

URDU LANGUAGE AND MUSLIM COMMUNITY :
A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF ISSUES OF CULTURAL
IDENTITY AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN U.P.

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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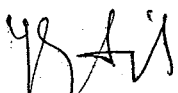
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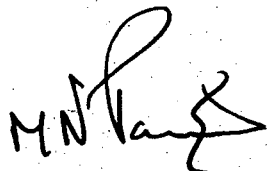
Certified that this dissertation entitled " Urdu Language and Muslim Community : A Sociological Study of Issues of Cultural Identity and Social Mobility in U.P. " , submitted by Ms. Yukiko Takagi in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy to the University has not been previously submitted to any other University. This is her original work.

We recommend this work to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.




(Professor Yogendra Singh)

Supervisor


(Professor M. N. Panini)

Chairperson

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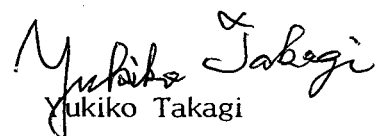
Because of the limitation of space, I can't mention the names of all the people who have helped me. I want to show my gratitude to all of them.

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I Introduction

Language is very important for the people of India from the political, social, economic, historical and cultural aspects.

In India, soon after Independence, States were reorganised on linguistic basis and according to the linguistic variety the demand for the new states still goes on.

Language also defines the cultural identity of the people, which will affect their perception for the future development.

For the Muslim in India, the language issue is all the more important. Especially Urdu language is always connected with Muslim and it has become a symbolic cultural identity for them.

In this dissertation, before opening the chapter, we will see the relationship between the Urdu language and the Muslim community.

In fact, there is a dispute whether language can be connected with the certain community or not. Here, we will see this question from three aspects; (1) statistical aspect, (2) historico-political and socio-cultural aspect, and (3) opinion among the Muslim community.

1 Does a language belong to any religion ?

Gandiji repeatedly said that *zabanen dharm ki nahin hain* (a language does not belong to any religion).¹

If it is true, how can we find the implication between Urdu language and Muslim community? Does a language really belong to any religion?

First of all, to make this question clear, we will see the

relationship between Urdu and Muslim community in India statistically.

Iqbal A. Ansari mentions that according to the Anthropological Survey of India's project 'People of India' Report Volume IX on Language and Script, "Urdu has the widest spread of all languages in the country, that is 22 States and union territories, including the four south Indian States.

It also reports that communities who actually use it for in group communication number 162 including four scheduled castes (SCs). There are 158 other communities who use Urdu as mother tongue, including Pinjara and Siddi from Karnataka, Vypary from Gujarat, Bhand from Madhya Pradesh, and Sheikh from Tamil Nadu, Shah Faqir from West Bengal and Oriya Muslims and Rangrez of Rajasthan. The number of communities using it for inter-group communication includes eight scheduled tribes (STs), 13 SCs and 105 other communities." ²

Then, we will see some opinions of the relationship between the Urdu language and the Muslim community in India.

Raj Bahadur Gour writes that "Urdu is the language of neither all the Muslims of our country nor is it the language of only the Muslims. There are millions of Muslims, in south India, east India, north east India who do not know a word of Urdu. And there are many non-Muslims who communicate in Urdu, speak and write in Urdu." ³

Asghar Ali Engineer also mentions that "Urdu was never the language of Muslims alone, nor of all Muslims in India. In the south, except for a few pockets in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, no Muslim knows Urdu at all. They speak Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu or Kannada. The Quran has also been translated into these languages and their Friday and other sermons are also said in their regional languages. In western

India, too, the Muslims speak Gujarati or Marathi except those who have migrated from U.P. or Bihar and settled there. Similarly, Marathi is the mother-tongue of the Muslims of the Konkan region.”⁴

If we see whatever are mentioned above, it seems that Urdu does not belong to a certain religion, namely Muslim community in India. Then secondly, we will see other opinions.

In Muslim India (December, 1989), it is written that “we often hear political leaders extolling the virtues of Urdu and stating, at gross variance with facts, that it has nothing to do with any particular religion and community, the language is today used primarily by Muslims. The days when a majority of the leading lights of Urdu journalism, literature and poetry were non-Muslims is long past.”⁵

T. N. Madan says:

“A special historico-political and socio-cultural relationship between Urdu and the Muslims of India should be acknowledged. While the national movement had its poets in all Indian languages including Urdu, the Khilafat movement, for which Ghandiji sought national support, generated much Urdu poetry but found no echoes among Hindi poets. The Hindi-Hindu and Urdu-Muslim equations had been made by then...

In India, wherever there are Muslims, there are Urdu-medium traditional schools and Urdu magazines and newspapers. In the southern states no less than the northern, the emergence of Urdu as an 'identity marker' of the Muslims is undeniable and statistics about how many can read and write it can be misleading in this regard if taken at face value. Urdu is today the cultural language of the Muslims of India as it is of no other community.”⁶

Hans R. Dua mentions that "Urdu is claimed as a mothertongue by Hindus and Muslims alike. This goes against the identification of Urdu only with the Muslims. However, it cannot be denied that the religious literature and cultural achievements of the Muslims are mostly in Urdu because of which it serves as a strong identity token for them." ⁷ After this, he quotes Brass that "That sense of a separate identity derives not from the spoken Urdu of everyday speech which is the same as the spoken Hindi or Hindustani, but from the more Persianized Urdu written in the Persian script and frequently deriving its literary symbols and form of cultural expression from Islamic ideology and history." ⁸

To understand the relationship between Urdu and Muslim more clearly, we will see the historical background especially.

Christopher R. King mentions about the development of differentiation between Urdu and Hindi in his book:

Long before the beginning of the Hindi movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the ingredients existed for the differentiation of Khari Boli into the two distinct entities of Urdu and Hindi: the Urdu and Nagari scripts, and two differing sources for higher vocabulary, the classical languages of Persian and Arabic, and Sanskrit. From one point of view, the Hindi-Urdu controversy could be traced back to the medieval Muslim invasions of India and the resulting Indo-Persian linguistic synthesis which came to be known as Urdu. Another point of view appears in a recent study by an Indian scholar, who argues that the excessive Persianization of what he calls Hindi/Hindavi, formerly the common literary language of Hindus and Muslims, in the eighteenth century led to the dramatic linguistic and literary split between Hindi

and Urdu. From still another point of view one could claim that the first important expression of differentiation between Hindi and Urdu took place in Fort William College in the first years of the nineteenth century. Here, with the encouragement of some officials and instructors, two distinct prose styles, both based on Khari Boli, began to develop though their identifications with separate religious traditions lay decades in the future. The rapid expansion of publishing and journalism later in the century strengthened the existing differentiation between Hindi and Urdu, and made impossible any assimilation between the two.⁹

Here we will take some notice of the case of Fort William College.

M. Mujeeb says that "The British scholars Fort William College, Calcutta, divided the two on the basis of their linguistic origin, their difference being emphasized at a time when Hindī scriptures were being printed and published in the persian script. The two languages were studied, taught and patronized separately." ¹⁰

Khaliq Anjum also mentions:

Urdu was passing through the process of natural development when Britishers appeared on the scene. They studied Indian society from imperialistic point of view...

It was their calculated move, therefore, to use language and history to divide Indian society into two major communal groups. The seeds of this Hindu-Muslim divide on the basis of language were first sown in Fort William College of Calcutta by creating a rivalry between Hindi and Urdu at the turn of 19th century. This college was set up to teach Hindustani (Urdu) to British officers.

...John Gilchrist of the College was entrusted with the task

of preparing Urdu textbooks. But Gilchrist used this opportunity to politicise the language issue and prepared some books in Devanagari script as well.¹¹

Amrit Roy writes:

These divisive forces had already been at work for a century when the Fort William College was established in Calcutta, in AD 1800. It therefore does not seem factually correct that the British split the old unified Hindi/Hindavi into modern Hindi and modern Urdu as two separate and mutually exclusive languages. They did, however, subsequently use the split already in existence as a tool for the maintenance of their imperial power in the country. They played one language off against the other as a part of their general policy of playing the Muslims off against the Hindus—the two languages by that time, being polarized on Muslim and Hindu lines as a result of the chain reactions set off by the language-reform movement which gave Urdu a clearly Muslim orientation.¹²

Since then Muslim-Urdu relationship and Hindu-Hindi relationship had been kept in the nation's mind, "Politics before and after the transfer of power in August 1947 was instrumental to a great extent in the creation of a certain degree of antagonism between the adherents of Hindi and adherents of Urdu."¹³

Once this Muslim-Urdu relationship was fixed, it "turned it into a target of that cultural and social prejudice which came to be directed against Muslims in the aftermath of partition."¹⁴ M. Mujeeb explains this Muslim feeling well:

Probably nothing has hurt the Muslims of north India more than the deliberate and sometimes provocative way in which

advantage was taken of the political circumstances and all other possible arguments to oust Urdu and replace it with Hindi.¹⁵

Lastly we will see the opinion from Muslim community in India.

Omar Khalidi mentions that:

Few topics among Indian Muslims invite such emotional outpouring as does Urdu. This is one of the few subjects over which there is near unanimity among “progressive”, “moderate”, “modernists” and “orthodox” Muslims. Among the Progressive academics, Muhammad Mujib asserts that “stability and progress, national dignity and individual character all require that we should appreciate the true value of the Indian Muslim culture and the Urdu language as the most precious heritage of our past and our greatest support in the future.” A “moderate and a modernist” like Sayyid Abid Husain opined “the learning of Urdu for Indian Muslims is not only vital cultural but also a religious necessity...It would be nothing less than intellectual and spiritual suicide to give up Urdu.” Abid Husain's view do not seem greatly different from an “orthodox” Maulana Muhammad Ali Jawhar who confessed in the end that Urdu is the irreducible minimum to which the most compromising Muslim would consent”.¹⁶

In short, though we can not say that Urdu has the linkage only with Muslim community in India statistically, it can be said that Urdu is deeply rooted in Muslim community in India as its identity.

2 Methodology and limitation

On the basis of this, in this dissertation, I will discuss how

Urdu has been made as the identity for Muslim community and how it has affected Muslim community, including their social mobility and integration with the mainstream, especially taking up the case of U.P.

In this dissertation, in the first two chapters I will deal with the language policy in India. In the second two chapters I will take up the case study of U.P.

There are some reasons for choosing U.P. Although it might be better that whole India case should be taken up, one state had to be chosen. Because, as Hans R. Dua mentions, "Thus the language problems of Urdu speakers would be different in nature in various regions not only because of variation in numerical strength, not only because of different language groups in a particular region, but also because of different status of Urdu in different states." ¹⁷ In addition to this, relationship between the minority language with the majority language should be considered. For example, "Marathi and Urdu in Mysore city have a different relationship with the majority language Kannada than Telgu or Tamil. In the former case, the relationship between languages is non-cognate, whereas it is cognate in the latter. Similarly, the language problems of Urdu speakers in Karnataka would be different from those of the Urdu speakers in Uttar Pradesh in terms of the language relationship." ¹⁸

Then it should be explained that why U.P. was chosen. Since U.P. was "the birth place of Urdu" and it has "the largest Urdu speakers" and "Muslim population in India" , material is available comparatively.

This disseratation is not based on the field work, but on the material including official documents (English), newspapers (English and Urdu), journals and magazines (English) and books (English and Urdu). As

I mentioned above, because of the availability of material, the case of U.P. was chosen.

Still there are some limitations.

Firstly, the research has not been done in the specific field like reliable figure of the actual number of madrasas in India. Mohammad Akhtar Siddiqui mentions that "It is difficult to provide any reliable figure of the actual number of madrasas in India inspite of some surveys having been conducted by the renowned organisations like, Hamdard Education Foundation, Institute of Objective Studies, National Council Education Research and Training (N.C.E.R.T) etc." ¹⁹

Secondly, because of the policy of the Indian Government, some documents can be hardly available. For example, Omar Khalidi mentions:

Any attempt at the analysis of the Muslim share in the Indian economy in a scientific manner is impeded by a dearth of empirical data. No statistics are available to show the number of Muslim peasants and workers involved in the agricultural sector or the number of Muslim factory workers engaged in the industrial sector. Some Statistics-not always satisfactory-are available about the social background of the civil servants at the state and national level. The religious and ethnic background of the jawans and officers of the Indian armed forces, once an important focus of Muslim careers, is considered information pertaining to the order of battle and is, therefore, classified. No statistical exists anywhere about the per capita income, expenditure, savings, employment, underemployment, and unemployment rates, living conditions, ownership of housing and lands, and the like. Information that compares the employment and non-employment

pattern of various groups and communities is also conspicuous by its absence.

During the colonial periods, the Census of India published data on the educational and the economic levels of some population groups, but this has been discontinued since the independence owing to the Indian state's policy of not showing differential development pattern of the various segments of the Indian society, except the Scheduled Castes and Tribes.²⁰

Therefore though I mentioned that I will take up the case of social mobility, it can not be possible to deal with the detail.

Lastly, there might be the problem of reliability on the census of India. Zoya Hasan mentions about U.P. that "Statistics shows a rising number of Hindi speakers and a declining number of Urdu speakers who were reduced to less than 10 per cent in 1991, even though Muslims constituted nearly 16 per cent of the state's total population. This was the result of two features of government policy-minimization of the size of Urdu-speaking minority and persistent deficiencies in providing facilities for Urdu speakers...Although it is problematic to equate Urdu spoken by both Hindus and Muslims with Muslims alone, the census estimate of Urdu speakers was much below the actual number of Urdu speakers which besides Muslims would also include many Hindus."²¹ S. Hamid (Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu President) also says that "there is enough evidence to suggest that during the 1991 census, subversion of statistics relating to mothertongue has taken place on a large scale. Part of this can be attributed to inefficiency and irresponsibility, but there seems to be a more sinister aspect to it. In north India, a large number of enumerators appear to have embarked on a drive to put down

Hindi as the language of the Urdu-speaking people. Reports of wrong entries deliberately made against Urdu are pouring in.”²²

Although there are some limitations mentioned above, as far as this dissertation is concerned, it will depend on this material.

