Language and Integration of India

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Abstract: India is a multi-cultural society, people speaking many languages and dialects. Since time immemorial many individuals and groups of people invaded India and became part of it. When these people came to India, they also brought with them their language. The rule by the Mughals and the British had a lasting effect on India. Urdu and English have ruled India. Even in precolonial India, there was consciousness of a common nation. India is also a polyglot country. Though the eighth schedule includes the recognition of 22 languages, there are more than 1,500 languages and dialects. In spite of this the people of India are united. Now, the Constitution of India further unites us. There have been many discussions in the Constituent Assembly regarding language problem. Now, both Hindi and English are the official languages of India. In addition, states have their own official language(s). Most of the states of India have adopted the three language formula for educational purposes.

Key words: Language, Integration, Nation, Official language, Three language formula, Language problem.

Introduction

Though India was surrounded by the seas in the east, west and south and by mountain ranges in the north, many individuals and groups of people invaded India from time to time. These people had their own language which they tried to propagate. Around 1,500 B.C. Sanskrit speaking Aryans invaded India and established Vedic culture in India. In 518 B.C. Achaemenid invaded the Indus Valley under King Darius I. 326 B.C. marked the Greek invasion led by Alexander of Macedonia. From 200 B.C. to 300 A.D. there were incursions from Indo-Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushanas from Central Asia and establishment of their kingdoms in North and North-western India after the fall of the Mauryan Empire. But most of them integrated themselves with the Indian society. In 1000 A.D. Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India with the sole purpose of plundering it. In 1526 there was Mughal invasion led by Babur. The Mughals also adopted Indian culture but added to it certain elements of their own. 16th century

saw the arrival of European powers as Portuguese, the French and the Dutch each having their own language and culture. In 1756 Nadir Shah of Persia invaded India followed by Ahmed Shah Adil from 1748 to 1767. 1757 saw the arrival of the British. They established their power through British East India Company and through frequent conflicts between Indian rulers like the Bengal Sultans, the Mysore State under Haider Ali and his son Tipu Sultan, the Sikhs, the Awadh Nawabs and later with the Mughals. They also had conflicts between the earlier European invaders as the Portuguese, the French and the Dutch. The British rule not only established trade between India and England and other countries but also propagated their language, English. English language became the medium of administration, courts and of higher learning. In fact, in 1835 English was made official language in India.

For the European powers such as the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch and the British, Indian unity in diversity was a great social phenomenon. In Europe, each country had its own language. The Portugal people spoke Portuguese, the French spoke French, the Dutch spoke Dutch language and the British spoke English. So, the nation-state had one language. In India, people spoke different languages. In the South, they spoke Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. In the North, people spoke Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya and Bengali. Though this unique phenomenon baffled the Europeans, they continued with the propagation of their own language.

India's population consists of 3,000 caste groups and more than 400 tribal groups. Indian population consists of Hindus (79.8%), Muslims (14.2%), Christians (2.3%), Sikhs (1.7%) and the remaining are Buddhists, Jains and of other religions. Though the eighth schedule includes the recognition of 22 languages, there are more than 1,500 languages and dialects. Languages spoken by people of India are given in table 1. After independence, the Provinces of India were the administrative divisions of British governance in India. Upon the Partition of British India into the Dominion of India and Dominion of Pakistan, 11 provinces joined India, 3 joined Pakistan, and 3 were partitioned between India and Pakistan. In 1950, after the new Indian Constitution was adopted, the provinces in India were replaced by redrawn states and union territories.

Table 1. Important languages spoken by people.

Language	Number of Speakers	Percentage
Hindi	422,048,642	41.03
Bengali	83,369,769	8.10
Telugu	74,002,856	7.19
Marathi	71,936,894	6.99
Tamil	60,793,814	5.91
Urdu	51,536,111	5.01
Gujarati	46,091,617	4.48
Kannada	37,924,011	3.69
Odia	33,017,446	3.21
Malayalam	33,066,392	3.21
English	226,449	0.02
Sanskrit	14,135	< 0.01

On 15 August 1947, British left India by dividing India into India and Pakistan gave them independence. Even before India achieved independence there was the demand for states to be organised on a linguistic basis. In December 1953, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru appointed the States Reorganisation Commission with the purpose to reorganise the Indian states. Subsequently, on 30, 1955, the States Reorganisation Commission submitted a report with recommendations for the reorganisation of India's states, which was then debated by the Indian parliament. The States Reorganisation Act was enacted on 31 August 1956 which came into effect on 1 November, 1956 forming new states and union territories.

