose of inculcating their ideals in the rising generations. Likewise, if we are really interested in creating the spirit of harmony and peace in the minds of the people of this land, we should see to it that the truth of brotherhood is awakened in the child and made part of his consciousness. I may inform the Hon. Minister that I have in my own humble way been discharging my duty in this respect. I have not been a politician; it is only a little over a year since I entered this Assembly. Throughout my past years, social service and education have evoked my interest and whenever I have addressed students in schools and colleges, I have commended to them, be they Hindus or Muslims, the following lines of that ancient scripture of India—the Rig Veda: 'Together walk ye; together speak ye; together know ye your minds; let your resolve be one; let your hearts be of one accord; let your minds be united that your assembly may be happy.' Sir, it is by such methods that we can create a sense of unity among the people. Unity cannot be achieved by the abolition of Urdu, a language through whose medium alone Muslims can preserve their culture and develop along lines suited to their particular genius and traditions. In the past, the Hon. Minister for Education has been so adamant in his attitude towards the demands of Muslims that the following lines of Shakespere did well apply to him:—

'You might as well go stand upon the beach
And bid the main flood bate its usual height;
. . . . . .
You might as well forbid the mountain pines
To wag their high tops and to make no noise
When they are fretten with the gusts of wind
You might as well do anything most hard'

than argue with Mr. Avinashilingam Chettiyar. But I hope he has changed his attitude now and will realize the reasonableness of our demands. So far as Members of this House are concerned, there are many who are my side and who have expressed themselves in favour of my resolution. Even when I retired to my room a little while ago to have my lunch, I got encouragement from members belonging to the opposite party, who said that the demand contained in my resolution was perfectly legitimate. But, of course, when they come into this House, the whip goes round to them to vote in the manner the Education Minister desires. I therefore hope the Hon. Minister himself will accommodate himself to the reasonableness of my demand and will accept my resolution as the Hon. Mr. Gopala Reddi was prepared to do. I also hope that the Members of this House will judge the issue on its merits and will vote according to their conscience and see that due justice is done to the demands of the Muslims."

* MUHAMMAD RAZA KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution moved by the hon. Begum Amiruddin. Both during the speech she has concluded now after an hour and also on the previous occasion when she spoke in *extenso*, she has really made a very good case whereby Muslims whose mother-tongue is Urdu—this is the position which obtains in the Andhra area and in such other areas of the Tamil Nad and other places—should have their medium of instruction in Urdu."

THE HON SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"What about the Muslims of Ramnad district?"

* MUHAMMAD RAZA KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Our Minister for Education is a very good man who understands the feelings of others, particularly of the minorities and he knows that the Muslims have a very good case and our Lady Member has convinced him more than sufficiently. Of course what attitude he will adopt when the time comes for him to reply I cannot predict and I cannot be a prophet in that direction at all and I am sure any change on his part will be for good. The Hon. Minister and particularly the members of his party should understand and realize as to what the purpose and object and motive of our bringing such a resolution is. Is it just because we want to come here and make a speech; that is not it; we know the real difficulty experienced by Muslims regarding education not imparted in their own mother-tongue. We have had occasions, particularly in the Andhra districts, when it has affected Muslims very much. When there was a change in the attitude of the Ministry with regard to educational policy, the Congress Ministry could have studied, gone through the whole matter and they could have appointed a committee and they could have come to decisions; but I am sorry to point out that without going into the merits of the case, they have simply passed orders putting people to trouble. They have been under the wrong impression that because the Muslims speak Telugu it is therefore, their mother-tongue. It does not mean that their mother-tongue is Telugu. There are many Hindu friends of mine from the Andhra districts who can speak very good Urdu, perhaps much better than any of us can claim to do. They speak Telugu also but on that score it cannot be said that their mother-tongue is Telugu. I am not in a spirit to challenge the Minister because that it will do no good and is indeed bad. But it cannot be denied or ignored that the mother-tongue of Muslims in Andhra districts in almost all the places, in certain portions of the Tamilnad, particularly of the City of Madras and other parts, is Urdu. In certain places the mother-tongue may be the local languages of the place like Malabar; but that does not take away the right of the Muslims in the parts mentioned to claim that Urdu is their mother-tongue. Let me inform the House that consequent on this decision that the imparting of education should be in the regional language, a number of Muslim boys were thrown out of schools. Their only mother-tongue was Urdu and now they had to learn things through the regional languages and in addition to learning their lessons they

had to study the language also. This handicap has affected the education of Muslim pupils very badly and I know a number of cases where Muslim parents had actually to withdraw their children from schools for the simple reason that the pupil could not do it and were unequal to the new set of circumstances."

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"May I know in how many schools this occurred and how many pupils had to stop away on account of their not knowing the language."

* MUHAMMAD RAZA KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"If I knew that this poser would be addressed to me, I would have come prepared with the satistics he requires."

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"I thought every member making a statement would make himself responsible for it."

* MUHAMMAD RAZA KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"To-day I say 'Notice' to the question put by the Hon. Minister. I assure him that when the opportunity comes, I shall provide the statistics and information to him. There is one case in my own constituency, that is Madanapalle. There is one High School there and students are being taught either in English or in Telugu. Regarding second language there is no provision to teach Urdu and there is no provision for the appointment of a teacher to teach Urdu to the Muslim candidates with the result that they had to prepare the lessons themselves. The Muslims of the place approached the authorities but they said they were not concerned and that it was not their concern. The pupils thereafter arranged for a teacher so that they may learn Urdu and appear for the S.S.L.C. examination. The Minister may disagree with me. But I say this question of language has nothing to do with politics. But I agree there are difficulties; this is not only a bi-lingual province but a tri-lingual or even more. Therefore, I say that the thing has to be viewed in a proper perspective. Further it is not a feeling confined to the Muslims only. In Madras City so many petitions, representations and resolutions of meetings have been received from people belonging to South Kanara, Andhra districts, or Malabar saying that they do not want their children in schools to be taught in Tamil as the medium of instruction is in Tamil. We are not the only people who have a grievance of this nature. Even our other friends on the other side who came from Malabar or from South Kanara or the Andhra districts and have settled in Madras are asking for it and they are perfectly right in demanding that their children also should be taught in their own mother-tongue; it may be Malayalam, Kanarese or Telugu. There is no point in saying that as they had settled in the City of Madras, where Tamil is predominantly spoken, therefore, their children should be taught in that language. How is it possible? Regarding myself, I may say that though I was born in Madras, though I can speak a word or two in Tamil, I cannot understand that language. As a matter of fact, when the Hon. the Premier and the Leader of this Party and others were speaking in Tamil, I could not understand a word of it. Of course I may say it is my fault in not learning it; when people like us who can get through business, when we are not able to follow it, how can you expect pupil of four, five and six years to understand their lessons, especially if suddenly they are being asked to learn in a language which is foreign to them."

SRI N. S. VARADACHARI:—"Children can easily learn; because this is the first time they learn; unfortunately you and I learned long ago and have yet to learn other things."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"We have yet to unlearn many things."

* MUHAMMAD RAZA KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I have really very great respect for my hon. Friend Mr. Varadachari for whenever he speaks, words of wisdom fall from him and I take them.

"Let me not enter into controversies. I know that a time will come when you will have to replace the English language by the regional language or by the provincial language, and have one common language for the whole of India. Do not think that we have so much attachment to the English language. After all English is as much foreign to us as it is to you. We have all been forced to learn English language. That language has served a useful purpose. But now things have to be adjusted, and in the matter of policy, it would be always wise to see that we do not rush in with things and take decisions in a light-hearted manner, but only after a careful consideration of the various aspects of the question. I may draw your attention to what appeared in the paper this morning. I do not like to exploit the name of the great man of our country, Gandhiji. What has he said about United Provinces? My friends from the Congress side will say 'even Muslim members quote Gandhiji'. But, we are the people who follow it up when really something good is said by some one. I do not mean any disrespect. In some respects we follow Gandhiji, and in so many other respects we oppose him, and we will continue also to do so. Sir, this is only by the way. The Government of the United Provinces passed orders to the effect that the language of the Province will be Hindi. It is a big controversy between Urdu and Hindi. Language is not such a simple thing you can pass orders so easily. It is not a thing . . ."

SRI N. S. VARADACHARI:—"Sir, may I inform the hon. Member that Gandhiji referred only to the script? The United Provinces Government have prescribed Devanagari script. There is no reference to Hindi and Urdu. It is only the script that he referred to."

MUHAMMAD RAZA KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Sir, both myself and Mr. Varadachari read the papers this morning. I do not know where the mistake lies. Gandhiji objected not only to the question of script but also to the language. He said that in a place like United Provinces where more Hindus speak Urdu, it is wrong to enforce Hindi in the Province. Gandhiji himself has said 'do not force a language on those who do not know it'. Language is not such a thing. It is not a sort of political dogma to simply force it on people. Language should be allowed the opportunity to develop itself, and I am sure the language will develop itself then. You cannot simply force the people to learn a language, and that is the reason here also. My point in quoting Gandhiji is that the language of the Province is not Hindi. The only controversy is Urdu or Hindi. It is wrong on the part of the United Provinces Government to have made Hindi as the language of the Province. Gandhiji might not have put it so bluntly as I am putting it. That is all the difference. But it does not matter much for the sake of argument. I am not going into the question of script. No doubt you may have the power to pass orders. But it is wrong on the part of Government to force on people a different language; particularly on youngsters who do not know it. If it is the regional language, then you have to follow it. Even to-day our Minister has to define what he means by regional language. I know regional language is one which is generally spoken in that region. In every place, apart from that language, there may be other languages also. That is quite possible. Therefore, you cannot say a particular language as the regional language in a particular place. Mind you, it is not a question of a few people. The Muslim population of Andhra districts is fifty lakhs who have to take their studies in Telugu. Therefore, it is really not a right policy. What is our appeal? We do not demand anything from you. I do not like to exploit the differences in our Province. Whenever we Muslim Leaguers say anything we are dubbed as communalists. Even when we talk on things which are very good and which may be appealing, still for the fact that it comes from this side, we are stated as communalists. Unfortunately, there are more differences than Hindu-Muslim differences here. It is the difference between culture and religion. What are the differences between the Tamils and Andhras except in language? When the members from Andhra districts say that they want a separate province, what is the basis for that? They are so much attached to their language, and to them language comes first. The members from the Andhra area feel it their right that they must have a province for themselves so that they may develop their Telugu language. People in Tamilnad also feel that Tamil has got its past, there are the famous Bharathi songs, etc., and they have the right to have their Tamil language. You are also of the same view. I concede that. Therefore, it is the endeavour and anxiety of every section of this Province, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada, to preserve their language. When these people are allowed to do this, what is the wrong on the part of the Muslims in Andhra area to preserve their language, which is Urdu?

"Sir, I do not like to take more time of the hon. Members here. You have got to understand the gravity of the feelings.

3 p.m.

We have to do our duty and discharge our responsibilities. It is not for the pleasure of talking that we have brought this resolution. I am sure we have got a very strong case. For a minute, rule out the question of Urdu. The resolution reduces itself to this. The position is you say about regional language. We concede that. But along with the regional language, we say, give us the opportunity to have instruction through the medium of the mother tongue, which is Urdu. If the Hon. Minister is really convinced that the mother tongue of Muslims in Andhra Desa is Urdu, I am sure nothing would stand in his way to concede the demand of the Muslims. Even during the last Session, there was too much of discussion on this. The Hon. Minister can go round along with us, and he can satisfy for himself that the mother tongue of the Muslims in Andhra area is Urdu. The fact that they are speaking Telugu does not mean that their mother tongue is Telugu. I am sure the Hon. Minister will have regard for the feelings and sentiments of the people here. No doubt you are in a majority. No doubt you may be in the Government. We feel nothing wrong about it. Simply because you are in a majority, decision on matters like this should not rest on the majority vote alone. This is not a question between majority and minority. After all, though we are a minority, we are as much an integral part of the State as the majority are. We have got as much rights as the majority have. The fact that one is in a majority does not mean that one has got the right to trample upon the rights of others. I am sure the Hon. Minister and his party will do justice in this matter. It is not a big thing. We are demanding only just what we deserve and nothing more and nothing less. I am sure the Hon. Minister will give deep consideration to this question. With these words, Sir, I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The motion is—

'This Assembly recommends to the Government to make provision for Muslim students to receive instruction in schools and colleges through the medium of Urudu, wherever they desire to do so.'"

Sri N. M. R. Subbaraman began his speech in Tamil.

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"He seems to know English, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It may not be possible for him to speak in English fluently."

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"During question time he speaks in English, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Yes; only sometimes. But whenever the hon. Member makes a speech, he speaks in Tamil alone."

MUHAMMAD RAZA KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"It is his right to speak in his mother tongue, Sir."

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"Then, I cannot understand it, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I am not responsible for it." (Laughter.)

*SRI N. M. R. SUBBARAMAN:—"கனம் அக்ராசனுதிபதி அவர்களே, இப்பொழுது சபையில் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் தீர்மானத்தை நான் எதிர்க்கிறேன். உருதுவின் மூலமாக கல்வி கற்பிக்க வேண்டுமென்று விரும்புகிற முஸ்லீம் மாணவர்களுக்கு பள்ளிக்கூடம், கல்லூரி இவைகளில் வசதி செய்து கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று தீர்மானம் வந்திருக்கிறது.

"முதலாவதாக முஸ்லீம்களில் எல்லோருக்குமே தாய்மொழி உருது என்று நினைக்கப்பட்டால் அது தவறு. முன்னால் பேசின ஸ்ரீ ராஜா கான் இதை ஒருவாறு திருத்தினார். சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் நாலு பாஷைகள் பேசக் கூடியவர்களும் உண்டு. தமிழ், மலையாளம், தெலுங்கு, கன்னடம். தமிழ் நாடு, மலையாளம்—இப்பிராந்தியங்கள் பொருத்த மட்டும் பெரும் பான்மையான முஸ்லீம்களுக்கு தாய்மொழி உருது இல்லவே இல்லை. மற்ற இடங்களிலும் அப்படியேதான். மதுரை நகரம், திண்டுக்கல் டவுன் இந்த இரண்டு ஊர்களில் தவிர, மதுரை ஜில்லாவில் மற்ற ஊர்களிலெல்லாம் மிகப் பெரும்பான்மையோர் உருதுவே பேசுவது இல்லை. தமிழையே தாய் மொழியாகக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். மலையாளத்தில் தாய்மொழி மலையாளமாகவும் தென் கன்னடத்தில் வேறு ஒரு மொழியாகவும் பெரும் பாலோருக்கும் இருக்கின்றன. உருது இல்லவே இல்லை. வேறு பாஷையாகத் தானிருக்கிறது. ஆனால் எனக்கு தெலுங்கு நாட்டைப் பற்றி அதிகம் தெரியாது. அங்கும் அதிகமான பேர்களுக்கு உருது தாய்மொழியாக இல்லை என்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. ஆகையால் முஸ்லீம்கள் தங்கள் மாணவர்களுக்கு உருது மூலமாக பாடம் புகட்டவேண்டுமென்று கேட்பது ஒரு விதத்திலும் நியாயம் இல்லை. ஆனால் தாய்மொழி மூலம் கல்வி புகட்டவேண்டும் என்பதில் ஒரு தத்துவம் இருக்கிறது. கல்வியில் நிபுணர்கள் அனைவரும் இதை ஒப்புக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதனால் உருது மூலம் கல்வி கற்பிக்கப்படவேண்டும் என்று கேட்பது நியாயம் இல்லை. பல பிரதேசங்களிலும் பெரும்பான்மையான முஸ்லீம்களுக்கு உருது தாய் மொழி இல்லாமல், அந்த அந்த பிரதேசத்து பாஷையே தாய் மொழியாக இருக்கிறது. ஆகையால் உருது மூலமாக கல்வி புகட்டவேண்டுமென்று கேட்பதானது கல்வி தத்துவத்திற்கு நேர் விரோதமானதாகும். கல்வி தத்துவத்தை மறந்துவிட்டு உருது மூலம் பாடம் புகட்டவேண்டுமென்று முஸ்லீம்கள் சொன்னால் அதை ஒருவரும் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளமாட்டார்கள். முஸ்லீம்களில் ஒருவாறு உருது பேசுகிறவர்களை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால்

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On a point of information, Sir. I want to tell the hon. Member who was speaking just now that he has not understood the meaning of the resolution. The resolution asks for Urdu being made the medium of instruction to those people who have got Urdu as their mother tongue. It does not speak of the other Muslims who have Tamil, Malayalam, or Kannada as their mother tongue. Therefore, it is clear that wherever Muslims have got Urdu as their mother tongue, Urdu must be made the medium of instruction. Let there be no mistake about that, and let not the hon. Member spend much of his time labouring on this point. Only for this I wanted to intervene at this stage, Sir."

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"May I point out, Sir, that the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition is not correct at all? The words in the resolution are . . . . wherever they desire to do so' and not wherever the mother tongue is Urdu. The resolution will be interpreted only by its words."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I may also say, Sir, that when an hon. Member has got the right to interpret the words in the resolution in his own way, and when the hon. Mover of the resolution gives the meaning of the resolution, it must be accepted. Moreover, this is not new to this House that for months and months we have made it clear that Urdu must be made the medium of instruction only to those who have Urdu as their mother tongue."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I shall allow the hon. the Leader of the Opposition to speak when his turn comes."

SRI A. KALESWARA RAO:—"On a point of order, Sir, Should they not bring in an amendment and make the words clear before they talk?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"This is only an information, and no point of order."

*SRI N. M. R. SUBBARAMAN:—"இந்த தீர்மானத்தை நன்றாகப் படித்துதான் நான் பேச ஆரம்பித்தேன். வேறு எந்த வியாக்கியானமும் அவசியம் இல்லை. வார்த்தைகள் எவ்வளவு தெளிவாக இருக்கவேண்டுமோ அவ்வளவு தெளிவாக இருக்கின்றன. முஸ்லீம் மாணவர்கள் எங்கே உருது மூலம் படிக்க விரும்புகிறார்களோ அங்கே அதற்கு வசதிசெய்து கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்றிருக்கிறது. தாய் மொழியைப்பற்றி எந்த இடத்திலும் சொல்லவே இல்லை. ஆகையால் இதைப் பற்றி இன்னும் அதிகம் பேசவேண்டாம் என்று நினைக்கிறேன்.

"உருது தாய்மொழியாக இருக்கக்கூடியவர்கள் பல ஊர்களில் ஒரு சிறு அளவு இருக்கிறார்கள். இருந்தாலும் இவ்விடங்களில் எல்லாவற்றிலும் உருது மூலமாக கல்வி போதிக்க முடியுமா என்ற விஷயத்தை நன்கு யோசித்துப்பார்க்கவேண்டும். ஒரு ஊரில் நூற்றுக்கு இரண்டு பேர் மூன்று பேர்கள் உருது தாய்மொழியாகக் கொண்டிருந்தால் அந்த இருவர் மூவருக்காக ஆரம்பத்திலிருந்து கடைசிவரைக்கும் தனிப் பள்ளிக்கூடம் அல்லது வகுப்பு வைத்து படிப்பு சொல்லிக்கொடுப்பது என்பது முடியுமா என்றும், அதில் எவ்வளவு சிரமம் இருக்கிறது என்றும் யோசிக்கவேண்டும். அதனால் எவ்வளவு பொருள் சிலவு உண்டாகும்! அதோடுமட்டும் அல்ல. இவ் விதமாக நூற்றுக்கு இரண்டு பேர் மூன்று பேர்களுக்காக அவர்கள் தாய்மொழியில் கல்வி போதிக்க ஆரம்பித்தால் அதற்கு முடிவே இருக்காது. முஸ்லீம் நண்பர்கள் தங்களுடைய முஸ்லீம் சமூகம் மட்டும் சம்பந்தப்படுவதாக நினைக்கிறார்கள். முஸ்லீம்கள் அல்லாதவர்கள் அடுத்த பாகங்களில் பல பேர்கள் பல பாஷைகள் பேசிவருகிறார்கள். தெலுங்கிலும், கன்னடத்திலும், மலையாளத்திலும், வடமொழிகளாகிய ஹிந்தி, குஜராத்தி, மகாராஷ்டிரத்திலும் பேசிவருகிறார்கள். 2%, 3% உருது பேசக்கூடிய முஸ்லீம்களுக்கு நாம் தனியாக கல்வி போதிக்கவேண்டுமென்று எற்பாடு செய்தால், அவர்களைவிட அதிகமாக உள்ள 5%, 10% உள்ள தெலுங்கர்களுக்கும், கன்னடர்களுக்கும், மலையாளத்தார்களுக்கும், வடமொழிகள் பேசுபவர்களுக்கும் இவ்விதமாக தனித்தனியாக ஒரு ஏற்பாடு செய்ய வேண்டியதாக இருக்கும். இது எந்த சர்க்காராலும் செய்யமுடியாத காரியம். ஆகையால் தாய் பாஷையில் பாடங்களை கற்றுக்கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று விரும்பினால் அவர்களே தனியாக பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை வைத்து நடத்தலாம். அதற்கு சர்க்கார் இடஞ்சல் செய்யாது என்று நினைக்கிறேன். ஆகையால் அவரவர்கள் தாய் பாஷையில் பாடம் போதிக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்வது அவ்வளவு சரியல்ல. அதற்கு அவர்கள் தனித்தனியாகவே ஏற்பாடு செய்துகொள்ளவேண்டும்.

"தவிர மீகம் அமிர்யுதீன் அவர்கள் ஒரு யோசனை கூறினார்கள். அது மிகவும் நல்ல யோசனைதான். அவர் ஐக்கியம் உண்டாகவேண்டுமென்று வற்புறுத்தி பேசினார். இதை எல்லோரும் போற்றக்கூடியதுதான். இதையே தான் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களும் பேசிவந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் முஸ்லீம் லீக் நண்பர்கள் அவ்விதமான ஐக்ய உணர்ச்சி வளரும்படி ஒரு வார்த்தைகூட பேசவில்லை என்பதுதான் எங்களுடைய குறை. ஹிந்துக்களுக்கும் முஸ்லீம்களுக்கும் சம்பந்தம் இல்லவே இல்லை என்றார்கள். அவர்கள் வேறு தேசிய இனம் இவர்கள் வேறு தேசிய இனம் என்று பேசிக்கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் நாம் எல்லோரும் ஒன்றுதான் என்று கூறிவந்திருக்கிறார்கள். முஸ்லீம் லீகர்கள் இருவருக்கும் உள்ள சம்பந்தத்தைப்பற்றி பேசிவருவது என்னவென்றால் இவர்களுக்கு இரண்டு கண் இருந்தால் அவர்களுக்கும் இரண்டு கண்கள் இருக்கின்றன. இவர்

களுக்கு இரண்டு கால்கள் இருந்தால் அவர்களுக்கும் இரண்டு கால்கள் இருக்கின்றன. இவர்களுக்கு ஒரு மூக்கு இருந்தால் அவர்களுக்கும் ஒரு மூக்கு இருக்கிறது. இவைகளைத்தவிர வேறு ஒரு சம்பந்தமும் இல்லை என்று பிரசாரம் செய்து வந்ததால்தான் இப்பொழுது விரோதமான மனப் பான்மை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. இவ்விதமாக முஸ்லீம்கள் ஒருவிதமான வெறுப்பு உணர்ச்சியை உண்டாக்கிவந்திருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் காங்கிரஸ் காரர்கள் எப்பொழுதும் ஐக்கியத்திற்கே பாடுபட்டுவந்திருக்கிறார்கள். எந்த மதமும் எந்த பாஷையும் எதுவும் நம்மைப் பிரிக்கவே பிரிக்காது என்றும் எல்லோரும் ஒற்றுமையாக இருக்கவேண்டும் என்றும் ஒற்றுமையை வளர்க்கவேண்டுமென்றும் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் சொல்லிக்கொண்டுவந்திருக் கிறார்கள்.

"எந்த முறையில் ஒற்றுமையை வளர்க்கவேண்டுமோ அந்த முறையில் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை நடத்தவேண்டும் என்பதே எங்களுடைய நோக்கம். ஆகையால் முஸ்லீம்களுக்கென்று தனிப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்கள் கூடாது என்று சொல்லிவருகிறோம். இருவருக்கும் ஒரே பள்ளிக்கூடமாக இருந்தால் சிறு குழந்தைகள் முதற்கொண்டு ஒரு ஜாதியோடு இன்னொரு ஜாதி கலந்து ஒருவரை ஒருவர் நன்கு அறிந்துகொள்ளக்கூடிய நிலைமை ஏற்படுகிறது. ஒன்றுகப் பழகி ஒன்றுகப் படித்துவந்தால் வேற்றுமை குறைந்து ஒற்றுமை வளர்ந்து அந்நியோன்னியம் பரவுவதற்கு மிகவும் உதவியாக இருக்கும். கல்வியை தனித்தனியாக புகட்டுவதால் ஒருவிதமான குறையும் வராது என்று முஸ்லீம் நண்பர்கள் நினைக்கலாம். ஆனால் அந்த மாதிரி நடந்தால் என்ன குறைகள் ஏற்படும் என்பதை இந்நாளில் புதிதாக ஒருவர் எடுத்துக் கூறவேண்டியதவசியமில்லை. ஒற்றுமை உணர்ச்சி பரவவேண்டுமென்றால், தனிப் பள்ளிக்கூடம் இல்லாமல் ஒன்றுக இருந்து சிறு குழந்தைகள் முதற் கொண்டே படித்துப் பழகிவரவேண்டும்.

"ஆகையால் இந்த தீர்மானத்தை நான் எதிர்க்கிறேன்."

3-15 p.m. SINNA KAZIAR HAJI MOULVI S. A. F. IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, shall I speak in Urdu."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member can speak in Urdu if he wants; but I will advise him to speak in English; but if he wants to speak in Urdu I shall allow him."

SINNA KAZIAR HAJI MOULVI S. A. F. IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—"So if I speak in Urdu now, I will have to speak in Urdu alone hereafter."

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"It will help me if he speaks in Urdu; for I need not take the trouble of replying him."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"That is rather unfair."

* SINNA KAZIAR HAJI MOULVI S. A. F. IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Of course I can speak in Urdu, but who is there to hear me. (Laughter.) So I shall speak in English.

"Sir, after all this is a small subject; but it has become a very controversial one. Now it is an admitted fact and it was accepted on a former occasion by Hon. Dr. Subbarayan that this province is a multi-lingual area. (At this stage the Deputy Speaker occupied the Chair.)

"Now the only difficulty is whether to have Tamil or Urdu as the medium of instruction for Muslim boys. If we dive deep into the subject, we will find that both of us do not differ much. The Hon. Minister wants to have Tamil as the medium of instruction. Unfortunately the Hon. Minister has misunderstood some of our Muslim members' speech. We do not want Urdu as the medium of instruction in all schools in Madura, Trichinopoly and elsewhere. We want Urdu to be the medium of instruction in some of the schools in Madura district and in Telugu districts where the mother-tongue of the majority of Muslim boys is Urdu. If in a certain number of schools the majority of Muslim boys happen to have Urdu as their mother-tongue, in such schools we should have Urdu as the medium of instruction. So the only thing that is required from the Government is a sympathetic consideration of our reasonable demand. Of course even God can be convinced by men. We can convince people who do not understand, but it is impossible to convince those who refuse to be convinced. That is the only thing I want to bring to the notice of the Hon. Minister now. Now, Sir (laughter). I am only addressing the Minister. Even on the last occasion, Madam, you allowed me to address you as 'Sir'."

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:—"You can address me as 'Madam' or 'Sir'; I will allow you that; but you cannot address the Minister direct."