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II Language Policy in India

1 Constituent Assembly Debate on language

Based on the Indian National Congress's Karachi Resolution of March 1931 and Gandhi's scheme for communal settlement presented to the Minorities Committee of the Indian Round Table Conference in October 1931, the Constituent Assembly Sub-Committee on Minorities made the following recommendations on Cultural and Educational Rights on Minorities in its Interim Report on April 1947:

- (i) All citizens are entitled to use their mother tongue and the script thereof, and to adopt, study or use any other language and script of their choice.
- (ii) Minorities in every unit shall be adequately protected in respect of their language and culture, and no government may enact any laws or regulations that may act oppressively or prejudicially in this respect.
- (iii) No Minorities whether of religion, community or language shall be deprived of rights or discriminated against in regard to the admission into State educational institutions, nor shall any religious instruction be compulsorily imposed on them.
- (iv) All minorities whether of religion, community or language shall be free in any unit to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice, and they shall be entitled to State aid in the same manner and measure as is given to similar State-aided institutions.

- (v) Notwithstanding any custom, law, decree, or usage, presumption in terms of dedication, no Hindu on grounds of caste, birth or denomination shall be precluded from entering an educational institution dedicated or intended for the use of Hindu community or any section thereof.
- (vi) No disqualifications shall arise on account of sex in respect of public services or professions or admission to educational institutions save and except that this shall not prevent the establishment of separate educational institutions for boys and girls.¹

When this report came to be considered by the Advisory Committee in its meeting held on April 22, 1947, Alladi Krishnaswami objected to the clause (i) seeking to protect mother tongue, as unnecessary, since mother tongue was a matter nobody otherwise also could interfere with. K. M. Munshi explaining the reason for incorporation of the guarantee with respect to one's mother tongue said that the clause was taken from the minorities rights in the Polish Treaty which was later incorporated in the Polish Constitution. He said that attempts were made in Europe and other places to prevent the minorities from using or studying their own language. This right had therefore come to be regarded as a classical right of minorities.² In spite of Munshi's insistence, the clause was deleted. Clause (ii) and (iii) were accepted with slight modifications. There was much discussion on clause (iv) which provided for the right to establish and administer educational institutions and the right to State aid. One objection to the inclusion of this right which came from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and found support from Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyer was that such a right would perpetuate communal

institutions and that the State should not give any aid to such a institutions.³ However, the objection could not persuade the Committee and the clause as slightly modified in its form was supported by a majority vote. Clauses (v) and (vi) were deleted as redundant.⁴

The Advisory Committee ultimately came to recommend the following which came to the Constituent Assembly Debate on May 1st, 1947 as Clause (18)-CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS:

“(1) Minorities in every Unit shall be protected in respect of their languages, script and culture, and no laws or regulations may be enacted that may operate oppressively or prejudicially in this respect.

(2) No minority whether based on religion, community or language shall be discriminated against in regard to the admission into State educational insitutions, nor shall any religious instruction be compulsory imposed on them.

(3) (a) All minorities whether based on religion, community or language shall be free in any unit to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

(b) The State shall not, while providing State aid to schools, discriminate against schools under the management of minorities whether based on religion, community or language.”⁵

Some discussions were about the script of language, but the main discussion in the debate was not based on the detail of the context, but on the question that whether such minorities's safeguards should be given before seeing what rights the minorities are given by the Pakistan Assembly. Shri Mahavir Tyagi said:

...the question of guaranteeing the rights of minorities

with regard to culture and education privileges, I would suggest that in future occasions may arise when the Governments belonging to the Union may have to negotiate with other units and may have to know from them as to what is happening to the minorities that reside in the areas which have not chosen to join the Union. Now, supposing the Governments of the Units which belong to the Union are committed by means of this clause 18 to a certain policy towards the minorities, the people here may feel the necessity of knowing as to what is happening to the minorities who reside in those units which have refused to join the Union and belong to Pakistan or any other parts of India which may organise themselves separately. My suggestion is that on the question of minorities we may not be committed here and this question be left over for the time when we may definitely know as to whether the whole of India is going to be one Unit or is going to be partitioned into two. If there is to be a partition, we must know what is happening to the minorities on the other side, in the other units. Therefore, the question is not so easy to solve just now. I submit that the whole House will support me when I say that this question had better be hanging fire till we definitely know as to what is going to be the final shape of India and how the Units are going to treat the minorities.⁶

Against this, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said:

...I confess I am considerably surprised at these amendments—both by Mr. Munshi as well as Mr. Tyagi. They have, I submit, given no reason why this clause 18 should be referred back to the Committee. The only reason in support of this proposal—one

can sense-is that the rights of minorities should be relative, that is to say, we must wait and see what rights the minorities are given by the Pakistan Assembly before we determine the rights we want to give to the minorities in the Hindustan area. Now, Sir, with all deference. I must deprecate any such idea. Rights of minorities should be absolute rights. They should not subject to any consideration as to what another party may like to do to minorities within its jurisdiction. If we find that certain minorities in which we are interested and which are within the jurisdiction of another State have not got the same rights which we have given to minorities in our territory, it would be open for the State to take up the matter in a diplomatic manner and see that the wrongs are rectified. But no matter what others do, I think that the rights which are indicated in clause 18 are rights which every minority, irrespective of any other consideration is entitled to claim.⁷

This concept was basically accepted, though sub-clause (2) was referred back to the Advisory committee for clarifying its scope in respect of State-aided institutions. The Assembly adopted the rest of the clause without any modification.

The Drafting Committee redrafted Clause (18) as Article 23 of Draft Constitution making a significant change in Clause (1); Clause (2) and 3 (a)&(b) remaining substantially the same. The redrafted Clause (1) reads:

(1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part of thereof having distinct language, script and culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. By

substituting 'any section' of citizens for 'minority', it was rightly sought to widen its ambit to include protection of linguistic rights of sections like Marwaris residing in Bengal.⁸

When it came to the Constituent Assembly Debate on 7th and 8th Dec. 1948, this change was taken up. Mr. Z. H. Lari was against this change and said:

...it is accepted on all hands that cultural and educational rights have to be protected and this is the intention of article 23. There can be no gainsaying on that point. The clause as it originally stood and as it was approved by this House intended to lay down that no laws, no regulations shall be passed which would adversely affect a minority in maintaining and fostering their own culture and language. That is to say, no such laws shall be passed which would nullify a right which was being conceded to a linguistic minority. If the clause were to stand as I have put it and as the House originally approved, the result would be that there will be adequate remedy at the disposal of a minority, to see that the intentions of this House are carried into effect. But, If you look to the language used in the Draft Constitution, it comes to this only that the minority or a section of the citizens shall be entitled to conserve its own language. What does it mean ? What is its effect ? It simply means this that a body of citizens shall be entitled to use their own language in their private intercourse. But the question is whether they will be entitled to use their own language in elementary education given at the state expense. No doubt, under another clause of this article, a minority can establish institutions of its own and by

virtue of this clause (1), it will be open to that minority impart, say, elementary education through its own mother tongue. But if the State were to establish institutions as it would do,- naturally there will be so many minorities which will not be in a position to start institutions of their own -, then the question arises, will it be possible for the minority to demand that, in those institutions which are being established by the State, in pursuance of any legislation, municipal or provincial, which makes free elementary education compulsory, elementary education be imparted through the medium of their own language?Considering the import of this article, my submission would be that the original clause should be restored and this changed phraseology should not be accepted by this House.⁹

In spite of his insistence, there was another requirement of a similar linguistic change. The following amendment to Clause (2) was moved by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:

“That for clause (2) of article 23, the following be substituted:-

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“(2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.”¹⁰

He mentioned:

...I find there are three points of difference between this amendment and the provisions of the section which it seeks to amend. The first is to put in the words 'no citizen' for the words 'no minority'. Secondly that not only the institutions which are

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maintained by the State will be included in it, but also such institutions as are receiving aid out of state funds. Thirdly, we have, instead of the words "religion, community or language", the words, "religion, race, caste, language or any of them".

...it so happens that the words "no minority" seek to differentiate the minority from the majority, whereas you would be pleased to see that in the Chapter the words of the heading are "cultural and educational rights", so that the minority rights as such should not find any place under this section. Now if we read Clause (2) it would appear as if the minority had been given certain definite rights in this clause, whereas the national interests require that no majority also should be discriminated against in this matter. Unfortunately, there is in some matters a tendency that the minorities as such possess and are given certain special rights which are denied to the majority. Sometimes the minority said they were discriminated against and on other occasions the majority felt the same thing. This amendment brings the majority and the minority on an equal status.¹¹

In addition to these linguistic changes, again forceful demand was especially made to include the right of children of minorities to receive primary education in the mother tongue among the guaranteed rights. It enjoyed wide support from Muslims of all shades like Z. H. Lari, Begum Aziz Rasul, Hasrat Mohani and so on. Z. H. Lari mentioned moving following amendment:

That after clause (3) of article 23, the following new clause be inserted.-

"(4) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory

of India or any part thereof having a distinct language and script shall be entitled to have primary education imparted to its children through the medium of that language and script.”

A notice of an amendment to this amendment has been given by Mr. Karimuddin. I would gladly accept it when it is moved. That amendment is for the addition of the words 'in case of substantial number of such students being available.'^{1 2}

After mentioning this, he took up three questions that arise in this connection. The first question is whether it is necessary, either in the interests of a minority or of society, that primary education should be imparted through the medium of one's mother tongue. Giving an answer to it, he mentioned:

...Only recently, the Government of India accepted a Resolution and published it in the Gazette of August 14, 1948. In the course of that Resolution they say:

“The principle that a child should be instructed in the early stages of its education through the medium of the mother tongue has been accepted by the Government. All educationists agree that any departure from the principle is bound to be harmful to the child and therefore to the interests of society.”

That resolution further goes on to say, 'Constitutions like these make it impossible for any State or Province to adopt any single language as the medium of instruction. An attempt to adopt one language in a province where groups of people speaking different languages reside and to impose it on all is bound to lead to discontentment and bitterness. It will affect inter-provincial relations and set up vicious circles of retaliation.'

And, towards the end they say:

“The Government of India is of opinion that in the larger interests of the country, it is desirable that the policy enunciated above should be followed by all provincial, and State Governments” .

Therefore, according to this very Resolution it is accepted that it is essential in the interests of society as well as of the minority that its children should be imparted primary education through the medium of mother tongue.

I would refer this House, at this stage, to a reply given by the Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Education Minister in the Dominion Parliament at its session held in September last. ...Replying to Shri S. V. Krishnamurti Rao, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Education Minister said that the mother tongue of the child would be the medium of instruction in primary schools, i.e., up to junior basic stage from the age of six to eleven as stated in the Resolution of the Government on the subject and added: “The Central Advisory Board of Education in their report on post-war educational development in India, published in 1944, recommended that the medium of instruction in the secondary stage should be the mother tongue of the pupils.”

Therefore, so far as the necessity of such a provision is concerned, it cannot be denied.¹³

The second question is whether this right partake of a fundamental character so as to find a place in this Chapter. He mentions:

...The first Constitution of a Free India that was framed was the Nehru Report under the able guidance of that prince among,

patriots, Pandit Motilal Nehru. One of the Fundamental rights suggested therein ran as follows:

“Adequate provision shall be made by the State for imparting public instruction in primary schools to the children of members of minorities through the medium of their own language and in such script as is in vogue among them.” The nature and the fundamental character of this right has been accepted by that very Resolution of the Government of India to which I referred earlier. Therein they say:

“All provincial languages are Indian languages and there is little reason why any province in India should seek to deprive the children inhabiting that province of their fundamental right to receive education through the medium of the mother tongue.”

Therefore even the nature and character of this right has been fully accepted by the present Government of India as well as by those seven leaders who framed the Nehru Report.¹⁴

The third question is whether it is necessary to put in this Chapter, after the clear acceptance of such a policy by the Government of India for the time being. Giving the example of his own province, United Provinces, he mentions:

...The House will note that the United Provinces is a bilingual province. Therein two languages, namely, Hindi and Urdu have been used and widely read by members belonging to different communities. If I only give you the figures of students appearing at the two examinations, viz., high school and middle school, you will find that at least one third of the students offered Urdu as their language. In 1944 the students who took Hindi numbered

11,617 while those who offered Urdu numbered 7,167;

In 1945 do. 12,423 do. 7,426;

1946 do. 14,222 do. 8,244;

1947 do. 18,302 do. 13,080.

Therefore you will see that two-thirds of the students who appeared at the high school examinations offered Hindi and one-third offered Urdu.