Discussions in the Constituent Assembly regarding the Language Problem

Unlike each European nation having one major language, India was a complex continent having numerous languages. In such circumstances, the rulers have determined the language of the government as Persian during Muslim dominance and English during British rule. So, the problem arose when India became an independent nation. The language Problem was the most divisive issue in the first twenty years of independent India and it created the apprehension among many that the political and cultural unity of the country was in danger (Bipin et al. 2000: 113). The problem posed to national consolidation by linguistic diversity

has taken two forms i.e. the dispute over official language and the linguistic reorganization of the states.

The controversy on the language became virulent when it took the form of opposition to Hindi and tended to create conflict between Hindi-speaking and non-Hindi speaking regions of the county. The basic demand of Indian national movement was for the replacement of English by the mother tongue as the medium for higher education, administration and courts in each linguistic area. The issue of a national language was resolved when the constitution makers virtually accepted all the major languages as 'languages of India'. But the problem did not end there because country's administrative work could not be carried out in so many languages. So, the choice fell on two languages: Hindi and English.

The problem was solved to some extent by discussing it in the Constituent Assembly. Mahatma Gandhi expressed the truth first - that Indians must shape their own destiny, that only in the hands of Indians could India become herself - when in 1922 he said that Swaraj would not be the gift of the British Parliament, but must spring from 'wishes of the people of India as expressed through their freely chosen representatives' (quoted by Granville Austin 2016: 1). So, the Constituent Assembly with the help of the British drafted a constitution for India in the years from December 1946 to December 1949.

The official language of the Union has been laid down by Article 343 of the Constitution. Further, the various languages of the country to be used for purposes specified in Article 345 of the Constitution. The Constitution of India has put all authority in the hands of the Central Government, both for formulating and implementing the language policy. According to Article 350A, it is the responsibility of the Centre to safeguard the cultural interests of the minorities and to see that they have adequate facilities for receiving at least primary education through their mother tongue. According to Article 351 it is the special responsibility of the Centre to develop and spread the official language (Hindi) of the Union.

Pressure groups exerted considerable influence over policy formulation and implementation in India. Various literary societies set up in the 19th and 20th centuries soon organised themselves into

associations exerting considerable influence over the choice of official language. The major associations that worked for the development of Hindi were the *Nagari Pracharani Sabha* and the Hindi *Sahitya Sammelan*. Both these associations were aimed at developing and promoting Hindi in the Devanagari script and both turned to Sanskrit as the main source for developing and enriching Hindi. Their attempts, though favoured by Hindi speakers were opposed by non-Hindi speakers.

Groups outside the Hindi region reviewed the sanskritization of Hindi as a threat to their political status. The principal opponent of Hindi in North India was Urdu and the Aligarh movement started by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was an attempt to redress the balance and promote the political and cultural interests of the Muslims. In the Constituent Assembly while making Hindi the official language there was opposition from two fronts. One, supporters of Hindusthani like Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad (like Gandhi) believed that a sanskritized Hindi could not be popular on a national scale. On the other hand, the representatives from South India bargained for the retention of English as national language. When the vote was taken on the issue, the Hindi bloc won by a narrow margin of 78 against 77 votes cast for Hindusthani. So, Article 343 of the Constitution finally emerged, making Hindi in the Devanagiri script the official language of India.

Discussion in the Constituent Assembly regarding the Hindi versus non-Hindi

The Congress Party remained dominant both at the Centre and in the majority of States for nearly three decades without strong opposition. Though the Congress Party itself has been known for its eclectic tradition and has been composed of desperate political ideologies, groups and purposes, it did not have a language policy acceptable to all its members. According to Article 343 of the Constitution continuation of English was only for 15 years after the implementation of the Constitution. As the 15 year time limit for switching over to Hindi began to come to an end, it was feared, mostly in non-Hindi areas, that the removal of English as an associated official language would not only be difficult but disastrous. The main political objection to Hindi as the official language is that it places the non-Hindi areas at a disadvantage in relation the rest.

Though advocates of Hindi like Govind Das and P.D. Tandon insisted on a rigid implementation of the fifteen year deadline, Jawaharlal Nehru, G.B. Pant and others favoured a go-slow policy. With the 1962 general elections the representation of Congress Parliamentary Party got reduced (from 186 to 150) from Hindi States and representation from non-Hindi States increased (from 100 to 124). This paved the way for passing the Official Language Act in 1963. The Official Languages Act, 1963 was passed on 10th May, 1963. It provides for the languages which may be used for the official purpose of the Union, for transaction of business in Parliament, for Central and State Acts and for certain purpose in High Courts.

The 1967 general elections strengthened the non-Hindi groups both in the State Assemblies and in the Loka Sabha. Though the Congress returned to power at the Centre, it lost control over more than half the States. In fact, the victory of the Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (DMK) in Tamil Nadu was significant. DMK always favoured anti-Hindi policy. This led to widespread dissatisfaction with the Official Language Act from both the Hindi and the non-Hindi groups and the resulting agitations necessitated an amendment. So, in 1967 the Official Languages Act, 1963 was amended which established a two-language policy for official transactions. It provides that English shall be used for purposes of communication between the Union and a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language. Thus, the 1967 Act has for the present settled an otherwise bitter controversy.