* SINNA KAZIAR HAJI MOULVI S. A. F. IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Now, Sir (laughter). I have got the permission of the Chair, so let there be no laughter. Madam, you will see when a party is in a majority what all it does cannot be right. But its actions should be judged by others, the minority. Though we, the minority, may be defeated, at times, our defeat may be an honourable defeat. Success or defeat is not the only criterion. You and I are here to satisfy our conscience and our electorate. Now every action of ours should stand to commonsense logic and reason. Suppose you teach your boys in Latin and Greek, what is the use? Likewise, should you not see this question in that light? You come forward with the high-sounding philosophy that language is one of the fundamental means of attaining unity. Sir, as I said, I have got the permission of the Chair to address her as I like. Now, Madam, in Switzerland, as national language, they are having more than eight languages. In Bengal, they have Bengali and Urdu. Yet is there not unity there? In the Punjab, you have Punjabee and Urdu; is there not unity there? I submit, whatever you do should stand to reason and commonsense. The theory of one language cannot stand scrutiny. Why were the Vedas written in Sanskrit. How is it the Avesta and Zendavesta is in the Persian language? How is it the Koran is in Arabic? Allah has said in Koran that it is written in Arabic so that the people of Arabia may understand it. Likewise, Sir, the great saints and prophets wrote for their people. Similarly the great poet, Tagore, wrote his poems and dramas in Bengali so that his people may understand them. Similarly poet Bharathi wrote his songs in Tamil, as he lived among Tamilians. Thus they all wrote for the people living in their place in the languages which were their mother-tongues.

"We are the best judges to say whether we want Urdu as a
3-30 p.m. medium of instruction for our children. You cannot say that our students should be instructed only in Tamil. We are the best authority to decide this question. To say that all the Muslims in Tamilnad talk Tamil and that all the Muslims in the Andhra talk Telugu is far from facts. The hon. Member, Mr. Subbaraman, knows that in Madura town we have got twelve Muslim schools where the medium of instruction is Urdu. And in Trichinopoly also, though I do not know the exact number, the medium of instruction for Muslim boys is Urdu. I know nothing about the Telugu districts. When such is the case, when our children could understand only when education is imparted through the medium of Urdu, should we not have Urdu as the medium of instruction ? In such a case you should not stand in the way."

* SRI N. M. R. SUBBARAMAN:—"On a point of information, Madam. The hon. Member stated that in Madura in twelve schools, the medium of instruction is in Urdu. Are they elementary schools or high schools, may I know?"

* SINNA KAZIAR HAJI MOULVI S. A. F. IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Certainly they are elementary schools. We can only start with the elementary schools and proceed to the high schools and colleges. (Laughter.) When we are not in a position to have one pie, how can we aspire for Rs. 1,000?"

SRI N. M. R. SUBBARAMAN :—"One more point of information, Madam. Is it not a fact that Tamil is the mother-tongue of the majority of Muslims in Madura ?"

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member cannot go on putting questions. He will have to come to his conclusions after listenting to the speech as a whole."

SINNA KAZIAR HAJI MOULVI S. A. F. IBRAHIM SAHIB BAHADUR :—"I want notice, Madam.

"Finally I should like to submit that every day the 'Thanthi' paper is saying that the Muslims are fifth columnists when we are sincere subjects of the Indian Union. When you call an honest man a thief every day, he will become a thief and if you call everyday a thief, an honest man, he will become an honest man. When we are sincere, when we are loyal subjects of the Indian Dominion, the 'Thanthi' paper has chosen to dub us as Fifth columnists. In every sense we are loyal subjects of the Indian Dominion and we have declared it and our leaders have declared it. If you want to have a healthy body, you must have healthy limbs. Therefore take us along with you. Do not try to amputate. If we are backward as the subject of the State of the Indian Dominion, the Indian Dominion will become weak. You develop and also allow us to develop. That is my request.

"Finally, I should like to say that this is a matter which is concerned with the education of the Muslim boys. We are unanimously of the opinion that Urdu alone will be the proper language as a medium of instruction in those places where Urdu happens to be the mother-tongue of our boys and in such schools where the majority of the Muslim boys happen to have Urdu as their mother-tongue. So, I request that this question must be sympathetically considered. With these words, Madam, I support the resolution."

* SRI N. S. VARADACHARI:—" Madam Deputy Speaker, I heard with great interest, Madam, the speeches made on this very interesting subject by the hon. Members sitting opposite. As I said on another occasion, I have a serious outlook on matters like this. Even when I am not minded seriously, I take the proceedings of this House seriously and I also take that the hon. Members opposite are very earnest in their pleadings for the cause which they have taken up. We must show all consideration to minorities in our country. (Hear, hear, from the Muslim League benches.) We are one people. But we have to reckon with the fact that we have minorities living amidst us who need special treatment. Let them rest assured that all their reasonable claims will be conceded and more especially claims in respect of education. We have had so much confusion in the past on educational policies that we have got to revise the whole of it afresh and I plead with the Hon. Minister to take things at one glance and reform the entire educational system of the country in order that we may make progress towards the end which we all of us so much desire, that we become in our heart of hearts one people and one nation. The limit of concessions will only be when such concessions begin to perpetuate the unfortunate idea of separation and separate nationhood. Short of that all concessions must be given. In fact large sums of money earmarked for the purpose should be set apart for education of backward communities. If the Muslims admit that they are backward and I know many of them are hopelessly backward in education, they need all the assistance we would like to give from this side of the House. I am not opposed to any concessions being made to them in respect of education and all that means.

" But let me draw the attention of the hon. Members opposite to another aspect of the matter. The medium of education is one thing and the substance of education quite another. It is unfortunate, no doubt, that we have all received our education in a totally foreign tongue and if our education has suffered in any degree, it is primarily due to this cause. But you cannot say that regional languages are foreign languages. You must also be aware of the fact that we may not be sitting as a composite Province in this Legislature all the time. We have to look ahead to the future. We may have separate Provinces based on languages, not because language is the symbol of our unity—I do not admit that proposition for one moment—but because unity may be helped to some extent by the adoption of one common language for any people living within a geographical limit.

" Now there is not much difficulty—Madam, I should have used the words ' there is not much hardship '—in the case of the Muslim boys, even in the Andhra Desa learning his ordinary lessons in the regional language. I do not say that he should give up Urdu or that we should put wrong ideas into his head that Urdu is a foreign language which he may not touch or study. That is not the object of anybody on this side. The idea is that if our Courts, if our Government, if the whole of the administration from the village official right up to the Collector are to be conducted in the language of the Province the best thing would be for education to be imparted in the language of that area. If we once begin to make distinctions even for small numbers and instil the idea of separate schools based on separate language media then arises the demand for separate teachers, separate hostels and separation in every thing that we believe is bad. I object to the whole policy of separate schools, separate teachers, separate mentality and separate nationhood. That is to go and I know it won't go very quickly. I am not a vain optimist who looks forward to its disappearing overnight but when we meet together again and again and thrash out subjects not only on the floor of this House but before the public we shall be able one dya to show that we have got rid of this pernicious doctrine of separate nationhood.

" Madam, the first thing is that the child should learn that it is living not only in a free country but in a united country. It is most important for the child. Mr. Raza Khan made a very fine speech. I like him for one thing. He says things bluntly and he says things in an understandable manner. But I must respectfully tell him that we are not out here to wage war on Urdu or any such thing. Urdu will occupy an honoured place in the curriculum if boys want to learn Urdu. They will learn it even as they learn Sanskrit, not as an optional, but as a language in which to specialise. Let us grant scholarships. Let us encourage research work in Urdu and all that. Unfortunately he referred to Gandhiji's statement which has appeared this morning in the papers. Let me dwell on it for a few minutes. Gandhiji says: We should all talk one language if possible. In Northern India, a message goes easily home because they all talk in day-to-day practice one language call it what you will, Hindustani or Urdu or Hindi. But it is written in two scripts, Devanagari and Urdu. He says: Why should you not make the scripts optional for both people. Hindus may use Urdu if they like. Muslims may use Devanagari if they like. But if Muslims want to use the Urdu script why do you object? I agree, Sir. Let me add my own little experience. In jail I tried to learn Urdu script at the age of 45 which is a very difficult thing to do. It is a beautiful script. It is like shorthand. It saves a lot of space but it is a very complicated script for an aged man, for a middle-aged man like me. It may be an easy script to learn for boys. I am glad to inform you that in a school run in jail more than 100 boys, all non-Muslims, learnt the Urdu script and then when they went out on parole, they made it a point to write letters to the Munshi in the jail in the Urdu script which they learnt in jail from him. As I said there is no question of shunning any language. We are all civilised people. A country which gave domicile to all the nations of the world and to all religions cannot be accused of intolerance in this matter. Let us develop the language by all means. Let us also encourage the use of the script wherever it can be encouraged in private schools and even in Universities, but let us bear in mind one governing factor that all education must aim at uniting the people and with that aim solely in view, the best thing to-day would be not to teach any people in a foreign language—English or some other language—which is totally foreign either to the people inhabiting the region or the country as a whole. Let us educate ourselves in the language of the people amongst whom we live. If we go to the bazaar, or the shandy or to the college or if we reside in the remotest villages of the area, let it be recognised that our education is the same. There is no Tamil mathematics as such; there is no Urdu mathematics as such. Ten plus ten is twenty whether it is taught in Urdu or in any other language. The substance of education is the same. The utmost need of the hour is education and more education. (M. Muhammad Ismail Sahib Bahadur: Then why not in English?) I have told you that you can study your language, you can ask for special facilities to learn particular languages as part of the curriculum. More than that you cannot ask. Let there be no statement about the neglect of minorities. All that I wish to say, Sir, is that the obligation cast on the majority—they have only obligations, mind you—is to protect the rights of minorities. Please underline the word ' rights '. Minorities will never be forgotten by this country. India Zindabad! " 3-45 p.m.

* SRI K. ANANDAN NAMBIYAR:—" Sir, I rise to support the resolution moved by hon. Friend Begum Sultan Mir Amiruddin. The purpose with which I do so is this. I find in this House two camps, one camp belonging to the minority says that the majority are oppressing them and the majority say that they are not oppressing them and that they give them what they are entitled to. I find that these two run on parallel lines with no chance of ever meeting. There must be a place where these two must meet, more so now because there is the greatest danger of the communal strife in Northern India spreading to other parts of India also. (Kumararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiyar of Chettinad: ' Like railway lines.') The Kumararaja need not worry about it. There must be an understanding between the majority and the minority if communal strife is to end and never to take place again in this country. The plea of the minority is that those Muslims who speak Urdu at home should be permitted to have their studies in schools in Urdu. The resolution as it is moved is a bit ambiguous and I hope the mover of the resolution will certainly make it clear. But that is no reason why the entire spirit of the resolution should be fought against. We will take the resolution as explained by the mover into consideration. We feel that if after August 15th, the Muslims in this part of India feel that they are neglected, they should not be allowed to do so. We should give the Muslims even more than they are entitled to. So I would request the Hon. Minister to tell them: ' If till yesterday you have been speaking or learning through Urdu in your school, you will be allowed to continue that '. I do not mean to say that in Malabar where the Mappillas are not speaking Urdu it should be thrust on them, or where in Tamil Nad or Andhra Desa Muslims are not speaking Urdu, it should be thrust on them. But wherever Muslims feel that this is their right and they claim it as their right, give it to them in the interest of communal unity. Minorities must be given encouragement especially when they are not asking for more seats and more money. They only say: ' Allow us to learn our language and develop our culture '. Culture must be en-

couraged. The culture of Muslims must be encouraged and the culture of Hindus must be encouraged. When we have more culture unity will come. In the interest of unity, I submit that the Hon. Minister should take a serious notice of this question and see that Muslim members are not made to feel that they are deprived of a right or that they are disrespected in this respect. Now to-day they say that they are one and that they would live as loyal subjects of this Dominion which is their homeland. Their feeling also has been expressed in every practical way. I have seen the Indian Dominion flag flying on many Muslim League offices. They are not creating communal strife. They are creating unity in the Madras Province. We must help them and remove any fear they may have in their minds. If in any particular thing they ask for more than they are entitled to, we must be prepared to give them. That must be the policy of the majority, the Hindus, the Congress party now in power. That is why I support this resolution and I request the Hon. Minister for Education to consider the matter from this point of view and not from a party point or political point."

* N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—" Madam, we are now passing through very delicate times of transition and it is very unfortunate that certain developments in the north should have given cause for certain feelings and even such problems which must have been guaranteed statutorily in any constitution as part of the safeguards for minorities should now come in for discussion on the floor of the House. But I am sure, Madam, we are going to have very soon a turn for the better, a good and glorious future when the different communities are going to work hand in hand notwithstanding the antecedents we have experienced in the past. I want the Hon. Minister for Education and the hon. Members opposite to view matters in that perspective and visualise the problems in that context and see how best we can seek harmonious relations between the different elements in this dominion.

" Madam, language has come as the most important problem even for the division of our province. When such is the importance attached to language I wonder how it is that some hon. Members opposite have not realised how keen the Muslims must feel with regard to a language which they consider as their mother tongue in many parts of the province. Madam, the resolution which has been moved is so clear that it only seeks for the provision of Urdu as the medium of instruction in schools only in such areas where Muslims have it as their mother tongue. I do not see why any reasonable Government and any reasonable people should have any objection when a particular section of people claim it as their mother tongue. The language we learn in our cradle we have a natural right to claim and a birthright to claim as our mother tongue. We should not be denied that right. I am sure, Madam, that this country which would seek pride of place in the comity of civilised nations would very much in its own interest like to promote harmony and peace and would not try to interfere with the legitimate rights of minorities.

" Madam, let it not be for a moment misunderstood that Urdu is the language of the Muslims and Muslims alone. No doubt, in this province Urdu is spoken largely by the Muslims and it is viewed by most of them as their mother tongue. I do concede that in certain areas particularly in Tamil Nad and Malabar Urdu might not have spread as mother tongue of the Muslims, but there are large areas particularly in Andhra Desa where Muslims consider Urdu as their mother tongue. We have no antipathy or prejudice against the regional language. In fact we are happy that English is going. It must go. The sooner the better. But I would go a step further than the Hon. Minister for Education and plead that this English which is surviving as a relic of our slavery must die and die soon. I know too well its importance in matters of international relations, yet it should not be given priority over other languages of international importance like German or French or Arabic. I do not mean that we have a prejudice against the claims of the regional language. We are only asking for our birthright, our elementary right, our human right to be allowed to learn through a language which we have learnt in our cradle, a language which we carry through in our homes, a language in which we can express our ideas and culture as best as possible. I believe nobody can with reason interfere with this legitimate rights of minorities. When I say that this language is largely spoken here by the Muslims, it does not necessarily mean that it is the language of the Muslims alone. It might be so in the south. Even here in certain areas, there are people belonging to different communities who know and speak Urdu. Particularly I speak of the Ceded Districts. Madam, in the United Provinces, Urdu is the language of all the communities. The Prime Minister of the Indian Dominion Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his entire family take pride in expressing their thoughts in Urdu, a language which has been flourishing and which has given inspiration for millions and millions including me. The Kashmiri Pandits have got Urdu as their mother tongue. The President of the Urdu Anjuman of India happens to be Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. We have got great poets, great authors, and great savants of literature in this language from among Hindus, Christians, Jains and Buddhists. Yet it has been mistaken in the south that it is the language of the Muslims alone. If that prejudice is still lurking in the mind of the Hon. Minister for Education, I would appeal to him to wipe out that prejudice and approach the problem afresh. It is very unfortunate that this problem
4 p.m. should have been approached from the standpoint of politicians. Let us confess that while politicians have a claim to represent the people, they should not arrogate unto themselves the claim to be authorities in matters of language and literature and interfere with even the legitimate rights of minorities. It is true, as my hon. Friend Mr. Subbaraman has said, that there are certain schools at Madura City where Urdu is the medium of instruction notwithstanding the fact that the Muslims in the district happen to claim Tamil as their mother tongue. We are not here asking for pressing down the unwilling throats of even Muslims a language which is not their mother tongue. That will be very unfair on our part. We are only asking this that in such areas of our province where the Muslims have been claiming by tradition and by genius Urdu as their mother tongue, let them be given this elementary right to receive instruction through their mother tongue.

" Madam, here I would like to refer to the controversy to which reference was made by my hon. Friend Mr. Varadachariar, the controversy over the *lingua franca* of the future. We are happy, I think much more happy than many friends sitting opposite, that Hindustani—call it by any name Hindustani, Urdu or Hindi—is going to be the *lingua franca* of India. We know that the common vocabulary, the language which is spoken in the market-place, is very largely understood by the generality of the people and we would very much wish that that language becomes the *lingua franca* of India. But we do not feel happy when certain-powers-that-be are still agitating against the Persian script being given its rightful place on a par with the Devanagiri script. I should like to bring to your notice, Madam, that we have got mighty giants taking up our cause at the Centre. Gandhiji has been pleading for several months now, notwithstanding the fact that the Powers at the moment are running counter to his advice. It is true that when feelings are running high and when appeal is made not so much to the intellect as to the emotions, certain vested interests have been captivated by slogans which are ultimately going to be prejudicial to the interests of this Dominion. But Gandhiji, shrewd that he has been, has foreseen the repercussions of that tendency, and time and again he has been crying halt to the controversy that there must be propagation of only one script to the utter exclusion of the Urdu script. Let me tell you on the aurthority of those who possess secret knowledge of the pwers-that-be that there is considerable controversy among the powers themselves. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad who is in charge of the Education portfolio in the Indian Dominion, and ever so many others are already feeling pitted against this political capital that certain reactionaries are making at the Centre to propagate only one script. In the interests of your own party, in the interests of your own government, in the interests of the future of this Dominion, if you want to preserve peace and harmony in the province, if you want to enlist the consent and willing co-operation of the minorities, if you want to seek and sustain our goodwill, allow us this elementary right! I do not want that the hon. Mr. Varadachariar should stop with mere words, words and words! Times are gone when we can stop with words. We will judge you by your actions and achievements and not by mere slogans. You are not taking heed at the moment of the future which we particularly want India to witness. (Interruption.) I beseech you to hold your souls in patience for a moment and understand the problem. You are not dealing with the issue of a language or the sentiments of a people; you are dealing a deathblow to the future prospects of the Dominion if you are going to deny to the Muslims of our province their solemn birthright!"

* SRI A. KALESWARA RAO:—" Madam Deputy Speaker, a great lady has moved an important resolution. But I must give my opinion in a rational way. The resolution wants that the Government should make provision for imparting to Muslims boys and girls instruction in Urdu from the lowest standard to the highest class. 'Schools and colleges' those are the words used, not only elementary schools, not only high schools, but also colleges and research institutions.. The funds of the State have

to be utilized for establishing separate institutions for teaching in Urdu from the first standard to the Ph.D. class. That is the proposition before the House. Is it practical? Is it necessary? These are the questions that I have to put before the House without any prejudice. Now in the Indian Dominion, we are one nation under one flag. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Anglo-Indians are all brethren. We must thank the Muslims of our province (Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib Bahadur: and also the Hindus) for having kept up harmony among the two communities.

Of course, we Hindus also are as anxious as you are. This proposition has come in the old fashion. There was the fashion of division; there was the fashion of two-nation theory. Our angle of vision must change. The Muslims of our province are in a minority, a small minority I should say. Here I have got the figures for the Andhra districts. The Muslim population in Vizagapatam is less than 1 per cent, in East Godavari less than 2 per cent, in West Godavari 2·1 per cent, in Kistna 5 per cent, in Guntur 8 per cent and in Nellore 7 per cent. It is only in the Ceded districts that their population strength is between 10 to 15 per cent. The Muslims concede that there is no necessity for having separate schools for teaching in Urdu in Tamilnad, Kerala and Karnataka, because that their mother tongue is admittedly the regional language. I also admit that in Andhra the Muslims talk Urdu and that that is their mother tongue. They know Telugu also but that is a different matter. I can understand the minorities expecting the Government to give facilities for teaching primary education in their mother-togue. In the Madras Province, Muslims will be about 40 lakhs or 50 lakhs at the most The Telugus in Tamilnad are also 40 lakhs. Whatever I expect for the Telugus in Tamilnad I am prepared to concede to the Muslims. I do not expect that separate high schools and colleges should be opened for the Telugu-speaking people in Tamilnad. That is not a reasonable request. At the most I expect that the Andhras, who have settled in the Tamil districts, may be given instruction in Telugu in the primary stage, so that they may not forget their mother tongue. I cannot expect the Government to do more. In the new curriculum the Congress Ministry is going to make Hindustani compulsory not only for the Muslims but also for the Hindus. Every boy of the future generation will have to learn Hindustani as a compulsory second language. That is a great gain to the Muslims as a whole. English will be replaced by Hindustani on a large scale. We call it Hindustani, but we do not want to quarrel over the script. We follow the advice of Mahatma Gandhi that Hindustani will be in two scripts. I learnt Urdu in jail. I know the Urdu script better than the Hindi script. Very often I write letters to Mahatma Gandhi in Urdu and I get the reply also in Urdu. Therefore I prefer that the Andhra Hindus, particularly those living near the Nizam's State should learn the Urdu script. I do not see why my Muslim friends are disturbed over the future. They need not be anxious about the future. Hindustani will be made compulsory from the lowest to the M.A. or Ph.D. class. I am talking as a member of the Andhra University Syndicate. India is going to be divided into linguistic provinces. Within one year Madras will be divided into Tamilnad, Andhradesa and Kerala, and not into a Urdu province. The language of the province will be the medium of instruction from the lowest to the highest standard. That will be the language of the administration also from the karnam's *daftar* to the High Court and the Government Secretariat. Telugu will be the language in Andhra Province and Tamil in the Tamil province. Therefore I do not see how the recommendation in the resolution is a practical proposition. You want Urdu to be the medium of instruction. Mathematics, physics, chemistry everything should be taught in Urdu. You are not satisfied with Urdu being a second language so that you may not forget your mother tongue. That is reasonable and the Government are going to make it without your asking. In the village schools and the district board schools, there are not many Muslims. The Muslims are congregated only in towns. How can there be separate schools teaching science, mathematics, history and every other subject in Urdu, I ask. Now after the separation of Pakistan and India, when we are one under the Indian Dominion, this request is quite unreasonable. What shall we do with Anglo-Indians? They will say that English is their mother tongue and ask that that language should be the medium for teaching them mathematics, science, history, philosophy, technical education, etc. So we shall have to continue the foreign language as the medium. Is it reasonable? There must be some rationale in the demand. It is not practical that the State funds should be spent on two sets of universities, two sets of colleges, and two sets of schools everywhere. If the Muslims get a Urdu province, then it will be a different matter. In the Indian Dominion, they are dispersed in various places. As I said, India is going to be divided into linguistic provinces. Only the provincial language can be the medium of instruction leave aside the regional language hereafter. The medium of administration must be in the Provincial language. 4-15 p.m.

"Therefore, Madam, this question of the medium of instruction through Urdu for Muslim boys is not practical and it is not a question of the minority rights at all. But if certain special facilities are demanded by Muslims for developing Muslim culture in Urdu, or if Islam is to be taught separately in certain institutions, as for instance the starting of a Telugu Academy in Trichinopoly, or an Andhra Encyclopedia somewhere in the Andhra districts, perhaps the Hon. Minister for Education will be glad to open such institutions and develop them. But to make Urdu as the medium of instruction in every school and college and to run parallel institutions for the Muslims in Urdu is too much to demand and I therefore oppose this resolution."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Madam, Deputy Speaker, I wish to support this resolution and in doing so, I wish to say this at the outset, that whenever we discuss the question of the rights of minorities not only in this province, but also in the Union of India, we do so, after the 15th August, on a different level from what we did before that date. The Hon. the Minister for Education is a learned gentleman. He is a nationalist and he wishes to do his best for evolving an educational policy which will be responsible for creating unity in this Province and bringing about a national outlook among the children of to-day who will be citizens of tomorrow. We entirely agree; and it is our endeavour to try to inculcate in the minds of the children and of the youth to-day that spirit of nationalism and service to the mother country. We are in no whit less anxious than the Hon. Minister nor any other members sitting opposite in this direction. While we do so, we wish to make it clear that there can be no two opinions as regards the question of the mother tongue of a people. My hon. friend Mr. Kaleswara Rao took a lot of pains to collect statistics of the Muslim population in the various districts in the Province, particularly in the Andhra districts. It is true that in some of the districts, the percentage of population is very small and in some others, it is not large. But at the same time, I am sure he will be rational enough, as he started his speech with that claim, to admit that you cannot be, any artificial means change the mother tongue of one individual or one community. You can do so only in two ways. One of them is to compel people to learn a language even from the cradle —if a child can speak—which is not the language of the mother. The mother tongue is the language of the mother and also of the child. The mother is there and the child which can learn only the language of the mother is lying in the cradle or on the lap of the mother. It is impossible for you to think of the child without the mother. You cannot separate the child by any means from the mother nor can you teach the child any other language except that of the mother. It is too late in the day for you to tell us that the mother tongue and the regional language are one and the same thing. The other way is to take away the boys from their homes and put them in a concentration camp and educate them in a language which is not the language of their mother. Are you going to adopt such methods? Are you going to say here and now, 'Children speaking their mother tongue in Urdu will not be given education in that language. They will have to learn through the medium of the regional language.' Will that be a reasonable order? Will that order be accepted by the great leader Gandhiji? I do not think that any Congress leader or any honourable gentleman however anxious he is to nationalise this country will agree to such a regimental method of unifying the nation, destroying everything that makes any difference between one thing and another, or between one individual and another. It is not by the iron hand, it is not by adopting such Hitlerian methods of regimentations that you can succeed in bringing about unity and amity among the people or a national outlook among them. It is not by these Hitlerian ways that you can achieve your great objective. You have to recognise the differences wherever they are. Only with those differences you will have to build up the country. It is not by overlooking the differences, it is not by avoiding the differences or by destroying them, that you can build up a unified country. Madam, I am glad when my friend Mr. N. S. Varadachari said 'You will learn Urdu; you will learn more Urdu.' That ought to be spirit in which we have to look at the question and I believe we have to go about our business with that spirit.

" Madam, my hon. Friend Mr. Kaleswara Rao rightly referred to the remarkable harmony, understanding and social fellowship that have been prevailing among the various communities in this part of the country. It is certainly due to the understanding and goodwill on the part of both the communities, the Hindus and the Muslims that there is such a harmony to-day and that we are spared of all those unfortunate things that are blackening the fair name of our country in the north. It must be our endeavour to sustain that harmony, not only to sustain that harmony, but also to make it grow, to increase it, to redouble it, and if possible, to make it manifold in its strength. We can do so only by recognising our differences and understanding the different requirements of the different people. We in our youth allow our enthusiasm to surpass our reason. It is true that some of us, when we were young, had ambitions very different from what we have to-day. A nation cannot be built by undeveloped minds, but it can be built only by minds which have attained maturity and which are fully developed. We depend on those master brains to come and tackle these problems in the manner in which they have to be tackled and to solve them to the lasting benefit of all people and of all communities.

" Madam, my hon. Friend Mr. Kaleswara Rao—I cannot forget him, he is an old friend of mine—is one who has laboured hard for the country and has put in a very long time in the service of the country and has struggled hard for the achievement of her freedom. (Mr. Salam: He has not become a Minister yet!) That does not matter. It is not possible for everyone to become a Minister. Madam, in the course of his very reasonable speech, he referred to the fact that the Government of Madras is going to make Hindustani compulsory for all the students in this Presidency. He said that Hindustani will be taught to every child, boy and girl from the beginning, that is, from the lowest standard to the highest and that it is going to replace English. When the Government are proposing to teach Hindustani to everyone, there ought to be no difficulty whatsoever to find ways and means of at least having certain classes for pupils learning Urdu to the extent they require. That can be done only if you recognise that Urdu is their mother-tongue. Before I proceed further, I should like to refer to what Gandhiji said—and is reported in this morning's paper—with regard to what happened in the United Provinces. He has been saying so for a long time past, and he has said it to-day that Hindustani should be taught, written and learnt, not only through the medium of the Nagari dialects, but also through the Urdu script.