But.....All of a sudden in May last, a curriculum was published the result of which, according to my reading, was absolute elimination of Urdu. ...Therefore this experience of mine in my own province shows that there is necessity for such a provision, and that such a provision should find a place in the Constitution.¹⁵

Maulana Hasrat Mohani also agreed with this opinion. Giving example of his own province, United Provinces, he said:

...If you want to accept Hindi for the United Provinces I have no objection. But so far as medium of instruction is concerned, as long as Urdu is our mother tongue, it is ours by right and forms part of the Fundamental Rights.¹⁶

To these opinions, Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhyay mentioned about Article 23 generally:

...The minorities are mightly afraid of their languages being put out of existence by the aggression of the majorities, who might be very unsympathetic towards the minorities in these matters. The minorities are zealous about guarding their own language and culture, the quite naturally they should be so. The majority must have some sympathetic understanding about the feeling and outlook

of the minorities. By that alone, in the different provinces, the cry that has arisen about the redistribution of territories on a linguistic basis will stop to large extent.¹⁷

There is another opinion from Shiri K. Santhanam:

...In every province, there are islands of these linguistic minorities. ...In this connection we have to hold the balance even between two different trends. First of all, we have to give to large linguistic minorities their right to be educated—especially in the primary stages—in their own language. At the same time we should not interfere with the historical process of assimilation. We ought not to think that for hundreds and thousands of years to come these linguistic minorities will perpetuate themselves as they are. The historical processes should be allowed free play. These minorities should be helped to become assimilated with the people of the locality. They should gradually absorb the language of the locality and become merged with the people there. Otherwise they will be aliens, as it were, in those provinces. Therefore, we should not have rigid provisions by which every child is automatically protected in what may be called his mother-tongue. On the other hand, this process should not be sudden, it should not be forced. Wherever there are large numbers of children, they should be given education—primary education—in their mother-tongue. At the same time, they should be encouraged and assisted to go to the ordinary schools of the provinces and to imbibe the local tongue and get assimilated with the people.¹⁸

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant opposed the demand because of the practical financial inconvenience:

...We in this Union of India owe a duty to all citizens who live in this land and we have to do things in such a way as would enable us to make the maximum use of the resources that are available today or that may be tomorrow. Mr. Lari cannot expect us to feed the fad of anybody at the expense of the tax-payer. In our country, vast numbers are illiterate and they have to be given the benefit of at least primary education. Primary education, in order that it may be made even universal, will cost millions and millions. Now, how are our schools to be established and how are our schools to be run? If every school should have two or three sets of teacher, one knowing Nagari and the other knowing Urdu, indiscriminately regardless of the number of students interested in either are we capable of providing for that financially? If such a policy were followed, then we would not be able to introduce universal primary education,-till Doomsday. Obviously, you have to examine the situation in every place and then provide such machinery as would yield maximum results.It is not possible for any Government to do that, and Mr. Lari has himself accepted the amendment, so far as I understand, that was moved here that such arrangements should be made only where there are substantial numbers. I think that amendment was moved by Kazi Syed Karimuddin. "in case of substantial number of such students being available."

Now, these are exactly our instructions that where substantial numbers of such students are available, arrangements should be made; where the numbers are not substantial, then we cannot incur such expenditure.¹⁹

In the last of the discussion, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar mentioned these

questions, namely linguistic change and mother-tongue education. He said:

The first point that I would like to submit to the House as to why the Drafting Committee thought it necessary to alter the language of paragraph 18 of the Fundamental Rights, it will be noticed that the term "minority" was used therein not in the technical sense of the word "minority" as we have been accustomed to use it for the purposes of certain political safeguards, such as representation in the Legislature, representation in the services and so on. The word is used not merely to indicate the minority in the technical sense of the word, it is also used to cover minorities which are not minorities in the technical sense, but which are nonetheless minorities in the cultural and linguistic sense. For instance, for the purposes of this article 23, if a certain number of people from Madras came and settled in Bombay for a certain purposes, they would be, although not a minority in the technical sense, cultural minorities. Similarly, if a certain number of Maharashtrians went from Maharashtra and settled in Bengal, although they may not be minorities in the technical sense, they would be cultural and linguistic minorities in Bengal. The article intends to give protection in the matter of culture, language and script not only to a minority technically, but also to a minority in the wider sense of the terms as I have explained just now. That is the reason why we dropped the word "minorities" because we felt that the word might be interpreted in the narrow sense of the term, when intention of this House, when it passed article 18, was to use the word "minority" in a

much wider sense, so as to give cultural protection to those who were technically not minorities but minorities nonetheless.....

I think another thing which has to be born in mind in reading article 23 is that it does not impose any obligation or burden upon the State. It does not say that, when for instance the Madras people come to Bombay, the Bombay Government shall be required by law to finance any project of giving education either in Tamil language or in Andhra language or any other language. There is no burden cast upon the State. The only limitation that is imposed by article 23 is that if there is a cultural minority which wants to preserve its language, its script and its culture, the State shall not by law imposed upon it any other culture which may be either local or otherwise. Therefore this article really is to be read in a much wider sense and does not apply only to what I call the technical minorities as we use it in our Constitution. That is the reason why we eliminated the word "minority" from the original clause....

Coming to the other question, namely, whether this Constitution should not embody expressly in so many terms, that the right to receive education in the mother tongue is a Fundamental Right: Let me say one thing and that is that I do not think that there can be any dispute between reasonably -minded people that if primary education is to be of any service and is to be a reality it will have to be given in the mother tongue of the child. Otherwise primary education would be valueless and meaningless. There is no dispute, I am sure, about it and in saying that I do not think it necessary for me to obtain the

authority of the Government to which I belong. It is such a universally accepted proposition and it is so reasonable that there cannot be any dispute on the principle of it at all.²⁰

Finally, this position was supported by the Assembly. The draft article 23 got written, with the linguistic changes and without accepting the demand of mother-tongue education, into the the Constitution as two Articles 29 and 30.

The main debate on the questions of language came on 12th Sept. 1949 to 14th Sept. 1949. From the beginning of President's speech, the complexity of this problem can be seen. He said:

I know this is a subject which has seen agitating the minds of Members for sometime and so I would make an appeal to the speakers who are going to take part in the debate. My appeal is not in favour of any particular proposition, but it is with regard to the nature of the speeches which Members may be making. Let us not forget that whatever decision is taken with regard of the question of language, it will have to be carried out by the country as a whole. There is no other item in the whole Constitution of the country which will be required to be implemented from day to day, from hour to hour, I might even say from minute to minute in actual practice. Therefore Members will remember that it will not do to carry a point by debate in this House. The decision of the House should be acceptable to the country as a whole. Even if we succeed in getting a particular proposition passed by majority, if it does not meet with the approval of any considerable section of people in the country-either in the north or in the south, the implementation of the Constitution will become a most defficult

problem. Therefore, when any Member rises to speak on this language question I would request him most earnestly to remember that he should not let fall a single word or expression which might hurt or cause offence. Whatever has to be said, should be said in moderate language so that it might appeal to reason and there should be no appeal to feelings or passion in a matter like this.²¹

The main debate was on the language of the Union. There are two approaches to this question. One approach is those who wish the English language to continue in this country as long as and as far as possible, and the other approach is of those who wish to bring an Indian language in place of English as early as possible.²²

With these view points, first of all, Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar said:

The final decision, as all honourable Members know, on that particular question is that we should adopt Hindi as the language for all official purposes of the Union under the new Constitution. That of course, is an ultimate objective to be reached. It certainly involves that when that achievement takes place, we have to bid good-bye to a language on which many of us have been reared and on the strength of which as I said we have achieved our freedom, I mean the kind of language.

That decision to substitute Hindi in the long run for the English language having been taken, we had to take also two subsidiary decisions which were involved in that one decision. Now the subsidiary decisions were that we could not afford to give up the English language at once. We had to keep the English language

going for a number of years until Hindi could establish for itself a place, not merely because it is an Indian language, but because as a language it would be an efficient instrument for all that we have to say and do in the future and until Hindi established itself in the position in which English stands today for Union purposes. So we took the next decision, namely that for a period of about fifteen years English should continue to be used for all the purposes for which it is being used today and will be used at the commencement of the Constitution.^{2 3}

Against this opinion, Seth Govind Das said:

This house seems divided into two groups on this issue. One accepts Hindi in Devanagari script to be the official language of the country but it wants to postpone the replacement of English by Hindi to the remotest possible date. The other group wants Hindi to replace English at the earliest possible moment. I would like to draw the attention of the honourable Members to the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee-in this respect. The Working Committee wants that every attempt should be made completely to replace English by Hindi within the period of fifteen years so that English may have no place at all here after fifteen years. But Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar has told us in his speech today that English may have to be retained for long, even after fifteen years. I must tell him that we do not agree to this. Our definite opinion is that if English is at all to go from the country it must go at the earliest possible moment. We are accepting an interim period of fifteen years during which English should be replaced by Hindi. But this does not mean that during

this period English cannot at all be replaced by Hindi in any sphere.²⁴

Although the names of other Indian languages also came up as the language of the Union,²⁵ the most of the Members supported Hindi as the language of India. It was quite natural that the complaint should come from non-Hindi speaking people. Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar from Madras said:

It is much more the spirit that actuate the people that is so difficult to meet. It is not even the things that are said—we have given up our language in favour of Hindi—but the way in which the Hindi speaking people treat us and the way in which they want to demand things that is more galling than anything which actually is done or is going to be done. That is the way in which it is said—'Of course you ought to accept'. That is the thing that exasperates us. I appeal to the North Indian people not to take up that attitude, to have a feeling that we are all living together in a common country, we have to create a nation—there is no such thing now—and that unless there is give and take, unless there are also prepared to adjust themselves and not demand everybody to adjust according to their dictates. It is only then that India can proceed and can be successful and form a united nation.

Otherwise I shudder to think what may be the future for us. There ought to be accommodation. I need not to say that history has taught us that if there is trouble the outlying places will always try to take advantage of the trouble. We have the example of Burma and other countries. Supposing tomorrow there is some difficulty here, what will be the position? Unless you weld the

nation and you make everybody feel that they have got a share in the country and it is their country, unless you do that, if you go on keeping the spirit of domination of one part over the other, I am sure the result is not going to be for the progress or for the safety of the country. ...with these words, I appeal again to the Hindi speaking people to give up their attitude of domination and of dictation and to adjust themselves.²⁶

There was another voice of the concrete uneasiness. Shri Shankarrao Deo said:

...if today Hindi is so much valued and people prefer it to any other language, it is not because it is superior to other languages but it is a means to get a job. When I come here, I cannot speak in Marathi, except in the Marathi Club but it can not give me a job.²⁷

Even those who supported Hindi as the language of the Union, there was variety of opinions in the way of an interpretation of the word 'Hindi'. Shri R. V. Dhulekar supported "unqualified adoption of Hindi in Devanagari script and Hindi Numerals, for no other language can be the official language of India, not even for a minute."²⁸ Mr. Frank Anthony supported "Hindi in the Roman Script"²⁹ The most important discussion was whether the word 'Hindi' includes 'Hindustani' or not. Shrimati G Dugabai said:

We have agreed to adopt Hindi in the Devanagari script, but I must remind the House that we have agreed to the adoption of Hindi in the Devanagari script, subject to certain conditions. ...whatever be the name of the language-I do not propose to speak about the controversy about Hindi versus Hindustani-whatever name you may

give it, it must be all inclusive and therefore the clause concerned in Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyengar's draft should commend itself to the House and the House should unhesitatingly and unanimously agree to that clause. That language should be capable absorbing the words which are already in use, whether of Urdu or any other regional language.³⁰

In this connection, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee mentioned:

...a lot of talk is going on about what is meant by Hindi. There cannot be any artificial political forces or forces created by statutory provisions dictating as to how a language is to be shaped. A language will be shaped in natural course of events, in spite of current controversies, in spite of individuals, however big or however eminent for the time being they may be. It is the people's will that creates changes; they come naturally and often imperceptibly. It is not a resolution of the Constitution Assembly which will decide the supremacy of a language. If you want that Hindi is really occupy an All-India position and not merely replace English for certain official purposes, you make Hindi worthy of that position and allow it to absorb by natural process words and idioms not only from Sanskrit but also from other sister languages of India.³¹

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru also said:

...may I say a word or two about this business of Hindustani and Urdu and Hindi. We have accepted in this amendment the word 'Hindi', I have no objection to the word 'Hindi'. I like it. I was a little afraid that it might signify some constricted and restricted meaning to the others. I was afraid about this. I

thought the word 'Hindi', which I like, might appeal to others also. I know, many honourable Members here know, and persons coming from the United Provinces know, that they can with a fair measure of facility speak in what might be called Urdu and can speak with equal facility and flow in what might be called fairly pure Hindi. They can do both. It is rather interesting and it is right that we should know both, with the result that they have got a rich and fine vocabulary. I do not know whether your experience has been the same or not. We find that in a particular subject or type of subjects Urdu suits us better; it suits the genius of that subject a little better. My point is that I want both these instruments which strengthen Hindi that is going to be developed as our official and national language of the country. Let us keep in touch with the people. That is a good practice. If you do that, then you will keep all the other avenues open. Then the language develops. Without any sense of pressure from anybody, without any sense of coercion, it takes shape in the minds of millions of people. They gradually mould it and give it shape.³²

In this connection, some people insisted that the name 'Hindustani' should be taken. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said:

It was on my suggestion that, about a quarter of century ago, the All-India-Congress Committee, when the question was before it, decided in favour of Hindustani. The object behind the decision was that in this language question we should not act with narrow-mindedness; rather we should try to extend its field. By adopting the name of "Hindustani" we had tried to do away with the differences that separated Urdu and Hindi, because when we try to

speak in or write easy Hindi and easy Urdu then both becomes identical, and the distinction of Hindi and Urdu disappears. In the new framework of this easy vehicle of expression you can coin as many new words and new phrases as you please; there would be no obstacle. Besides, by adopting the name of Hindustani we leave untouched that vast and extensive field which the people of North India have created for their language. We do not put any check or obstacle upon them from above.³³

Explaining why 'Hindi in Devanagari script' was taken in spite of the Congress's agreement to make 'Hindustani' as the national language in India, Qazi Syed Karimuddin said:

In 1947 the Indian National Congress had agreed to make Hindustani, written both in Devanagari and Urdu script as the national language of India, but today we are told that only Hindi in Devanagari script could be the national language. The reason for this change is, as I have already told you, that after partition in 1947 Pakistan declared Urdu to be its national language, and so its reaction in India has been that Hindi in Devanagari script is being adopted.³⁴

In spite of their insistence, Hindi in Devanagari script was chosen as the official language of India with the conditions international form of Indian numeral and fifteen years' continuance of the English language for the official purposes, and Draft Constitution PART XIV-A-LANGUAGE got written into the constitution as PART XVII OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.

2 Language under the Constitution

(1) Articles dealing with language

The Constitution Assembly of India passed its language policy resolution in September, 1949. It became the Fundamental Law of India on January 26, 1950, when the Constitution commenced to be operative.

Articles dealing with language are as follows:^{3 5}

Articles 29 and 30 provides Cultural and Educational Rights:

Article 29. Protection of interests of minorities.