Indian National Movement's Work in Regional Languages

When the Constitution in 1950 left the choice of the State official language to the State governments, the majority of States were bilingual or multilingual. The reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis in 1956 greatly facilitated the implementation of the regional languages. Further, the reorganisation of States greatly paved the way for adopting the dominant regional language for official purposes. Today, almost all the States have chosen the dominant regional language for the official purposes of the State.

Constitution-makers virtually accepted all the major languages as 'languages of India' or India's national languages. In this connection,

a question is asked, what would be India's official and link language -Hindi or English? We are aware that the English language was born out of foreign invasion and later spread across the world by invasion. With the British trade and rule, English started spreading. The East India Company instituted a policy, in the late 1700s that marked English as the language used for all administration, replacing the use of Persian. With the consolidation of the activities of the East India Company in 18th century, began the efforts of teaching English in the South Asian subcontinent. Christian missionaries too, entered India and started teaching in English. By the middle of the 19th century the aims and objectives of teaching English were very clearly laid out. For the remaining period of colonial rule there were a few landmarks in the development of English such as the establishment of universities in Kolkata, Mumbai and Chennai in 1857; Selective education and training in administration, imparted through English resulting in the Indian University Act (1904) and the Resolution on Educational Policy (1913). The English Education Act in 1835 reallocated funds the East India Company was required by the British Parliament to spend on education and literature in India. British India wanted persons of Indian origin to administer ever expanding British Empire. Macaulay argued that Western learning was superior over Indian. So, according to him there was a need to produce: "A class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" (https://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/ hindi/en/article/2017/05/02/hindi-vs-english-document-changed-india).

Hindi, like other Indo-Aryan languages, is a direct descendant of an early form of Vedic Sanskrit. Urdu, another form of Hindustani, acquired linguistic prestige in the later Mughal period and underwent significant Persian influence. Modern Hindi and its literary tradition evolved towards the end of the 18th century. Hindi is the major language spoken by people in India. Hindi is similar to Urdu which is the national language of Pakistan. While Hindi is written in Devanagari script, Urdu is written in a form of Arabic script. Secondly, Hindi derives most of the words from Sanskrit, Urdu vocabulary derives from Persian/Arabic. Hindi is the lingua franca of Northern India. At present, Hindi is the fourth mostspoken first language in the world, after Mandarin, Spanish and English.

On 14 September 1949, the Constituent Assembly of India adopted Hindi written in the Devanagari script as the official language

of the Republic of India replacing Urdu's previous usage in British India. To this end, several stalwarts rallied and lobbied pan-India in favour of Hindi, most notably Beohar Rajendra Sinha along with Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, Kaka Kalelkar, Maithili Sharan Gupta and Seth Govind Das who even debated in Parliament on this issue. As such, on the 50th birthday of Beohar Rajendra Sinha on 14 September 1949, the efforts came to fruition following the adoption of Hindi as the official language. Now, it is celebrated as Hindi Day (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindi). The Constitution of India has mandated Hindi in the Devanagari script to be the official language of the Indian union; English is an additional official language for government work along with Hindi. It is one of the 22 scheduled languages of India.

According to Article 343 of the Constitution the official language of the Union of India shall be Hindi in Devanagari script. Further, it said for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes. So, as the fifteen year time limit for switching over to Hindi began to come to an end, it was feared, mostly in non-Hindi areas, that the removal of English as an associated official language would not only be difficult but disastrous. On 10th May, 1963, the Official Languages Act, 1963 was passed. It provides for the languages which may be used for the official purpose of the Union, for transaction of business in Parliament, for Central and State Acts and for certain purpose in High Courts. Because of widespread agitation against Hindi, the Official Languages Act, 1963 was amended in 1967. The amended Act of 1967 established a two-language policy for official transactions. It provides that English shall be used for purposes of communication between the Union and a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language.

Nehru Report in 1928

In November 1927, the British government appointed the Simon Commission to review the working of the Government of India Act 1919 and propose constitutional reforms for India. Since there was no Indian in the Commission, it was opposed by nationalist leaders of India. So, the British government invited the Indians to draft a constitution for themselves. Soon, a meeting of the All Parties Conference was

convened to set up a committee for the purpose. A committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Motilal Nehru and Ali Imam, Tej Bahadur Sapru, M.S. Aney, Mangal Singh, Shuaib Qureshi, Subhas Chandra Bose and G. R. Pradhan were its members. Jawaharlal Nehru was secretary of the committee. The committee submitted its report on August 10, 1928¹. Among other things the committee recommended that Hindi should be made the official language of India.