" I dare say the Hon. Minister for Education and the Government of Madras will make arrangements for teaching Hindustani in both the dialects. If you are going to make Urdu one of the compulsory dialects for Hindustani, it becomes necessary for you to have a large number of teachers who can teach Hindustani through the Urdu dialect. If you are going to prevent even the Urdu-speaking Mussalmans from learning through the medium of Urdu, how much effort can you honestly and sincerely make to teach Hindustani through the medium of Urdu to people other than Mussalmans? There ought not to be any difficulty whatsoever in making it possible for a large number of people to learn Hindustani or Urdu through the medium of the Urdu dialect. If you should have teachers who can teach in the elementary schools, in the high schools and in the colleges Hindustani in the Urdu dialect, after all you must have people who have learnt that language from the beginning. You cannot all of a sudden ask a Tamil-speaking Muslim or Hindu to come to the Intermediate or B.A. class and try to learn Hindustani either in the Nagari script or the Urdu script. You will have to learn that language from the very beginning in both these dialects. The Muslim must learn the Nagari dialect and the Hindu must learn to read and write in the Urdu dialect, if we are anxious to propagate the learning of Hindustani in both these dialects in obedience to the wishes of Gandhiji. There again, I say you cannot ignore the teaching and the learning of Urdu. I have said that a large number of Muslims in the Andhra districts claim that Urdu is their mother-tongue and that if you are going to introduce compulsory primary elementary education up to a certain standard, and you are not going to allow—and naturally you will not allow—any other agency to be responsible for the education of a certain section of the population at least up to the elementary standard of education and you are going to take the entire responsibility of educating the students of all classes in the State up to a certain standard, whether lower elementary standard or the higher elementary standard, if the State is going to spend the funds from its coffers, then it becomes your duty and your responsibility to impart education to the children of the various classes and communities in the province according to the mother-tongues of the child. I think I have graphically described the impossibility of compelling a child from his cradle to learn a language different from that of his mother. The resolution, worded as it is, speaks of making provision 'for Muslim students to receive instruction in schools and colleges through the medium of Urdu, wherever they desire to do so.' My Hon. Friend the Minister for Education might probably accept the resolution if it was worded somewhat differently, if it was confined to making Urdu the medium of instruction so far as elementary education is concerned or if the medium of instruction so far as high schools are concerned was Urdu or if the medium of instruction did not go beyond the high school stage. All these things can be examined and dealt with when we sit down to discuss the pros and cons of the various aspects of the question, when the Hon. Minister for Education and the members of this party sit together to try to devise ways and means of solving the problem. I submitted in the earlier stages of the discussion, that this is a very important question, a subject which vitally affected the life, culture and the future well-being of a certain class of people in this Province. For solving the problem and for achieving the object common to all of us, I believe if the Hon. Minister for Education, the Hon. Leader of the House and my Hon. Friend, the Minister for Finance are prepared to have a heart-to-heart talk with some of us on this side of the House and thrash out this vital question threadbare and fully, I have no doubt in my mind that it will be possible for us to find a satisfactory solution to this question. A demand of this nature was made by the Hon. Minister for Education. He agreed or rather offered to the Leader of the Opposition that these questions could be settled and an amicable arrangement come to with amity and understanding on both sides. We have been trying to do so for some time now and I am sure it will not be long before we can find a solution for this problem. The Hon. Minister for Education is anxious and we are also anxious, that an understanding should be come to, not only on this question but on other major and vital questions also, there must be complete agreement between the Muslims and the Hindus living in this Province. For instance, there are questions of religion, the question of music before mosques, the question of education, the language, etc., and we are all anxious that we must come to complete understanding with perfect amity on these vital questions, so that hereafter there will be no opportunity for misunderstanding and no need for members sitting on this side to ask questions like 'How many schools have you opened for Muslims, how many appointments have you given to Muslims' and questions like that. We are all anxious to come to such an understanding—I am sure my Hon. Friend the Leader of the House also is anxious—in the interests of the welfare and well-being of the people of this Province. It is not our anxiety only; it is the anxiety of all the people of the Province that whatever differences there are to-day, should be settled very soon, in the interests of the future well-being of this great Province. Madam, you are aware that the question of minorities occupies to-day a very high place, not only in the Union of India but also in Pakistan. There is a move at a very high level to reach conclusions satisfactory to both the Dominions on the questions of the position, place, language, culture and other vital questions relating to minorities in both the Dominions. They are now being discussed and negotiated at high level and I am sure it will not be long before these questions are solved satisfactorily. Here in this Province also, these questions can be discussed and agreement come to on a high level, in a willing and heart-felt manner; because in this Province particularly, it will be the easiest thing to do. Because we Muslims understand our brothers the Hindus and the Hindu brothers understand us. Therefore we can easily come to an agreement here; and even before other questions are solved at high level between Hindustan and Pakistan—I am sorry, I stand corrected by my Hon. Friend the Home Minister—between the Indian Union and Pakistan, we in Madras can easily settle these questions much earlier."

4-30 p.m.

SRI P. KANDASWAMI PILLAI:—" On a point of information, Madam. I would like to know whether the hon. Member is speaking about unity in this country or about the education in this country which is the subject-matter."

4-45 p.m.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER:—" The hon. Member thinks that he can bring about unity by speaking about the common language."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—" I am thankful to the Hon. the Deputy Speaker for clarifying the position. My hon. Friend Mr. Kaleswara Rao knows more than I do with what vehemence and with what anxiety they view this language

question. Some of my hon. Friends from the Andhra Desa rise up whenever the question of linguistic provinces comes up in this House. We want linguistic provinces because we love our respective languages. The Andhras love the Telugu language. They believe that they must have all the opportunities to cultivate their culture through their own mother-tongue. So, Telugu, the mother-tongue of my Andhra friends is so beloved to them and so also Tamil which is the language of the people here is so beloved to them. So, I submit that Urdu language which is the mother-tongue of a certain number of people in this Province is equally beloved to them, because they find their literature in that language and they find their culture in that language and what is more, they want to ask the Government to make Urdu the medium of instruction for them so that they can grow along with my friends the Telugus and the Tamils side by side, separately but as one people for all practical purposes. I therefore plead with my hon. Friends who have great regard and respect for their respective languages to give the same regard and respect for the languages of the other people also. I do not agree with what the Hon. the Minister for Education says, because when once this Province is divided on linguistic basis, Andhra Desa becoming separate with Telugu as its State language and Tamil Nad separate with Tamil becoming its State language, where will the Muslims be in this Province when the language of the State will be other than Urdu? My answer to this question, Madam, is this. We are oblivious to that hard fact. We fully realize our future position in these two linguistic provinces. We will have to learn the respective regional languages. The Telugu Muslims whose mother-tongue is Urdu will have to learn Telugu and similarly the Muslims in the Tamil Nad will have to learn Tamil if they want to exist and prosper in both these linguistic States. (Interruption). I must tell my Hon. Friend, the Leader of the House, that some of us will be in a very difficult position. For the matter of that, when once the regional language becomes the language of the Parliament or the language of this House, the Muslims will find it very difficult for them. We understand the entire aspect of the question and we know what to do and how to solve the problem. It is not as if that we do not want our children to learn either Tamil or Telugu. They will learn those languages but they cannot be de-nationalized and they ought not be de-nationalized for the sake of their bread.

"Madam, the argument that used to be advanced always against the English language holds even with regard to this matter. We were compelled to learn the English language, not for its own sake. Perhaps we learnt the English language because we thought there was culture in it, because we thought there was Shakespeare, Tennyson, Ruskin and so many other great authors. So, we learnt that language and that literature and we came to understand what is democracy. So, also we learnt so many other languages. The argument that has been advanced against the English language should hold good so far as the Urdu-speaking Muslims whose mother-tongue is Urdu are concerned to the same extent, if not more. So, I say that either Tamil or Telugu will be foreign to us whose mother-tongue is Urdu. We will learn Telugu and Tamil just as we learnt the English language for the sake of our bread. (At this stage the Speaker occupied the Chair.) We will learn those languages to the extent necessary to serve that purpose but we cannot be asked to de-nationalise ourselves and to forget that our mother-tongue is Urdu. We should not be compelled to learn a foreign language, foreign to the extent that it is a language which is not our mother-tongue. I do not want to classify Tamil and Telugu along with English. English occupies a different place altogether but inasmuch as it is a language which is not known to us, to that extent it is an alien language, a foreign language. So, I say the same argument will hold good to this aspect of the question. The Hon. the Minister for Education who has been thinking very seriously on this question has not yet made up his mind because he is seeing things differently. He can invite us to a social meeting where we can sit together and most conveniently and comfortably apply our minds to this vital question and solve it in a manner which will be acceptable to both him and to ourselves. It is a very serious matter which affects our future. It affects our culture and it affects our well-being. We do not want to be de-nationalised so far as our language and our culture are concerned. I am sure the Hon. the Educaton Minister who has got all sympathy for all the people in this Province will try his best to bring all the people to one point of unity. He must recognise—I dare say he will recognise—that differences are there and differences will be there but these differences will not be so serious as to keep us apart but are such as will bring us together and to a certain extent we will become one. I support the motion."

* M. S. ABDUL MAJID SAHIB BAHADUR:—" கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, நான் இந்த பிரேரேணையை தமிழில் பேச கனம் தலைவர் அவர்கள் உத்தரவு கொடுத்ததைக் கண்டு மகிழ்கிறேன். தமிழகத்தில் பிறந்த நான், தமிழ் பாஷையை தாய் பாஷையாக கொண்ட நான், தமிழ் பாஷையை அபிவிருத்திசெய்ய ஆழ்ந்த அபிமானத்தைக்கொண்ட நான், தமிழில் பேச இவ்விடத்திற்கு வந்ததற்கு காரணம் உண்டு. எனென்றால் எனது தாய்பாஷையாக இருக்கும் தமிழை ஒவ்வொரு தமிழனும் ஆதரிக்க வேண்டுமென்று அழுத்திச்சொல்லவே இப்பொழுது நான் தமிழில் பேச முன்வந்தேன். நமது கனம் கல்வி மந்திரி அவர்கள் சென்றவருடம் அண்ணமலை யுனிவர்சிடிக் கழகத்தில் Convocation address-ஐ நமது அழகிய தாய்பாஷையாகிய தமிழிலேயே நிகழ்த்தினர். நான் அந்த யுனிவர்சிடி Senate மெம்பராக இருப்பதால் அச்சமயத்தில் நான் அங்கு சென்றிருந்தேன். அவர் செய்த Convocation address-ஐ நான் மிகவும் ஆழ்ந்து கவனித்தேன். ஒரு சமூகத்தினர், ஒரு நாட்டினர், தங்களது கலையையும், தங்களது கலாசாரத்தையும் அபிவிருத்தி செய்யவேண்டுமென்றால் அந்தக் கலையையும், அந்தக் கலாசாரத்தையும் அந்த நாகரீகத்தையும் அவர்கள் தங்களது தாய்பாஷையில்தான் அபிவிர்த்திசெய்ய முடியுமென்று அவர் தெரிவித்தார். அதை நான் மனப் பூர்வமாக ஆதரிக்கிறேன். அதை ஆதரிப்பதுடன் அவ்விதமான தன்மை யையும் அவ்விதமான ஒரு நிலமையையும் அந்த நியாயத்தையும் எல்லா சமூகத்திலிருக்கும் எல்லா மக்களுக்கும் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதே ஒரு தமிழனின் விருப்பமாக இருக்கிறது. எனென்றால் ஒரு சமூகத்தினரின் கலை, கலாசாரம், நாகரீகம் வளரவேண்டுமாயின் அந்த சமூகத்தினரின் பாஷையில்தான் வளரமுடியும். தனக்கு ஒரு நியாயமும் மற்றவருக்கு ஒரு நியாயமும் என்று நினைப்பது தமிழனின் வழக்கமில்லை. தமிழன் அன்றும், இன்றும், என்றும் பரந்த நோக்கமும், உயரிய எண்ணமும், ஆழ்ந்த அறிவும் படைத்தவன். எவ்வித, பாகுபாடு மில்லாமல் அந்நியர் களை அன்புடன் வரவேற்று உபசரிப்பவன். அரேபியர்கள் வந்தார்கள், ரோமாபுரி மக்கள் வந்தார்கள், இன்னும் வடநாட்டினர் அநேகம் கோடி மக்கள் தமிழகத்திற்கு வந்தனர். அவர்களை அன்புடன் வரவேற்றது மல்லா மல் அவர்களுக்கு பாஷா சுதந்திரம், மற்றுமெல்லா சுதந்திரங்களையும் வழங்கினர்."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Just five minutes ago, some hon. Members expressed their wish that we might adjourn for the day. But after hearing the splendid speech of the hon. Member, Mr. Majid, I think the House is prepared to sit even till 6 o'clock."

(SOME HON. MEMBERS "no, no.")

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Friday, the 17th October 1947.

NON-OFFICIAL BUSINESS.

III.—RESOLUTION re INSTRUCTION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF URDU IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES—*cont.*

(The discussion on the above resolution was resumed.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"The other day, the hon. Member Mr. Abdul Majid was speaking on this resolution. Before I call on Mr. Majid, I think it is better if hon. Members Begum Sultan Mir Amiruddin and Mr. Muhammad Ismail Sahib move their amendments so that discussion may go on simultaneously on the amendments and on the main resolution."

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"I am not moving my amendment, Sir."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Sir, I have the honour to move the following amendments:—

'(1) *After the word "students," the words "whose mother-tongue is Urdu" shall be inserted.*

(2) *For the word "Urdu", the words "that language" shall be substituted.*

(3) *The following shall be added at the end:—*

"Provided there is a sufficient number of such students in the locality."'

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I second the amendments, Sir."

M. S. ABDUL MAJID SAHIB BAHADUR:—" கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, அன்றயதினம் நான் என்னுடைய பேச்சை நிருத்திக்கொள்ளும் சமயம் சென்ற ஆண்டில் அண்ணமலை கலா சங்கத்தில் கனம் கல்வி மந்திரி அவர்கள் நிகழ்த்திய சொற்பொழிவில் தாய் பாஷை சம்பந்தமாக தெரி வித்த விஷயத்தை தங்களுக்கும், தங்கள் மூலம் கண்ணியம் பொருந்திய இந்த சபை அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கும் தெரிவித்தேன். ஒருவன் தன்னுடைய கலையை வளர்க்கவேண்டுமானால் அவனுடைய தாய் பாஷைதான் அதற்கு சரியான சாதனமென்பது கனம் கல்வி மந்திரி அவர்களின் கொள்கையாக இருக்கிறது. அதுவே உலக மக்களின் கொள்கையும் ஆகும். உலகத்தில் எத்தனையோ மனித கூட்டங்கள் தங்களின் தாய் பாஷையின் மூலமாகத் தான் அவர்களின் கலையையும், கலா சாரத்தையும், நாகரீகத்தையும் வளர்க் தின்றார்கள். எத்தனையோ சமுதாயங்கள் அவர்களின் தாய் பாஷையின் உதவி இல்லாததின் காரணத்தால் . . ." 12-15 p.m.

SRI P. NATESAN:—"On a point of order, Sir. I would like to know whether it is in order for an hon. Member to speak in Tamil because the Secretary has sent a written circular asking the

Members in what particular language he is going to speak. I suppose we are committed to that particular language. The hon. Member is so well conversant in English that I would rather like him to speak in English. But, if he wants to show himself off in Tamil, I would also like to speak in Tamil hereafter."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have already told you that at that time section 85 was enforced but now it has been repealed. The hon. Member may continue his speech."

M. S. ABDUL MAJID SAHIB BAHADUR :—" கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, இன்றையதினம் நான் தமிழில் பேசுவது எனக்கு தமிழ் பாஷை தெரியும் என்பதை தங்களுக்கும், இந்த சபை அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கும், பறை சாற்றுவதற்கல்ல. இன்றைய தீர்மானம் தாய் பாஷை சம்பந்தமாகயிருப்பதால் எனது தாய் பாஷையாகிய தமிழில் என் அபிப்பிராயத்தைத் தெரிவிக்க முன்வந்துள்ளேன். இது சம்பந்தமாக அன்றையதினம் நான் **Deputy Speaker** ஸ்ரீமதி அம்மண்ண ராஜா அவர்களிடம் எனது தாய் பாஷையில் பேசுவதற்கு உத்திரவு கேட்ட சமயம் அவர்கள் எனக்கு உத்திரவு கொடுத்தார்கள். அந்த உத்திரவுமீதுதான் . . . "

MR. SPEAKER :—" நான்தான் அக்கிராசனம் வகித்து உத்திரவு கொடுத்தேன்."

M. S. ABDUL MAJID SAHIB BAHADUR :—" தலைவர் அவர்களும் எனக்கு உத்திரவு கொடுத்ததற்கு நான் எனது நன்றியைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்கிறேன். நான் தெரிவிப்பது என்னவென்றால் உலக சரித்திரத்தில் தோன்றிய பல மனித கூட்டங்கள் தங்களுடைய கலையையும், கலாசாரத்தையும் அவர்கள் தாய் பாஷை மூலமாகத்தான் வளர்த்தார்கள். தாய் பாஷையின் உதவியில்லாத சமூகத்தாரின் கலை நீரற்ற பயிரு போல், வாடி வதங்கி, யாதொரு சின்னமுமற்று மறைந்துவிட்டன. இன்றையதினத்தில் இருக்கக்கூடிய எத்தனையோ சமுதாயங்கள் அவர்களுக்கு தாய்பாஷை என்னும் சாதனம் இல்லாமல் இருப்பதால் அவர்கள் கலையற்று மக்களாக வாழாமல் மக்களாக மலைகளிலும், காடுகளிலும் திரிந்துக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகையால் தாய்பாஷை ஒருவன் கலையை வளர்ப்பதற்கு அத்தியாவசியமான கருவியாக இருக்கிறது. இம்மாகாணத்தில் வதியும் முஸ்லிம்கள் அவர்களின் தாய்பாஷை தமிழாயிருந்தால் தமிழிலும், மலையாளமாக இருந்தால் மலையாளத்திலும், உர்துவாக விருந்தால் உர்துவிலும், அவர்களுடைய பாடங்களைக் கற்றுக்கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதுதான் நமது "பேகம் அம்ரூத்தின்" அவர்களின் தீர்மானத்தின் நோக்கமாக இருக்கிறது. இந்த நோக்கத்திற்கு அல்லது இந்தத் தீர்மானத்திற்கு அபிப்பிராய பேதங்கள் ஏற்படுவதற்கு அவசியமில்லை. கனம் பொருந்திய இந்த சபை அங்கத்தினர்கள் சிலரிடை இவ்விதமான அபிப்பிராய பேதம் இருப்பதை நான் காண்கிறேன். குறிப்பாக அறிவில் சிறந்தவர்கள் என்று சொல்லக்கூடியவர்களில் ஒருவரான கனம் என். எஸ். வரதாச்சாரியார் அவர்கள் சொற்பொழிவிலும் அவ்விதமான அபிப்பிராய பேதம் இருக்கிறது. அதைக்காண எனது மனம் மிகவும் வருந்துகிறது. எனென்றால் இந்த ஒரு சிறிய பிரச்னைக்கு இவ்வளவு அக்கரைக் காட்ட வேண்டியது அவசியமில்லை. சிறுபான்மையாக இருக்கக்கூடியவர்களே ஆத்ரிக்கவேண்டியது பெரும்பான்மையோர்களின் கடமையாகவிருக்கிறது. உலகத்தில் எத்தனையோ பிரச்னைகள் இருக்கின்றன. அப்பிரச்னைகளில் முக்கியமான பிரச்னை சிறுபான்மையோரின் பிரச்னையாகும். ஒரு அதிகார வர்க்கத்தினரின் தன்மையையும், நாட்டின் தன்மையையும் சிறுபான்மையோர் தெரிந்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமாயின் அதிகாரிகள் அவர்களுடைய கலைக்குக் காட்டும் ஆதரவின் மூலமாகத்தான் தெரிந்துக்கொள்ள முடியும். சிறுபான்மையோரை அவமதித்து அடக்கி ஆளும் தன்மை எல்லாம் இப்பொழுது உலகத்தைவிட்டு மரைந்துவிட்டது. ஒரு கூட்டத்தினர் எவ்வளவு சிறுபான்மையினராக விருந்தாலும் அவர்களை எந்த அதிகாரமும் நசுக்கமுடியாது. அந்த சிறுபான்மை ஒருவரைக் கொண்டதாக விருந்தாலும் நசுக்க முடியாது. அந்தக்காலத்தில் **Socrates** என்பவரை **Hemlock** என்ற விஷத்தைக் கொடுத்துக் கொன்றார்கள். இன்றைய தினம் அவர் போதித்த தத்துவங்கள், மேல் நாட்டினரின் விஞ்ஞானத்திற்கு அடிப்படையாக விருக்கிறது. அக்காலத்தில் சிறுபான்மையினராகயிருந்த ஒருவரை சிலுவையிலரைந்தார்கள். இன்றைக்கு அவரின் போதனை உலகத்தில் பரவியிருக்கிறது. நான் இதை எதற்காகச் சொல்லுகிறேன் என்றால் இப்பொழுது உலகத்தில் அதிகாரப் பீடத்தில் அமர்ந்திருப்பவர்கள் சிறுபான்மையினராயிருக்கக்கூடியவர்களின் விருப்பத்தை, கவனிக்கவேண்டிய அவசியத்தை ஞாபகமூட்டுவதற்காகவே. இன்றையதினத்தில் நாம் சுதந்திரமுடைய மக்களாக இருக்கிறோம். பண்டித ஜவஹர்லால் சொன்னது போன்று சுதந்திரமுடைய மக்களாக நாம் நடந்துக்கொள்வோம். சிறுபான்மையோரின் விருப்பத்தை கவனிக்க வேண்டுமென்று நான் உங்களுக்குச் சொல்லப்பிரியப்படுகிறேன். நாம் தாராளத்தன்மையுடன் வாழவேண்டும், அவ்விதம் வாழ்வதால், நமக்குச் சிறப்புண்டு, பெருமையுண்டு, ஆசியா கண்டத்து மத்தியில் செல்வாக்குடன் வாழ இடமுண்டு. உலக மக்கள் நம்மைப் புகழ்ந்து போற்றுவார்கள். சுதந்திரமடைந்த இந்திய நாட்டின் நடவடிக்கைகளை உலக வடடாரங்கள் கண்ணுங்கருத்துமாக கவனித்து வருகிறார்கள். எந்த அரசாங்கமாகயிருந்தாலும் சரி, இந்திய டொமினியனாகயிருந்தாலும் சரி, பாகிஸ்தானாகயிருந்தாலும் சரி, அவர் சிறுபான்மையோரின் கலையையும், கலாசாரத்தையும் ஒழுங்காக ஆதரிக்கவில்லையானால், அவர்களை உலகத்தார்கள் கேலி செய்வார்கள். அவ்விதமாக நடக்கும் அரசாங்கங்களும் மரைந்துவிடுமென்று சொல்லவும் பிரியப்படுகிறேன். ஆகவே ஒவ்வொரு அரசாங்கத்தில் வாழும் சிறுபான்மையோரின் விருப்பத்தை பூர்த்தி செய்வதற்காக அந்த அரசாங்கங்கள் அவர்களுக்கு இருக்கக்கூடிய எல்லா அதிகாரங்களையும் உபயோகிக்க வேண்டியது. சிறுபான்மையோரின் தாய்பாஷையில் அவர்களின் பாடங்களைக் கற்றுக்கொடுக்கவேண்டும். அவர்களுக்குத் தனிப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்களை ஏற்படுத்தித் தரவேண்டும், அதிகாரிகள், அதிகாரப் பீடத்தில் இருந்துக் கொண்டு அவர்களுக்கு இருக்கும் அதிகாரங்களை நல்ல முறையில் கொண்டு செலுத்தவேண்டும். ஒரு அரசாங்கம், ஒரு காரியத்தைச் செய்கிறதென்றால் அக்காரியம் இன்றைக்காகச் செய்வதல்ல. இன்றைக்கு நம்மைப் பலர் புகழ்வதற்காகச் செய்வதற்கல்ல. இந்த உலகத்தில் நாம் என்றுமிருப்போமென்பதும் நிச்சயமல்ல. ஆகவே நாம் செய்யும் காரியம் என்றும் நீடித்திருக்கக்கூடிய காரியமாக இருக்கவேண்டும். இன்றைக்கு உலகத்தார் நம்மைப் புகழ்வதற்காகவும் கைதட்டுவதற்காகவும், அவர்கள் நமமைப் பெருமையாகப் பேசுவதற்காகவும், நாம் ஒரு காரியத்தைச் செய்யவில்லை. அப்படிச்செய்தால், அச்செய்கை கேலிக் கூத்தாகத்தான் முடியும். இந்த விஷயங்களை நான் அழுத்தமாக கனம் கல்வி மந்திரி அவர்களுக்குச் சொல்லத் தேவையில்லை. அவர்களே ஒருவனின் கலையும், அறிவும் வளர்வதற்கு தாய்பாஷைதான் சரியான சாதனமென்று சொன்ன விஷயத்தை நான் உங்களுக்குக் குறிப்பிட்டேன். ஆகவே இவ்விஷயங்களை நான் அவரிடத்தில் அழுத்திச் சொல்ல முற்படுவது கொல்லனிடத்தில் ஊசி விற்கச் சென்றதுபோலிருக்கும். அதிகாரத்திலிருப்பவர்கள், அதிகாரத்தின் பிரதிநிதியாக இருப்பவர்கள், சிறுபான்மையாக இருக்கக்கூடிய மக்களுக்கு நியாயமாகச் செய்யவேண்டிய உதவியைச் செய்தால் சிறுபான்மையோர் சந்தோஷமாகவிருப்பார்கள். எந்த அரசாங்கத்திலும், எந்த அதிகாரத்திலுமிருக்கக்கூடிய சிறுபான்மையோர் சிறப்பாகயிருந்தால்தான், சந்தோஷமாக யிருந்தால்தான், அந்த அரசாங்கமும், அந்த அதிகாரமும் சிறப்பாகவும், சந்தோஷமாகவுமிருக்க முடியும். சிறுபானமையோர்களுக்கு கஷ்டங்கள் ஏற்படுமாயின் அவர்களிருக்குமரசாங்கத்திலும் கஷ்டங்கள் ஏற்படத்தான் செய்யும். அக்காலத்தில் நாம் ஒரு ஏகாதிபத்தியத்தின் அடிமையாக இருந்தோம். அச்சமயத்தில் நாம் எந்தக்காரியம் செய்தாலும் அதை யாரும் கவனித்திருக்கமாட்டார்கள். அந்தக் காலத்தில் இருந்த அரசாங்கங்கள்போல் இக்காலத்தில் அரசாங்கங்கள் இருக்கவில்லை. இக்காலத்தில் எல்லா நாட்டினிடையும் ஒரு தொடர்பு ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. ஒரு நாட்டில் ஏற்படும் விஷயத்தை உலக அரசாங்கம், கேட்கும்படியான நிலைமை ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறது. பாலஸ்தீன் பிரச்னை, இந்தோநேஷியா பிரச்னைப்போன்ற சிரியப் பிரச்னைகள் எல்லாம் உலகப் பிரச்னையாக மாறிவிடுகின்றன. ஆகையால் நாம் செய்யக்கூடிய காரியம், நாளைக்கு நமக்குப் புகழைத் தரக்கூடிய காரியமாகச் செய்யவேண்டும். நமக்கு அதிகாரம் வந்துவிட்டது. அதிகாரத்தின் மூலம், சிறுபான்மையோரை நசுக்கவேண்டுமென்று நாம் நினைக்கப் பார்ப்பது சற்றும் நியாயம் ஆகாது. அது சமுதாய நீதிக்கு ஒத்ததாகவும் எனக்குத் தெரியவில்லை. சிறுபான்மையோரின், விருப்பத்தைத் திருப்தி செய்யவேண்டியது ஒவ்வொரு அரசாங்கத்தின் கடமையுமாகும். அதை நான் அழுத்தமாகச் சொல்ல விரும்புகிறேன். இந்த நியாயம் இந்த அரசாங்கத்துக்கு மாத்திரமல்ல எந்த அரசாங்கமாகயிருந்தாலும், பாகிஸ்தான் உள்பட, சிறுபான்மையோரைச் சரியாக நடத்திஞல்தான், அவர்கள் வாழமுடியும். பாகிஸ்தானை உதாரணமாக எடுத்துக் கொள்வோம். அவர்கள் சிறுபான்மையோரை அடக்கி ஆள முயற்சித்தால் அந்த நாடு உலகத்திலிருக்க அவசியமில்லை. அழிந்துபோகட்டுமென்று நான் தைரியமாகவும் சொல்வேன். இந்த நியாயத்தை உலகத்தில் உள்ள எல்லா நாட்டு மக்களுக்கும், எல்லா அதிகார வர்க்கத்தினருக்கும், சொல்லப் பிரியப்படுகிறேன். சிறுபான்மையாக இருக்கக்கூடிய முஸ்லிம்கள் தங்களின் கலையையும், மார்க்கத்தையும், அவர்களின் தாய்பாஷை மூலமாகத் தெரிந்துக்கொள்ள விரும்புவதை அதிகாரிகள் அக்கரையுடன் கவனிக்கவேண்டும். இந்த மாகாணத்தில் முஸ்லிம்கள், மிகவும் சிறுபான்மையோராக இருக்கின்றார்கள். நாங்கள் எதையோ செய்துவிடுவோமென்று யாரும் அஞ்சவேண்டியதவசியமில்லை. சிறுபான்மையோரைக் கண்டு, பயப்படவேண்டாமென்று, மஹாத்மா காந்தியும் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். உர்துவை தாய்பாஷையாகக் கொண்ட முஸ்லிம்கள் அவர்கள் பாடங்களை தாய்பாஷையில் கற்றுக்கொள்ளும் சமயம், உலகப்போக்கை உணர்ந்து அவர்கள் இம்மாகாணத்தின் ஸ்தல பாஷையாகிய **Regional Language** யையும், கனம் கல்வி மந்திரி அவர்கள் சொன்னது போன்று கட்டாயம் கற்றுக்கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்று அழுத்தமாகச் சொல்ல பிரியப்படுகிறேன். எந்த முஸ்லிமுக்கு உர்து தாய்பாஷையாக இருக்கிறதோ, அவருக்கு உர்து மூலமாகப் பாடங்களைக் கற்பிக்கவேண்டும். இதைத் தழுவிதான் எங்கள் தலைவர் கனம் இஸ்மாயில் சாஹிப் அவர்கள் ஒரு திருத்தத் தீர்மானத்தைக் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். நாங்கள் கேட்பதும் மிகவும் நியாயமானது. இந்த நியாயமான பிரச்னைக்கு அதிக யோசனை செய்யவேண்டியதவசியமுமில்லை. அதிகார பீடத்திலமர்ந்திருக்கும் கனம் கல்வி மந்திரி அவர்கள், உயர்ந்த நோக்கமுடைய தமிழகத்தில் பிரந்த கனம் மந்திரி அவர்கள், ராமகிருஷ்ண பரமஹம்சரின் பரந்த ஞானசாகரத்தில் நீர்ப்பருகும் கனம் கல்வி மந்திரி அவர்கள், தங்களது கல்வித் திட்டத்தைத் தரம்படத் திருத்தி அதில் முஸ்லிம்களின் விருப்பத்திற்கோர் இடமளித்து முஸ்லிம்களின் நன்றியினையும் பெறுவார் என்று நான் நினைக்கிறேன். ஒரே பிடிவாதமாகப் பேசிக்கொண்டிருப்பதில் என்ன பிரயோஜனம். இந்த நாட்டிலிருந்துவரும் நாங்கள் என்றும் நியாயமுள்ளவர்களாகவேயிருந்து வந்தோம். உர்து பாஷையில் பாடங்களை கற்பிப்பதால் முஸ்லிம்களின் தேசாபிமானம் குறைந்துப்போகப் போவதில்லை. எங்களது தாய்நாட்டிற்காக எல்லாத் தியாகங்களையும் என்றும் செய்ய நாங்கள் தயாராகயிருக்கிறோம் என்பதை நான் கனம் மந்திரி அவர்களிடம் சொல்லப் பிரியப்படுகிறேன். தாய் பாஷையில் பாடங்களைக் கற்றுக்கொடுக்கக்கூடாது, தனிப்பட்டப் பாடசாலைகளை ஏற்படுத்தக்கூடாது என்று வற்புறுத்திச் சொல்ல சிலர் முயல்வது சற்றும் நியாகமாயிராது. தாய்பாஷை உர்துவாக இருக்கிறவர்கள் அதைக் கற்றுக்கொண்ட பிறகு, மற்ற பாஷைகளையும் கற்றுக்கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்ற அவசியத்தை எனது முஸ்லிம் சகோதரர்களுக்கும் சொல்லப் பிரியப்படுகிறேன். கண்ணியம் பொருந்திய இந்த சபை அங்கத்தினர்களில் சிலர் இன்னும் பல தீர்மானங்களைக் கொண்டுவந்திருக்கிறார்கள். முஸ்லிம்களுக்குத் தனிப் பள்ளிக்கூடங்கள் இருக்கக்கூடாது, முஸ்லிம்களுக்கு உத்தியோகங்களில், அதிகப்படி இடங்கள் கொடுக்கக்கூடாது என்று அவர்கள் அந்தத் தீர்மானங்களில் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். பெரும் பான்மையோரின் பலத்தைக் கொண்ட ஒரு அதிகாரத்தினர் தாங்கள் நினைத்தால் எதையும் செய்ய முடியும். ஆனால் செய்யும் காரியம் நியாய