Art. 29 (1) gives the right to conserve a distinct language, script or culture. (2) orders not to be denied admission into any State-owned or aided educational institutions on grounds of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

Article 30. Right of minorities to establish and administer educational institution.

Art. 30 (1) provides for all minorities, whether based on religion or language, the right to established and administer educational institutions of their choice. (2) orders, in granting aid to educational institutions, no discrimination against any educational institutions on the grounds of their minority character, whether based on religion or language.

Article 120. Language to be used in Parliament.

Art. 120 (1) mentions that language to be used in Parliament shall be Hindi or English and, as case may be, a mother-tongue may be permitted.

Article 210. Language to be used in the Legislature.

Art. 210 (1) mentions that language to be used in the Legislature

shall be official language or languages of the State or in Hindi or in English and, as case may be, a mother-tongue may be permitted.

Part X V II (Arts. 343 to 351) of the Constitution provides the mention of Official Language:

Chapter I -Language of the Union (Arts. 343 to 344):

Article 343. Official language of the Union.

Art. 343 (1) lays down that 'the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in the Devanagari script' (so far as letters of the alphabet are concerned). The form of numerals to be used for official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals. And (2) lays down that for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution (January 26, 1950), the English language shall continue, to be used for all official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement. But it intends that the use of English will be restricted as Hindi gets ready to take over, for it empowers the President to authorise, during this period of fifteen years, the use of the Hindi language in addition to English for any of the official purposes of the Union. This article also does not intend a sudden switch-over to Hindi at the cost of public convenience, and so it says that (if necessary) Parliament may, by law, provide for the use, after the said period of fifteen years, of the English language for such purposes as may be specified in the law.³⁶

Article 344. Commission and Committee of Parliament on official language.

Art. 344 provides for the constitution of a commission to make recommendations as to the progressive use of the Hindi language for official purposes of the Union and as to any needed restrictions on the

use of English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union. (The first commission named Official Language Commission was appointed in pursuance of Article 344 on June 7, 1955 and it submitted its report on July 31 1956).³⁷

Chapter II -Regional Languages (Arts.345 to 347):

Article 345. Official language or languages of a State

Art. 345 provides for the adoption of any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the official language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State. The article proceeds to say that English shall continue to be used for these official purposes within the state for which it was being used before the commencement of the Constitution (1950) until the legislature by law adopts any of the regional languages as the official language of the state. It is envisaged that the languages in use in the state may even be other than those mentioned in VIII Schedule.³⁸

Article 346. Official language for communication between one State and another or between a State and the Union.

Art. 346 relates to the official language for communication between one state and another or between a state and the Union. It says that the language for the time being authorised for use in the Union for official purposes shall be the official language for communication between one state and another state and between a state and the Union. But there is a note of urgency about the use of Hindi and it has been provided that if two or more States agree that Hindi should be the official language for communication between such States then that language may be used for such communication.³⁹

Gopi Nath Srivastava mentions about above-mentioned articles:

These Articles have, however, caused some confusion and some people have tried to read in them what is actually not there. It is argued that under these Articles it is open to a state to adopt Hindi only as the official language to the exclusion of any one or more of its regional languages creating conflict and emotional resentment among the people of the state. This is in fact giving a twist to the meaning of these Articles. States are free to adopt their regional languages as their official language to the exclusion of Hindi, if so they desire. Article 345 recognises the right of the largest linguistic group in a state to make the language spoken by it the official language of the state. It also permits the adoption of more than one language as the official language and that language may well be the language of a minority group. ⁴⁰

Article 347. Special provision relating to language spoken by a section of the population of a State.

Art. 347 says that on a demand being made, in that behalf the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a state desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that state, direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout the state or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify.⁴¹

This mention "gives the right to linguistic minorities of a state to apply to the President for recognition of their language by that state for official purposes. But apparently such recognition can be given only when the minority language fulfills certain conditions." ⁴²

Chapter III -Language of the Supreme Court, High Courts, etc. (Arts.

348 to 349):

Article 348. Language to be used in the Supreme Court and in the High Courts for Acts Bills.

Art. 348 pertains to the language to be used in the Supreme Court and in the High Courts and for Acts and Bills etc. This article provides certain safeguards against possible confusion during the transition period of change-over from English to Hindi so far as the Court language is concerned.⁴³

Article 349. Special procedure for enactment of certain laws relating to language.

Art. 349 relates to the special procedure for enactment of certain laws relating to language.⁴⁴

It shows that "care was taken Constitution framers to see that, so far as the law courts are concerned, there should be no ambiguity as to the Union language policy. The continuance of English in fields where it is absolutely to do so in the interests of accuracy and precision, till the regional languages and/or Hindi take over, has been emphasised. A distinction between the needs of a language for the deliberative purposes of the Parliament and the State legislatures and for their actual work of enactment has been made. Similarly, in the field of the judiciary, the needs of language for the proceedings of a law court have been distinguished from those for giving judgements or passing orders or decrees.

The safeguard provided in the Article ensures that the language of all proceedings in the Supreme Court and of Bills in Parliament shall continue to be English only, until Parliament by laws otherwise provides (Article 349). It is further provided that if a State legislature

prescribes a language other than English for use in Bills etc; an authorised translation in English is to be made to serve as an authoritative text thereof in the English language.”⁴⁵

Chapter IV -Special Directives (Arts 350 to 351):

Article 350. Language to be used in representations for redress of grievances.

Art. 350 entitles any person to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or the state in any of the languages used in the Union or in the state as the case may be.⁴⁶

Article 350A. Facilities for instruction in mother-tongue at primary stage.

Art.350A provides for facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups.⁴⁷

Article 350B. Special Officer for linguistic minorities.

Art. 350B provides for the appointment of a special officer for linguistic minorities to investigate all matters relating to safeguards for linguistic minorities.⁴⁸

Arts. 350A&B “have been inserted in the Constitution (VII Amendment) with a view to safeguarding the interests of the linguistic minorities which came into existence particularly as the result of the reorganisation of the States.”⁴⁹

Article 351. Directive for development of the Hindi language.

Art. 351 is the most relevant article giving a directive to the Government of the Union regarding:

(a) promoting the spread of Hindi;

- (b) developing it so as to serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India;
- (c) securing its enrichment by assimilating without interference 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 whenever necessary, or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

This Article thus defines Hindi, the official language of the Union, and in so doing touches the various aspects of the language problem, such as its form, its style, its relationship with the fifteen languages specified in VIII Schedule and the need to develop it and to enrich it to make fit for use as the official language of the Union.⁵⁰

In addition to these articles, the following Articles also provides the safeguards for linguistic minorities:

Article 14. Equality before law.

Article 15. Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

Article 16. Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment.

These Articles "did not specifically pertain to linguistic minorities, but since Article 350B (2), under which the office of the Commissioner was created, did not restrict his activities to certain Articles and required him 'to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under this Constitution', he was free to extend his investigation to matters coming under the purview of any other article than those directly relating to linguistic

minorities”⁵¹

(2) Organisations for Linguistic Minorities

The founding fathers of the Constitution were aware of the linguistic multiplicity of the country. They provided “for built-in safeguards for linguistic minorities in the shape of Articles 29, 30, 347, 350, in the Constitution. Then came the States Reorganisation Commission (SRC).”⁵²

The government of India appointed it dated December 29, 1953 “with a view to recommending reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis, having due regard to the preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India, as also to financial, economic administrative considerations.”⁵³

The SRC was alive to the twin responsibilities. Firstly, “avoidance of overemphasis on too many safeguards for linguistic minorities which would tend to keep the minority consciousness alive and thereby hamper the growth of a common nationhood.”⁵⁴ Secondly, by the need to give sufficient opportunity for development so that linguistic minorities do not suffer from a sense of neglect or discrimination.”⁵⁵ They, therefore, made recommendations keeping in view the following broad principles and objectives:

(i) as the problem of linguistic minorities is common to

unilingual as well as polyglot areas, the measures to be adopted should be such as can be applied to linguistic as well as composite States;

(ii) While minorities are entitled to reasonable safeguards to

protect their educational, cultural and other interests, it has to be borne in mind that such safeguards should not so operate as to perpetuate separatism or to impede the processes of natural assimilation;

- (iii) the system of guarantees to minorities should not be such as to lend itself to misuse by parties interested in promoting a sense of disloyalty to the state; and
- (iv) it should be clearly understood that a State in which a particular language group constitutes the majority cannot be considered to be the custodian of the interests of all people speaking that language, even when they are residents of other States.^{5 6}

The Constitutional safeguards and the modes of their practical implementation agreed to at the national level "have been devised following the spirit of the above principles and objectives."^{5 7}

There were, however, some limitations. "The scheme of redistribution of State Territories recommended by the SRC brought together people speaking a common language and to that extent it reduced the number of linguistic minorities. But that was not going to solve the problem of linguistic minorities even after the linguistic principles were applied very rigidly. The SRC came across obvious limitations to the realisation of unilinguism at the State level because of the following factors:

- (i) Not all the language groups are so placed that they can be grouped into separate States;
- (ii) There are a large number of bilingual belts between different linguistic zones; and

(iii) There exist areas with a mixed population even within unilingual areas.

During the course of examination, the SRC was impressed by the need of according to the linguistic minorities sufficient opportunity for development so that they may not suffer from a sense of neglect or discrimination.”⁵⁸

The SRC recommended the reorganisation of the States in its Report dated September 30, 1955 and the States were reorganised in 1956.

Its Report resulted in the amendment of the Constitution (7th Amendment Act, 1956) which, inter-alia, inserted Article 350A&B in the Constitution.

Article 350B “provided for the appointment of a Special Officer to investigate all matters relating to the constitutional safeguards for the linguistic minorities. In pursuance of the amendment, Office of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities was created on July 30, 1957. The Commissioner submitted his first report on December 23, 1958 which was placed on the Table of both the House of Parliament. It has become a regular practice for these reports to be presented before Parliament. They deal with complains and suggestions received from individuals and organisations regarding the implementation or non-implementation of constitutional and other safeguards. Notwithstanding the difficulties often faced by the Commission in securing ready compliance, it has proved beneficial to the linguistic minorities for the redressal of their grievances.”⁵⁹

(3) Importance of education through mother tongue

The States Reorganisation Commission recognized that "while 'the Constitution guarantees to the minorities the right to private schools, it does not specifically recognize the right to instruction in the mother-tongues in public schools.' The exercise of the former right depended on the availability of resources, and the Commission felt that 'linguistic minorities do not have the resources required to establish and maintain their own educational institutions particularly in rural areas.' The Commission, therefore, suggested that 'a positive duty should be cast on the State to provide facilities to the minorities for education in the mother-tongue at the primary school stage.'" ⁶⁰

The Congress Working Committee had already made the same realization and as early as August 1949, the Working Committee passed "a resolution on the question of language for administrative and educational purposes and stated particularly that every child should get instruction at the primary stage in his mother-tongue which should be according to the wishes of the guardian or parents of the child. This direction was meant specially to apply to minority groups and their languages. This was repeated and clarified in subsequent resolutions of the Working Committee in May 1953 and April 1954." ⁶¹

In August 1949, the Provincial Educational Ministers' Conference also discussed the subject and "insofar as it related to education through mother-tongue at the primary stage of education, was recommended for constitutional recognition by the SRC." ⁶²

The Constitution had not yet been finalised when this resolution came before State Governments as a document of educational policy regarding the linguistic minorities, but for some reasons as we have seen in the Constituent Assembly Debate, it was not incorporated in the

Constitution. It was recommendatory, and from the experience of a few years as gathered by the Commission, it appeared that the advice contained in the resolution should be given a legal form. The commission recommended that 'constitutional recognition should be given' to it.⁶³

In June 1956, the All India Congress Committee accepted the recommendations of the SRC "in regard to serious safeguards for linguistic minorities and more particularly, referred to the constitutional recognition of the right of the linguistic minorities to instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage, the liberalisation of the facilities for education in the secondary stage, the recognition of minority languages as optional media for examinations regulating entry into public services of the State."⁶⁴ According to the recommendation of the SRC, in connection with the mother-tongue education, Article 350 A of the Constitution was inserted to by parliament in 1956.

(4) Other safeguards for Linguistic Minorities

The safeguards for linguistic minorities in India derive their authority from two sources. One of them is the Constitution of India, and the other is the Scheme of safeguards agreed to at the all-India level from time to time. The other safeguards agreed to at the National level from time to time are contained in the decisions arrived at various Conferences, etc., such as Provincial Education Ministers' Conference 1949, Government of India Memorandum 1956, Statement on Language 1958, Southern Zonal Council Decisions 1959, Chief Ministers' Conference 1961 and Meeting of the Committee of Vice-Chairman of Zonal

Councils 1961.