The nexus between Hindi-Urdu-Hindusthani has to do with the national language. The issue is not of language alone but with religion i.e. with Hindu-Muslim antagonisms and ultimately with the unity of India. Hindi and Urdu are variants of the same language which is called Hindusthani. During partition and independence of Pakistan and India, Hindi was spoken by Hindus and Urdu by Muslims. After the formation of Pakistan, Urdu became the national language of Pakistan. Hindi has 'Hindu' overtones; Urdu has 'Muslim' associations. Hindi is written in the Devanagari script, derived from one of the scripts used to write Sanskrit. Urdu is written in a modified version of the Persian script, itself originally derived from the Arabic script. The essential iconic proposition that must always be borne in mind is this: Hindi: Hindu: Hinduism = Urdu: Muslim: Islam (King, 1998: 75).

Though Hindi and Urdu belong to the Indo-European language family there are differences between them. Hindi is written in the Devanagari script and looks Indian whereas Urdu written in its Perso-Arabic script looks Middle Eastern. Urdu has some sounds that Hindi does not have. Further, Hindi and Urdu diverge from each other mostly in vocabulary. The iconic associations of Hindi are with Hindu revivalism and Sanskritization whereas the iconic associations of Urdu are with Muslim renaissance and the Mughal courts. While Hindi is derived from Sanskrit via one of the Prakrits, Urdu arose as the everyday language of the Mughal Empire, whose official and administrative language was Persian. The difference in script between Hindi and Urdu is not only visually striking but laden with iconic portend. In fact, standard Hindi and standard Urdu diverged even more startlingly after partition, and with the spread of radio and now television.

After the struggle for linguistic provinces, another great battle was what should be the national language - Hindi or English. Through

the two issues - linguistic states and the national language - brought us to the problem of 'language politics'. In fact, the drive to make Hindi the national language offended the non-Hindi speaking areas specially Dravidian states of the South. Though the Constitution of India of 1950 designated Hindi the official language of the union, English was also allowed to coexist alongside Hindi for official purposes of the union for fifteen years after which it was supposed to give way altogether to Hindi. English language was selected because it was understood and spoken by elites from all parts of India. It was also the working language of government and academics and middle-class businessmen. As the fifteen years deadline drew closer, there were widespread opposition and protest against Hindi becoming national language. As a result, it was decided to continue both Hindi and English as national languages.

Constitutional Solution

When India attained her independence what India needed most was unity. Language was one of the important subjects which divided it. There were more than a dozen major regional languages, each of which was written in a different script, and none of them was spoken by a majority of the population. It was politically and psychologically necessary that the Assembly should find a solution to the problem despite the apparent impossibility of the task (Granville 2009: 42).

In 1948, the Hindi speaking members of the Constituent Assembly replaced Hindusthani by Hindi by taking support of many Hindi speaking members. The Congress presidential election of 1948 also played a part in the development of the language controversy by embittering north-south relations. In the same year, there were heated discussions on the language. But Rajendra Prasad cautioned the persons who wanted immediate discussion on the language issue that it would delay other aspects of the draft Constitution. Nehru also agreed that debate on language at that time might delay completion of the Constitution. The language controversy continued to develop in 1949. Outside the Assembly, groups like the Socialists called for the gradual introduction of a national language and this was to be Hindusthani. The Hindi extremists conducted themselves in such a way that Nehru condemned the narrow-minded, near-communal tone of the controversy.

The members of the Constituent Assembly did not attempt the impossible; they did not lay down in the language provisions of the Constitution that one language should be spoken over all India. After much discussion in the constituent assembly, the assembly took a stand on the language of the Union, regional languages, language of the Supreme Court and High courts. The same is presented in various articles of the Constitution. The Constitution distinguishes between the 22 languages² of India and the official language for all India purposes. Regarding the language of the Union, article 120 states that business in Parliament shall be transacted in Hindi or in English. It further states the Chairman of the Council of States or Speaker of the House of the people may permit any member who cannot adequately express himself in Hindi or in English to address the House in his mother tongue.

Article 210 states that business in the Legislature of a State shall be transacted in the official language or languages of the State or in Hindi or in English. Further, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly or Chairman of the Legislative Council may permit any member who cannot adequately express himself in any of the languages aforesaid to address the House in his mother tongue. Article 343 states that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devnagari script. The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals.

According to Article 345, the legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State. Article 346 refers to the official languages for communication between one State and another or between a State and the Union. The language for the time being authorised for use in the Union for official purposes shall be the official language for communication between the State and another State and between a State and the Union. Further, if two or more States agree that the Hindi language should be the official language for communication between such States, that language may be used for such communication.