మానదాకవుం, ఎన్నుం అళియాదదాకవుం, పుకళుడైయదాకవుమిరుక్కవేండుం. నాం ఒరు కారియత్తై ఇన్ఱు చెయ్తువిట్టు పోయ్విడలాం. అదర్కాక పలర్ మేలేచ్ చూట్టివిడువార్కళ్. అదర్కాక పలర్ పుకళ్ందు పేసివిడువార్కళ్. ఆనాల్ ఉలక అరచాంగంగళిల్ చమ అంద్దస్తుం, చమ ఉరిమైయుడైయ ఒరు అరచాంగమాక నాం ఇన్ఱు ఇరుక్కిరోం. ఆగవే ఉలక వట్టారంగళిల్ నాం చెయ్యుం కారియత్తై కవనమాక పార్త్తువరుకిఱార్కళ్. ఉలక మక్కళ్ నమ్మై పుకళుంపడి నల్ల కారియంగళైచ్ చెయ్తు నమదు పుకళై నిలైనాట్టవేండుం. పెరుందన్మైయుడన్ నాం కారియంగళైచ్ చెయ్తాల్ కణ్ణియముడైయ నాడెన్ఱు నమ్మైప్ పలర్ పేచిప్ పుకళ్వార్కళ్. ఎన్ ప్రచంగత్తై ఇన్నుం అదికం నీట్టిక్కొండుప్ పోగప్ పిరియప్ పడవిల్లై.

"కడైచియాక నాన్ చొల్వదు ఇంద మాగాణత్తిలిరుక్కక్కూడియ ముస్లింగళిల్ ఎవరుడైయ పాషై ఉర్దువాక ఇరుక్కిఱదో, అంద పాషైయిల్ అవర్కళుక్కు పాడంగళైక్ కఱ్ఱుక్కొడుంగళ్ ఎన్ఱు ప్రేరేపిక్కుం ఇందత్ తీర్మానత్తైచ్ చబైయిల్ ఇరుక్కక్కూడియ ఎల్లా అంగత్తినర్కళుం, మనప్పూర్వమాక ఆదరిప్పార్కళ్ ఎన్ఱు నాన్ ఎదిర్ప్పార్క్కిఱేన్. అవర్కళ్ ఒరు పెరుంపాన్మై కూట్టత్తినరైచ్ చేర్ందవర్కళాయిరుక్కిఱార్కళ్, అదిల్ అదికంపేర్ తమిళ్ నాట్టైచ్ చేర్ందవర్కళాకయిరుక్కిఱార్కళ్, తమిళ్ నాడు ఒరు పెరుం తత్తువత్తై వాయ్ందనాడు, తమిళ్క్కుం, తమిళ్ప్ పాషై, తమిళ్క్ కలాచారం ఎన్ఱుం ఉలకత్తుక్కు వళికాట్టక్ కూడియనవాక ఇరుక్కిఱ తెన్బదై నాన్ తైరియమాకచ్ చొల్వేన్. ఇంద నాడు పఱంద నోక్కముడైయ నాడు, పొదు నోక్కముడైయ నాడు. ఇంద నాట్టు మక్కళ్ ఎల్లా ఇనత్తవరైయుం అన్బుడన్ అళైత్తు ఇంద నాట్టిలిరుక్కచ్ చెయ్తు ఆదరిత్తు వరుకిఱార్కళ్. ఎల్లా ఇనత్తవరుడనుం, పెరుందన్మైయుడన్ నడందుక్ కొళ్ళుకిఱార్కళ్. ఇత్తన్మైయై, మఱ్ఱ ఇడంగళిల్ కాణముడియాదు. ఆగవే నమక్కు మఱ్ఱ మాగాణంగళ్ వళికాట్ట అవసియమిల్లై. నాం వడ నాట్టిఱ్కు వళికాట్టవేండుం. ఒరు చిఱియ ప్రచ్నైయైప్ పెరిదాక వళర్త్తిక్కొండు పోవదిల్ ప్రయోజనమిల్లై. తమిళగత్తిన్ పెరుమై ఉలకత్తినర్ప్ పోఱ్ఱక్కూడియదాక ఇరుక్కిఱదు. తమిళిల్ నాన్ ఎత్తనైయో పాడల్గళైప్ పడిత్తిరుక్కిఱేన్. అదిల్ మిళిరుం కలైయుం, కలాచారముం, నాగరీగముం, నమక్కుప్ పెరుమైయైక్ కొడుక్కుం పడియాక ఇరుక్కిఱదు. నాన్ పడిత్త పల పాడల్గళై ఇవ్విడత్తిల్ తెరివిక్కప్ పిరియప్పడవిల్లై. కుఱిప్పాక ఒన్ఱై మాత్తిరం చొల్లప్ పిరియప్పడుగిఱేన్. పదినెట్టుచ్ చిత్తర్ పాడల్గళిల్ కరువూరార్ పూజావిది ఎన్ఱుచ్ చొల్వదు ఒరు పాడలాగుం. అఱివుడైయోర్ పలర్ ఇంగిరుక్కిన్ఱార్కళ్. ఞానం పడైత్తవర్కళ్ పలర్ ఇంగిరుక్కిన్ఱార్కళ్. అవర్కళ్ నాన్ తెరివిక్కప్పోగుం పాడలిన్ పెరుమైయై నన్ఱుగత్ తెరిందుక్కొళ్వార్కళ్:—

'పారేదు, పునలేదు అనలుమేదు
పాంగాన కాలేదు వెళియుమాగుం
నారేదు, పూవేదు వాచమేదు
నల్ల పుట్పందానేదు, ఱుఱై ఎదు
ఊరేదు, పేరేదు, ఉలకమేదు
ఒహోహో అదిచయందాన్ ఎన్న చొల్వేన్
ఆరేదు, కులమేదు, కోయిలేదు
అదివస్తై అఱివినులరియలామే'

ఇవ్విదమాకత్ తమిళ్ మహాన్కళ్ ఞానత్తై ఉలకత్తిర్కు పుకుత్తి ఇరుక్కిన్ఱార్కళ్. చిఱియ విషయంగళిల్ మనంకొణ్ణాదు, తారాళమాక మనం విట్టుక్ కొడుత్తు, కిరుపాన్మైయోరిన్ మనం పుణ్ణాగాదు కారియంగళై చాదిక్కుమాఱు వేండుకిఱేన్. నాన్ పేచిన్ పోకిర్కాక ఎదైయో చొల్లుకిఱేన్ ఎన్ఱు నీనైక్కవేండ్డాం. ఇన్ఱు ఇంగే ఇరుక్కక్కూడియ నాం చరిత్తిరచ్ చంబందప్పట్టవర్కళాక ఇరుక్కిరోం. కనం కల్వి మంత్రి అవర్కళుం చరిత్తిర చంబందప్పట్టవర్కళాక ఇరుక్కిరుక్కిఱార్కళ్. అవర్కళ్ చెయ్యుం కారియం ఇన్ఱిరుందు అఴిందుప్పోగక్ కూడియదాయిల్లై. ఎన్ఱుం నీడిత్తు ఇరుక్కక్కూడియ కారియమాక అవర్కళ్ చెయ్వార్కళ్ ఎన్ఱ ముళు నంబిక్కైయుడన్ ఎన్ పేచ్చై నిఱుత్తిక్కొళ్కిఱేన్."

Sri KALLUR SUBBA RAO :—"అధ్యక్షా! శ్రీయుత బేగం ఆమీరుద్దీన్ గారు ప్రతిపాదించిన తీర్మానమును, దానికివ్చిన సవరణలను నేను ప్రతిఘటించుచున్నాను. దీనికి ముఖ్యకారణమున్న వి. ఇంతవరకు మిత్రుడు మజీదుగారు మాతృ భాషా ప్రాశస్త్యమును వివరించుచు వారివారి మాతృ భాషలలో వారికి విద్య చెప్పించుట ప్రభుత్వ ధర్మమన్నారు. వారి అభిప్రాయముతో నేను యేకీభవించుచున్నాను. 12-38 p.m.

"మన దేశములో మూడు భాషా వాదము లున్నవి. రాజ భాష, మాతృ భాష, దేశ భాష. వీటిలో నేటి పరిస్థితులకు విది ఆనుగుణ్యమైనదో వివరముగా విచారించి వివేకముతో నిర్ధరించవలెను. మన రాజధాని సరిహద్దులలోనున్న నైజాము సంస్థానములో రాజ భాషకు యెక్కువ ప్రాధాన్య మీయబడినది. నిజాం రాజ్యమున తెలుగు, కన్నడ, మహారాష్ట్ర ప్రాంతములున్న ప్పటికీ నైజాం నవాబు ముస్లాను మతస్థుగటచే ఉర్దూ భాషకు ఉన్నత స్థాన మొసగియున్నాడు. అది భావ్యంకాదని చెప్పక, చెప్పలేక మన ముస్లిం సభ్యుల ప్రాంతీయ భాష వీదైనప్పటికి మాతృ భాషా ప్రవక్తి నుగ్గడించి ఉర్దూ భాషలో విద్యా బోధన జరుగవలెనని వాదించుచున్నారు. రాజ భాషకన్న, మాతృ భాషకన్న దేశ లేక ప్రాంతీయ భాషా వాదము శ్రేష్ఠమైనది; ఆచరణ యోగ్యమైనది. అంతమాత్రాన మాతృ భాష వలదనను. ఎందుకన సాధారణముగ ప్రతి ప్రదేశమునందును యెక్కువ సంఖ్యాకుల మాతృ భాష ఆ ప్రాంత్య లేక దేశ భాషగా వర్ధిల్లుచున్నది. వి ప్రభుత్వముననైనను ప్రజల భాషలలో ప్రజల యోగక్షేమాల నరసి ప్రజాభ్యుదయమున కవసరమగు పవిత్రత, ప్రతిభ, ప్రావీణ్యత పెంపొందించి చక్కని పౌరులుగా ప్రజలు తయారగుటకు వలయు విద్య గరపించుటయు ఆయా ప్రాంత్య భావాభివృద్ధిచేయుటయు విద్యుక్త ధర్మమని గమనించవలెను. ప్రతి భాషకు వేరువేరు పాఠశాలల నేర్పాటుచేసి ప్రజలలో ప్రత్యేకత తావాసంగుట ధర్మము కాదు. దానివలన ప్రజా సముదాయ సభ్యతకు, ఐక్యతకు ముప్పులు వాటిల్లును.

"ముస్లిములు మాతృ భాషను నేర్చుకొనవచ్చును. ఇప్పుడు చాలా పాఠశాలలలో ఉర్దూ రెండవ భాషగా (second language) ఉన్నది. నేను కన్నడుడను, నా తల్లి నుండి కన్నడము కాని నివసించు ప్రాంతము తెలుగు దేశము. కాబట్టి నేను యెక్కువ సంఖ్యాకులు మాట్లాడునట్టి తెలుగు భాషలోనే విద్య నేర్చుకొనియాను. కన్నడము రెండవ భాషగా నేర్చుకోవచ్చును. మాతృ భాషకు అవసరమగుచో నవకాశ మిచ్చి దేశ భాషకు ప్రాధాన్య మిచ్చుట ప్రభుత్వమువారి ధర్మమని చెప్పుచున్నాను."

"మద్రాసు రాష్ట్రములో నలుగురు — తెలుగు, తమిళము, కన్నడము, కేరళము, మాతృ భాషల వారున్నారు. ఉర్దూ భాషయొక్కడో ఆక్కడక్కడ మాట్లాడు వారుయొక్కచో లేక విడివిడిగా కొందరున్నారు. వి ప్రదేశములోను ఆధిక సంఖ్యాకులు లేదు. కాబట్టి వి భాగమున వి భాష మాట్లాడువారు ఎక్కువగా నున్నారో ఆ దేశ భాషలో వారిని విద్యాసంతుల జేయుట యుక్తమైనది. వివిధ భాషలలో వేర్వేరు పాఠశాల లేర్పరిచి చదువు చెప్పించుట సమంజసముకాదు. కష్టదాయకమైన పని. విద్యా బోధన తత్వమునకు విరుద్ధము.

"విద్యయొక్క పరమార్థము ఆందము, ఆర్థము, ఆనందము అన్నారు పెద్దలు. వి ప్రాంతమున యెక్కువ సంఖ్యాకులు యే భాష మాట్లాడుచున్నారో ఆ భాషలో ఆ ప్రజలకు విద్య నేర్పించి విజ్ఞానవంతులుగ, వికాసవంతులుగ, వివేకవంతులుగజేసి ప్రభుత్వ కార్య నిర్వహణ కార్యముల బాధ్యత వహించు శక్తిని సొంపుగట ప్రభుత్వ కర్తవ్యమని తెలియవలెను. ఈ సందర్భమున నందొక గొప్ప ఉదాహరణము జ్ఞాపకము తెచ్చెదను. విద్యానగరాధీశులు శ్రీ కృష్ణదేవరాయలువారి నొకప్పుడు తెలుగు భాష కెందుకు గొప్ప ప్రాధాన్యత నిచ్చినారని ప్రశ్నించగా చెప్పిన చక్కని పద్య మొకటి జ్ఞప్తికి వచ్చినది:

'తెలుగదేల యన్న దేశంబు తెలుగు యేను
తెలుగు వల్లభుండ తెలుగొకండ
ఎల్ల నృపులు మెచ్చ యెరుగవే బాసాడి
దేశ భాషయందు తెలుగు లెస్స.'

అన్నాడు.

"కాబట్టి దేశ భాషా వాద ప్రాముఖ్య మానాడే ప్రాధాన్యత వహించినది. అంతే కాక విజయనగర రాయల కాలమున ముసల్మాను లనేకులు దేశ భాషల పండితులుండిరి. "ఇబ్రహీం" ఆనునతడు తెలుగులో పండితుడై "మల్కి" పట్టమును పొంది ప్రజల మన్ననలకు పాత్రుడై "మల్కి భరాము" డని పేరెన్నిక బొంది తెలుగు కావ్యము లనేకము వడసినాడు. దేశ భాషలు నేర్చినంత మాత్రాన ఇస్లాము మతమునకు సంస్కృతికి నష్టము వాటిల్లదు. ప్రతి మహమ్మదీయుడును ప్రాంతీయ భాషను నేర్వవలెను. మాతృ భాషను అభ్యసించవచ్చును. దానికి తగు యేర్పాట్లు ప్రతి విద్యా మందిరములలోను యేర్పాటు చేయబడినది. అయ్యది వారికే లాభదాయకము.

"ప్రతి పౌరుడును యే మతమునకు చెందినను ప్రభుత్వ ఉద్యోగముల పాల్గొనవలసియున్నది. ఉర్దూ మాతృభాషగా విద్య నభ్యసించవలెనని వాదించు ప్రతి ముస్లానుకు నేనొక ప్రశ్న వేయుచున్నాను. ప్రజల భాష నేర్వక ప్రభుత్వోద్యోగముల పాల్గొనుటకు వీలుండునా? నిజముగా మీరు పరిపాలనాధికారముల భాగదారులు కావలసియున్నచో ప్రాంతీయ లేక ప్రజల భాషలో పాండిత్యము సంపాదించవలెను. లేకున్న హాస్యాస్పదు లగుదురు. ఉర్దూ భాషలో మాత్రమే విద్య నభ్యసించిన ప్రజా ప్రభుత్వములలో యెవ్వరూ ఉద్యోగము లివ్వరు.

"తన తల్లి మాటలలో విద్య నేర్చుకొనుట ప్రతివాని జన్మ హక్కని వాదించు వారెల్లరు గమనించవలసిన కొకటున్నది. తల్లులకు తల్లి దేశీయ తల్లి. దేశ భాషయే తల్లి భాష. 'జననీ జన్మ భూమిశ్చ స్వర్గాదపిగరీ యసీ' యనియు 'కన్న తల్లిన్న ఉన్న ఊరు మిన్న' అనియు పెద్దల పలుకు. అందున తల్లి భాషకంటెను దేశ లేక ప్రాంతీయ భాషను ప్రభుత్వము ప్రజలు ఆదరించి అభివృద్ధిచేయుట పరమ ధర్మము. దేశ భాషా సిద్ధాంత సూత్రధారము జేసికొనియే పూర్వపు రాజులనేకులు వారి మాతృ భాష వేరైనను యెక్కువ సంఖ్యాకులైన వాలిఖిల భాషను ప్రోత్సహించి ప్రజా బాహుళ్యమునకు విద్యలు చెప్పించినారు.

"ముస్లిములు మాతృ భాషను నేర్చుకొనవచ్చును. ఇప్పుడు చాలా పాఠశాలలలో ఉర్దూ రెండవ భాషగా (second language) ఉన్నది. నేను కన్నడుడను, నా తల్లి నుండి కన్నడము కాని నివసించు ప్రాంతము తెలుగు దేశము. కాబట్టి నేను యెక్కువ సంఖ్యాకులు మాట్లాడునట్టి తెలుగు భాషలోనే విద్య నేర్చుకొనియాను. కన్నడము రెండవ భాషగా నేర్చుకోవచ్చును. మాతృ భాషకు అవసరమగుచో నవకాశ మిచ్చి దేశ భాషకు ప్రాధాన్య మిచ్చుట ప్రభుత్వమువారి ధర్మమని చెప్పుచున్నాను."

* **K. M. SEETHI SAHIB Bahadur** :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I support the resolution moved by the hon. Member Begum Sultan Mir Amiruddin, not because it is a resolution relating to the language in which the Muslims of certain provinces and certain parts of this Presidency are interested in and not because the hardship that might be caused to the students of this Presidency if the request contained in this resolution is not complied with might fall on Muslim students, but I support the resolution on account of the innate and inherent justice of the demand made therein and also on account of the hardship that might be caused to a very influential and numerous section of the student population of this Presidency if the request is not granted by the Government. In fact, a good lot of prejudice is centering round this demand for the introduction of Urdu as the medium of instruction in schools where Muslim students whose mother-tongue is Urdu make a demand for it and that is because of extraneous considerations which should 12-45 p.m.

not have been imported into a discussion relating to this resolution. Unfortunately, it is very often forgotten that Urdu is not the language of the Muslims alone. It is a common language of the Muslims and the Hindus and it is a common heritage of these two great communities of India. The Hon. Minister for Education might perhaps be aware that Urdu literature can boast of a large number of Hindu poets and Hindu writers of great distinction and reputation and that even among the living poets and writers there are a number of Hindu gentlemen who are Urdu writers and poets commanding esteem throughout the Urdu-speaking world Sir, as has been pointed out by my hon. Friend, Mr. Anwar, even the mother-tongue of the Nehru family and of numerous other Hindu families in the United Provinces is Urdu and so it cannot be contended for a moment that Urdu is the peculiar or special language of the Muslim community. Therefore, if you cast aside that prejudice, I feel that much of the criticisms that is levelled against the request made in this resolution will become pointless—criticisms which might have been avoided by several of the speakers from the other side of the House. As a matter of fact, Urdu is spoken by a large number of people in this continent of India than any other language. So, Sir, when a language of such importance happens to be the mother-tongue of certain sections of the people it becomes obligatory on the part of the Government, which provides for State education, that adequate provision should be made for imparting instruction to those sections through the medium of that language. It is almost a universally admitted fact and a fact admitted by all the educational experts and educational thinkers that instruction should be imparted through the mother-tongue of the students. It will be an intellectual waste for a student to be called upon to think in his own mother-tongue and to study in a foreign tongue. It became a sad irony of fate in this country that our people had to get instruction through a foreign tongue with the result that, as one of the distinguished countrymen of ours said some years ago, that Indians have become foreigners in their own country. The extent to which that foreignization might go or the anglicising effect of the foreign tongue might go, was very strikingly illustrated by the hon. Mr. P. Natesa Mudaliyar, whose mother-tongue I believe is not English but Tamil, taking very serious objection to Mr. Majeed speaking in Tamil even though Tamil happens to be Mr. Majeed's mother-tongue and Mr. Natesa Mudaliyar's mother-tongue and which is likely to be better understood than an English speech made by Mr. Majeed. That shows how far we have gone in the neglect of our mother-tongue and the vernaculars of the country. I hope that that this attitude will not continue by the sort of opposition that is now levelled against the very legitimate request made by mover of the resolution that as far as those whose mother-tongue is Urdu the medium of instruction should be Urdu and not the regional language as it is called, either Tamil, Telugu or Malayalam, which will be as foreign to the student whose mother-tongue is Urdu as any other language which might be called a foreign language. It would be simply subjecting the students to a sort of intellectual torture if they, who think in their own mother-tongue, that is the language which they have studied in the laps of their mothers, have to translate the ideas which they entertain in the mother-tongue into a language which is not their mother-tongue, which means a sheer intellectual waste and what can be learnt by a student in one day through his mother-tongue will take a week or more for him to study in a different language and that too with a good lot of effort and strain on his intellectual powers. So, Sir, if a great educationist like the Hon. the Minister for Education cannot sympathise with a demand of this nature because it is made on behalf of Muslims, I simply despair of the future of this country and the future of the minorities of this Province. In fact, whenever questions relating to the education of Muslims and for the provision of certain facilities for Muslims are asked, all the prejudices are imported into the discussion and no dispassionate view of the matter is taken by non-Muslim speakers who participate in such discussion. I fail to see why this prejudicial outlook is still being continued by our countrymen and when they expect us to have confidence in them and when they are expected to inspire confidence in our minds by making it certain that they will not make inroads on our culture, our educational needs and our educational aspirations. After all, Sir, what does the Muslim in this country ask? The Muslim believes that he has got a religion of his own, he has a culture and outlook on life, an ideology and philosophy of his own and that he wants to live here as a Muslim with full protection for his religion and culture. It is a colossal misconception to think that Islam breeds or engenders separatism or hatred of the non-Muslim. It is just the other way round. Wherever the Muslim had ruled, according to the tenets of Islam, the non-Muslims enjoyed the fullest protection and most generous treatment at the hands of the rulers and some of the highest officers of Muslim rulers were none other than the members of the Hindu community of this sub-continent. Sir, if therefore, history is correctly remembered this injustice, this suspicion about the Muslim demand for the preservation of their culture would be found to be absolutely unwarranted and unjustified. Probably the existing political prejudices are to a very great extent responsible for the biassed outlook which is now brought to bear upon discussions relating to these matters. Perhaps the gentlemen responsible for tabling the resolution recommending the abolition of separate Muslim schools will soon come to realise that after all they have not done a service to the country or anything to promote inter-communal-harmony, peace or amity that one would so much desire. In fact, the Muslim when he asks for provision being made for imparting instruction through the medium of Urdu is not asking that Urdu must be made the medium of instruction for all the Muslim students—in fact the position has been cleared by the amendment proposed by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition—but it is only in the case of Muslims whose mother-tongue is Urdu that this request has been made. I respectfully submit that even if a demand is made that as the language of their culture, Urdu should be encouraged and facilities should be provided for instruction being imparted through the medium of Urdu, I would go to the extent of saying to the Hon. Minister for Education if it were practicable for him to do so he should concede the request. But now that demand has not been made. What I respectfully submit is that in these matters where the minorities in the country ask for special safeguards and protection for their religious and cultural interests, the utmost sympathy should be brought to bear upon the consideration of such demands and that an unsympathetic and hostile attitude would be most tactless and unwise in the extreme.