(i) Provincial Education Ministers' Conference of 1949-The first all-India decision at the Government level recognising the right of the linguistic minorities to have instruction through the mother-tongue was taken at the Conference of the Provincial Education Ministers in August 1949. The Resolution adopted at this conference is binding on all the Government, Municipal and District Board schools. The Resolution concerning primary education through the mother-tongue has already been accorded constitutional recognition through Article 350A of the Constitution.⁶⁵

(ii) Government of India Memorandum of 1956-While facilities for instruction in mother-tongue at the primary stage of education have been given constitutional recognition by Article 350A of the Constitution, other important recommendations, such as, use of minority languages at different levels of State administration, simplification of the domicile tests for the benefit of the minority groups and relaxation of the requirement of knowledge of the regional language as a pre-requisite for entry into State services, were embodied in a Memorandum issued by the Government of India in consultation with the Chief Ministers of the States. The Memorandum was laid on the tables of both the Houses of Parliament and sent to all the States.⁶⁶

(iii) State on Language of 1958-As a result of a number of representations received from the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, the Government of India issued a Press Note declaring the position of Urdu in July 1958. In this Press Note, various facilities provided to the speakers of Urdu have been enunciated, particularly for those areas and regions where Urdu language was prevalent.⁶⁷

(iv) Southern Zonal Council Decisions of 1959-In 1959, the Southern Zonal Council took important decisions with regard to safeguards for linguistic minorities in different fields, and for their implementation. It is significant that some of the decisions taken in the meeting were subsequently accepted in principle by the Chief Ministers' Conference of 1961.⁶⁸

(v) Chief Ministers' Conference of 1961-The meeting of the Chief Ministers of States and Central Ministers considered the scheme of safeguards for linguistic minorities in the broader context of national integration in August 1961. The decisions arrived at in the Conference generally follow the principles contained in the Memorandum of 1956. The Statement issued by the Conference, was also laid on the tables of both the Houses of Parliament and was sent to all the State Governments. It gives a comprehensive scheme of safeguards and mode of their practical implementation agreed to at the national level for the linguistic minorities.⁶⁹

(vi) Committee of Vice-Chairmen of Zonal Councils of 1961-The Vice-Chairmen of Northern, Western, Eastern, Central and Southern Zones, in their meeting held in November 1961, decided about the pattern of the agency for the implementation of safeguards for linguistic minorities at Zonal, State and district levels.⁷⁰

3 National Policy on Education-Development of language

The Government Resolution of 18th January, 1968, on the Languages Policy were adopted by both the Houses of Parliament, which has been incorporated in the National Policy on Education, 1968. The PARLIAMENT

RESOLUTION ON LANGUAGE 1968 emphasised as follows:

“WHEREAS under article 343 of the Constitution Hindi shall be the official language of the Union, and under article 351 thereof it is the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi Language and to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India;

This House resolves that a more intensive and comprehensive programme shall be prepared and implemented by the Government of India for accelerating the spread and development Hindi, and its progressive use for various official purposes of the Union, and an annual assessment report giving details of the measures taken and the progress achieved shall be laid on the Table of both Houses of Parliament, and sent to all State Government;

2. WHEREAS the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution specifies 14 major languages of India besides Hindi, and it is necessary in the interest of the educational and cultural advancement of the country that concerted measures should be taken for the full development of these languages;

This House resolves that a programme shall be prepared and implemented by the Government of India, in collaboration with the State Governments for the coordinated development of all these languages, alongside Hindi so that they grow rapidly in richness and become effective means of communicating modern knowledge;

3. WHEREAS it is necessary for promoting the sense of unity and facilitating communication between people in different parts of the country that effective steps should be taken for implementing

fully in all States the three-language formula evolved by the Government of India in consultation with the State Governments;

This House resolves that arrangements should be made in accordance with that formula for the study of a modern Indian language, preferably one of the southern languages, apart from Hindi and English in the Hindi-speaking areas and of Hindi along with the regional languages and English in the non-Hindi-speaking areas;

4. AND, WHEREAS it is necessary to ensure that the just claims and interests of people belonging to different parts of the country in regard to the public services the Union are fully safeguarded;

This House resolves;

- (a) That compulsory knowledge of either Hindi or English shall be required at the stage of selection of candidates for recruitment to the Union services or posts for which a high standard of knowledge of English alone or Hindi alone, or both as the case may be, is considered essential for the satisfactory performance of the duties of any such service or post; and
- (b) That all the languages included in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution and English shall be permitted as alternative media for the all-India and higher central services examinations after ascertaining the views of the Union Public Service Commission on the future scheme of the examinations, the procedural aspects and the timing.”⁷¹

In the same year, NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION 1968 was declared.

It mentioned the development of languages as follows:

(a) Regional Languages.—The energetic development of Indian languages and literature is a sine qua non for educational and cultural development. Unless this is done, the creative energies of the people will not be released, standards of education will not improve, knowledge will not spread to the people, and the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses will remain, if not widen further. The regional languages are already in use as media of education at the primary and secondary stages. Urgent steps should now be taken to adopt them as a media of education at the university stage.

(b) Three-Language Formula.—At the secondary stage, the 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, and of Hindi along with the regional language and English in the non-Hindi-speaking States. Suitable courses in Hindi and/or English should also be available in universities and colleges with a view to improving the proficiency of students in these languages up to the prescribed university standards.

(c) Hindi.—Every effort should be made to promote the development of Hindi. In developing Hindi as the link language, due care should be taken to ensure that it will serve, as provided for in Article 351 of the Constitution, as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India. The

establishment, in non-Hindi States, of colleges and other institutions of higher education which use Hindi as the medium of education should be encouraged.

(d) Sanskrit.—Considering the special importance of Sanskrit to the growth and development of Indian languages and its unique contribution to the cultural unity of the country facilities for its teaching at the school and university stages should be offered on a more liberal scale. Development of new methods of teaching the languages should be encouraged, and the possibility explored of including the study of Sanskrit in those courses (such as modern Indian languages, ancient Indian history, Indology and Indian philosophy) at the first and second degree stages, where such knowledge is useful.

(e) International Languages.—Special emphasis needs to be paid on the study of English and other international languages. World knowledge is growing at a tremendous pace, especially in science and technology. India must not only keep up this growth but should also make her own significant contribution to it. For this purpose, study of English deserves to be specially strengthened.^{7 2}

After this policy, the Government of India declared NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION 1986. It also mentioned the development of languages, which has basically no further mention, as follows:

8.7 The Education Policy of 1968 had examined the question of the development of languages in great detail; its essential provisions can hardly be improved upon and are as relevant today as before. The implementation of this part of the 1968 Policy has,

however, been uneven. The Policy will be implemented more energetically and purposefully.⁷³

After this, the Programme of Action '86 drawn up in relation to the National Policy on Education, 1986, has identified for language development the following thrust areas, needing priority attention:-

- Progressive adoption of modern Indian Languages/regional languages as media of instruction at the University stage;
- effective implementation of the Three Language Formula;
- improvement in the language competencies of students;
- translation of books and preparation of bilingual and multi-lingual dictionaries;
- development of Hindi as link language;
- promotion of inter-disciplinary research in Sanskrit and Indology;and
- Policy planning for language development.⁷⁴

After this, the Programme of Action '92 was declared, but "the Policy in respect of development of languages as contained in NPE 1986 has been reiterated without change in the Revised Policy Formulations."⁷⁵

After National Policy on Education 1986 was declared, there is no new national policy on education. But same department (MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION) has published annual report and some mention which has relations with the development of language can be seen in the report of 1997 as follows:

1.10.1 Language being the most important medium of communication and education their development occupies an important place in the National Policy on Education and Programme of Action. Therefore,

promotion and development of the Hindi and other 17 Indian languages listed in the Schedule VIII of the Constitution including Sanskrit and Urdu on the one hand and English as well as other foreign languages on the other hand received due attention. In fulfilling this constitutional responsibility, the Department of Education monitors the functioning of its subordinate offices and autonomous organisation.⁷⁶

4 Three language formula

On the recommendation of the States Reorganization Commission, the Government of India considered the question of laying down a clear policy and taking more effective steps in regard to the use and place of the mother-tongue at the secondary stage of education. As a result of this, the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) accepted the recommendations of the All India Council for Secondary Education that provision should be made for the compulsory study of three-languages at the secondary stage of education in its Twenty-third meeting held in January 1956. The CABE devised an alternative formula known as the Three-language Formula and resolved to invite the opinion of the State Governments on the advisability of adopting either of the following two formula and also desired that the State Governments should communicate their recommendations by the end of April 1956;

First Formula

- (a) (i) Mother-tongue or (ii) regional language, (iii) a composite course of mother-tongue and regional language, or (iv) a composite course of mother-tongue and classical

language, or (v) a composite course of regional language and classical language;

- (b) English or a modern European Language; and
- (c) a modern Indian or a modern European language provided it has not already been taken under (a) and (b) above.

Second Formula

- (a) As above;
- (b) English or a modern European Language; and,
- (c) Hindi (for non-Hindi speaking areas or another modern Indian language (for Hindi speaking areas)).⁷⁷

In its Twenty-fourth meeting held in January, 1957, the C.A.B.E. reviewed the opinions expressed by the State Governments about the two formulae and the recommendations made by the Conference of Education Ministers in September 1956. The Board noted that there was a substantial measure of agreement on the principal recommendation underlying both the formulae namely, the provision for compulsory study of three languages at the secondary stage. The Board further observed that the preponderant weight of opinion among State Governments was in favour of the second formula and, therefore, decided to invite the attention of the Government of India for its acceptance as the basis of an all-India policy in this behalf and that all State Governments should consider taking necessary decision so as to give effect to this all-India Policy with due regard to local conditions. The Education Ministry, Government of India, in consultation with the State Governments adopted during 1957-58 the Three-language Formula as recommended by the C.A.B.E. It was found that the majority of the States adopted the second formula.⁷⁸

A three language formula had been evolved by the Government of India, in consultation with the State Governments, for adoption at the secondary stage of education for teaching language subjects. The Three-language Formula, in vogue, was simplified and issued by the Chief Ministers' Conference of 1961 as under:

- (i) The regional language and mother-tongue when the latter is different from the regional language;
- (ii) Hindi, or in Hindi-speaking areas another Indian language; and
- (iii) English or any other modern European language.⁷⁹

Implementation of the Simplified Three Language Formula has led to certain difficulties as observed in the report of the Education Commission 1964-66 (Kothari Commission) which proposed a modified three-language formula.⁸⁰

In the Resolution on language 1968, which has been incorporated in the National Policy on Education, 1968, Parliament has resolved about the Three-language Formula.⁸¹ The National Policy on Education 1986 also has endorsed this provision about teaching of languages. (see NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION-DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE) Namely:

- (i) in Hindi speaking areas, the Three language Formula should be Hindi, English and a modern Indian Language (preferably one of the Southern languages), and
- (ii) in non-Hindi speaking areas, Hindi, English and the regional language.

It has been observed by the Commissioner for linguistic Minorities that the simplified Three-language Formula has in practice become a four-language formula for non-Hindi-Speaking pupils in non-Hindi-

speaking areas. However, the simplified Three-language Formula continues to be the basis of the policy of the Government for the study of languages at secondary stage of education.⁸²

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- 2 Ibid. p 16. From Advisory Committee Proceedings, Select Documents, Vol.II , p 278.
- 3 Ibid. p 16, From Select Documents, Vol.II , p 281.
- 4 Ibid. p 16.
- 5 Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol.3, 28th April-2nd May 1947, p 503.
- 6 Ibid. p 505.
- 7 Ibid. pp 507-508.
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- 9 Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. 7 4th Nov.-8th Jan. 1948-1949, pp 893-894.
- 10 Ibid. p 897.
- 11 Ibid. pp 897-898.
- 12 Ibid. p 900.
- 13 Ibid. pp 900-901.
- 14 Ibid. p 901.
- 15 Ibid. pp 901-902.
- 16 Ibid. p 918.
- 17 Ibid. p 905.
- 18 Ibid. p 909.
- 19 Ibid. pp 913-914, 916.

20 Ibid. pp 922-924.

21 Constituent Assembly Debate, Vol.9, 30th Jul.-18th Sep.1949, p 1312.

22 Ibid. p 1416. Speech from Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla.

23 Ibid. p 1318.

24 Ibid. p 1326.

25 Ibid. For example, Shri Satis Chandra Samanta proposed that "Bengali should taken as the official or national language of India" (p 1375) and Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra was convinced that "if on the attainment of freedom, this country is to have at all anything like an official language which is also to be the national language of the country, it is undoubtedly Sanskrit" .(p 1352).

26 Ibid. p 1375.

27 Ibid. pp 1433-1434.

28 Ibid. p 1352.

29 Ibid. p 1363.

30 Ibid. pp 1427-1428.

31 Ibid. p 1391.

32 Ibid. p 1415.

33 Ibid. pp 1454-1455.

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35 The Constitution of India,[As on the 1st June, 1996]. Whole the articles which I mentioned in this dissertation are cited from this document.

36 Gopi Nath Srivastava, The language Controversy and the Minorities, (Atma Ram & Sons, 1970), pp 5-6.

37 Ibid. p 6.

38 Ibid. p 7.

- 39 Ibid. pp 7-8.
- 40 Ibid. p 8.
- 41 Ibid. p 8.
- 42 Ibid. p 8.
- 43 Ibid. p 8.
- 44 Ibid. p 8.
- 45 Ibid. pp 8-9.
- 46 Ibid. p 9.
- 47 Ibid. p 9.
- 48 Ibid. p 9.
- 49 Ibid. p 9.
- 50 Ibid. pp 9-10. According to the latest available Constitution of India,[As on the 1st June, 1996], Eighth Schedule, about which there are mentions in Arts. 344(1) and 351, consists of 18 languages. 1. Assamese, 2 Bengali, 3 Gujarati, 4 Hindi, 5 Kannada, 6 Kashmiri, 7 Konkani, 8 Malayalam, 9 Manipuri, 10 Marathi, 11 Nepali, 12 Oriya, 13 Punjabi, 14 Sanskrit, 15 Sindhi, 16 Tamil, 17 Telugu, 18 Urdu. No. 7, 9 and 11 were inserted by the Constitution (Seventy-first Amendment) Act, 1992. No. 15 was added by the Constitution (Twenty-first Amendment) Act, 1967.
- 51 Ram Gopal, Linguistic Affairs of India, (Asia Publishing House, 1966), p 125.
- 52 The Twenty-Ninth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India,(For the period July, 1988 to June, 1989), (Government of India, New, Delhi, 1992), p 3.
- 53 Report of the Committee for Promotion of Urdu 1975, (Ministry of Human Resources Development, Government of India, 1990); p 26.