Article 348 refers to the language to be used in the Supreme Court and in the High Courts and for Acts, Bills etc. All proceedings

in the Supreme Court and in every High Court, the authoritative texts- of all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved in either House of Parliament or in the House or either House of the Legislature of a State, of all Acts passed by Parliament or the Legislature of a State and of all Ordinances promulgated by the President or the Governor of a State, and of all orders, rules, regulations and bye-laws issued under this Constitution or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of a State, shall be in the English language. The Governor of a State may, with the previous consent of the President, authorise the use of the Hindi language, or any other language used for any official purposes of the State, in proceedings in the High Court having its principal seat in that State.

Where the Legislature of a State has prescribed any language other than the English language for use in Bills introduced in, or Acts passed by, the Legislature of the State or in Ordinances promulgated by the Governor of the State or in any order, rule, regulation or bye-law, a translation of the same in the English language published under the authority of the Governor of the State in the Official Gazette of that State shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in the English language under this article.

Article 350 states the language to be used in representations for redress of grievances. Every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or a State in any of the languages used in the Union or in the State, as the case may be. Article 350A mentions about the facilities for instruction in mother-tongue at the primary stage. It shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities. Article 350B refers to the Special Officer for linguistic minorities. It shall be the duty of the Special officer to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under this Constitution and report to the President upon those matters at such intervals as the President may direct, and the President

shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament and sent to the Government of the States concerned.

Article 351 refers to the directive for development of the Hindi language. According to it, it shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

Sanskritization of the Hindi language

Though Hindi developed later than Dravidian languages in India, it has been sanskritized recently. The sanskritization of Hindi took place primarily because of the language associations acting as pressure groups in the 19th and 20th centuries. The major associations that worked for the development of Hindi were the *Nagari Pracharani Sabha*, established in Banaras in 1893 and the Hindi *Sahitya Sammelan*, set up in Allahabad in 1910. Both these groups turned to Sanskrit as the main source for developing and enriching Hindi. Literary leaders like P.D. Tandon, Govind Das and Madan Mohan Malaviya being the leaders of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan exerted influence through their writings and political influence on the political leaders of India to accept Hindi in Devanagari script as the national language of India.

By 1948, the Hindi speaking members of the Constituent Assembly could muster support from a large number of Assembly members to vote to replace Hindusthani by Hindi. They not only alienated the followers of provincial languages and English lovers, but attempted to sanskritze Hindi. The Hind-wallahas made their views clear not only in amendments to the Draft Constitution but during the framing of the new Congress constitution and in their attempts to have the nation's Constitution adopted in Hindi as well as in English (Granville 2009: 58).

Primarily their efforts to sanskritize Hindi was that it could be understood throughout the country. But their efforts won the displeasure and opposition of the non-Hindi areas. Groups outside the Hindi region reviewed the sanskritization of Hindi as a threat to their political status and hence various associations in the other Indian languages were set up to counter this movement. Though there was opposition in the South from the leaders of Dravidian languages, the opposition in North India was from Urdu. In this process, the Aligarh movement started by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was an attempt to redress the balance and promote the political and cultural interests of the Muslims.

Report of the Official Language Commission (1956)

The President of India in pursuance of the provisions of Article 344 of the Constitution of India appointed the Official Language Commission headed by Shri Bal Gangadhar Kher on June 7, 1955. The committee consisted of 20 eminent persons. Bal Gangadhar Kher submitted his report on July 31, 1956. As defined in the Article-344 of the Constitution, it shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to:

- 1. the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;
- 2. restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union;
- 3. the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348;
- 4. the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union;
- 5. any other matter referred to the Commission by the President as regards the official language of the Union and the language for communication between the Union and a State or between one State and another and their use (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Official Languages Commission).

The main recommendations of the commission were as follows:-

(1) Keeping in view the democratic system in India, it is not possible to accept English as a collective medium at all India level. Possibilities should be explored to impart elementary education through the medium of Indian Languages. It is not desirable to use a foreign language in the public activities and day to day work of the administration.

- (2) Hindi, spoken and understood by the majority, is a clear linguistic medium for the country.
- (3) Every student should be given knowledge of Hindi till 14 years of age.
- (4) Teaching of Hindi should be made necessary up to middle level in the whole of the country. The Commission does not approve that knowledge of any other South Indian Language should be made compulsory for the students from Hindi speaking areas.
- (5) All the universities should make proper arrangements for those students who wish to appear through Hindi medium in the examinations.
- (6) If all the students belong to a single linguistic category in scientific and technical educational institutes, then instruction should be imparted in their language only and if they are from different linguistic regions then Hindi should be adopted as a general medium of instruction.
- (7) Rules should be enforced for acquiring knowledge of Hindi by the administrative staff within a specified time schedule and penalties should be imposed on such employees who fail to do so.
- (8) Hindi should be used in internal affairs of such departments and organizations which are directly linked with the public at large and regional language should be used at the time of interaction with the public.
- (9) Knowledge of Hindi up to a certain level should be made compulsory for the officers of the State and Union Government and for this purpose they should be motivated by offering more rewards.
- (10) Authenticated Government laws should be in Hindi but for the convenience of the public, translation thereof should be published in regional languages.
- (11) Justice, in the country, should be delivered in the language of the country. It is necessary that a translation in the regional language as appropriate, of all proceedings and records, decisions and orders of the Supreme Court and High court, should be annexed.
- (12) The qualification of Hindi should be made compulsory for employees of All India and Central services. A compulsory Hindi paper should be introduced in these examinations but for the convenience of the non-Hindi students the standard of the paper should be very simple (https://rajbhasha.nic.in/sites/default/files/cpolreport9-chapter1eng.pdf).