" Sir, I think separate schools in this country are not responsible for the disharmony, lack of peace and the turbulent conditions which prevail in certain parts of the country today. You might be surprised to hear how the Muslim and Hindu students are getting on in an institution, which is not even a State institution, but a private institution run by the Muslim community, I mean the Muslim University at Aligarh. While communal disharmony and ryots were the order of the day in Aligarh, it is only within the portals of the Muslim University that one could see the utmost fraternization between the Hindu and Muslim students. There was the greatest amount of friendship and harmony among them with the result that the Hindu students of the University issued a statement that they were getting on in a harmonious way with the Muslim students and there was no room for complaint against Muslim students or the University authorities. You will also be surprised to hear that ever since the institution was started the authorities of the institution had made every facility for the Hindu students to have their cultural instruction in Sanskrit, I know a large number of students availed themselves of this opportunity and took Sanskrit as their optional subject. Again if you go to the hostels of the university you will be agreeably surprised to find the cordiality that exists between the Muslim and Hindu students. The fact that a large number of Hindu students seek admission to the Muslim University is an eloquent testimony to spirit of cordiality between the two communities which this separate institution engenders. This goes to prove that after all these so-called separate institutions are not factors for separation between Hindus and Muslims as they are wrongly believed by some. On the other hand they are factors which will ensure the confidence and sense of security of communities in respect of their cultural
1 p.m. needs and add to the communal harmony in the land and remove the causes for suspicion, friction, distrust and discontent and would also add to the unity of the land. The truth is very often forgotten and a tirade is waged against separate institutions as they are wrongly called. They are not separate institutions. As will be admitted by hon. Members in these institutions, there are a large number of non-Muslim students also. For instance in the Muslim Government. High School of Malappuram, out of a total strength of 600, we have as many as 200 non-Muslim pupils and they are getting on very well there and they do not feel that they are exclusive Muslim institution where their cultural interests are in danger. If that is so, why should we clamour about the existence of these schools. One cannot shut one's eyes to the simple truth, namely that the Muslims do not want to live in this land as Muslims. They do not want to have their religion, culture, traditions and history wiped out because they happen to be Indians. The Muslim in fact believes that he is a follower of Islam and that is the reason why he is called a Muslim. Just as the Hindu is really proud of his culture, of his religion and his heritage, so

also the Muslim is proud of his own religion, culture and tradition. In a very important department of life, namely Education, where children get instruction and their minds are formed and their intellect developed, the influence of religion and culture cannot be ignored and cannot be forgotten. It is in the stage of education that human mind is shaped and formed; at that stage the Muslim pupil cannot forget that he or she is a Muslim and he or she should get an opportunity to study the principles of his or her religion, and to imbibe his or her culture history of his religion and the traditions of his community. In fact, when Macaulay spoke disparagingly about oriental culture, both the Hindus and Muslims felt insulted and they protested and they said: 'We have a culture, the oriental culture relating to the Muslims and Hindus and it is a very valuable asset to both Hindus and Muslims.' When a westerner spoke disparagingly of it, they reminded him that they had a separate culture of their own and they were proud of it. That is why in the matter of the re-organization of national education in this country, they stressed the preservation of Hindu culture for Hindus and Muslim culture for Muslims. But now to say that no provision should be made for Muslims in regard to their culture is not just and proper. After all where is the harm about the special schools? If Muslims are given certain facilities for instruction in their own religion and culture and if at the same time they are given opportunities of mixing and of moving with students belonging to other communities, which is all that is being done in these institutions what is the earthly harm? On the other hand, it is very seldom that graduates who leave the portals of the Aligarh Muslim University are narrow-minded bigots who do not want to fraternize with students belonging to other communities and to move intimately with them. So many gentlemen who are with the Congress and who are supporting the ideology of the Congress and who are ultra-nationalists are really the alumini of the Muslim University. Could it be contended for a moment that narrow-mindedness and bigotry get entrenched in the minds of students who leave the portals of such institutions? Some of the gentlemen who are now considered to be narrow-minded bigots and who are responsible for the division of this country, are not the products of special or separate schools; they are the products of general schools, where it is expected that their mental outlook will be free from all prejudices, communal and cultural."

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"May I point out to the hon. Member that there is a separate resolution regarding separate schools and that we are discussing a resolution regarding instruction through the medium of Urdu. I suggest the hon. Member might confine himself to the resolution under discussion."

* K. M. SEETHI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"With great respect to the Hon. Minister, I suggest that I do not stand in need of being reminded on that point; in fact I know there is such a resolution coming up later. But even before that resolution came up. . ."

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"I meant no disrespect to the hon. Member; I only said that this matter of separate schools does not belong to this resolution."

* K. M. SEETHI SAHIB BAHADUR:—"In fact several speakers were referring to this matter of separate schools in the present discussions and were dilating upon the baneful influences of separate schools in their speeches, that is the reason why it has become necessary for me to refer to that subject. It is not an issue directly arising out of this resolution I know and it is not in that sense that I have referred to it. I had to do it because it is my duty to dispel certain misapprehensions caused by the previous speakers. We have to view things in a larger perspective and with a liberal outlook instead of being guided by slogans and shibboleths about national outlook and sectarian institutions, separate institutions and such other things. We should have a rational, sympathetic and a liberal outlook in dealing with these matters. Things obtaining in this presidency afford a very happy and refreshing contrast to what is happening elsewhere. Members belonging to the majority community have been remarkable in adopting an attitude of friendliness to Muslims and they have been evincing a liberal policy in their dealings with the Muslim community. Indeed we can be proud of the fact that among the various statements issued and speeches made by non-Muslim leaders in Upper India, it fell to the lot of a distinguished Madrasi gentleman who happens to occupy the position of the Governor of West Bengal, to give a correct lead to the majority communities in India. We read his statement with pleasure in this morning's papers. That statement is a very happy contrast to the many statements openly and secretly encouraging communal hatred made by gentlemen who call themselves leaders and who occupy responsible positions in the political field. It is a rare tribute to this province that the gentleman—it is no other than Mr. C. Rajagopalachariyar, whose statement we read in this morning's paper—has given a valuable and correct lead to this country and if only his advice is followed by his followers or those that claim to be his followers, it will certainly remove a good lot of prejudice in discussions like this and would inspire confidence in the minds of minorities and would bring about the harmony and inter-communal peace for which we are all striving in our own humble way. With these words, I support the resolution moved by the Begumsahiba."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Mr. Vedaratnam Pillai."

* BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"Since speeches are being made in various languages we are not in a position to follow what is being said and may not be able to answer the points raised by the speakers. I therefore suggest that those who can speak in English might speak in that language; as for the others it cannot be helped."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member Mr. Majid has also spoken in Tamil; I do not think it will be possible to enforce that hon. Members should speak in English only."

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"If hon. Members do not know English it is all right their speaking some other language; it is only in the case of those who know English that I request they may speak in that language so that they may be understood by the whole House."

MR. SPEAKER:—"But the point is that I cannot force any hon. Member to speak in any particular language."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"It is not a question of forcing a Member to speak in particular language; the Begumsaheba only makes a request that if they happen to know English, they might speak in that language. There is no question of compelling or forcing anybody."

SRI A. VEDARATNAM PILLAI:—"கனம் அக்கிராசனாதிபதி அவர்களே, நான் தமிழனாக இருந்தபோதிலும் கொஞ்சம் உருது படித்திருக்கிறேன். இராமாயணத்தைக்கூட நான் உருது பாஷையில் படித்திருக்கிறேன். என்னுடைய விருப்பம் நம் மாகாணத்தில் எல்லா பள்ளிக்கூடங்களிலும் உருது பாஷை போதிக்கபடவேண்டுமென்பதுதான். அது என்னுடைய விருப்பம் மாத்திரமல்ல. காங்கிரஸ் மகாசபையில் காந்தியடிகளின் நிர்மாண திட்டங்களிலும் ஹிந்துஸ்தானி பயிலவேண்டியது என்ற ஒரு முறையில் ஒவ்வொரு பள்ளிக்கூடங்களிலும் ஹிந்துஸ்தானி பாஷை போதிக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்பதுதான். அதுவே என்னுடைய விருப்பமும். ஆனால் அந்த பாஷையின் மூலமாக எல்லா பாடங்களும் போதிக்கப்பட வேண்டுமென்று இப்பொழுது ஸ்ரீமதி பீகம் அவர்களால் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிற தீர்மானமானது சாத்யமா என்பதுதான் என்னுடைய சந்தேகம். காந்திஜியினுடைய விருப்பம் ஹிந்துஸ்தானியைஹிந்தி என்று கூற வேண்டுமென்றும் ஹிந்தி வார்த்தைகள் 50 இருக்குமானால் 50 வார்த்தைகள் உருது இருக்கவேண்டுமென்று பிடிவாதமாக இவ்வளவு காலமும் வற்புறுத்தி வருகிறார்கள். அதனால் பாதி நண்பர்களை கை விடும்படியாகிவிட்டது என்பதை இங்கிருக்கும் அங்கத்தினர்களுக்கு அதிகம் கூற தேவை இல்லை. ஆனால் ஹிந்து முஸ்லீம் ஒற்றுமை என்ற ஒரு பெரிய அடிப்படை காரணமாக பலர் உணர்ந்தபோதிலும்கூடகொள்கையை கட்டுப்படுத்திக்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அதனால் அதன் காரணமாய் இப்பொழுது கொலைகளமாக விளங்கின வங்காளம் காந்திஜியின் கொள்கையால் ஒரு மின்சார விளக்கின் ஸ்விட்சு போட்ட மாகிரியாக ரணகளம் அமைதியாக மாறி இருக்கிறது. அதற்குக் காரணம் இத்தகைய மாசு அற்ற கொள்கையினால் ஹிந்து முஸ்லீம்கள் அந்நியோன்யமாக நாட்டில் வாழவேண்டு மென்பதற்காகத்தான் பாஷையில் அபிப்பிராய பேதத்திற்கு இடம் இருக்கிறது என்ற காரணத்தால் ஹிந்துஸ்தானி 50 சத விகிதமும் உருது 50 சத விகிதத்திலும் பாடம் நடந்து வருகிறது என்பதை முஸ்லீம் சகோதரர்களுக்கு ஞாபகமூட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். இந்த சமயத்தில் இன்னும் சில உண்மைகளை எடுத்துக்காட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். மாகாணத்தில் முஸ்லீம் ஜனத் தொகை எல்லாவற்றிலும் பார்த்தால் மெஜாரிட்டி என்று அவர்களை எதை கூறி வருகிறார்களோ அந்த மெஜாரிட்டி முஸ்லீம்கள் உருது பாஷை பேசுகிறவர்கள் இல்லை என்பதை நான் சுட்டிக்காட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். தமிழ் நாட்டில் மிகப் பெரும்பான்மையாக இருக்கிற இடங்களில் நூற்றுக்கு 95 சதத்திற்கு அதிகமாக தமிழ்தான் பேசுகிறவர்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள். உருது பேசுகிறவர்கள் 5 சத விகிதம்தான் இருக்கிறார்கள். இந்த 5 பேர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதுகூட நான் கொஞ்சம் அவர்களுக்கு தாராளமாக விட்டுக்கொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதற்குதான் சொல்லுகிறேன். தலைவர் அவர்களே என்னுடைய ஜில்லாவில் எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் . . . .

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On a point of information. The hon. Member is making a wrong statement when he says that the percentage of the Muslims in the Tamilnad who speak Urdu is very small; on the other hand, there are a very large number of Muslims there who speak Urdu and whose mother-tongue is Urdu."

SRI A. VEDARATNAM PILLAI:—"என்ன **percentage** என்பதை கனம் ஹமீத் கான் அவர்கள் குறிப்பிட்டிருந்தால் மிக நல்லதாக இருந்திருக்கும். தமிழ் நாட்டில் உருது பேசுகிறவர்கள் 5 சதத்திற்கு குறைவாகதான் இருக்கிறார்கள் என்று நான் கூறுகிறேன். என்னுடைய ஜில்லாவில் உருது பேசுகிறவர்கள் எத்தனை பேர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை நான் விரல் விட்டு எண்ணிச் சொல்லமுடியும். பட்டாணியர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள் உருது பேசுகிறார்கள். மரக்காயர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள் அவர்கள் மரக்கலம் வைத்துக்கொண்டு பெரிய பெரிய வியாபாரம் செய்துவருகிறார்கள். அவ்வளவுக்கும் தாய் பாஷை தமிழ்தான். உருது ஒரு வார்த்தைகூட தெரியாது. ஒன்று, இரண்டு பேர்கள்தான் இருப்பார்கள் என்பதை ஞாபக மூட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். ஆகையால் தலைவர் அவர்களே, மலையாளத்தை எடுத்துச்கொண்டாலும் அங்கே இருக்கிறவர்கள் மலையாளம்தான் பேசுகிறார்கள். உருது பேசுகிறவர்கள் மிக மிகச் சொற்பம். மாகாணத்தில் எல்லா பாகங்களிலும் அப்படித்தான் இருக்கும் என்று நான் கருதுகிறேன். அந்தந்த பிரதேசத்திலிருக்கிறவர்கள் அந்தந்த தேசத்தின் தாய் பாஷையைதான் பேசி வருகிறார்கள். அப்படி பேசுகிற இடத்தில் ஒருவர் இருவர் இருந்தால் அவர்களுக்கு பள்ளிக்கூடங்களில் பாடங்கள் முழுதும் உருது மூலமாக படிக்கவேண்டும் என்றும் **medium** உருதுவாக இருக்கவேண்டுமென்பது அது சாத்யமா என்று பார்க்கவேண்டும். அப்படி இருக்கிறபொழுது கல்வி மந்திரி அவர்களே ஒரு கேள்வி கேட்ட தற்கு பதில் அளித்திருக்கிறார். அவர் சொன்னதாவது முஸ்லீம்கள் பெண் கலாசாலையில் முஸ்லீம் பெண்கள் எத்தனை பேர்கள் படிக்கிறார்கள் என்ற கேள்விக்கு சுமார் 14, 15 பேர்கள் இருக்கிறார்கள் என்று அவர் கூறினார்கள். இந்த 14, 15 முஸ்லீம் பெண்களுடைய படிப்புக்கு தனி கலாசாலை நடத்த அரசாங்கம் பொறுப்பை ஏற்றுக்கொள்வது போலவே உருதுவேண்டும். உருது **medium** ஆக வைத்து உருது மூலம் சகல பாடங்களையும் படிக்கவேண்டும் என்ற கோரிக்கை கொஞ்சம் சந்தேகிக்க வேண்டியதாக இருக்கிறது என்பதை சுட்டிக் காட்டுகிறேன். அந்த மாதிரியாக மிகப் பெரும்பாலோர் இருக்கிற இடங்களில் அவரவர்கள் பாஷையில் பாடம் படித்துவருகிறார்கள். உருது தாய் பாஷையாக ஒரு சிலர் இருப்பதற்காக அதை **medium** ஆக வைத்தால் இதர கல்விகளாகிய **algebra, geometry, science**, முதலிய பாடங்களை உருது மூலமாக கற்பிக்கவேண்டுமென்றால் எவ்வளவு சாத்யம் என்பதை நான் கேட்கிறேன். அவைகளுக்கு புதிய பள்ளிக்கூடங்கள் வேண்டும் புதிய வார்த்தைகள் வேண்டும்."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On a point of information may I remind the hon. Member of my amendment to the effect that these schools for teaching in the medium of Urdu have to be established only in places wherever practicable, where there is a reasonable **number, Sir.**"

SRI A. VEDARATNAM PILLAI:—"மிக லட்சக்கணக்கானவர்களுக்கு தாய்பாஷை தமிழாக இருக்கிறது மலையாளத்தில் மலையாளமாகவும் தெலுங்கு தேசத்தில் தெலுங்காகவும். . . . . "

MR. SPEAKER:—"அவர்களுடைய **amendment** என்னவென்றால் அதிகமாக உருது பேசுகிறவர்கள் இருந்தால் அவர்களுக்கு உருதுவில் பாடங்கள் கற்றுக்கொடுக்கவேண்டுமென்று அவர் **amendment** கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்."

SRI A. VEDARATNAM PILLAI:—"சாத்யமாக இருந்தாலும் நல்லதாக இருந்தாலும் திருத்தத்தைக்கொண்டு மகிழ்ச்சி யடைகிறேன். அவர்களுடைய ஜன சங்கியை எப்படி இருந்தாலும் உருது **medium**-அசியவம் இல்லை என்பதைதான் எதிர் கட்சி தலைவருக்கு சுட்டிக்காட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். எனென்றால் தாய் பாஷையின் அத்யாவசியத்தை நம்முடைய கனம் மஜீத் அவர்கள் எவ்வளவு இனிமையாக பேசினார்கள். தாய் பாஷையால்தான் கலையையும் கலாசாரத்தையும் மற்ற விஷயங்களையும் வளர்க்கமுடியும். தாய்ப் பாஷையைப்போலவே அதற்கு அடுத்தபடியாக பிரதேச பாஷை என்பதை சுட்டிக்காட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். ஒரு ஆயிரம் பேர் மத்தியில் உருது பாஷை பேசுகிறவர்கள் இருந்தால் அவர்கள் தாய் பாஷையையோ பிரதேச பாஷையையோதான் பேச முடியும். அவர்கள் வீட்டுக்கு வந்தால்தான் குழந்தை பிள்ளைகளுடன் உருது பேச முடியும். ஆகையால் அவர்களுக்கு சகிர பரியந்தம் பிரதேச தாய் பாஷையை உபயோகிக்கும் நிலைமை ஏற்படுகிறது. ஆகையால் அவர்களுக்கு பாடம் கற்றுக் கொள்ளவும் அதை பயன் படுத்திக்கொள்ளவும் தன்னுடைய உருது தாய் பாஷையை பயன்படுத்திக்கொள்ள முடியவில்லை. எந்தத் தொழிலில் ஈடுபட்டிருந்தாலும் எந்த வியாபாரத்தி லீடுபட்டிருந்தாலும் சரி உத்யோகத்திலிருந்தாலும் சரி தாய் பாஷை மாத்திரம் உருதுவாக இருந்தால் மற்றவர்கள் வேறு பாஷை பேசும்போது அவர்களும் பேசுவதற்கு அந்த பிரதேச தாய் பாஷைதான் உபயோகமாக இருக்கும். அப்பொழுது பிரதேச பாஷைதான் பிரயோஜனப்படுகிறது. வெளி நாடுகளில் ஜீவியத்தை நடத்துவதற்கு ஆதாரமாக அவர்கள் உருது தாய் பாஷையை **medium** ஆக வைத்திருந்தால் அது இங்கு சாத்யமா என்றும் அது அவசியமில்லை என்பதை அனைவரும் கருதுவார்கள் என்றும் நான் நினைக்கிறேன். ஆகையால் தலைவர் அவர்களே, அங்கே உருது தாய் பாஷையாக இல்லாமல் உதரித் தள்ளிவிட முடியும். ஒவ்வொரு பள்ளிக்கூடங்களிலும் வேண்டுமென்பதும் **medium** உருது வேண்டுமென்று கேட்பதும் அவ்வளவு நியாயம் இல்லை என்பதை நான் சுட்டிக்காட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். உருதுவை எதிர்ப்பதற்கோ மெஜாரிட்டி கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள் இதன் மூலமாக அவர்களை அமுக்கிவிட வேண்டுமென்பதற்காகவோ இவ்விதம் பேசுகிறேன் என்பதில்லை என்பதை நான் சுட்டிக்காட்டத்தான் இந்த விஷயத்தை ஞாபக மூட்ட விரும்புகிறேன். தீவர்கள் கூறுகிறது நியாயம் அற்றது அர்த்தம் அற்றது. அவர்கள் வற்புறுத்தாமலிருந்தால் மிகவும் நன்றாக இருக்கும். வற்புறுத்தினால் சிறு பான்மையாக இருக்கிறார்கள் என்ற காரணமாக இதை எதிர்ப்பதாக கருதக்கூடாது. சாத்யமாக இல்லாததைக் கூறுகிறார்கள் என்ற காரணத்தால் இதை எதிர்ப்பதாக அவர்கள் உணர வேண்டும். இங்கே இருக்கிற ஒரு சிலர் உருது **medium** ஆக்கவேண்டுமென்று சொல்வது நியாயம் இல்லை. இரண்டு கோடி தமிழ் பாஷை பேசுகிறவர்கள் இருந்தால்கூட அவர்களுக்கு தமிழ் **medium** வரவில்லை. தெலுங்கு பாஷை பேசுகிறவர்கள் இரண்டு கோடிக்கு மேல் அதிகமாக இருந்தாலும் அங்கே சர்வ கலாசாலைகளில் தெலுங்கு **medium** ஆக வரவில்லை. மலையாளம் பேசுகிற இடங்களில் இன்னும் மலையாளம் வரவில்லை கோடிக் கணக்கானவர்கள் இருக்கிற இடங்களில் அவர்கள் பேசுகிற பாஷை இன்னும் அங்கே **medium** ஆக வரவில்லை. அவைகள் அமலுக்கு வராமல் இருக்கிற நிலைமையில் மிகச் சிறு பான்மையாக இருக்கக்கூடியவர்களுக்கு உருது **medium** வேண்டுமென்று கேட்பது நியாயம் அற்றதுதான் என்று கூறுகிறேன். ஹை ஸ்கூல்களிலும் கலாசாலைகளிலும் மாணவர்கள் சேருவார்களென்று எதிர் பார்க்க முடியவில்லை. உருது தாய் பாஷையாக இருக்கிற மாகாணங்களில் இன்னும் அது **medium** ஆக வராமல் இருக்கிறது. தமிழ் தெலுங்கு மலையாளம் முதலிய பாஷைகள் தாய் பாஷையாக இருக்கிற இடங்களில் ஒரு சில முஸ்லீம்களுக்கு தாய் பாஷை உருதுவாக இருப்பதால் அவர்களுக்காக இத்தகைய பெரிய, காட்ட முடியாத, சலுகையை அவர்களுக்குக் காட்டவேண்டுமென்று சொல்வது அவ்வளவு நியாயம் அற்றது என்ற வாதத்தை சுட்டிக்காட்டி ஸ்ரீமதி பீகம் சுல்தான் அமிர்யுதீன் தீர்மானத்தை வற்புறுத்தினால் அதை எல்லாரும் எதிர்க்க வேண்டுமென்று சொல்லி இந்த தீர்மானத்தை நான் எதிர்கிறேன்."

1-15 p.m.

SRI K. ANANDAN NAMBIYAR:—"On a point of information may I point out Sir that this resolution is being discussed for the second day."

MR. SPEAKER:—"In the opinion of the House this is an important resolution and a number of people wish to take part in it."

SRI K. ANANDAN NAMBIYAR:—"I want an answer from the Hon. Minister because it will be helpful in going to the next subject. We have many other resolutions on the agenda paper and I therefore request the Leader of the House as well as the Minister concerned and the Leader of the Opposition so that other Members also may get their chance. I am not saying that this is an unimportant thing. It is important. Anyhow, I appeal to the house to give consideration to the other hon. Members' motions also."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I want only to submit, Sir, that you have done the very right and proper thing in having allowed so much time for the discussion of this subject. Very rightly, Sir, you have pointed out that it is an important resolution and various Members want to discuss this subject from various aspects. Therefore, I would request you, Sir, to extend the same sympathy which you have shown hitherto for this side."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, we realize the importance of this resolution. That is why both of us are expressing our views on this. At the same time the anxiety of our Friend, Mr. Nambiar is that there are other resolutions also which are equally important and that is why we appealed to the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition so that if they express their opinion and if the debate is brought to an early closure then other resolutions may be taken up."

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"I was rather surprised that after one member of the Communist party suggested the closure of the debate, the other members of party immediately stands for further discussion. I wish there is a little more consistency."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"The Hon. Minister has not followed any of our speeches."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Mr. Nambiar wanted to end the discussion and you are now speaking on the subject and prolonging the discussion. That is what the Hon. Minister pointed out."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"We wanted to respect the wishes of the hon. Members. Mr. Speaker Sir, while supporting the resolution as well as the amendment moved by the Opposition Leader and Mrs. Amiruddin, I wish to say a few words on this subject.

"It is our birthright to demand from any Government not only a Congress Government but even a foreign bureaucratic Government that the coaching should be given only in the mother tongue. That is the birthright of every individual but now all on a sudden after the regime of the Congress Ministers in 1946 we find a change from the mother tongue into regional language. During last year and also on so many occasions this year many hon. Members expressed the view that option shall be given to choose coaching in the mother tongue in the high schools and colleges. As a matter of fact regional language may not be the mother tongue. I know in Andhra the mother tongue of most of the Muslims is Urdu. There is no doubt about this. I come

from those parts and most of the Muslims' mother tongue is Urdu and it is not a disputable point. It does not matter whether the Urdu-spoken is broken or correct but their mother-tongue is Urdu which everybody must take note of. Therefore I find that their demand to be taught in Urdu is justifiable and I think none of the League leaders will ever object to learning other languages. As a matter of fact most of the Muslims in Andhra know Telugu. They can read and write in Telugu. There are poets among Muslims who are well versed in Telugu. I do not find there can be any objection to their demand that they should be taught in Urdu.

"After going through the amendments moved by the Leader of the Opposition I find there is nothing for which the Hon. Minister or the Government can object to because they demand that wherever possible Urdu may be taught but after all I do not think there can be any more minimum demand on the part of any other party. I know in Andhra most of the Muslims are anxious to learn in Urdu and there it may be possible to give effect to this resolution. A section may be opened in every school for this purpose. Nobody can say, not even the Education Minister, that they should be taught only in the regional language.

"I have another objection for the regional language being made compulsory. For instance, in Madras,—I am not going into the question of whether this place should belong to the Tamilians or to the Andhra—whatever may be my opinion, Madras may belong to the Tamilians but at the same time if the Andhras demand that they should be taught in Telugu even in Madras, in Coimbatore, Madura and other Tamil places, that should be conceded. There are Andhra boys and girls in these places and they are forced to forget their mother tongue. It is really a sorrowful thing to note the fact that they cannot get their education in their mother-tongue. You cannot refute or dispute the fact if the Andhras who number lakhs and lakhs in Tamilnad demand that the teaching for them should be in Telugu. That is also the case with the Tamilians in Andhra parts where they have settled as teachers or hotel-keepers if they should demand for teaching in their mother tongue. I want that there should be provision for all these suggestions. There is no harm in doing this. It is not at all conflicting whatever may be the regional language. When they are taught in their mother tongue they will be able to understand and grasp easily and it is not merely for the job-hunting that education is intended. Education and job-hunting are different things. For that let them make some regional language, as the official language. It is the cultural development that matters. It is not justifiable to deny this right. I lay stress on the point that the regional language is not the mother tongue. They are two different things and if you refuse to allow them to learn in their mother tongue their culture will slowly disappear."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member may continue his speech after lunch. I now adjourn the House to meet again at 2-30 p.m."