- 54 The Twenty-Second Report by the Deputy Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India. For the period July 1981 to June 1982, (Government of India, New Delhi, 1984), p 217.
- 55 Ibid. p 217.
- 56 Ibid. p 217.
- 57 Ibid. p 217.
- 58 Ibid. p 1.
- 59 Report of the Committee for Promotion of Urdu 1975, (Ministry of Human Resources Development, Government of India, 1990), p 79.
- 60 Ram Gopal, Linguistic Affairs of India, (Asis Publishing House, 1966), pp 116-117.
- 61 "Indian National Congress : Language Policy" , Muslim India, (January, 1985), p 16.
- 62 The Twenty-Second Report by the Deputy Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India. For the period July 1981 to June 1982, (Government of India, New Delhi, 1984), p 14.
- 63 Ram Gopal, Linguistic Affairs of India, (Asis Publishing House, 1966) p 117
- 64 "Indian National Congress: Language Policy" , Muslim India, (January 1985), p 16.
- 65 The Twenty-Second Report by the Deputy Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India. For the period July 1981 to June 1982, (Government of India, New Delhi, 1984), pp 14-15.
- 66 Ibid. p 15.
- 67 Ibid. p 15.
- 68 Ibid. p 15.
- 69 Ibid. pp 15-16.

- 70 Ibid. p 16.
- 71 D. P. Pattanayak, Language Policy and Progorammes, (Ministry of Education and Youth Services, Government of India, New Delhi), pp 69-70.
- 72 Ibid. pp 67-68.
- 73 National Policy on Education-1986, (Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, Government of India, May 1986), p 21.
- 74 National Policy on Education-1986 Implementation Report, [Period Ending 30 June, 1988], (Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, Government of India, August 1988), p 34.
- 75 National Policy on Education-1986 Programme Of Action 1992, (Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, Government of India), p 94.
- 76 Annual Report, 1996-97, Part I , (Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, Government of India, 1997), p 10.
- 77 The Twenty-Second Report by the Deputy Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India. For the Period July 1981 to June 1982 (Government of India, New Delhi, 1984), pp 17-18.
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- 81 Ibid. p 19.
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III Urdu Language Policy in India

1 Constituent Assembly Debate on Urdu

The main discussion on the question of Urdu in the Constituent Assembly Debate was made during 12th September to 14th September 1949. The question of Urdu had been always seen in the controversy between Hindi and Urdu, or Hindustani, namely which language or languages should be the language of the Union. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the majority was favor of 'Hindi in Devanagari script'. Complaining this condition, Mohd. Hifzur Rahman said:

...my amendment relating to language is that in place of Hindi, Hindustani should be the national language of India and it should be written in both the scripts-Devanagari and Urdu. Moreover, wherever our esteemed Friend Gopaldaswami Ayyangar has mentioned "Hindi" , that should be replaced by "Hindustani" and for the word "Hindustani" "Hindi and Urdu" should be substituted. This Hindustani should be so developed that it may get an opportunity of full development. ...

When we look back, we find that during thirty years' battle of freedom which we fought under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, whenever the language problem was taken up, it was discussed fully. Today I am confused and confounded because till yesterday, the whole Congress was unanimous regarding the solution of the language problem. There was no dissenting voice. All said with one voice "Hindustani shall be the national language of our country, which shall be written in both the scripts, namely, Hindi and

Urdu.” But today they want to change it. ...

This will have to be accepted in clearest terms that the present Sanskritized form of language which is being proclaimed as the lingua franca of India can never be the national language of our country. Similarly that form of Urdu which is encrusted with Arabic and Persian words, can never be the language of our day to day life, market-place and business. This is the reason why Mahatmaji had rightly said “If there is any language which can be the language of the Union, it is Hindustani in which both Urdu and Hindi are incorporated.” Even Bengari words and expressions of other languages of India have been included in this language. ...

After all, tell me why this change has been made in the principles laid down by Mahatmaji and the decision of the Congress? I would like to say frankly that unfortunately the partition has caused this bad effect on our minds and it was the result of this fact which has made us oblivious of such an important principle. This is the reaction of the partition. And in this state of grief and anger, which is the outcome of their own hands and for which all must share the blame, they are showing their narrow-mindedness against a particular community of the Indian Union. They want to settle the language question in the atmosphere of political bigotry and do not want to solve this problem as the Language problem of a country.¹

In spite of this insistence, as I mentioned in previous chapter, finally 'Hindi in Devanagari script' was chosen as the officail language of India. The question that for the word 'Hindi' the word 'Hindustani' should be substituted was nagatived because the Assembly was divided

into Ayes:14 and Noes:The rest, a large majority.² In the same way, the question that after the word 'Devanagari' the word 'and Urdu' should be inserted was negated because the Assembly was divided into Ayes:12 and Noes:The rest, a large majority.³

2 National Policy on Education-Promotion of Urdu

As We have seen in previous chapter, National Policy on Education takes up development of languages. In addition to this, a number of scheme had been envisaged for the promotion of Urdu in the chapter of Minorities' Education of National Policy on Education 86 Programme of Action 92, which are as follows:

- * A centrally sponsored/central scheme to be launched in areas of minorities concentration to ensure the availability of Urdu knowing teachers in schools. Facilities for instruction through the medium of Urdu at the primary stage to be implemented effectively. Where the situation warrants on the basis of existing formula, the Urdu medium sections to be opened in the existing secondary schools. Urdu knowing teachers to be appointed for students offering Urdu as medium. The number of the belonging to educationally backward minority should be the criterion for the appointment of Urdu teachers in each class/school and also for starting Urdu medium schools. State Governments shall ensure that Urdu Textbooks are made available to the school students on time alongwith textbooks in English/Hindi. (Action:Deptt. of Education-Centre and States/UTs).⁴

- * Urdu teachers should be appointed in all the Kendriya Vidyalayas and Navodaya Vidyalayas located in minority concentration areas and arrangement for teaching Urdu as a subject should also be made in these schools with immediate effect. (Action:Deptt. of Education, Ministry of HRD).
- * The number of students belonging to educationally backward minority shall determine the appointment of Urdu teachers and teaching of Urdu as a subject and also for establishment of Urdu medium schools. (Action:State Governments).
- * In the schemes of Operation Blackboard, Adult Education and Non-formal Education and other such schemes where Urdu has been neglected so far should be given due importance and Urdu teachers/instructors should be appointed in schools in minority concentration areas and arrangement for Urdu facility should be made with immediate effect. (Action: Deptt. of Education, Ministry of HRD).
- * Centrally sponsored/Central scheme of Appointed of Urdu teachers in the States where Urdu is spoken by a substantial number of people with a view to a more effective implementation of the Three-Language Formula as envisaged in the 1968 Policy, NPE-1968 and NPE-1992. (Action: Deptt.of Education, Ministry of HRD).
- * Complains have been received that NCERT Urdu text books are not easily available at all or if available are not available on time. A time bound schedule should be prepared for publication and timely availability of Urdu textbooks along with those of Hindi and English. The Bureau for Promotion of Urdu should be directed to publish text books for primary and secondary classes

on priority basis in addition to the text books being published by NCERT. For this purpose special funds should be provided to BPU.(Action: Deptt. of Education, Ministry of HRD).

- * An Urdu Open University may be established with a view to cater to the needs of the Urdu speaking people.(Action:UGC).
- * NCERT should bring out Urdu text books along with those of Hindi and English. The Bureau for Promotion of Urdu should be directed to publish text books for primary and secondary classes on top-priority basis.(Action:Deptt. of Education, Ministry of HRD).
- * Where the situation warrants Urdu medium sections may be opened in the existing secondary schools. Urdu knowing teachers should be appointed in anticipation of students offering Urdu as a medium. This will give the Urdu speaking students an opportunity to mix freely in the schools with students whose mother tongue is not Urdu and will promote national integration. However, new Urdu medium secondary/higher secondary schools should be opened in areas of concentration of educationally backward minorities in special circumstances. In such Urdu medium schools also there should be provision for parallel section with regional language as a medium. (Action:States/UTs.).⁵

In addition to these scheme, it mentions that since Urdu speakers are widely dispersed in various states and Union Territories of the country, the Department of Education has special responsibility towards their promotion and development. Taraqqi-e-Urdu Board, an Advisory Body under the Chairmanship of Hon'ble Minister of Human Resource Development, assisted by Bureau for Promotion of Urdu (BPU), a subordinate office of the Department of Education, advises the

Department in promotion, propagation and development of Urdu.⁶

3 Organisation for promotion of Urdu

(1) National Council for Promotion of Urdu Language (NCPUL)

As I mentioned above, there are some organisations for promotion of Urdu. The Government has constituted the National Council for Promotion of Urdu Language (NCPUL) as an autonomous body to replace the Taraqi-e-Urdu Board (set up 1969) with a view to further broad-basing Urdu promotional activities. The NCPUL has become functional w.e.f 1st April, 1996. From the same date the Taraqi-e-Urdu Board has ceased to exist.⁷ With the operationalisation of the Council, the BPU has also ceased to exist.⁸

The NCPUL is engaged in “preparation of academic lecture in Urdu for the benefit of Urdu speaking people of the country. Financial assistance is provided to 48 Calligraphy Training Centres spread in different parts of the country. Out of the 12 volumes of Urdu Encyclopedia planned to be published, the first volume has been published and other are under preparation.”⁹

(2) Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu (Hind)

According to Jyotirindra Das Gupta, “The Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu (Hind) is the most important organisation serving the cause of Urdu in India.”¹⁰ In 1903, the Muslim Educational Conference set up its literary section and named it Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Hind).¹¹ This is the

parent organisation. It was formed to work for the development Urdu literature, but very soon it opened its political front to defend and help Urdu acquire its due status.¹² After the partition of India, according to the Jyotirindra Das Gupta, "It was split into two separate organizations one working in Pakistan and another in India. The reorganized Anjuman in India seeks to adopt all possible measures for promoting Urdu and "to popularize its simpler form, the Hindustani." Anyone interested in the progress of Urdu is entitled to be a member of the Anjuman. Technically, the governing body of this organization is referred to as "the Anjuman," and the number of the governing members varies from thirty to forty. Not all the members of this body are elected-five are nominated by the president of the organization and two by the government of India. The executive committee of the Anjuman consists of thirteen members. The chief executive officer of the Anjuman is the general secretary. The president of the reorganized Anjuman exercise powerful authority, although the normal organizational responsibilities are discharged by the general secretary. Among the architects of the reorganized Anjuman, two were especially important: Kazi Abdul Gaffar, the general secretary of the Anjuman in 1948; and Zakir Hussain, who served as its president from 1948 to 1956. The Anjuman has branches in ten states of India. Its major concentration of strength, however, is in Uttar Pradesh and its headquarters is in Aligarh. The reorganized Anjuman is different in many respects from its pre-partition predecessor. The changed political situation of the Indian Muslims has made it much less militant than before." ¹³

(3) The Committee for Promotion of Urdu (Gujral Committee)

The government of India resolution appointed the Committee for Promotion of Urdu on May 5, 1972. A part of the text of the Resolution is reproduced below:

“The Government Resolution of 18th January, 1968, on the Language Policy as adopted by both the Houses of Parliament emphasised that in the interest of the education and cultural advancement of the country, it was necessary to take up concerted measures for the full development of the 14 major languages of India besides Hindi. The Resolution further enjoined upon the Government to prepare and implement a programme, in collaboration with the State Governments, for the co-ordinated development of all these languages so that they grow rapidly in richness and become effective means of communicating modern knowledge. With assistance from Central Government, the various State Governments have taken up programmes for the development of the regional languages. Urdu, however, is not the concern of any one State Government or of any community. The responsibility for its development has also to be shared by the Central Government.

“It is, therefore, necessity that in addition to the steps already taken, further steps are taken urgently for the promotion and development of Urdu.

“Government of India have accordingly decided to set up a Committee for Promotion of Urdu with the following terms of reference:

“To advise the Government on the measures to be adopted for the promotion of Urdu languages and the steps required to be taken

to provide adequate facilities for Urdu-speaking people in educational, cultural and administrative matters.¹⁴

Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, the Union Minister of State for Education and Social Welfare, elucidating the background to the formation of the Committee, stated:

“Urdu is an important national language of India. it dose not belong to the any particular State and is widely spoken in the country by people belonging to all faiths, castes and creeds. It thus belongs to the whole nation and has an inter-State character. The Government of India, therefore, have always been alive to the need of providing adequate facilities for the promotion of Urdu. The Government set up in 1969 a Central Board named “Taraqqi-e-Urdu Board” with the Union Minister of Education as its Chairman, for advising Government on the production in Urdu of academic literature, science literature, children's literature, etc. An allocation rupees one crore has been made for the production of Urdu books under the guidance of the Board during the Forth Five-Year Plan. In addition, the Government of India are rendering financial assistance to voluntary organizations engaged in the promotion of Urdu and are also awarding annual prizes in respect of best books produced.

“The Government of India, however, feel that it is necessary to take more intensive measures for the promotion of Urdu. The Government have, therefore, decided to set up a Committee for the promotion of Urdu which will be expected to submit its report within six months of the date of its appointment.”¹⁵

The Chairman of the Committee, I. K. Gujral mentions about his

Committee that "Its purpose was to see what should be done for the Urdu speaking people. This Committee had four Vice-Chancellors and had include journalists, intellectuals, writers and poets. We had decided to separate two issues-firstly, to point out the facilities for the Urdu-speaking people; secondly, that whether or not Urdu gets the status of a second language. We should try to determine its status in administration, in education and in society. Basically, we wanted to make practicable suggestions." ¹⁶

(4) The Committee to Examine Implementation of the Recommendations of Gujral Committee for promotion of Urdu (Jafri Committee)

The Government had set up in February, 1990, "a Committee of experts under the Chairmanship of Shri Ali Sardar Jafri to examine implementation of recommendations of Gujral Committee for promotion of Urdu. The Committee submitted its Report to the Government on September 18, 1990." ¹⁷

Notes and References

- 1 Constituent Assembly Debate, Vol.9, 30th Jul.-18th Sep. 1949, pp 1339, 1342-1343.
- 2 Ibid. p 1478.
- 3 Ibid. p 1478.
- 4 National Policy on Education 1986 Programme Of Action 1992, (Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, Government of India) p 11.
- 5 Ibid. pp 12-15.
- 6 Ibid. p 96.
- 7 Annual Report, 1996-97, Part I , (Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, Government of India, 1997), p 188.
- 8 Ibid. p 156.
- 9 Ibid. p 188.
- 10 Jyotirindra Das Gupta, Language Conflict and National Development, (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1970), p 209.
- 11 "Khaliq Anjum on Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu's Activities" ,Muslim India, (September, 1995), p 414.
- 12 Ibid. p 414.
- 13 Jyotirindra Das Gupta, Language Conflict and National Development, (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1970), pp 209-210.
- 14 The Government of India Resolution No.F.15-25/72-L.1. Quoted in Report of the Committee for Promotion of Urdu 1975, (Ministry of Human Resources Development, Government of India, 1990), p 1.
- 15 Ibid. pp 1-2.