Hindi in Union Public Service Commission Examinations

The Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) is the central recruiting agency which is responsible for appointments to and examinations for All India services and group A & B of Central services. For the ever expanding British Empire through the East India Company there was the need of civil servants and these used to be nominated by the Directors of the Company and thereafter trained at Haileybury College in London and then sent to India. As there was the need to examine and train civil servants in India from 1922 onwards the Indian Civil Service Examination began to be held in India. Subsequent to the recommendations made by the Lee Commission in 1924 for the early establishment of a Public Service Commission, it was on October 1, 1926 that the Public Service Commission was set up in India for the first time. With the introduction of the Constitution of India in January 26, 1950, the Federal Public Service Commission came to be known as the Union Public Service Commission. The examinations were held in English.

By 1948, the views of Hindi favouring members of Constituent Assembly were also made plain in three recommendations by a committee of the Central Provinces and Berar Legislative Assembly. Headed by Ravi Shankar Shukla and with G.S. Gupta as one of its members, the committee recommended that the official language of the Union should be Hindi with Devnagari script and with English optional during a transitional period, that a knowledge of Hindi should be mandatory for entrants into the Union Public Service and Hindispeaking entrants should know a provincial language. Now, candidates appearing for examinations of the Union Public Service Commission can not only write in Hindi but in 22 languages of the Eighth Schedule⁶ to the Constitution of India. Though most of these languages are recognized in 1950, others are recognized later.

Central Hindi Directorate

Hindi is the most commonly spoken language in India. It is widely written, spoken and understood in North India. Hindi developed from Sanskrit and further developed in the 7th century, became stable by the 10th century. Avadhi, Braj, Bhojpuri, Bundeli, Bagheli, Chhattisgarhi, Dogri and Marwari are some of the dialects of Hindi.

Under Article 343, the official languages of the Union has been prescribed, which includes Hindi in Devanagari script and English. It is also one of the 22 languages of the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India. After independence, the government of India tried to standardise the grammar of Hindi. In 1954, the Government of India set up a committee to prepare a grammar of Hindi which was published in 1958 as A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi. It also tried to standardise orthography, using the Devanagari script, by the Central Hindi Directorate of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Under Article 351 of the Indian Constitution the Government of India established Central Hindi Directorate under the Ministry of Human Resource Development on March 1, 1960 to promote and propagate Hindi as well as to develop it as a link language throughout India. The Headquarters of the Central Hindi Directorate is located at New Delhi. There are four regional offices situated at Chennai, Hyderabad, Guwahati and Kolkata. Central Hindi Directorate carries the responsibility of Hindi language teaching even to non-Hindi speaking Indians and foreigners. Some of the schemes implemented by Central Hindi Directorate are: 1. Hindi for Government Servants - Central Hindi Directorate has been conducting a number of courses such as Certificate Course in Hindi, Diploma Course in Hindi, Advance Diploma Course and Course Prabodh, Praveen and Pragya for Govt. Servants. 2. Scheme of publication of monolingual/bilingual, trilingual and multilingual dictionaries. 3. Correspondence courses 4. Awards to Hindi writers 5. Extension services and programmes. 6. Hindi teaching and Promotion through Audio cassettes. 7. Grants to voluntary organisations for the propagation of Hindi including scheme of assistance for publication/ purchase of books and 8. Purchase of Hindi books for free distribution.

Official Languages Act, 1963

It can be recalled here that Article 343 of the Constitution states that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script and for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language would continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement. Plans to make Hindi the sole

official language of the Republic was met with resistance in many parts of the country. The legal framework governing the use of languages for official purpose currently is the Official Languages Act, 1963.

Official Languages Act, 1963 is an Act to provide for the languages which may be used for the official purpose of the Union, for transaction of business in Parliament, for Central and State Acts and for certain purpose in High Courts. The Act further states that notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language may, as from the appointed day, continue to be used in addition to Hindi. the Act speaks of a Committee on Official Language thus: After the expiration of ten years from the date on which section 3 comes into force, there shall be constituted a Committee on Official language, on a resolution to that effect being moved in either House of Parliament with the previous sanction of the President and passed by both Houses.