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"On a point of information, Sir. These benches (Muslim League Benches) are empty, and the hon. Member who moved this Resolution is also absent."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Lady Member will come now."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Who will reply to the debate, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not our concern. The hon. Member will continue his speech."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"I am now reverting to the subject of giving instruction in the mother tongue. As far as the Resolution read with the amendments moved by the Muslim members goes, it is clearly indicated that the main purpose of the Resolution is to see that wherever it is possible, and wherever the students demand, instruction should be given in their mother tongue. Let me request the Hon. Minister for Education not to confuse the issues here on this occasion. They are not demanding any separate institutions for the Muslim boys or Muslim girls. Their only demand is wherever students come forward, they must be allowed to learn in their own mother tongue. (Interruption). There is another point, Sir. The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition has carefully worded his amendment, and he has clearly indicated 'provided there is a sufficient number of such students in the locality.' I do not know what objections the Hon. Minister for Education can have to accept this Resolution, with the amendments. I know there is mutual suspicion prevailing not only in this House, but even outside this House, but if we legislators should succumb to suspicions and prejudices how can we legislate in the interests of the people. Either to accept or reject this Resolution, we must take into consideration the interests of the people as a whole. That is why I am pointing out that in border districts this question will naturally creep in, and in those places, this question will be dominant and will be a major issue, which every Government must come to grips with without any delay. I am not telling you the case of only Madras. In Andhra areas, and in areas surrounding Andhra districts, there are Oriyas. Most of these Oriyas have migrated into Vizagapatam district. What about the medium of instruction to those people? Will you allow them. . .

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon. Minister is not following my speech.

"I am telling the House that in Andhra, in the border districts, the mother-tongue of the people is different. The people belong to different nationalities. As a matter of fact, in Vizagapatam so many people are speaking Oriya. What are you going to do with them? If you insist that they must learn Telugu, and that they should not be allowed to learn in their own mother-tongue, I say it will mean doing the greatest injustice. That is, in a way, killing the nationality of a people. This idea of killing the nationality of a people is only of the Nazis; not at all of the Congress. The Congress is against all such ideas. That is why I say that the mother-tongue should be given preference provided the students choose to do so. This does not mean that we should neglect the regional language. The regional language must be made compulsory. I am definite about that. Those people who choose their mother-tongue as the medium of instruction must be made to study the regional language as secondary one. I am definite about that also. There is one other point, and that is about English and Hindi. English need not be made compulsory nor Hindi. It may be a national language, but young boys should not be forced to learn Hindi. They may, however, learn Hindi if they like, in higher courses in technical subjects. This does not mean that when we begin to learn alphabets, this English or Hindi should be brought in. There is no need for it. My main point in supporting the Resolution is to save the national culture of a particular people from extinction. Those who desire to have instruction through the medium of their mother-tongue must be allowed to do so. For that they must have all facilities. Only in that way, we can maintain unity and save their culture. To-day our country is in great trouble, particularly communal trouble. You take Andhra. We are expecting a '*Visala*' Andhra, including those portions that are to-day ruled by the Nizam. Ten to fifteen per cent of the people there are Muslims who actually learn Urdu. The rest are Telugus. What are you going to do with them? If we accept your principle of regional language, naturally most of the people there, who are interested in learning only through the medium of their mother-tongue, will go against us, and we will have to fight against our own people. You are bringing the whole state of affairs into a struggle between the different communities. To avoid all such struggles, the best course for us to follow is to give option to those people who want to learn things through the medium of their mother-tongue to do so. With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution and also the amendments to it.

"I have also given notice of an amendment."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member should give two days' notice for an amendment. However, if it is a verbal amendment, I have no objection to allow it."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"The amendment is—

'*After the words "wherever they desire to do so" the following shall be added, namely:—*

"*keeping the regional language as the compulsory subject.*"'"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Who is seconding your amendment?"

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I second it, Sir."

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"Sir, this is not a formal amendment. It has to be examined. Government should object to this sort of amendments without proper notice."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Let me see whether it is a substantial amendment or only a verbal amendment."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"It is a verbal amendment, Sir, because all the parties, and even the Hon. Minister for Education who is anxious that the medium of instruction shall be the regional language. What I want to say is wherever opportunity is given to people to receive instruction in their mother-tongue, the regional language must be made a compulsory subject for them. The Muslim League has no objection to this. I have consulted one of the leaders of the League, and only after consulting them . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"'Keeping the regional language as the compulsory subject' is not a verbal amendment. It completely changes the meaning of the Resolution. Though it contains six or seven words (laughter), it gives a different meaning. Therefore, I rule it out of order. I, as Speaker, has power to give exemption from the required notice, but in this case I do not propose to use that power. But this is an amendment which thoroughly changes the meaning of the Resolution. So, I rule it out of order."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"I thank you, Sir, for going to the rescue of the Hon. Minister for Education. I strongly take exception to Government taking objection to this amendment. This amendment is only to support his (the Minister's) view, and the League also has accepted it. Now comes the Hon. Minister for Education, even without following what I have said, and says that the Government and the whole Cabinet have strong objections to this amendment. The spirit of the amendment has been accepted by the whole House. I will take it for granted . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The amendment has not been accepted. It has only been seconded. Accepting the amendment means, it should be put to vote, and then accepted or rejected."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"On a point of order, Sir. After the amendment has been seconded, can the Government raise an objection to it?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Anybody can raise an objection."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution and also the amendment."

* MR. H. O. FOWLER:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I happen to belong to that group of this House, called the silent members, but I rise to-day to break my vow of silence for a few minutes to speak on the Resolution. As an educationist I would like to put forward my suggestions not so much with an idea of taking sides but more with the idea of enquiring into the principles involved in this Resolution. I feel that every member of this House, whether he speaks in support of the Resolution or against it, would agree that it is an undisputed principle that it is the birth-right of every child to receive instruction, especially in its earlier years through its own mother tongue. (Muslim League Benches: 'Hear, hear.') The difficulty about this Resolution, or I should say the bone of contention behind this Resolution, is the question whether Urdu is the mother-tongue of the Muslim community in this part of India or not. I feel that the entire issue depends upon the answer which this House is prepared to give to that question. If Urdu is the mother-tongue of the large majority of the Muslim community of South India, then I feel that Government have no alternative but to concede their just demand. If on the other hand the Government can prove that the claim that Urdu is the mother-tongue of the Muslim community is without foundation, then, I feel that perhaps they have some justification for being hesitant in granting this request. I would suggest that before a definite agreement or solution of this problem can be arrived at, some step should be taken to set up impartial inquiry committee to give us an answer to that question.

2-45 p.m

"As to the suggestion by some sections of this House, that in giving in to this Resolution and allowing Muslim students to have their instruction in their own mother-tongue in areas where their numbers warranted it, this would mean helping to divide the communities of this country into two groups, I feel, Sir, that this argument has no weight at all. Finally, I would like to say that this is a matter of principle, a matter about which every minority community in this Province and in other Provinces too, are to-day perturbed, and I feel the ruling to be given by this House on this Resolution would give the minority communities an assurance as to whether the Government in office to-day are prepared to be generous and just in the legitimate and rightful demands put forward by the minority communities. Thank you, Sir."

SRI K. LINGARAJU:—"అధ్యక్ష, చేగం ఆమిరుద్దీన్‌గారు ప్రతిపాదించిన తీర్మానమును నేను ప్రతిఘటిస్తున్నాను. ఈ తీర్మానమును ముస్లిం సభ్యులు బలపరచుచు ఉరుదూ ముస్లిముల మాతృభాషయని, ప్రతివారికి విద్యను మాతృభాషద్వారా అభ్యసించుట జన్మహక్కనియు కాలున ఉరుదూ మాతృభాషగా కలిగినటువంటి ముస్లిముల సందరకు ఉరుదూలోనే విద్య చెప్పించవలసినదని, అందుకొరకై వేరు వేరు పాఠశాలలను ఏర్పాటుచేయవలసినదని చెప్పుచున్నారు. ఇంతేకాక ఉరుదూలో వారికి చదువు చెప్పించక పోయినటులయితే ముస్లిం భాష నాగరికత నాశనమైపోవునని వారి నాగరిక దేశములోని ఆధికసంఖ్యాకులను హిందువులయొక్క నాగరికతకు భిన్నమైనటువంటిదని చెప్పుచు ఈ విషయము ఒక పెద్ద సమస్యగా వారు చెప్పుచున్నారు. వారి అభిప్రాయములతో నేను ఏకీభవించను. మన మద్రాసు రాజధానిలోని మిత్తము జనాభాలో ముస్లిముల సంఖ్య సూటికి ఏ 10 లేక 11 మాత్రమే యున్నది. ముఖ్యముగా పల్లెటూళ్లలో ఏ 2, 3, ఇండ్లవాళ్లో మహమ్మదీయులుంటారు. వీరు ఒక విధమైన కష్టి ఉరుదూ మాట్లాడుతూ వుంటారు. ఆటువంటప్పుడు యీ 2, 3, ఇండ్లవారికి ప్రత్యేకముగా ఒక పాఠశాలను ఏర్పాటుచేయుటకానంటే చాలా కష్టమైనటువంటి విషయము. ఈ విధముగా ఒక గ్రామములో వుండేటటువంటి వివిధభాషల వారలందరకు వేరువేరైన పాఠశాలను ప్రభుత్వమువారు స్థాపించవలయునంటే అసాధ్యమైనటువంటి విషయమని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. ముస్లిములకు ఉరుదూ నేర్చుకొనవలయునని వున్నచో వారు ప్రాథమిక పాఠశాలలో తగినంతమంది విద్యార్థులున్న చోట నేర్చుకొనవచ్చును. కాని ఏ 2, 3 విద్యార్థులకోసమో ప్రత్యేకముగా ఉరూ ఉపాధ్యాయులను ఏర్పాటు చేయవలయునటు అనుచితము. అంతే కాక ఉరుదూ medium లో high schools లోను college లలోను విద్యాబోధన ఏర్పాటుచేయవలసినదని ముస్లిం బాలురకు ప్రత్యేకముగా high schools, colleges వుండాలని వాయి వాస్తున్నారు. ఈ విధముగా schools, colleges ఏర్పాటుచేస్తే వీటిలో చదువుకోటానికి ఎంతమంది విద్యార్థులు వుంటారు, వీరికి ఉరుదూ అన్ని Subject లు చెప్పటానికి ఉపాధ్యాయులు Lecturer లు ఎక్కడ వుంటారు ఈ ప్రత్యేక విద్యాసంస్థ కు ఎంతడబ్బు కావలయును, ఇంతడబ్బు ప్రభుత్వము ఖర్చుపెట్టగలదా, ఈ విధానమువలన దేశ ఐక్యతకు భంగము కలుగునా అను విషయములను ఆలోచించవలయును. ఈ పై విషయములను గుర్తించినచో ముహమ్మదీయులకు ప్రత్యేక విద్యాలయాలను ఏర్పాటుచేయుటకు ఏవిధమగు అవకాశము లేదు. ఈ కారణములచేత చేగం ఆమిరుద్దీన్‌గారు తీసుకొనివచ్చిన ఈ తీర్మానమును ఒప్పుకొనవద్దని ప్రభుత్వమువారిని నేను కోరుచున్నాను

"ఇంతేకాక ఈ తీర్మానములో ఉరుదూ మాతృభాషగా కలిగినటువంటి మహమ్మదీయులకే ఉరుదూలో విద్యాబోధ చేయించవలసినదిగా వున్నది. దీని అభిప్రాయము అల్పసంఖ్యాకులుగా వున్నటువంటి ముస్లిముల భాష, జాతి, నాగరీకత ఆధికసఖ్యాకులగువారి భాష, జాతి, నాగరికత లేదనియే. ఇట్టి వాదనలవలననే నేను దేశము విభజింపబడినది. ఆగతతో సరాసరి ఉత్తర హిందుస్తానములోను, ఇంకా కొన్ని ఇతర ప్రాంతములలోను మతకలహములు, దారుణ హత్యలు జరుగుచున్నవి. ఈ కారణముల చేత ఇంకనైనను ఇటువంటి వేరు భావము మన ముస్లిం సోదరులలోదరు విడిచిపెట్టవలసినదిగా వారిని కోరుచున్నాను. దీనివల్ల దేశము చిన్నాభిన్నమగునే గాని, దేశము యొక్క ఐక్యతను కాపాడజాలము. సాధారణముగా ఏ ప్రదేశములో ఏ భాష మాట్లాడువారు ఎక్కువమంది వున్నారో ఆ భాష ఆప్రాంతమునకు దేశభాష అవుతుంది. అక్కడి ప్రజలందరు చిన్నచిన్న భేదములను మాని ఆ భాషలోనే విద్య నభ్యసించుట అందరకు శ్రేయస్కరము. అంతేకాని మహారాజుకోండ్రవారములాటి పట్టణములలో ఎక్కడో కొందరు తమిళులు వున్నారని వారికి ప్రత్యేక పాఠశాలలు, మహమ్మదీయులున్నారని వారికి ప్రత్యేక పాఠశాలలు, ఏర్పరుచుటలో ఆర్థమేమిటో నాకు బోధపడుట లేదు. ఈ విధముగా ప్రత్యేక విద్యాసంస్థలను ఏర్పాటుచేయుట మొదలు పెట్టినచో ఈ సమస్యకు అంతు ఎక్కడో తెలియదు.

"ఈ సందర్భములో ఒక విషయము మనవిచేస్తాను. మన గవర్నర్లలోనున్న హైదరాబాదు సంస్థానములో ఏమి జరుగుచున్నదో చెబుతాను. హైదరాబాదు నవాబు మహమ్మదీయుడు. ఆయన మాతృభాష ఉరుదూ. కాబట్టి సంస్థానములో అధిక సంఖ్యాకులైన తెలుగువారిని, మహారాష్ట్రులను, కన్నడులను ఉరుదూ బలవంతముగా నేర్చుకొనవలయునని నిర్బంధించుచున్నారు. ప్రజలలో సూటికి దాదాపు 10, 12 మంది వుండేటటువంటి మహమ్మదీయుల ఉరుదూ భాష, రాజభాష అయిన కారణము చేత అధిక సంఖ్యాకులు వారి దేశభాషను, మాతృభాషను మరచిపోవలసిన దుర్గతి పట్టుచున్నది. ఇది న్యాయమైనదేనా అని, మన ముస్లిం సోదరులు దీనికి సమ్మతించెదరా అని వారిని అడుగుచున్నాను.

"ఈవాళ కొంతమంది సభ్యులు వివిధ దేశభాషలలో మాట్లాడుచుంటే బాగుగ ఆమిరుద్దీన్‌గారు Jargon భాషలలో మాట్లాడుచున్నారని అన్నారు. ఇప్పుడు నేను మాట్లాడు భాషనుకూడా వారు ఆవిధముగా అనటానేమో అనే నాకు సందేహము కలుగుచున్నది. కాలాతీతులలో మన రాష్ట్రమును భాషాప్రయుక్తముగా విభజించడం చేసిరి. ఇనగా విప్రాతలేకువారు ఆసాంతీయ భాషలలో ప్రభుత్వ వ్యవహారములను సులభముగా చేసుకొనుటకున్నమాట. అట్టి సందర్భములో ముస్లిములు ఆప్రాం

తెయభాషలలోనే విద్య నభ్యసించుట ప్రత్తమము; యత్తము కాని, వెరోకిభాషలో చదువుకొనిన వారికి ప్రభుత్వకార్యకిలాపములలో ప్రాత్యానుట్ట ఇవకాశముండదు. ఈ విషయము లనినింటిని జాగ్రత్తగా పరిశీలించి వారు ఈ తీర్మానమును ప్రత్యక్షరహరించుకొన గోరుచున్నాను. వారు regional language లో విద్య నభ్యశించుట వారికే చాలా మంచిది. కాని వారు వారి మాతృభాష అయినటువంటి ఉరూదూను కూడా నేర్చుకొనదలచినటులయి తే తగినంతమంది విద్యార్థులున్నచోట Second language (రెండవభాష)గా ఫురుదూను చదువుకొనవచ్చును.

"ఈ విషయము లన్నిటిని ప్రభుత్వమువారు గుర్తించి ప్రతివారికి regional language (ప్రాంతీయ భాష) compulsory చేయవలసినదిగా మనవిచేయుచు, అల్ప సంఖ్యాకులగు ముస్లీములకు ఉరూదూలో ప్రత్యేక పాఠశాలలను ప్రత్యేశించుచున్నటువంటి ఈ తీర్మానమును ప్రతిపాదించుచున్నాను."

* SRI S. NAGAPPA:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would have supported the resolution brought by the hon. Lady Member, if it had been worded in the following manner: 'This Assembly recommends to the Government to make provision for students (instead of Muslim students) that is whoever is willing or desirous of learning Urdu must be at liberty to learn and he must be given a chance to learn it.'

"Another thing I would like to say is this: As regards Urdu, from the statistics collected on linguistic basis I find that Urdu does not find any place at all. I shall give the House some statistics from the census of 1931. I find the word 'Hindustani' only, and no Urdu anywhere. Out of a total population of forty-four millions and odd I find there are about one million and two hundred thousand and odd of Hindustani speaking people in this presidency. I would have welcomed this resolution if it had been for learning Hindustani. And then about this Urdu lipi; Oh God nobody can learn that lipi. If it is Hindi lipi, anybody can learn it."

N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On a point of information Sir."

SRI S. NAGAPPA:—"I am not yielding."

N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—"He is quoting . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member says he is not yielding. Two members should not be on their legs at the same time."

* SRI S. NAGAPPA:—"So I request the hon. Lady Member as well as the Leader of the Opposition to withdraw their resolutions and bring in a fresh resolution asking this Assembly to enable a student who is willing to learn Hindustani to study it. It will be a national language and it will go a long way to help to promote unity in the whole province. So I request hon. Members on the other side not to support the resolution.

"Coming to facts and figures, as I said, out of a total population of 44 million and odd of people in this province only one million and 200 thousand and odd are Hindustani speaking people. I do not find anywhere in the census the word 'Urdu' at all. I do not see why public funds should be spent for a small minority of people. And further Urdu is a difficult language to learn. I have tried hard to learn it; here is my Guru Mr. Pattabhi; it is very dufficult to remember the language. And further, while all over the world people write from left to right, in Urdu, people write from right to left. (Laughter) It is very difficult, and there is no reason in the resolution now before the House. So I request the hon. Lady Member and the Leader of the Opposition to withdraw the resolution and bring in another resolution to studv Hindustani. You know Mahatma Gandhi has been preaching more than hon. Members opposite for the study of Hindustani. So. I would request the mover and seconder of this resolution to withdraw their resolution."

MR. SPEAKER:—"How many times would you ask them to withdraw?"

SRI S. NAGAPPA:—"The more the number of times I appeal the more will they feel to withdraw the resolution. With these words I resume my seat."

SRI M. BAPINEEDU:—"అధ్యక్ష మహాశయా, మహమ్మదీయ, స్త్రీల ప్రతినిధిగా బేగం ఆమిరుద్దీన్‌గారు ప్రతిపాదించిన తీర్మానమును వ్యతిరేకించుటకు నేను నిలబడియున్నాను. కారణమేమనగా ఆ తీర్మానము ఆ పార్టీ నాయకులు ఆస్థాయిల్ సాయబుగారు ఉనసాధించిన సవరణ అనవసరము, ఆసమంజసము, అసంభవము అని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను. ప్రతి చూనవుడు తన మాతృభాషలోనే విద్యనభ్యసించుట ఆతని జన్మ హక్కని వారు పాటించుచున్నారు. మహమ్మదీయులకు విద్య ఉరుదు భాషలో చెప్పించవలసినవసరమున్నట్లు ముందుగా వీ వీ జిల్లాలలో వారు ఎంతమంది ఉన్నా రనే విషయములను పరిశీలించవలసి యున్నది. 1931 వ సంవత్సరపు జనాభా లెక్కలను చూచినట్లైతే విశాఖపట్టణం జిల్లాలో మహమ్మదీయ జనాభా నూటికి ఒకరుకూడా లేనట్లు తోస్తుంది. అదే విధంగా మా పశ్చిమగోదావరి జిల్లాలో మహమ్మదీయులు నూటికి ఇద్దరు (2%) కన్న తక్కువగా ఉన్నారు. జిల్లాగే అనేక జిల్లాలలో మహమ్మదీయుల సంఖ్య చాలా తక్కువగా ఉన్నది. అక్కడక్కడ పెద్దపెద్ద పట్టణములలో మాత్రము మహమ్మదీయులు వి కొద్దిమందో ఉన్నారేమో కాని పల్లిపట్టున వారి జనసంఖ్య చాలా తక్కువ. ఈ పెద్దపెద్ద పట్టణములలో కూడ ఉన్నటువంటి ముస్లీం పాఠశాలలోకిపోయి చూచినట్లైతే చదువుకునేవారి సంఖ్య చాలా తక్కువగా కనిపిస్తుంది. ఒక్కొక్క తరగతిలో వి 5, 6, 10 మంది పిల్లలు మాత్రమే ఉంటారు. మిత్రులు కొంతమంది ప్రాథమిక పాఠశాలలలో ముస్లీములకు ఉరుదులో చదువు చెప్పించవలసినదిగా కోరుచున్నారు. అనగా ప్రతి పల్లెటూరులోనూ వి ఒకటో రెండో మహమ్మదీయ కుటుంబాలున్నా బడులలో చదువుకొను బాలుర సంఖ్య ఎంత అల్పమైనా ఒక మహమ్మదీయ పాఠశాల పెట్టించి దానికి వేరు ఉపాధ్యాయులను వేయమనుట అసమంజసము. వి ప్రభుత్వమైనప్పటికీ ఇటువంటి విన్నాట్లు చెయజాలదు. ఆంధ్రులో ముఖ్యముగా మన రాష్ట్ర ఆర్థిక పరిస్థితులు చూచినట్లైతే ఇటువంటి అనవసరమైనటువంటి విధానము అమలులో పెట్టుటకు ఎంతమాత్రము సావకాశము లేదు.

"మనప్రక్కనే ఉన్నటువంటి ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాలలోని మహమ్మదీయులు ఎదురు చూచు మున్నటువంటి నైజాము సంస్థానములో పరిస్థితులు వి విధముగా ఉన్నాయో చూడండి. హైదరాబాదు సంస్థానము మహమ్మదీయుడైన నవాబు పరిపాలన క్రింద వున్నది. ఆ సంస్థాన ప్రాంతమంతటిలోను ఉరుదు మాతృభాష అయినటువంటి ముస్లీముల జనాభా చాలా తక్కువ. సంస్థానములో ఎక్కువభాగము, అనగా చాచాపు నూటికి 90 మంది యొక్క మాతృభాష ఫురుదు కాదు. సంస్థానములో తెలుగు మాట్లాడువారు, కన్నడము మాట్లాడువారు, మహారాష్ట్రము మాట్లాడువారు హెచ్చు మంది వున్నారు. కాని వారు వారి దేశభాషలో, మాతృ భాషలో విద్యనభ్యసించుటకు వారికి అవకాశము లేవు. పరభాష అయినటువంటి ఫురుదును రాజభాష అనే నెపం చేత నిస్సహాయులైన ప్రజలపై రుద్దుతున్నారు. ఇది న్యాయమేనా అని మన ముస్లీం సభ్యులను తమద్వారా అడుగుచున్నాను.

"మన రాజధానిలో ముఖ్యముగా నాలుగు భాషలను మాట్లాడువారున్నారు. తెలుగువారు, తమిళులు, కన్నడులు, మళయాళీలు. అనగా నాలుగు ప్రాంతీయ భాషలు (Regional language) వున్నాయి. వీరిలో సగటున నూటికి వి 4 మందో 5 మందో మహమ్మదీయులున్నారు. వీరిలో చాలామందికి ఫురుదు వీమో తెలియదు. ముఖ్యముగా దక్షిణాదిన వున్నటువంటి ముస్లీములలో చాలామందికి ఫురుదురాదు. ఇక మా ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాలలో వున్నటువంటి మహమ్మదీయులు కూటాలోటి ఫురుదు మాట్లాడు వారే కాని వారికి నిజమైన ఫురుదు తెలియదు. ఈ విధముగా వి కొద్దిమందో ఫురుదు తెలిసినవారికి ప్రత్యేక పాఠశాలలను విర్పరుచుట వి ప్రభుత్వమున్నకైనను సాధ్యమూ ఆ విధ్యాటు సంభవమూ అని అడుగుచున్నాను.

"రాను రాను మన దేశభాష హిందూస్తానీ కాబోలుచున్నది. మన నాయకులు మహాత్మాగాంధీగారు ఈ హిందూస్తానీ భాషను అందరు నేర్చుకొనవలెనని చెప్పుచున్నారు. ఇట్టి సందర్భములలో మన ముస్లీం సోదరులందరు హిందూస్తానీ నేర్చుకొనుటమంచిది కాని మేము వి కొద్దిమంది మాత్రమున్నా మేము ఫురుదు నేర్చుకుంటాము. పాఠశాలలలో మాకు ఆస్థ పాఠములు ఫురుదులోనే నేర్పించు విధ్యాట్లు చేయించవలసినదిగా కోరుచున్న కోరిక ఎన్నటికి అమలు చేయరాదని ప్రభుత్వమువారిని హెచ్చరించుచున్నాను.

"1938 వ సంవత్సరములో మన రాష్ట్రములో కాంగ్రెస్ ప్రభుత్వమున్నపుడు కొన్ని పాఠశాలలో హిందూస్తానీ పెట్టినారు. కావున మహమ్మదీయులందరు హిందూస్తానీ భాషను నేర్చుకొనవలసినదిగా వారిని కోరుచున్నాను. వారికి ఈ హిందూస్తానీ భాష తేలికగా నేర్చుకొనుటకు, ఆర్థము చేసుకొనుటకు చాలా అవకాశములున్నవి మా ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాలో వీరో ఒక మాదిరిగా ఫురుదు తెలిసిన 3, 4 లక్షలమంది మహమ్మదీయులకు ఫురుదు పాఠశాలలను విర్పాటుచేయుట అనవసరము. ఇది చాలా అసంభవమైనటువంటి విషయమనికూడా మా మిత్రులు శ్రీ లింగరాజుగారు చెప్పియున్నారు

"కొద్దికాలములో మన మద్రాసు రాజధానిని నాలుగుభాషా ప్రయుక్త రాష్ట్రములుగా విభజింప దలచియున్నారు. అప్పుడు వి భాషాప్రాంతములవారు ఆ భాషలలోనే విద్యనభ్యసించెదరు. కాని, ఇంకొకవిధముగా చేయరు. అందువలన ముస్లీములు కూడా వి ప్రాంతమువారు ఆ ప్రాంతమువారి దేశ భాషను నేర్చుకొనుట చాలా మంచిది. ఒక భాషాప్రాంతములో అనేకమైన చిన్న చిన్న భాషలకు ప్రోత్సాహమిచ్చిన జాతియొక్క, దేశముయొక్క ఐక్యత చెడును.

"ఈ పైన చెప్పిన కారణములచేత సోదరీమణి బేగం అమిరుద్దీన్‌గారు ప్రతిపాదించిన తీర్మానమును, ముస్లీం పార్టీ నాయకులు యిస్థాయిలుగారు ప్రతిపాదించిన సవరణలను నేను ప్రతిఘటించుచున్నాను. ప్రతి గ్రామములోనూ ఒకరో ఇద్దరో ముస్లీం పిల్లలకోసమై వేరుగా ఫురుదు పాఠశాలలను విర్పాటు చేయుట వి మాత్రము మంచిది కాదని, దేశ ఐక్యతకు గొడ్డలి పెట్టువంటివని ప్రభుత్వమువారిని హెచ్చరించుచున్నాను. ఈ కారణములన్నిటిని మనసునుంచుకొని ఈ తీర్మానమును ప్రతిఘటించవలసినదిగా ప్రభుత్వమువారిని కోరుచున్నాను. ఇంతే కాక మన ముస్లీం సభ్యులు తాము ప్రతిపాదించిన తీర్మానము అనవసరమైనటువంటిది, అసాధ్యమైనటువంటిది. అసంభవమని కూడా మనవి చేయుచున్నాను."