Regarding authorised Hindi translation of Central Acts, etc., the Act says, a translation in Hindi published under the authority of the President in the Official Gazette on and after the appointed day-(a) of any Central Act or of any Ordinance promulgated by the President, or (b) of any order, rule, regulation or by-law issued under the Constitution or under any central Act, shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in Hindi. Further, regarding authorised Hindi translation of State Acts in certain cases, the Act states: Where the Legislature of a State has prescribed any language other than Hindi for use in Acts passed by the Legislature of the State or in Ordinances promulgated by the Governor of the State, a translation of the same in Hindi, in addition to a translation thereof in the English language as required by clause (3) of article 348 of the Constitution, may be published on or after the appointed day under the authority of the Governor of the State in the Official Gazette of the State and in such a case, the translation in Hindi or any such Act or Ordinance shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in the Hindi language.

Regarding optional use of Hindi or other Official language in judgements etc. of High Courts, the Act says: As from the appointed day or any day thereafter the Governor of a State may, with the

previous consent of the President, authorise the use of Hindi or the official language of the State, in addition to the English language, for the purposes of any judgment, decree or order passed or made by the High Court for that State and where any judgment, decree or order is passed or made in any such language (other than the English language), it shall be accompanied by a translation of the same in the English language issued under the authority of the High Court. Further, power to make rules, the Act states, the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act. Finally, the Act says that certain provisions of the Act will not to apply to Jammu and Kashmir.

Anti-Hindi Movement

Anti-Hindi movement was strongest in Tamil Nadu. Widespread agitation was launched in 1937 in Madras Presidency of the British Raj. It was launched in opposition to the introduction of compulsory teaching of Hindi in the schools of the presidency by the Indian National Congress government led by C. Rajagopalachari. This was vehemently opposed by E. V. Ramasamy and the party he founded Dravidar Kazhagam (DK). The agitation, which lasted till 1940 included fasts, conferences, marches, picketing and protests. Though the government responded with a crackdown the government had to yield to the pressures of the agitators by withdrawing the order of compulsory teaching of Hindi in schools.

Article 343 of the Constitution states that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script and for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language would continue to be used for all the official purposes. As the fifteen year period came closer the Union Government enacted the Official Languages Act in 1963. CN Annadurai, as the lone representative of DMK in Rajya Sabha, spoke vehemently against the Act. He wanted an indefinite continuation of English as Official Language as it would 'distribute advantages and disadvantages evenly' among Hindi and non-Hindi speakers. The Act started with "Notwithstanding the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language may, as from the appointed day, continue to be used in addition to Hindi..."

Anna wanted 'may' to be replaced with 'shall'. But the Congress passed the bill without any change. Anna promptly launched an agitation. At this point, then-Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru promised that English would continue as an Official Language.

With the death of Jawaharlal Nehru in 1964, Tamils were apprehensive that his assurances of continuation of English as an Official Language would not be kept. It was further strengthened when the state government under Congress rule introduced the Three-Language Formula (English-Hindi-Tamil) in Madras Legislative Assembly. With this, anti-Hindi imposition protests spread across the state. There were fissures in Congress itself. Central ministers from Tamil Nadu, C Subramaniam and OV Alagesan resigned. Ultimately the then Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri assured to keep up the promises of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru that English would continue to be used for Centre-state and intrastate communications.

Counter-agitation in the Hindi areas against English

While in the south specially in Tamil Nadu, there were violent agitations against the imposition of Hindi, in the north there were agitations against English.

Amendment of 1963 Official Language Act

We are aware that Official Language Act was passed in the year 1963 as a remedy for the imposition of Hindi as the sole national language of India. There was wide spead dissatisfaction with the Act both from the Hindi and the non-Hindi groups. Further, the resulting agitations necessitated an amendment. In fact, the amendment came after the general elections of 1967. Firstly, the Hindi group within the Congress Parliamentary Party registered losses and secondly the unchallenged dominance so far enjoyed by the Congress was curtailed. Though the Congress returned to power at the Centre, it lost control over more than half the States. Primarily, it lost power in Tamil Nadu and Dravida Munnetra Kazagham (DMK) grabbing it. Further, poor performance of the Congress in the Hindi States in 1967 increased the number of non-Hindi Congress Chief Ministers. This in turn strengthened the support for English. All these factors created a favourable climate for evolving a compromise solution on the language question.

The draft bill providing for the continued use of English on a compulsory basis for official purposes came up before the Parliament. So, the Official Languages (Amendment) Act, 1967 was passed without much opposition ensuring that English 'shall' be continued as an associate official language as long as the non-Hindi States wanted it. Thus, this amendment established a two-language policy for official transactions. It provides that English shall be used for purposes of communication between the Union and a State which has not adopted Hindi as its official language. Thus, this Act settled an otherwise a bitter controversy.