3 p.m. * MAHIN SCHAMNAD SAHIB BAHADUR:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to mention here what is meant by mother-tongue. It is the language which we learn from the cradle as taught by our mother. The language taught by the mother is considered as taught by God, because the Quoran says: ' Heaven is under the feet of the mother '. Therefore the language taught by the mother is more sacred than any other language. It would be very painful if we want to change one's mother-tongue as it would be very painful to change one's mother. It is not so very easy to learn other languages. Some people find it more difficult to learn things in any other language than learning things in their own mother-tongue. That is why Urdu-speaking Muslim students in many schools take Urdu as their second language. To follow instructions in their mother-tongue is much easier for them than in any other language. If a boy is forced to take any other language than his mother tongue it will tax him too much. And instructions thus forced on him will be of no use to him, as they will be imperfect and his progress will be spoiled. Therefore if the Government want to raise the status of the citizens and if the Government do not want to spoil the progress of the youth of the country they should certainly permit the youth to have their mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in the schools."

* SRI V. RAGHAVAYYA:—" The resolution, Sir, if read without much of political bias either way does not appear to be as troublesome as some Members seem to take it. It does not require late in the day to be told that instruction in mother-tongue is anything but desirable. Even those who pretended to oppose it—I say ' pretended ' because they did not seem really to oppose it—did not oppose the resolution on the ground that it was undesirable. Instructions can be best understood only if it is imparted in the mother-tongue. I know, Sir, that in Russia—I have no personal knowledge but I have read it in books—I learn that even for small minorities of 1,115 people in a province of Russia their mother-tongue is used for giving instruction. A separate script has been coined for them and every care was taken to impart instruction in their own language even though they comprise only a very small group and are negligible according to other standards. But my real difficulty in accepting this resolution comes from another quarter. Seeing that the mover of the resolution wants to-day that wherever Muslim students desire to have instruction in Urdu provision must be made for them, I feel that it is not a practical proposition at present. I should very much I. . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—" It is stated ' whose mother-tongue is Urdu '."

* SRI V. RAGHAVAYYA:—" I mean that, Sir, for, other people won't ask for it. I do not know if the mover wants that even if there are only 10 students and if they demand they must be provided for. I think she means that if the number of students who want instruction is appreciable then they must be given instruction in their mother-tongue. I see absolutely no reason why any Government should object to it. But one thing has to be stressed. I believe, Sir, that the Indian Republic's national language has been declared to be Hindi and I believe in Pakistan it is Urdu. I feel, Sir, that any mother-tongue can exist or can be propagated only in subordination to these main national languages. Any attempt on the part of anybody to give the mother-tongue predominence or precedence which would throw the national language into the shade ought not to be allowed in the interests of this country, particularly when it has got so many languages to speak and so many minorities to exist. When every effort is being made by the Leaders to make the nation and to weld the whole thing into one homogeneous nation at least at this stage, at least after our country has been sundered into two, when people make an attempt even now to prevent that effort from fructifying; I should seriously warn those elements that they are not tending towards progress, for, mother-tongue has its own limitations. I can understand in elementary stages instruction being given in the mother-tongue. I can understand some subjects being taught in the mother-tongue even in the secondary stage; but I absolutely do not understand mother-tongue being the medium of instruction in the high school or college classes. If the Indian Republic's national language, namely, Hindi, should ultimately become the language of the country and prosper it may even replace the mother-tongue. It does not matter. I am not chary about mother-tongues. India cannot have so many mother tongues. It would bring nationality to a nullity if you go on overstressing the mother tongue, the home district, the home province and things like that. If India should be a real nation able to take her place in the comity of nations and if India should be an effective force not only in our own country but in other countries as well, I should try to discourage gradually and perceptibly any attempt to overstress the mother-tongue. I should have personally liked the mover to have confined her attention to certain stages of instruction where any other language would be an impediment to the infant mind to grasp things and where the imparting of instruction in the mother tongue would be a great fillip and help. I should have welcomed it if she had framed her resolution in such a way. I should like to oppose this resolution from this point of view, namely, that ultimately it would overstress sub-nationalities, sub-languages, etc.

" I should at the same time appeal to the Government that they should not also lay over-stress and over-emphasis upon the so-called regional languages. After all why do lauguages exist? It is only to make peolpe understand. As my Friend Mr. Lingaraju pointed out and as my friend Mr. Bapineedu has given statistics there are pockets of Tamils in Andhra Desa and vice versa in Tamilnad. There would be absolutely no meaning in Tamilian Government tomorrow—I envisage linguistic provinces—telling the Andhras in Tamilnad: " You are only a minority in Tamilnad. We could not give you all these facilities." And likewise in the Andhra where there are pockets of Tamilian minorities, it would be cruel on the part of the Andhra Government to say that they do not care for the language or mother-tongue of the Tamilians and insist upon Telugu being the medium. So, whereas I see the danger of over-emphasis in the Government attitude in over-stressing regional languages, at the same time I feel as an impartial man the

3-15 p.m. danger of over-emphasising the other side also.

" One other thing, Sir, and I have done. I want to say a word about the financial aspect of the question. Wherever 50 or 100 Muslim boys whose mother tongue is Urdu demand instruction in their mother-tongue, it is an impracticable proposition to teach all the subjects in that language. Take a high school in Nellore where you have got a population of 10 to 15 thousand Muslims. Even before Urdu became a political point, for the last 30 years Urdu has been taught by a Urdu munshi in the high school which has been the result of Hindu endowments. This sort of toleration has been shown everywhere. There have been Urdu pandits and Sanskrit pandits. Their use has been limited to teaching the language. I do not want that Urdu should be killed nor do the Muslims in Pakistan want Sanskrit to be killed. Suppose in a place like Bezwada where the Muslim population is only a thousand and there are a hundred boys who insist upon this provision then you will have to open a separate high school to teach them all the subjects through Urdu. You will have to open two high schools to carry on the show. At the same time, Sir, I wish to point out that in Tamilnad and in Malabar a large number of Muslims speak what is called the regional language very well. They understand it well. It is said that the regional language cannot be a substitute for the mother-tongue, because the Muslims speak Urdu at home. I concede the position. So far as instruction is concerned, it is a desirability no doubt. But what is the good, for instance, of a few Andhras going into Tamilnad and saying that all the records of the Collector's office and the accounts there should be kept in Telugu? It would be a tall order considering the proportions of the population. Considering the financial issues involved in the matter and the utter impossibility of opening duplicate high schools and other institutions in all these places, considering also the untimeliness of this resolution, particularly when these matters instead of being viewed in a linguistic way are being given a political colour, I would urge upon the mover to withdraw the resolution and press it with greater effect and force on a more proper occasion."

* H. S. HUSSAIN SAHIB BAHADUR:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, the resolution moved by the hon. the Lady Member Begum Sultan Mir Amiruddin is of vital importance. Therefore we have to take the same view of the whole problem. We have now achieved independence. The State has got a special responsibility to discharge towards minorities. It is charged with the special responsibility of protecting the religion, language and culture of all the minorities that are living under its care and protection. Now, Sir, this problem of the mother-tongue being the medium of instruction has assumed greater importance and greater proportions. This is the time we have to tackle the problem in all its aspects and seriously too.

" Sir, I believe that the Government and particularly the Hon. Minister for Education and also the members of the Ministerial Party will admit and agree that the mother-tongue is the most appropriate medium of instruction for our children, through which we can educate them with the utmost benefit and give them the greatest advantage that education can confer. That being so, I hope that the Government and particularly my hon. Friend the Minister for Education will not hesitate to accept

to me to be a harmless resolution and I do not think any other interests will be affected thereby. On the other hand, the Muslims will be satisfied. Their legitimate demands will be met and it will open the way for the progress of a large section and at the same time a very important section of the total population of the Province. The Muslims form about one-tenth of the population. I do not mean to say that all of them talk Urdu or that Urdu is the mother-tongue of all of them. Even according to my Hon. Friend Mr. Nagappa who quoted from the scripture of statistics, there are Muslims numbering about 10,20,000 whose mother-tongue is Urdu or Hindustani as he puts it by confusing the whole issue as he so often does. I may tell my hon. Friend that Urdu is the basic language and Hindustani is Urdu as spoken in the bazaars of Lucknow and Delhi and it is colloquial. That is why it is called Hindustani. I may inform this House and my hon. Friend Mr. Nagappa that Urdu as spoken in Deccan is called Deccani. Perhaps he is not aware of it. The basic language is Urdu, the language written and spoken by highly literary persons. Therefore let us not confuse the issue as to what is Urdu, what is Hindustani and what is Deccani. Let us give all what is their due. Therefore, Sir, if there is a reasonable demand from any section of Muslims that their children should be educated through the medium of Urdu, I do not see any reason why the Government should fight shy of it, especially because it has now become not only the primary duty of the State but the most sacred duty of the State after the achievement of independence to protect the rights of minorities. We Muslims want to remain in the independent state of Madras as I would call it, because provincial autonomy is at work and I am sure it will be continued under the Constitution Act that is going to be framed shortly. That being so. . . (Sri S. Nagappa rose to interrupt) I am not yielding, Sir, and I do not want to yield. We have to tackle this problem in a realistic way with a breadth of vision. We have to see far ahead in the future. If we are really concerned with the welfare of the various sections of the people inhabiting this vast Province, the Government should make up its mind here and now to see that all legitimate demands of every section of the people—be it ever so small—are met in the proper manner and all are given the satisfaction that they need. My hon. Friend Mr. Raghavayya thinks and feels that this is a legitimate demand, but he has got his own reasons for not supporting the resolution. He says that there are now two official languages and these languages have to to be the national languages of the two Dominions. But I would humbly submit that that argument appears to be fallacious. When Hindi is adopted as the national language of the Dominion of India, it means that it becomes the language for all, not merely for the Muslims. It will be much easier for the Muslims to learn it because they already know Urdu and Hindustani and Hindi is based more on Sanskrit culture or culture other than Urdu. The script is in Devanagari. But it will be easier for us to learn it as a national language and we are prepared to learn it and we have no objection. That should not mean that the Government should deprive us of our right to receive instruction in our own mother-tongue. The basic principle has been expressed by the hon. Member Mr. Fowler who is an educational expert, I believe, and who has taken a very detached view of the whole question, very dispassionately and without identifying himself with this side or that side. He has, expressed the view that the mother-tongue is the most appropriate medium of instruction for our children. This fact cannot be disputed by anybody, much less by a Government. Even Government cannot get away from truth and therefore if we are adherents if truth we must go according to the truth and according to nature. If that is so, I do not see why this harmless resolution that is now before the House should be rejected simply because we are committed to a certain policy, simply because it is considered to be a question of prestige. Not at all. That should not be the attitude of the Government in a matter like this. The Government should not think that it could adopt any attitude it likes towards any section of its own people. That is wrong, if we are really the protectors of the interests of the people. Every section of the people should be protected in the way in which it is entitled to be protected. Therefore, Sir, I would appeal to the Hon. the Minister for Education and the Government and also the party behind the Government to take a sane view of the whole problem. It is not a mere passing phase in the life of the people of the Province. It is going to be a permanent phase which is to give the utmost benefit to all the sections of the people.

"Then, Sir, there is the argument which has been advanced more than once both on the floor of the House and outside that a common language is essential for the unity of the people. But, I think, Sir, that that sort of theory has been sufficiently exploded. Our whole province is going to be divided on the basis of language into Andhra, or Tamilnad or Karnataka and Kerala. Then, Sir, what is happening elsewhere? In spite of there being a unity of language, in spite of there being one language spoken by all communities and all classes of people, disaster after disaster has occurred. I do not therefore believe in the theory of one language uniting all the people. I believe the policy of adopting the regional language as the medium of instruction is not at all based on that theory. I hope it is not so. Here I would sound a note of warning. My Friend Mr. Nagappa said that if in the place of the words 'Muslim students' the word 'students' was there, then the resolution would have meant something. If there are non-Muslims also whose mother-tongue is Urdu, let them receive instruction through the medium of Urdu, or Hindustani as Mr. Nagappa would call it. Even if the word 'Muslim' is omitted, the resolution will stand in principle, because the principle underlying the resolution is that, whether Muslims or non-Muslims, those whose mother-tongue is Urdu should receive instruction through the medium of that language. We do not say that Muslims alone should receive instruction through the medium of Urdu. Of course the resolution is worded in that manner because so long the Government has persisted in their hostile attitude towards Urdu being adopted as the medium of instruction for Muslim students. We want to be liberal. We say: 'Don't confine it only to Muslims. There are many Muslims whose mother-tongue is not Urdu; let them by all means receive instruction through the medium of their mother-tongue, Tamil, Telugu or Malayalam. We have no quarrel with that. The main point is that the best medium of instruction is the mother-tongue, because it is the language that is spoken at home and which the child learns from its very infancy. It may be that in vast areas as in Andhra Desa the mother-tongue of a large majority of people is Telugu which may be called the regional language. The same thing is given in a different name, but the principle is the same. If in an area there are a large number of Muslims and even non-Muslims whose mother-tongue is Urdu, why should the Government hesitate to provide facilities for giving instruction through the medium of Urdu? That is the question I ask. I believe the Hon. Minister for Education will give a very satisfactory answer so far as the principle underlying the resolution is concerned.

3-30 p.m.

"My hon. Friend Mr. Raghavayya said that Urdu would be the offiical language or the national language of Pakistan. He may also know that in Pakistan there are non-Muslim minorities also living. I say that the education of the non-Muslim minorities there should also be through the medium of their mother-tongue, whether it is Urdu or not. We have to follow a definite principle in matters of education. Educational experts should be consulted on the point and I believe that the Hon. Minister for Education has by now acquired sufficient knowledge and experience in matters educational. But I cannot call him an educational expert, because educational experts are different persons. Their opinion has to be respected, but the Minister for Education has to carry out the policy and programme of his own Government, whether it is the Provincial Government or the High Command of the Provincial Government. So far as political questions are concerned, I do not mind if this Government are governed by the High Command. But so far as an important subject like education is concerned, we have to formulate our own policy to meet the legitimate demands of our people and the Government should think and act independently and do the right thing. I do not want to waste the time of the House unnecessarily. But the subject being so important, I would like to say a few more words with your permission."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. May I know if Members are allowed to sleep when the session is going on?"

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"May I point out that it is absolutely parliamentary to sleep?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Members should not sleep. However, in the House of Commons, the members are allowed to sleep. Simply because in the House of Commons the members are allowed to sleep, it does not mean that I should follow it blindly. I will read from the Hansard itself. This took place on the 7th May 1946:—

FLYING OFFICER LEVER:—"On a point of order. May we have your ruling, Mr. Speaker, as to whether it is in order for members to sleep even on the Front Opposition Bench?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not out of order for members to sleep, no matter upon what benches they sit." In this connexion, I wish to inform the House that it is all right if the Members sleep quietly. If there is snoring, there will be disturbance. Therefore I am not going to allow sleep."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I wish to submit that in the House of Commons the sessions are held in the night whereas we have our sessions in the day."

MR. SPEAKER:—"If the Members want to sleep, let them close their eyes and keep quiet; let them not snore."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Your ruling is that Members are allowed to sleep but not to snore!"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Otherwise it is not possible to know whether a Member is sleeping or not. Merely closing the eyes does not mean sleep."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN:—"Is your ruling binding on the night sessions also?" (Laughter.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"Yes."

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"May I submit that in this tropical country, during the day time also people are inclined to go to sleep? If the Members of the House of Commons are allowed to sleep in a country where the climate does not induce sleep as easily as in this country, I would point out for your consideration that you may at least keep the House of Commons ruling."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"The heat of our country is so much that it is absolutely impossible for one not to sleep."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I want to know clearly what exactly your ruling is. You said that Members might sleep but not snore. In replying to a question, you set snoring as the test for sleep. If one sleeps but does not snore, and if the fact of sleeping is proved by other means than snoring or the Member himself confesses it, is it an offence?"

*SRI N. S. VARADACHARI:—"Members who are inclined to sleep will be helped by their neighbours in keeping silence. I have known many people who, though seemingly sleeping, keep mentally alert. I have known a very distinguished High Court Judge who often appeared to be sleeping. But immediately a point was raised by the lawyer, he would turn round and ask whether he was not arguing that particular point."

MR. SPEAKER:—"That means that the Judge was not sleeping, he was merely closing his eyes."

M. S. ABDUL MAJID SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Members of the House of Commons do not sit in the House continuously from 11 to 5. They come, stay for 15 or 30 minutes, and go away. But we come here and sit from 11 to 5 like schoolboys listening to all the rigmarole."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member should not use the word 'rigmarole'. It is an insult to the House and so he must withdraw that word."

M. S. ABDUL MAJID SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I beg to withdraw the word. May I know whether the Hon. Speaker will give us permission to sleep?"

(No answer.)

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"May I point out for your consideration that the word 'rigmarole' is allowed in Parliament and is considered parliamentary?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"I will point out that it has been ruled unparliamentary. But I have not got the Hansard here. It all depends on the Speaker who sits on the Chair."

N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—"What are we to say of some hon. Members who keep their eyes open but are still known to sleep?" (Laughter.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"Order, order. I have already given the ruling. Mr. H. S. Hussain will now continue his speech."

3-45 p.m. H. S. HUSSAIN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Sir, I have not lost the trend of my speech among the various points of orders raised just now. So far as I am concerned, they have no relevancy to my speech.

"Now, Sir, to resume my speech, my hon. friend Mr. Nagappa, if I have heard him aright, said that the Urdu script is a wonderful script and that it is written from right to left. I do not see why my hon. friend should have thought fit to make such a remark about a language that is rich in culture, that has been handed down to us from anceint times, a language that has been respected and loved by eminent literary men, including men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Hon. Pandit Jahwarlal Nehru. Perhaps my hon. friend Mr. Nagappa is not aware that there are various languages in the world which are written in various ways, from right to left, from top to bottom and from left to right. The grandeur, the importance and the sacredness of a language does not depend upon the manner in which it is written. Therefore, I would ask my hon. friend Mr. Nagappa not to indulge in such remarks in future about any language, let alone, the Urdu language. Therefore, Sir, a language that had been sanctified should be given the respect that it deserves and I hope that a popular Government like ours will pay due regard and attention to this language, particularly when there is a legitimate demand for it by a section of the people, however small, for using that language as the medium of instruction for their children in schools. Then the question as to the feasibility of providing necessary facilities for the teaching of our children through the medium of Urdu has to be considered and I believe my hon. Friend Mr. Raghavayya raised that point. He said that though it is desirable, it may not be a practicable proposition. That is what he appears to have said. But then I say, if the Government have any regard for the needs of any section of its people, then it is its primary duty to go to the full extent and provide that facility for that section at any cost. I may even take the responsibility to tell the Government on the floor of the House, if the Government so require, that the Muslim community whose mother tongue is Urdu would even be prepared to bear the extra burden of the expenditure, if the Government wants to provide them with facilities for education that they legitimately need. I say, it is the bounden duty of the Government to do it. If the Government feel that it is not able to provide the necessary facilities, we shall be even prepared to make sacrifices to get the education of our children through our own mother tongue. That is the point that I would like to stress upon the attention of the Government particularly on the attention of the Hon. Minister for Education. It is a matter of life and death for any people if they are not provided with facilities for getting the advantages of education through the medium of their own mother tongue, because the mother tongue is the best medium for receiving instruction. Then alone can our children be benefited to the utmost and be made the best citizens of the country. Therefore, Sir, this vital question should not be brushed aside. The Government should not take up an unreasonable attitude. It will be wrong on the part of the Government to do so. I may even go to the extent of saying that it will not be moral on the part of the Government to deny this legitimate right of one section of its people. Therefore, Sir, I would very strongly appeal to the Government and particularly to the Hon. Minister for Education and also the members of the Ministerial Party to take a very sympathetic view of the whole question and not to be side-tracked, if I may say so, by some political slogans on the question of national language of this dominion or that dominion. We are not at all concerned with that. We are concerned with our own advancement. We want to be loyal and useful citizens of the State of Madras in the Indian Union. That is what we want to be here. We want to contribute our best for the progress and advancement of this State. It is on these grounds, Sir, that I here put in a very strong plea to the Government and to the Hon. Minister for Education and to the Ministerial Party to take a proper view of the whole problem, to take a long view of the problem, to have a proper vision of the whole question and to do the right thing at the right moment. We declare, as we have already declared, our loyalty to the Indian Union, and we stand by that. At the same time we stand by our legitimate rights too and we expect that the Government will, in due course, reconsider its attitude towards this problem and come to our rescue and do us this great service, which they are bound to do at a time like this, when we have not only achieved independence, but we are going to retain it, with the help of all sections of the people, not only of this Province, not only of the whole of the Indian Dominion, but also of the other Dominion. Therefore, Sir, with these humble suggestions and the views that I have put forward before this honourable House, I very strongly support the Resolution as amended."

* SRI S. NAGAPPA:—" On a point of personal explanation, Mr. Speaker, my hon. Friend Mr. Hussain went on attacking me as if I am against his language or against the interests of his community. As a member of the minority community, I am here to support all reasonable demands. But my friend wants me to support Urdu, which on his own showing and according to the statistics that have been collected, cannot at all stand the test of being used as a medium of instruction in all schools in the Presidency. Sir, he has also been saying that I am disrespectful to his language. Not at all, Sir. I respect every language as I respect my own mother tongue. My friend was speaking only about Urdu and the Urdu-speaking community. But there are also other sections of people in this Province speaking different languages. For instance, I have known in this province and in this City a number of people speaking the Arabic language, the Persian language, the Guzarati, Marathi and the like, and are we to satisfy all these people when they put forward their individual demands for giving instruction to their children through the medium of their mother-tongue out of public funds?"

MR. SPEAKER:—" That will do. The hon. Member has fully explained his position. Now I shall call Mr. Ataullah to speak."

Mr. Ataullah rose to speak.

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I may say that this resolution has taken three days. This is the third day and it is but unfair that one resolution should be made to block others. I think it is time that this resolution is put to the vote of the House, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—" As I have already told the House, if I accept the closure and put it to the vote of the House and if the House accepts it, then the Hon. Minister for Education will have no opportunity to speak on it. Probably the Hon. Minister is thinking of the procedure that is followed in the Central Assembly. I am not following that. I am following the practice in the House of Commons and in other countries, according to which if the House accepts the closure motion, the question will have to be put without further discussion. Now I have called Mr. Ataullah to speak. As soon as he finishes his speech, I will ask the Leader of the Opposition to speak and then the Hon. Minister for Education will reply and the resolution will be put to vote afterwards."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—" On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, the Hon. Minister for Education used the words 'Unfair to the House'. That is with reference to the action of the Chair, Sir. It is you who have allowed it and you were very fair, Sir, by having conducted the proceedings of the House in the manner you have conducted, and the Hon. Minister is not right, in having made use of the word unfair, when he said that it is unfair that this resolution should have been allowed to occupy three days."

MR. SPEAKER:—" I did not hear those words."

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—" Sir, all that my Hon. Colleague said, if I remember right, was that if we spend three days on a single resolution like this, then other members who have given notice of other resolutions and Bills on non-official days are really stopped from going on with their work because there is only one non-official day in a week. Therefore, all that my colleague has appealed to, was for the concern of the feelings of other members."

* M. S. ATAULLAH SAHIB BAHADUR:—" Speaker, I rise to support the resolution moved by my hon. Friend the lady Member Begum Sultan Mir Amiruddin and the amendment thereof, by our revered leader Muhammad Ismail. Sir, it is the fundamental right of every citizen to have security and to be taught in the language of his mother tongue and it is also the fundamental right of every Muslim—and I suppose that the constitutional rights of minorities have been definitely accepted and safeguarded that when he so claims, he should be given all facilities to have the medium of instruction in his mother tongue. Sir, having heard the speeches of Members on the other side, giving expression to their feelings in various languages which are their own mother tongue, we cannot but be impressed by the love and fervour with which they were able to express themselves in their own mother tongue. We have heard Telugu Members expressing their views much better in their own language than others and so also have the Tamilian Members been able to express their views in Tamil much better than in any other language. While such is the case, Sir, what is wrong in our claim that we should also be taught in our own mother tongue which is our language, so that we may also be able to express ourselves better. Sir, as we have been under foreign domination all these years, it was for the purpose of a common court language that we have had to learn the English language which has become the medium of expression in all courts and also in Government throughout all these years, but in spite of it, the former Bureaucratic Government had allowed us the liberty of having our own language, wherever it was wanted. So, after we have got Independence and when we say that it is the duty of the Provincial Government to provide us with facilities for education through the medium of our mother tongue, and if we are denied that birth right, that constitutional right, then what does it mean? Sir, it is not a question of
4 p.m. Hindu or Muslim. It is a question of the mother tongue. If anybody wants to have the medium of instruction in his own mother tongue, is it not his right to ask and is it not for this Government to sanction it without much discussion? Some Members expressed the idea that Urdu being very difficult, a language which is written from right to left, a language which they cannot understand, should not be allowed. But, as one hon. Member admitted, this is one of the ancient languages, just like the Persian, the Arabic, the Hebrew and others which are written from right to left; Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian and some other languages are written from top to bottom; and so, this should not be the basis for rejection. Some hon. Members on the other side have been confusing the issue between the national language and the mother tongue. National language should be one, of course no one would deny; but that does not mean that the mother tongue should be totally abolished or not cared for. In this large linguistic sub-continent, we have got several languages spoken and written, and if people want to have facilities to write and speak in their own mother tongue, is not fair that this Government should allow it? Sir, I appeal to the good sense of the House and especially of the Hon. Minister for Education that he should concede this inherent right of every human being and accept this resolution, with the amendment. Sir, I have done."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset, please allow me to express my appreciation of the members who have given their support to this resolution which we on this side consider is a very important one. The hon. Mr. Venkateswarlu understood the very spirit of the resolution and he gave his full and hearty support to it for which we cannot but express our gratitude. Other members, though they objected to the resolution in its present form, really gave us some useful suggestions. We are all obliged to them for those suggestions. I may also say here that I thank the Hon. the Minister for Education in advance for the sympathy which he is sure to show to us in this matter. In spite of his stern exterior, I know the great sympathy he has got for the people of this province including the minorities. Therefore, Sir, I do not at all care for or cavil at the things that have been said on the floor of this House in regard to this resolution. I want them only just to scrutinise this resolution from a dispassionate point of view and in a cool and calm frame of mind. This resolution which I have the honour to commend to this honourable House and to the Government for their acceptance, along with my amendment, reads like this:

'This Assembly recommends to the Government to make provision for Muslim students whose mother tongue is Urdu to receive instruction in schools and colleges through the medium of that language, wherever they desire to do so, provided there is a sufficient number of such students in the locality.'

I do not know what objection there can be to this resolution, to this very reasonable resolution. The first portion of the resolution says that provision should be made for Muslim students whose mother tongue is Urdu. Many of our friends have put the question whether there are any considerable number of Muslims who have got Urdu as their mother tongue. This is a mere matter of fact. We have been harping upon this thing for months and months now, and if there is to be a controversy even upon this question of fact, I do not know what to say about it. You may refer to the figures of the census, or if you are doubtful even of the census figures, you may, as suggested by one of our friends here, investigate the matter afresh and find out whether there are Muslims here at all who have got Urdu as their mother-tongue. I may tell you that almost all the Mussalmans in the northern districts, in the Andhradesa, have got Urdu as their mother tongue and their number, according to the latest figures, is more than 15 lakhs. Then there is a large number of Mussalmans in the other parts of the province such as the Madras City, the Trichinopoly City, the Madura City, also in Salem, North Arcot and other places. Altogether, people who have

got Urdu as their mother tongue will not be less than 20 lakhs in the province. Twenty lakhs, Sir, is not a small number; that is double the population of one of the countries of Europe, viz., Albania; and it may be even treble the population of certain other countries which have got all facilities for developing their own culture and their own language. And simply because this population lives in the midst of another vast majority of people it should not be deprived of its right to stick to its mother tongue and have the facilities for developing its own culture which is based upon its mother tongue. If there is any doubt about this figure, there is the usual, simple method of finding out the facts.

"Another point that was raised was about the practicability of giving instruction through the medium of Urdu. There again, there is no superhuman difficulty in the matter; there is nothing impossible about it; because the Mussalmans are concentrated in various places, in fairly large numbers. They are not thinly spread over the whole province from one end to the other. There are places like Madras where you have got a concentration of Muslim population in particular mohallas. There is also the city of Madura where you have the Urdu Muslim population concentrated in a mohalla or two. Therefore, there is no difficulty which you cannot overcome in the matter of introducing Urdu as medium of instruction for boys and girls who have got Urdu as their mother tongue.

"Then, Sir, some friends ask whether there is any other country in the world where such provision is made. I may say that there are countries and countries; I beg of my friends to raise their eyes and see what happens in the world. We should not confine ourselves to narrow limits and then try to judge of the whole world from that point of view. Take for example Canada. Its population is only a thirtieth of our population. There, they have got two languages and education is being given in two languages. Take again Switzerland; the population of that country is only as much as the Muslim population of this province and nothing more. And yet, how many languages there are there? More than three languages in which education is being given to the people. Such a small country as that has developed three languages and is giving education in all the three languages. And I may go on multiplying instances like this."

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"I would like the hon. Member to multiply the example."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Then there are countries in Europe where there are more than one language. There too they have got minorities, and the minorities have been recognized not only by such people as ourselves, but by no less an authority than the League of Nations. Their rights in the matter of language and culture, i.e., the rights of those minorities in the European countries, are taken under the cognizance of the League of Nations. They can appeal, according to the rules of the League of Nations, to the League of Nations themselves, wherever their language and their culture are concerned. Therefore, Sir, this is a question which is not peculiar to our country; it is a question which is prevalent throughout the whole world.

"Then again, some friends said they would like to follow other countries. But do we follow other countries in every respect? Wherever it suits them, they take the example of some country—like England perhaps—where there is only one language; and where it suits them, they say they will not follow that country. When conditions here are advantageous, they compare our country to other countries, but wherever the conditions are disadvantageous, they do not want to follow them. Take for example, Canada which I have already referred to. For a population of ten millions, it is a country which is twice as big as India. Take the railways there; how much they spend over the railways as compared to India? If you take the expenditure on railways, their expenditure will be much more than what we spend here. Are you, on that basis, going to spend so much on the railways here? Sir, conditions differ from country to country; and every country must deal with its problems from its own point of view, according to the conditions prevalent in that country. The hon. Mr. Raghavayya said that in Russia there are languages and languages. There is one language there for even about 1,500 people and they have created a script for it and the people speaking that language are being educated in that language. After citing this example, he went on to say that there should be only one language for this country. Is it practicable: and will all the hon. Members of this House even agree to such a proposition? Sir, some years ago there was a conference held called the Hindu Sahitya Sammelan which was attended by Mahatma Gandhi. There Gandhiji proposed that the Nagari script should be adopted by every vernacular in this country. That was his advice, that was his suggestion and that was his resolution also. Then, a lady from the Tamil Nad, who happened to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee—I mean Lady Sadasiva Ayyar—objected to it. Lady Sadasiva Ayyar was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Sammelan which was intended for developing the unity of languages. She only wanted the script to be uniform for all the languages. She wanted the writing of these languages to be one. That is what she proposed to the people of this country. Therefore, I ask, Sir, why that principle is not followed. 4-15 p.m.

"Then again, another hon. friend of ours said that Urdu is not mentioned as the national language. Call it anything you like, Sir, we must have a language which is spoken by the Muslims, which we call Urdu and which is their mother tongue. We want instruction to be given in the mother tongue of the Muslim community, and we request that instruction might be given to the Muslims in that language which is their mother tongue. That is what we are asking.

"Then, Sir, the insertion of the word "Muslim" in this resolution is being objected to. That was inserted with a view to prevent another objection. If we say simply students having Urdu as mother tongue, then there will be people who will say that there are non-Muslims also having Urdu as their mother tongue. We did not want to impose that language on that principle and so we inserted this amendment. We want the Government to do things in such a way as to respect the feelings of the minority community on such an important matter as this. Culture and language of minority are things of which they are very very anxious. So, anything which detracts from their capacity to develop their own language in the proper way, even as other languages are being developed, will make the Muslims depressed and distressed.

"Sir, you all speak of unity. I need not elaborate on that point further. Even if this House is not agreed on that matter, I want that the whole Province and the whole country should be united. Several minorities are there. You have to admit things accordingly. If you recognize a minority, it means there is difference and if you recognize this difference, I only request you to observe the results of these differences in a reasonable way. I do not ask you to give instruction through Urdu even in a place where there are only two or three Muslims. Can the Government persist in saying that Urdu which is the mother tongue of the Muslims will not be used as the medium of instruction in spite of the amendments which I have tabled and which have been accepted by the Hon. the Mover of the Resolution? So, when you accept those differences, when you recognize them and when you respect them, you must adjust those differences to produce a friendly feeling and a feeling of unity that is real. There are countries in which there are different languages but yet people are pulling on together. I also want our Government to make it possible for people here to do the same. When we speak of the mother tongue, we do not at all depreciate the value or the necessity of the study of the regional language. It is in the interests of the minority community to be conversant with the regional language. They know that but they say, even as the other communities have got the right to develop their culture and language and are receiving instructions in their languages, this community also must have the right. You all know and I cite that example, what happened in this country before the advent of freedom. We had to learn a foreign language and that foreign language we are continuing to speak even to-day. But then conditions were different. We were forced to study that language. So, you should not take that as a precedent and ask the minority communities to forego one of the conditions of freedom, that is, to give instruction to their children in their own mother tongue. To have the regional language as the medium of instruction, will be very unfair to the minority communities. It is recognized throughout the world that language, culture and religion of the minorities should be respected wherever they are. When that is done, there will be harmony and there will be unity and when there is unity everything will go on well. Only when there is opposition, there is trouble. That opposition can succeed for some time but it cannot succeed all the time and conduce to lasting contentment. What I desire very much to impress upon the powers that be is, that for creating that contentment which will contribute towards the unity and harmony of this Province, the minorities must be given all reasonable facilities for fulfilling their demands. With these words, I support the resolution and I am sure that the Government will view the matter very sympathetically and will accept the resolution."

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, 23 hon. Members have taken part in this debate. The mover of this resolution herself has taken nearly two and a half hours including the time she took on the previous occasion when she moved the resolution. I have also noted down the main points urged on behalf of the resolution. Before going into the details of those points, I would like to point out the position of international law as urged by the League of Nations in this matter. The Hon. the Leader of the Opposition mentioned many countries and he said finally "and so on". That is a way of argument, Sir, which does not normally appeal to me because there may be many things or there may be nothing in these "so-ons.". I would like to read just a few lines from this report of the League of Nations on the protection of minorities on basic education. The report was published by the Geneva Secretariat of the League of Nations in the year 1930. (One hon. Member: Very ancient.) Ancient, no doubt, but I will just read the relevant portion and it gives the principle on which the League's action is founded. This is what they say. I do not wish to tire this House by long quotations.

It stys:

'The following pages contain a brief analysis of the texts of the treaties, conventions, declarations, etc., upon which League action is founded. Of the measures taken by the Council to ensure application and of a few specific things which will give a general idea of the League's activity in this connection.'

Again it says:

'Differences of race, language or religion are not to prejudice any national o the country in admission to public employments, functions and honours or in the exercise of professions and industries. Nationals belonging to minorities are to have equal rights to establish, manage and control *at their own expense*, charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right freely to use their own language and to exercise their own religion.'

So, Sir, this Government do not object to any schools being opened or conducted by any community and using any language as medium of instruction at their own cost. Sir, it is not the object of this Government to put a ban upon any community using its own mother-tongue as the medium of instruction but the real point is this. The claim put forward by the community is at the State expense that parallel schools should be run wherever there is a demand for Urdu to be the medium of instruction. This is not the intention of the report of the League of Nations which says that the minorities are to have equal right to establish, manage and control *at their own expense* charitable, religious and social institutions, schools, etc. That is why we cannot accept the resolution even as amended by the amendment of the Leader of the Opposition."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Are they not reasonable?"

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"I am not one of those who believe that simply because the League of Nations has recommended, that must be accepted. We are anxious to do something better and we want to be quite fair to the other side in order that we may preserve the unity of this country.

"Sir, there are various points raised by various speakers but the points raised are briefly few, though my hon. Friends have taken three days to expound them. They are (1) It is only through the mother-tongue that culture can be developed and education can be developed. (2) Urdu is the language through which the Muslim culture is preserved. (3) Separate institutions have not resulted in disturbing peace. (4) Urdu is the common language of Hindus and Muslims in the north. Therefore, the logical question arises whether the Urdu-speaking Muslims should be given instruction in that language or through the regional language.

"Sir, we have had certain appeals from the Muslim members not to be guided by slogans and I would appeal to them in those very terms. Especially the last appeal which we heard from the other side was an appeal for the protection of minorities here and also of minorities in Pakistan. Before going to that subject, I must refer to the growing bitters of the minorities, that is prevailing in Pakistan. After the establishment of Pakistan our friends here have not the power or the liberty or the authority to talk on a subject like the protection of minorities in Pakistan on behalf of Pakistan. So, let us leave those things to them. I would have liked my hon. Friends to have based their arguments on their own reasons and not resorted to these slogans. Sitting here, we cannot speak of the rights of minorities in Pakistan. That kind of argument should not be used any more in this country. It is not the job of anybody here to talk about the protection of minorities in Pakistan. Whatever we may concede here for the minorities, nothing may happen for the minorities in Pakistan. So, let us not compare the minorities there with those here. The less we talk about it the better.

"Now coming to the points, Sir, I would first like to assure you that I have visited some of those Muslim institutions which are in charge of the education of the Muslim children and I have always felt, in this matter of education, that they are as much my children as others."

N. MUHAMMAD ANWAR SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Bachelor's children!" (Laughter.)

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"That is the privilege of bachelors, Sir. All people's children are their children. Married men have their own children to please or to displease them whereas in the case of bachelors, all children are their children. Sir, what I wanted to assure you is that I am interested in the education of every Muslim child and also in the culture of every Muslim. I want to give them the best education that is available consistent with the unity and the solidarity of this great country. With that basic principle, I am prepared to go as far as I can under our present circumstances, finances being also an important consideration. Consistent with this principle, Sir, I am anxious and I am willing to extend all help and to give the best education to every Muslim child because it must grow up according to its culture. It has been made clear in the resolution that it has reference only to those who have Urdu as their mother-tongue. It was stated by some hon. Members that Muslim culture is imbedded in the Urdu language. I am anxious and I am sure that my friends like the hon. the Leader of the Opposition are also anxious that Muslim culture should be preserved. I am anxious that it should be done. But, how will they do it? This provision is only for people who have Urdu as their mother-tongue, but to say that Muslim culture can be preserved only through the medium of Urdu, it is contradicting itself, because they do not want Urdu for people for whom Urdu is not the mother-tongue and it cannot be said that those whose mother-tongue is not Urdu have no Muslim culture."

4-30 p.m.

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On a point of personal explanation, Sir."

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"I do not think personal explanation is necessary, because the speeches made so far have made the position clear. They have talked over the resolution for three days and I do not think they are going to make it clearer by another five minutes. You must sympathise with me, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I do sympathize with the Hon. Minister. The Chair will have also to be sympathised."

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"I want only to prove that the hon. Members themselves have conceded that Muslim culture can be protected without Urdu, because friends who do not have Urdu as their mother-tongue they can still protect their culture without having Urdu. It is therefore wrong to argue that their culture can be protected only through this language.

"Sir, we have been told that Urdu is the language of the Hindus and the Muslims. Quite so. We have been told that Urdu is the language of Pandit Nehru and for that reason we have great respect for that language and for that very reason we have no prejudice for that language. So, if we are not able to accept this resolution, it is not because of any prejudice against that language, but it is because of other very reasonable considerations. Therefore, Sir, if I stand up here and oppose this resolution it is not because that it is the language of the Hindus and the Muslims and as stated by one of the hon. Members, there are very distinguished authors and poets in Urdu among the Hindus—it is not because of any prejudice against the language, but because of other considerations which are very important in practical life.

"Let me first examine the effect of this resolution. I do not want to put an unfair interpretation on it. In regard to Urdu being made the medium of instruction, let me take a place like Coimbatore which I know very well. Let us see how many mother tongues there are in this place. I know there is Tamil, Telugu and also Malayalam because there are a lot of people from the neighbouring district of Malabar who talk that language; there is Kannada and also Marathi, because there are a lot of Mahratta people who came across with Shivaji and though they might have forgotten the language still they speak some sort of Marathi in their homes; there is Urdu, there is Hindustani and there are also a certain number of Bengalis who speak Bengali. I ask, Sir, is it a practical proposition for any State to provide for these various languages throughout the district. Suppose, we are able to provide for elementary education in the case of these people, what will happen is, the question will be put: 'Oh! you have given facilities in the lower classes for students to be taught

in their mother-tongue and now you don't provide such facilities in high schools.' The same will be the complaint if you don't provide such facilities in colleges and the children who have studied in these mediums can well make such charge against us. So, Sir, I do not think this resolution can be accepted or if once the resolution is accepted, you must go to the extent which Mr. Venkateswarlu wants us to go, which no State can do. Here, I would like to refer to our experience of the Urdu schools. There are Urdu schools in the Coimbatore district and I have seen them in some of the places. I hope hon. Members will not mistake me when I say that they are such in which respectable Muslims do not like to send their children because they find that the standard maintained in such schools has not been up to the mark. Even here in Madras where I understand the Muslim High School is maintained fairly well, I know there are very respectable and learned Muslims who do not want to send their children to that school, but prefer to send their children to the Christian College High School or to any other high school. Why? It is bacause they themselves believe that in these separate schools education is of an inferior type. (An hon. Member from the Muslim group: 'Question.') So far as I have been able to examine the question, I am led to conclude that these have not been successful.

"Sir, I do not want to make much of your time except to say this. In matters of education, it is not the immediate effect that is of supreme importance, but it is the effect that it will have on the community and the country in the long run that should be taken into consideration. Let us consider for a moment, what will be future of this Province. Already in Bengal, Bengali is the provincial language; Hindi is the provincial language of the United Provinces and I understand that steps have already been taken to make Hindi the provincial language of the Central Provinces and in this Province why we have not yet decided on the matter, because of its composite nature. In course of time, I hope, sooner rather than later, this Province will get divided into regional languages, viz., Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada and then the languages of Courts, the languages of Colleges, the languages of the Provincial Governments will be the regional language. Let me say the Courts will not allow you to argue in language except the regional language. So, Sir, I must say that in the interests of the future of the Muslim children of this great Province so that they may live with as much freedom and with as much privileges as any other community in this Province, this is wrong, this is bad. Some people may say, 'oh! we don't care for jobs,' but it is only those people that very often put questions as to what is the percentage of Muslims in this job and that. I say we are interested in seeing that all the children of all communities are qualified in such a way that they can take to any job in this Province. So, Sir, looked at from that very important and supreme point of view and with a broader vision, I say that this resolution will, in the long run work hardship upon the future of the Muslim children and Muslim community. In the interests, therefore, of the Muslims themselves, I think, I must take the responsibility of opposing this resolution.

"Sir, I would not like to take much of the time of the House except to say this. In England, in France and in many other countries of the world, there are people who speak other languages but I must point out that in none of the States the system of education provides separately for all the languages. (M. Muhammad Ismail Sahib Bahadur: 'What about Switzerland?') Switzerland consists of four provinces with four different languages, but even there every child is not educated in all the four languages, but since it is a small country, though it is divided into four parts, people learn all the four languages. (Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib Bahadur: 'What about Russia?') I am not prepared to talk about Russia here. It cannot be that in every place you can have a language for each section of the population. So, Sir, in the interests of higher education of these very children and in the interests of the finances of this Province—for the finances of this Province are not sufficient even to maintain the existing schools, both elementary and secondary, in a satisfactory manner—because without finance no State can get on, for these very weighty reasons I think it will be absolutely impossible for us to accept this resolution and act up to it.

"Before concluding, Sir, I would like to say one or two words. I am anxious that we should come to some understanding with the Leaders of Muslim opinion in these matters. I have invited the Leader of the Opposition to a conference with me, so that we can talk over this and many other matters connected with Muslim education and I hope it will be possible for us to come to some amicable conclusions. I am sure they are as much willing and anxious to come to terms as we are and to come to amicable conclusions. I have learnt to trust them as I have trust in every other section of the community and I have no doubt they will play their part in the growth and development of this Province. I hope they will be actuated, as we are actuated, by a proper spirit of unity, a spirit which will make us so live as we may be proud of this great country belonging to all of us. As I have already stated, I have invited him and I hope it will be possible for us before long to meet and discuss matters and to come to right conclusions. I have nothing more to add, Sir, except to request the hon. Mover of the resolution to kindly withdraw it in view of the considerations I have placed before you."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"On a point of information, Sir. May I know from the Hon. Minister whether he keeps an open mind on this subject or whether he is definitely opposed to the matter?"

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"I think, Sir, I spoke plain English and I am always anxious to keep an open mind."

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"It is the language which he used that makes me put this question. He said more than once that he opposed this resolution and then later on he said he was going to invite me to a conference with him and some other friends. Therefore I wanted to know whether he is definitely against this proposal or he keeps his judgment in suspense so that he may come to conclusions after he discusses the matter with our friends."

* THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"I am anxious that we should come to amicable conclusions but I am not in a position to give any more assurance about this matter. I have expressed my view in the speech I have just now made and if the hon. the Lady Member or others concerned in it, do not withdraw the resolution, I have nothing left except to oppose it."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Sir, the Hon. the Minister for Education has made an appeal and he expects there will be a response to his appeal on this side by withdrawing the resolution. There should be response on both the sides and if he tells us that till the conference to which he has invited Muslim members of this House for settling the question of Muslim education takes place, he would not make up his mind definitely on this question and that at the conference we could come to an understanding, both parties sitting and discussing across the table, we are prepared to respond to his appeal. We are also as much anxious as he is, if not more, to bring about an amicable settlement."

4-45 p.m. THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"I think that my Hon. Colleague has made it perfectly clear that he is prepared to meet hon. Gentlemen on the other side across a table and see what could be done though he was very careful to say that he gives no undertaking on that point. (An hon. Member: 'He says he opposes the resolution.') What he meant by that was that as at present situated the Government are not in a position to accept the resolution as it stands. If the hon. Member who has moved this resolution withdraws it and if as a result of the talk conclusions are arrived, they may take it for granted that whatever agreements are come to, they will be honoured by my Hon. Colleague; but if the resolution is persisted in, the Government are constrained to oppose it."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"How can there be a compromise with a threat?"

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Mr. Speaker, what I have been trying to make clear is that we do not want any undertaking. We wish to know if the Hon. Minister would keep an open mind. We say: 'Do not give any undertaking now and do not make up your mind.' We want to know whether that will be the attitude of Government. We are not going to tell them that they said this thing and that on this occasion. What we want to know is whether the subject is as liquid as it was before or whether Government have made up their minds one way or another. We want to settle the matter in a friendly and amicable manner, so that we may arrive at some conclusions and work for the common good of the Province. That is why we want to know the attitude of the Government; we want to know whether the Government have made up their minds or not and there will be some use in having a conference only if Government have not made up their minds. My request is a very reasonable one and I want the Government to understand it in the spirit in which it is made and that is why I am making this request."

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"There was no question of threat at all as my hon. Friend the member from Kurnool pointed out. All that I said was that if hon. Members on the other side want a settlement, they have heard my Hon. Colleague and they know what he has said; if they are willing to withdraw, they are welcome. If they do not, then the Government will be constrained to oppose it—I am sorry I have to repeat it again."

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"Regarding the point raised by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition whether the position is as liquid as before. I may tell him that there are many factors unsolved and they are in their proper proportions and it is very difficult for me to say which is the portion that is solid and which is it that is liquid and which gaseous."

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN SAHIB BAHADUR:—"I wish to know from the Hon. Minister whether this will be one of the subjects which will be considered at the conference."

THE HON. SRI T. S. AVINASHILINGAM CHETTIYAR:—"It is open to my friend to raise any subject in the conference which is relevant to this subject, and it will be decided by the Government."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I wish to know from the hon. the Lady Member if she wishes to withdraw the resolution."

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"I wish to reply."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have no objection. But under the rules, I will have to give the right of reply to the Hon. Minister and then I will have to put the resolution to vote. In view of the appeal made to the mover, I wish to know whether she is withdrawing the resolution. I have no objection if she wishes to reply and I am not compelling her to withdraw."

* BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"I wish to speak on the subject, Sir. It is indeed a matter of intense regret and disappointment to note that with reference to a simple resolution that I have moved in this House in regard to an ordinary, natural and elemental human right, the members on the side opposite have not been able to shed their political and communal prejudices and regard the issue in its ordinary, natural, academic and human aspect. If members on the opposite side had reflected on the proposition calmly, coolly, dispassionately and cast away their political prejudices, their pre-determined ideas and preconceived notions, they would have spoken in a different manner. But in this unfortunate land of India, I find that political, sectarian and caste differences crop up with reference to every question and every aspect of human life. The other day when I was speaking at the Law College, Madras at an important symposium, I happened to support a cause which the Brahmans had at heart but to my dismay, I found Non-Brahmans vehemently opposing the proposition as it would help the Brahmans. I appealed to the audience and the speakers not to view the question from the Brahman and Non-Brahman point of view but to regard it from its human aspect for whether a man is a Hindu, a Brahman a Non-Brahman or a Muslim one cannot overlook the fundamental fact that he is human as well. Hence the human aspect should be taken into consideration in determining every issue. But I am sorry to note that in India the human aspect is relegated to the background and political considerations hold sway in regard to every matter. It is because of this that so much unnecessary heat and opposition has been imported into the motion under discussion. After all, what is it that we have been asking and what is the purport of my resolution? It is nothing impracticable; nothing new, nothing which is beyond the capacity of the Government for what I have asked is in effect tantamount to the maintenance of the *status quo* with a few additions. If the Government have been able to implement the purport of my resolution all these years, why should it not be possible for them to do so henceforward? I would invite the attention of the Hon. Minister for Education to the report of that great educationist the late Sir Meverill Statham, in regard to post-war educational reform. If hon. Members of this House and the Minister will read the report of that eminent educationist who was free from any bias, they will find that he stressed the need for the Muslims being imparted instruction through the medium of their mother-tongue which would be possible mainly in separate schools. Had there been no Muslim College, no Madrasa-i-Azam for Musdim boys or the Hobarts High School for Muslim girls in Madras, I may inform the House that Muslim education would not have advanced to the extent that it has done of late.

"The other day the hon. Mr. N. S. Varadachari made a speech whose 'prima facie' impression was that he was differently constituted from the others and was governed by a fairer outlook. But, Sir, soon his rhetoric gave way and his inner self was revealed. The current slogan of eradicating separatism which has become a fetish with members on the other side and the contention that unity in language is necessary for harmony among the people of the land was repeated by him 'ad nauseum' despite the fact that I had made it abundantly clear from the events in the Punjab and Bengal that unity of language *did* not necessarily lead towards harmony and understanding among people. It is the unity of the heart, it is the unity of the mind Sir, that create harmony, concord, understanding, peace and amity among people and not uniformity of language. In Switzerland not one language but three languages hold sway, namely German, Italian and French yet despite this and despite the fact that there are three different sets of people of that land each of whom maintains its own culture, the people of that little country constitute a united nation. Although Switzerland is a small country, it can verily serve as a lesson and a model to other great countries of the world."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I suggest that the hon. Lady Member takes two to three minutes."

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"Mr. Speaker, members have spoken in this House in a multitude of tongues with the result that I have not been able to follow their speeches. Mr. Raghavayya made a sensible speech in the beginning for he pointed out that in Russia even a population of a thousand when it spoke a particular language in any area had its schools in its own language. But some eventually political prejudices had the better of his judgment and he also opposed the resolution.

"I wish to point out that one of the reasons for which Muslims wish to learn Urdu is that it is an all-India language as distinguished from the provincial languages. Undoubtedly many advantages would accrue to Muslim students by their study of this language apart from the fact that it is a repository of their culture. Being akin to Hindi, Urdu is a language through the medium of which Muslims can have contact with the other parts of the country and its knowledge will prove most valuable for trade purposes. Muslims have never been parochial in their outlook; their vision is not cramped by narrow provincial considerations, hence they wish to be acquainted with a language which would carry them to any part of India. As you Mr. Speaker want me to conclude soon I have to leave unanswered some of the points that have been urged by the members opposite.

"In the early part of his speech the Hon. Minister stated that he would oppose my resolution but in the end he appealed for an amicable understanding, for which he said he was convening a conference and he has assured us that he would keep an open mind at the conference with reference to this subject. In the flush of the newly acquired independence perhaps he is not able to view the question in its proper perspective and hence it is better that he is given sometime to make up his mind. I may inform the Hon. Minister for Education that his Hon. Colleague Mr. Gopal Reddi, who was officiating for him during the last session of the Assembly when he was at Delhi, was prepared to accept my resolution. I do not know why a change has come

over the Government now. In determining this question, I hope they will bear in mind the importance of acting with justice and fairness to the minorities of this province.

"I am thankul to you Mr. Speaker for allowing me five more minutes."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Lady Member will finish within three minutes so that I can have time to put the motion to the vote of the House."

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"I am glad to find that the Hon. the Minister for Education in spite of his preliminary remarks is now prepared to keep an open mind and to discuss the question at the Conference that he intends shortly to convene. Sir, I wish once again to emphasize that our demand is in effect tantamount to the maintenance of the *status quo* with a few additions here and there. That is all, Sir, that we desire. I am sure the Hon. the Minister for Education has no intention of abolishing the Government-Madrasa-i-Azam the Government

Muslim College, the Government Hobart High School, the Government school for Muslim girls at Georgetown, the High School for Muslim girls and boys at Trichinopoly, and other places. I am sure he has no intention to do so. Why then should he not came forward and accept my resolution? I therefore cannot understand the present attitude of the Government. It seems only to be a question of prestige and power that has impelled the Hon. Minister to ask me to withdraw my resolution. I am sure he will realize the reasonableness of my demand and like his generous colleague, the Hon. Sri B. Gopala Reddi, he will come forward to accept my proposition.

"In conclusion, Sir, I wish to express the hope that the Government when they discuss this question will be guided by the considerations of justice and fairness and will bear in mind the following injunction of their great scripture, the Manava Dharma Shastra."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Is the hon. Member withdrawing her resolution?"

BEGUM SULTAN MIR AMIRUDDIN:—"Yes, Sir, I was referring to the injunction contained in the Dharma Sastra and with that I shall conclude. The quotation runs as follows:—

'Justice being preserved will preserve, being destroyed will destroy;

Take heed lest justice being overthrown, harm thee and us all.'

"So with these words Sir, and with the assurance that the Hon. the Minister has given that he will examine this question with an open mind and without any bias, I am withdrawing my resolution now in the hope that after the flush of the newly attained independence and power has subsided within him, he will act justly and reasonably. I shall bring my resolution again if there is need for it."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Does it mean that the Leader of the Opposition also withdraws his amendment?"

M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHIB BAHADUR:—"Yes, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I hope the House will give permission to Begum Sultan Mir Amiruddin and the Leader of the Opposition to withdraw the former's resolution and the latter's amendments."

The amendments and the resolution were by leave of the House withdrawn.

MR. SPEAKER:—"I now adjourn the House to meet again at 11 a.m. on Friday, the 31st October 1947."

12/4/48/RH

E & H (B1) Dept.

Please see the printed copy of the proceedings of the Assembly on pages 4-58 above. The resolution was withdrawn. No further action is called for. The papers may be Recorded.

Go. Ms. no. 352 Edn dt 24/2/1948.

Legislative Assembly Resolution - Schools and Colleges - Provision of Urdu as medium of instn. to Muslim students - Papers - Recorded