Adaptation of a three-language formula

The Ministry of Education of the Government of India in consultation with the states formulated the three-language formula for language learning in 1968. This document said regional languages were already in use as the media of education in the primary and secondary stages. In addition, it said, "At the secondary stage, State governments should adopt and vigorously implement the three-language formula, which includes the study of a modern Indian language, preferably one of the southern languages, apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi-speaking States." (https://www.thehindu.com/news/ national/what-is-the-three-language-formula/article27698700.ece) Three language formula was adopted because of the growing importance and demand for the regional languages, the necessity to spread Hindi, the official language and because of the position of English as an international language of knowledge and communication. But analysts are of the opinion that the considerations behind the three language formula were more political and social than educational.

The implementation of the three language formula was left to the individual States. The southern States specially Tamil Nadu has been reluctant to implement the formula. Between 1959 and 1965 when Congress was in power in Madras, a serious attempt was made to introduce the study of Hindi in secondary schools. Following the victory of the DMK in the 1967 elections sounded the death-knell of Hindi in Madras. In the Hindi States too there was not much enthusiasm to implement the formula seriously. The four Hindi States of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan have been found to avoid the study of a modern Indian language.

In 2019, the draft National Education Policy prepared by a committee headed by Dr Kasturirangan has recommended the three-language formula. The draft education policy recommends the use of three language formula from the primary level. In this the first language will be the mother tongue or regional language, second language will be other modern Indian languages or English in Hindi speaking states and it will be Hindi or English in non-Hindi speaking states. The third language will be English or a modern Indian language in Hindi speaking states, and it will be English or a modern Indian language in the non-Hindi speaking state.

The proposal was seen as a move to impose Hindi on non-Hindi speaking states. The states like Tamil Nadu, Puducherry and Tripura were not ready to teach Hindi and Hindi-speaking states did not include any south Indian language in their school curriculum. The draft evoked a hostile response from political leaders in Tamil Nadu. DMK President M.K. Stalin warned that his party would be forced to launch another agitation against Hindi imposition. The Centre sought to defuse the situation by first reminding them that it was only a draft, and that the policy was yet to be finalised.

Report of the Education Commission in 1966.

The three language formula was not properly implemented all over India, as a result an Education Commission was appointed in 1966. The Education Commission in its report modified the three language formula in the following manner: 1. The mother tongue or the regional language; 2) The official language of the Union or the associate official language so long as it exists; and 3) A modern Indian or foreign language not covered under 1) and 2) and other than that used as the medium of instruction.

On the basis of its recommendations, the Commission claims that in the Hindi areas English would be introduced as a second language from Class V and a modern Indian language as the third language from Class VIII. In the non-Hindi areas, the pattern of language study could be either (a) English as the second language from Class V and Hindi as the third language from Class VIII, or (b) Hindi as the second language from Class V and English as the third

language from Class VIII (quoted by Fadia and Fadia 2017: 918). The new formula is not entirely foolproof. However, the National Policy on Education advises the State Governments to adopt and vigorously implement the three-language formula.

Notes

- 1. The recommendations of the 1928 Nehru report.
 - 1. India should be accorded the status of a dominion.
 - 2. There should be federal system of government: residuary powers lying with the centre.
 - 3. India should have a parliamentary s item of government headed by a Prime Minister arid six other ministers designated by the Governor-General
 - 4. The legislature should be bicameral.
 - 5. There should be no separate electorates for any community.
 - 6. The proposal of reservation for the minorities was as bad as that of separate electorates.
 - 7. Reservation of seats for Muslims could be possible in provinces where Muslim population was at least 10 per cent of the total, but this was to be in strict proportion to the size of the community.
 - 8. Muslims should be given one-fourth representation in the Central Legislature.
 - 9. Sindh should be separated from Mumbai only it the committee approved that it was financially self-reliant.
 - 10. The North-West Frontier Province should be given a complete provincial status.
 - 11. A new Kanarese speaking province, Karnataka, should be established in South India.
 - 12. Hindi should be made the official language of India.
- 13. Provision of Fundamental Rights for the people of India in the Constitution. (Source: https://examsdaily.in/nehru-report-1928-pdf-study-material)
- 2. The languages included in the Eight Schedule to the Constitution of India are:

1. Assamese	2. Bengali	3. Bodo	4. Dogri	5. Gujarati
6. Hindi	7. Kannada	8. Kashmiri	9. Konkani	10. Maithili
11. Malayalam	12. Meitei	13. Marathi	14. Nepali	15. Odia
16. Punjabi	17. Sanskrit	18. Santali	19. Sindhi	20. Tamil
21. Telugu	22. Urdu			

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