16 "Inder Kumar Gujral on Urdu" , Muslim India ,(January, 1986), p 18.

Source : Interview with Shahid Siddiqui, Editor, Nai Duniya, 1 October, 1985.

17 Annual Report, 1993-94, Part I , (Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education, Government of India, 1994), p 185.

IV Case Study of U.P.-Language Politics by U.P. Government

1 Constituent Assembly Debate on Urdu in U.P.

The situation of Urdu in UP in pre&post-independence era can be seen from the Constituent Assembly Debate, which came up in connection with the mother-tongue education and the official language in India. Mr. Z. H. Lari, when Draft Article 23 came in the Constituent Assembly Debate on 8th Dec. 1948, supported the mother-tongue education forcefully and took up the situation of Urdu as one of the reasons for it. As I mentioned 2 Chapter, showing Hindi and Urdu speaking population in UP, he mentioned that though one third students offered Urdu as their own language, a curriculum was published the result of which was absolute elimination of Urdu. He continued:

I was assured that that was the misapprehension. But when the classes opened in July 1948, I find that my reading was correct. My child of six, came and said: "Today my master asked me that I should do all the sums in Hindi and Hindi only." He was further told not to bring Urdu Book. I was surprised. On enquiry I found the same condition in all schools. I wrote letters to all concerned and I was assured again that a G.O. was being issued to the effect that whatever there was a demand by students for being taught in Urdu, this should be done. Subsequently I wrote a letter to the Principal of the College to make arrangements for teaching Urdu. I recieved a reply in the negative. He said no such arrangement can be made. Ultimately, when I forwarded that letter

to the Minister for Education, the reply came in October to the effect that arrangements can be made only when the majority of the guardians want that education in Urdu should also be imparted. The Resolution of the Government of India and all the answers given were intended for the facility of a minority which is less than 50 per cent, but that facility was denied and made dependent on will of the majority. The result is that in a Province wherein to use the words of that noble soul, our own Prime Minister, began the process which was to continue for several centuries for the development of a mixed culture in North India; Delhi and what are known now as the United Provinces became the Centre of this just as they had been and still continue to be the Centre of Old Aryan culture. They are the seat of the old Hindu culture as well as of the "Persian culture" , teaching of Urdu, the mainspring of Muslim culture has been banned. In Lucknow and in Allahabad, where Urdu-knowing public is of sufficient strength in fact in most places, so far as primary education is concerned, no arrangement has been made for teaching through the medium of one's own mother tongue. I know of Allahabad positively and of Lucknow too which is considered to be the centre of Urdu, so far as primary education is concerned, in those who places no arrangement exists whatsoever for teaching the children of the minorities through their mother tongue. Therefore this experience of mine in my own province shows that there is necessity for such a provision, and that such a provision should find a place in the Constitution.¹

In the Constituent Assembly Debate held on 12th Sept. 1949, discussing about the official language in India, Mohd. Hifzur Rahman

also mentioned:

...today here and now Hindustani is being replaced by Hindi and obviously steps are being taken against Ghandian ideology and against the thirty years' history of the Congress . Formerly Hindi was not considered to be outside the pale of Hindustani. But when the voice was raised that Hindi should be the language of the Union, then I realized the difference between Hindi and Hindustani. I learnt that by Hindi they mean that language which shall be Sanskritized and the words of Persian, Arabic and Urdu origins shall be excluded and they shall be substituted by new words.

Again and again assurances are forthcoming that this is not the case and that by Hindi they do not mean to exclude the current words and the words of Arabic, Persian and Urdu origins. They assert that such words shall not be excluded: nay, they shall remain as they are. We are consoled that these words shall exist. But take the example of U.P. As I have already pointed out in the party meeting in U.P. they have already declared Hindi as the language of the province and the State. The result is that new words are being coined and new methods are being adopted. Urdu words have been excluded and have been substituted by new words. ...This is my honest opinion that in Delhi and in U.P., which is a big Province, Urdu, the simple and easy language too, should have been the State language, for the simple reason that U.P. is the cradle of Urdu and it has been nursed and nurtured here. In the first place, Hindustani ought to be the State language in U.P. but if Hindi has been adopted, then Urdu also should be given the

status of second language, which like a State language should remain in use in educational institutions, High courts and Legislature. It may get a place there and may be used freely.²

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad also said:

Although Urdu had spread throughout the length and breadth of Northern India, yet in point of fact, U.P. was its place of birth and growth. After the down fall of Delhi, Lucknow became the centre of its activities, and in the 18th and 19th centuries, it gave to this country a fully developed language. If according to the previous decision of the Congress, "Hindustani" in two scripts would have been accepted, then the question of Urdu would not have been taken separately; for in that case according to the commonly accepted concept. Urdu would have been a part and parcel of "Hindustani" and to be sure, eventually after mutual assimilation the language would have taken a definite shape; this was not done and "Hindi" was adopted in place of "Hindustani". In the circumstances, fact and fair play demanded that Urdu should have been given official recognition at least in its place of birth, namely, U.P. But it has not been done and "Hindi" in one script has been accepted as the official language.³

In fact, situation of Urdu in U.P. had been getting worse after this. Then we will see the U.P. Government attitude towards Urdu.

2 U.P. Government attitude towards Urdu

(1) The denial of the official status of Urdu

After Independence, Hindi prevailed in U.P. The dominant political leadership was strongly committed to Hindi, and consequently there was no dispute about the substitution of Hindi for English.⁴ As Mohd. Hifzur Rahman mentioned above, "The only issue of contention was the status of Urdu and its acceptance as a second official language of the state." But from the outset, "the state government was staunchly opposed to it. The Government adopted an exclusivist Hindi-only policy. All the major leaders of the U.P. Congress-Tandon, Pant, Sampurnanand, C. B. Gupta, Charan Singh, Kamalapati Tripathi-opposed Urdu as a second language. Kamalapati Tripathi, a leader of the Nagari Pracharani Sabha (an organization devoted to the promotion of Hindi), and minister for education and information and later chief minister, elaborated the policy. Warning that Urdu's rivalry with Hindi would not be countenanced anymore as the country had already suffered immensely because of the controversy, he ruled out any safeguards for Urdu."⁵

Tandon, in 1948, "was a contestant in the election for president of the Indian National Congress but lost by a narrow margin. Soon, however, he was to capture this presidency. Personally he was an orthodox Hindu and politically he usually aligned himself with Hindu revivalist causes. Through patient organizational work he had established himself in the Congress politics in Uttar Pradesh and also as the most eminent spokesman of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan."⁶ He declared on 15 June 1948 in Sultanpur, "The Muslims must stop talking about a culture and civilization foreign to our culture and genius. They should accept Indian culture. One culture and one language will pave the way for real unity. Urdu symbolises a foreign culture. Hindi alone can be the unifying factor for all the diverse forces in the country."⁷

According to Zoya Hasan, "It is noteworthy that this policy commitment cuts across party lines. It was difficult to distinguish party positions on Hindi because they were so similar. All the major parties, ranging from the Congress, to the Jana Sangh, socialists and the Communist Party of India shared a forceful commitment to Hindi." ⁸ She continues:

The position of the Jana Sangh was the most extreme, but at a times the Jana Sangh and Congress positions were very analogous. The Jana Sangh openly blamed Urdu for sowing the seeds of the two-nation theory and condemned the Urdu movement as anti-national and separatist. It condemned the central government for trying to 'impose Urdu on UP'. To them Urdu was anti-national and it was 'the language of no region in India, it being only a foreign and unacceptable style of Hindi with a foreign script and a foreign vocabulary imposed on India during a period of foreign domination and now being supported by some communal elements'. Important leaders of the Praja Socialist party and the Samyukta Socialist party were actively involved in Hindi politics. Renowned socialist leader, Acharya Narendra Dev, was one of the most active leaders of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha and Ram Manohar Lohia's politics rested crucially on the advocacy of Hindi. The powerful consensus in favour of Hindi did not leave even the CPI unaffected. The CPI was vertically divided on the question of Hindi. Rahul Sankritayan was part of a group of Marxist intellectuals deeply committed to the promotion of Hindi.

The Constituent Assembly's measure was followed by the introduction of Hindi as the sole official language in Bihar (Official

Language Act 1950) and UP (Official Language Act 1951).⁹ It “deemed the use of Urdu impermissible for persons unfamiliar with Hindi. The UP Board of High School and Intermediate Education decided on Hindi as the sole medium for answering high school examinations from 1953 onwards. The state government suspended aid to Urdu-medium schools. In short Urdu speakers were denied the opportunity to learn their language. This position was in stark contrast to the more open-minded attitude of Congress leadership at the national level. The constitution and all-India policy guidelines recognized linguistic diversity and recommended a number of ways in which the rights of linguistic minorities could be protected.”¹⁰ But this policy was not followed in U.P. Government and the official status of Urdu was denied.

(2) Urdu medium school in U.P.

As I mentioned above, there was the intention of restricting the use of Urdu in education from U.P. Government and “there was no deviation from this policy for nearly four decades.”¹¹ Consequently, there is not a single Urdu medium school in the entire state run by the state government. According to the latest available information, the Jafri Committee report, there are only 1375 Urdu medium primary schools to serve a population of 10,767,175 Urdu speakers. These are previously known as Islamia Primary Schools. Initially these schools were given a partial grant. Presently, they are fully financed by the State Government and are known as Urdu Medium Primary Schools. At the level of second education the number of junior schools is 18. All these primary and secondary schools are run by private organisations.¹² It means that

the Urdu speaking students are deprived of their most of the chance to learn their own language.

(3) The problem of three language formula

There is another restriction against the Urdu speaking students to learn their own language.

In 1963, the Government of UP issued an order no. Shiksha (A)835/XV-3422/56 dated March 16, 1963 addressed to the Director of Education, UP, Lucknow/Allahabad introducing a basic modification in the Three Language Formula as nationally adopted, which was introduced from Class VI to X. It was as followed:

- (1) Hindi (Regional Language)
- (2) An Indian Language other than No.(1) given in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution of India.
- (3) English or any other modern European Language.¹³

By substituting Mother Tongue by Hindi above as First Language and, since Sanskrit is included in the VIII Schedule, importing Sanskrit as a possible Second Language alongwith Modern Indian Languages like Urdu, and by not providing due facilities for teaching Urdu in most schools, it virtually ensured that even children whose mother tongue was Urdu shall opt for Sanskrit.¹⁴

In fact, according to Iqbal A. Ansari, "Even before the "three-language formula" came into operation, Sanskrit was accorded in Uttar Pradesh the status of the second language after Hindi, even though People of India reports only ten households numbering 107 persons claiming to speak Sanskrit in the state. Under the three-language

formula again Urdu was marginalised in UP. This deliberate policy of suppression of Urdu derives from the urge to cultural domination by the power elite in northern India. It has resulted in almost total disuse of Urdu in the state of Uttar Pradesh, except (in) the backyard...the traditional madrasa-maktab system.”¹⁵

Even after declaration of the National Policy Resolution of 1968, this situation continued. As we have seen in the 1 Chapter, it laid down that “in Hindi-speaking areas, the three-language formula should comprehend Hindi, English and a modern Indian language (preferably one of the South Indian Languages). Fearing lest students at the secondary level may offer Urdu as the modern Indian Language, the UP Government metamorphosed Sanskrit into a modern Indian language and made it virtually compulsory. The formula has undergone many changes over the years but in UP its thrust has been the ouster of Urdu.”¹⁶

According to the Jafri Committee Report, the following Three-language Formula is implemented in the U.P. State provides for study of languages:

First Language Hindi Classes (VI to VII)

Second language English or any other Modern European Language
Classes VI to VIII

Third language Any language from amongst languages in Eighth
Schedule of the Constitution Classes VI to VIII¹⁷

It has not changed in a basic concept since 1963. Facility for teaching Urdu under Three Language Formula “has been provided only in a few schools. A large number of office bearers of Urdu organisations and Urdu writers, poets, journalists expressed their discontentment about the attitude of the Department of Education in this regard. It was

brought to the notice of the Sub-Committee that there was a large number of schools where the number of students willing to learn Urdu is quite sizeable. But the teachers have not been provided by the Department of Education. It was alleged that learning through Urdu medium or studying Urdu as a subject is not encouraged by the Department.”¹⁸

In this condition, I. K. Gujral mentioned that “Muslim parents, particularly in the middle classes who are keen to legate their cultural heritage via Urdu, are left with no option but to send their children to the clergy managed 'Madrassa' that breed orthodoxy and separatism.”¹⁹

3 Activity of Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu

As we have seen before, “After independence, Urdu received stepmotherly treatment, through the country, particularly in Uttar Pradesh. Central Government started propagating that Urdu was the language of Muslims alone. Facilities of teaching Urdu as a subject or teaching through Urdu medium were withdrawn from primary and secondary schools and use of Urdu in administration was stopped.”²⁰ This sense of neglect felt by the Urdu speaking community led the working committee of the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Hind to lead a campaign on behalf of the Urdu speaking people of Uttar Pradesh for a acceptance of Urdu as a regional language in the state.²¹

When Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Hind protested against the discriminatory policy of the department of education, “the UP government informed the Anjuman that parents did not want their wards to study through Urdu medium.”²² It planned to collect signatures on a mass scale and to submit a petition to the president of India for appropriate

action and for this purpose, a Regional Language Committee was set up.²³ Dr. Zakir Hussain, who presided over the Regional Language Convention sponsored by the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, said that "the movement to get Urdu recognized as a regional language was a part of the democratic movement of the country."²⁴ Outlining the strategy of the movement, Abdul Gaffar, who was at that time the secretary of the Anjuman, stated that the Anjuman believed in "silent work" and that their "movement was strictly constitutional."²⁵ Dr. Zakir Hussain also declared in the press conference that "the government of Uttar Pradesh had no right to decide in which language a child should start his education."²⁶ The emphasis of the Anjuman was clear:²⁷ it was accusing the Uttar Pradesh government of deliberately neglecting the status of and the opportunities for Urdu as declared in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution and as set forth by various measures and assurances emanating from the leaders of the Union government of India. The directive of August 10, 1948, from the Ministry of Education of the Union government issued to the state government which laid down the policy that in the primary or basic stages of instruction, the students should be instructed through the medium of the mother tongue.²⁸

The Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu launched a campaign for mass petitions from the Urdu speakers of Uttar Pradesh. Over ten thousand signatures were collected from Lucknow alone for the purpose of making a representation to the state government. A deputation of seven persons, led by Dr. Zakir Hussain, discussed the relevant issues with Sampurnanand, who was then the education minister of Uttar Pradesh. Evidently, deputation was satisfied after the discussions. However, the convention reported in 1952 that nothing had been done to implement the

assurances given in 1951. The state government's persistent silence about the question ultimately impelled the Anjuman to seek other ways.²⁹

A deputation of the national organisation of the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu met the president of India on April 29, 1958, and submitted a memorandum requesting him to issue a directive under Article 347 of the constitution to the governments of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, and Delhi, so that Urdu would be recognized throughout their territories for the purposes of education, and for the acceptance of Urdu documents in law courts and other government offices.³⁰ In July of the same year, as a result of a number of representations received from the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, the Government of India issued a Press Note declaring the position of Urdu. This note was welcomed by the Anjuman "as having substantially met their demands."³¹ In a press communique issued on July 20, 1958, "the Government of Uttar Pradesh also fully accepted the press note."³²

Through the press note, the Union government recommended several facilities for Urdu. The specific proposals for extending facilities to the Urdu speaking people were the following:

- (1) Facilities should be provided for instruction and examination in the Urdu language at the primary stage to all children whose mother-tongue is declared by the parent or guardian to be Urdu.
- (2) Arrangements should be made for the training of teachers and for providing suitable text-books in Urdu.
- (3) Facilities for instruction in Urdu should also be provided in the secondary stage of education.
- (4) Documents in Urdu should be accepted by all courts and offices

without the necessity of translation or transliteration in any other language or script, and petitions and representations in Urdu should also be accepted.

- (5) Important laws rules and regulations and notifications should be issued in the Urdu language also in areas where this language is prevalent and which may be specified for this purpose.³³

The communique of the Uttar Pradesh government declared that "Out of the five proposals, the first four have been accepted by the U.P. Government from the very beginning."³⁴ As for the fifth, the state government confessed that no definite policy had been adopted in this connection. The communique admitted that the point was a valuable one and that it was the intention of the government to implement it in a befitting manner.³⁵

But this also did not help solve the problem recognising Urdu as a regional language. The Hindi-Urdu controversy continued. Faced these problems, the government appointed in June 1961 a Language Committee (under the Chairmanship of J. B. Kripalani) to examine the grievances of Urdu speakers. But the Kripalani Committee reiterated the official view and emphasised the imperative need to develop Hindi into a 'fit vehicle of Indian culture in the interests of the unity and integration of the people of the whole country' and more particularly of UP. Kripalani opposed provisions for the protection of minorities on the grounds that such policies would harm national unity. The Committee urged the government not 'to create special vested interests, which may be difficult to dislodge afterwards and which may create discontents, harmful to the country as a whole'.³⁶

In fact, the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu in U.P. was not very active especially when compared with its counterpart in Bihar. In Bihar, 'the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu conducted a successful democratic movement for the recognition of Urdu...and functioned as an intermediary group in mobilising voters and pressurising the new Bihar government to act on its electoral promise'.³⁷ In 1990 the Bihar Anjuman had 6,00,000 members. According to Selma Sonntag, in UP 'the Anjuman was and still is a private fiefdom of a particular family, the head of which is Hayatullah Ansari, a prominent Congress MP...In UP, the Anjuman is less of a pressure group than an extension of Congress itself, or at least the extension of a particular Congress MP'.³⁸ In short, "The UP Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu failed to create any autonomous pressure on the government to accord Urdu its due." ³⁹

4 Urdu as political tool

In fact, as we have seen above, UP should have taken steps over the last four decades to bridge the gulf between Hindi and Urdu, and in particular to emphasize the secular character of Urdu. Instead, It has passively adopted the unwarranted assumption that justice done to Urdu would invite a backlash from those whose mother tongue is Hindi. The over-worn backlash theory has been invoked by bureaucrats time and again to support denial of justice to linguistic and religious minorities. Politicians, sometimes, consider it convenient to fan communal discord. In its Urdu policy and its enforcement, UP has been violating with impunity the provisions of the Constitution and the party manifesto.

Articles of the Constitution can bring relief only if they are

interpreted and implemented in the spirit in which they had been framed. UP's anti-Urdu policy has prevented two generations of Urdu-speaking people in the State from reading and writing in their mother tongue.⁴⁰ This is against Article 350A—the right of the mother-tongue education.

In addition to this factor, as I mentioned above, Urdu has been used as the party manifesto again and again. As far as back 1971 Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Congress "admitted the grievous wrong done to Urdu and promised to redress it in the election manifesto: "Urdu shall be given its due place which has been denied to it so far" . Yet the Gujral Committee's report, submitted on May 8, 1975 was suppressed. It was published by the Janata Government in June, 1979.⁴¹

The Congress (I)'s 1980 election manifesto, said "In 1980 Congress-I promised that Urdu will be recognised in some states as a second language. Urdu has already been accorded second language status in Bihar. Similar action will be taken in other states."⁴²

In fact, "The situation of Urdu speaking population in U.P. is perhaps the worst. U.P. is the birth place of Urdu. And the largest number of Urdu-speaking population is also in Uttar Pradesh. From V. P. Singh to N. D. Tiwari, every chief minister of UP promised to introduce a bill in the assembly for amending the official language act,...But always it remained a promise."⁴³

In 1980, chief minister V. P. Singh initiated steps "to make Urdu the second official language of the state, in fulfilment of the Congress party's election manifesto which promised second language status to Urdu, but they met with the usual opposition from the BJP and the Lok Dal and defiance from his own colleagues in the Congress party and government."⁴⁴ But some allowances were made by the state

government:Urdu teachers were appointed under the new scheme of Urdu promotion, Urdu could be used for the purpose of applications, publication of government advertisements notifications and translation of the Official Gazette.⁴⁵ Finally the government issued an ordinance in 1982 granting Urdu the status of second language and not the second official language. An Ordinance is as follows:

- (a) entertaining applications in Urdu;
- (b) receiving documents in Urdu presented with Hindi translation thereof;
- (c) publication of important Government Rules, Regulations & Notifications;
- (d) publication of important Government advertisements;
- and
- (e) Translation of Gazzette in Urdu.⁴⁶

The Ordinance issued by the Uttar Pradesh Government has been declared ultra-vires of the Constitution by the Allahabad High Court. During the course of debate in the State Legislature, the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh stated that the Government would study the situation in the light of High Court's judgement.⁴⁷

But even this concession was stoutly contested by the BJP and the Congress. Even the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi did not agree with V. P. Singh's decision to go ahead with the Urdu ordinance. It sparked off dissensions in the UP cabinet, led by Vasudev Singh, who was also president of the UP Hindi Sahitya Sammelan—an organization fervently devoted to the promotion of Hindi, and equally ardently against the advancement of Urdu.⁴⁸ He was the Minister of Food and Supply, Govt. of Uttar Pradesh and the anti-Urdu campaign was launched by him. Taking

exception to his alleged remarks that the faces of those demanding official status for Urdu should be blackened, the entire executive of the Urdu Academy resigned on June 16, 1985. A couple of days later, the protestors formed the Urdu Rabita Committee under the Chairmanship of noted Urdu writer, Ram Lal.

Though the government managed to buy back most of the Academy's executive members, the Rabita Committee formed about 100 branches in various parts of the state. In October 1985, several hundred poets and writers from UP sat on hunger strike at Maulana Azad's mazzar in Delhi.⁴⁹ Urdu Rabita Committee adopted the resolution also. It said that "UP is the home state of Urdu and this language has contributed a lot to the culture of the Ganges Valley in particular. Urdu's contribution to the literature of freedom struggle is glorious on all account. "It is a matter of deep regret and concern that it is in this state that Urdu is being denied its due."This meeting condemns the attitude of successive Governments in Uttar Pradesh in denying second place to Urdu in the administration of the State that was promised in every election manifesto.⁵⁰

The government repromulgated the ordinance in April 1984 to make Urdu the second language of the state. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan petitioned the High court to stop the government move. Although it signified no new departures, the Allahabad High Court struck down the repromulgation of the ordinance casting doubts on any attempts to make Urdu the second language. But it is important to note that the UP government was not even attempting to make Urdu the second official language, it was giving it the status of second language which the ruling party, the bill and ordinance lapsed.⁵¹

Ultimately, in 1989, on the eve of the Ninth Lok Sabha election, the Congress government under N. D. Tiwari hastily passed a legislation making Urdu the second official language of the state and the Official Languages (Amendment) Act was adopted.⁵² Notification under the amended law is as follows:

“Official Language Act provided in exercise of powers under Section 3 of the Uttar Pradesh Language Act, 1951, the Governor is pleased to order that in the interest of Urdu speaking people, Urdu language shall be used as second official language for the following purpose:

- (i) entertaining petitions and applications in Urdu and replies thereof in Urdu;
- (ii) receiving documents written in Urdu by the legislation office;
- (iii) publication of important Government rules, regulations and notifications in Urdu also;
- (iv) issuing Government orders and circulars of public importance in Urdu also;
- (v) publication of important government advertisements in Urdu also;
- (vi) publication of Urdu translation also of the Gazette; and
- (vii) important sign post in Urdu.”⁵³

This provision is not restricted to a few specified districts but is applicable to the entire State. But these minimum purposes are much less than those recommended by the Gujral Committee. Even these have not been implemented.⁵⁴

This amendment provoked a major communal riot and BJP MLAs stormed

into the well and raised slogans like 'Urdu bill murdabad' (Death to Urdu Bill) and 'Ek rajya, ek bhasha, nahi chahie dusri bhasha' (One state, one language, a second language not required).⁵⁵

Finally, the government ordinance was "implemented by Mulayam Singh Yadav in 1994. Urdu was granted second language status by linking it to an even stronger reaffirmation of the primacy of Hindi as a language of education and administration in the state, and the language of communication between UP and other states and with the union government. Government policy on Urdu was thus accompanied by bold pronouncements against the use of English. The privileging of Hindi and the championship of 'angrezi hatao' by Mulayam Singh eased the process of recognition of Urdu."⁵⁶

Why is U.P. Government so reluctant to enforce implementation of linguistic minorities?

Zoya Hasan gave several reasons for the U.P. Government's intolerant and narrow-minded policy:

One, Urdu was at the centre of Hindu-Muslim antagonism in the pre-Independence period. Second the intensity of resentment was linked to the greater strength of Indo-Persian culture in UP and strong literary traditions of Hindi. Third, the UP Congress leaders were strongly committed to the promotion of Hindi for reasons not very different from those of the Jana Sangh. Moreover, the firm decision in favour of Hindi protected them against any attack from the Jana Sangh, which concentrated its offensive upon the Anjuman-i-Tarraqi-i-Urdu and other groups crusading on behalf of Urdu speakers.⁵⁷

As we have seen above, Urdu has been used as a political tool. It

can be said that this is the one of the reasons for the decline of Urdu.

Notes and References

- 1 Constituent Assembly Debate, Vol.7, 4th Nov.-8th Jan. 1948-1949, p 902.
- 2 Constituent Assembly Debate, Vol.9, 30th Jul.-18th Sept. 1949, p 1340, p 1345.
- 3 Ibid. p 1457.
- 4 Zoya Hasan, Quest for Power, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998), p 178.
- 5 Ibid. pp 178-179.
- 6 Jyotirindra Das Gupta, Language Conflict and National Development (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1970), p 132.
- 7 National Herald, (Lucknow), 15 June 1948, p 7, cited in Omar Khalidi Indian Muslims Since Independence, (Vikas Publishing House PVT LTD, New Delhi, 1995), p 138.
- 8 Zoya Hasan, Quest For Power, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998), p 178.
- 9 Omar Khalidi, Indian Muslims since Independence, (Vikas Publishing House PVT LTD, New Delhi, 1995), p 137.
- 10 Zoya Hasan, Quest for Power, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998), pp 179-180.
- 11 Ibid. p 183.
- 12 Report of the Committee to Examine Implementation of the Recommendations of Gujral Committee for Promotion of Urdu 1990, (Minstry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, New Delhi), p 69, p 73.
- 13 "How Urdu was Killed in Uttar Pradesh through Bracketting with

- Sanskrit : Text of Government Order of 16 March, 1963” , Muslim India, (August, 1985), p 357.
- 14 Ibid. p 357.
- 15 “Iqbal A. Ansari on Denial of Rights to Urdu” , Muslim India, (June, 1995), p 279. Source : The Saudi Gazette, 16 October, 1994.
- 16 “Urdu Needs a Reassuring Smile : Saiyid Hamid in the Statesman, New Delhi, 2 July, 1989” , Muslim India, (August, 1989), p 373.
- 17 Report of the Committee to Examine Implementation of the Recommendations of Gujral Committee for Promotion of Urdu 1990, (Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, New Delhi), p 79.
- 18 Ibid. p 80.
- 19 “I. K. Gujral on the Story of His Report on Urdu, Seminar, April, 1987” , Muslim India, (June, 1987), p 258.
- 20 “Khaliq Anjum on Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu's Activities” , Muslim India, (September, 1995), p 415.
- 21 Jyotirindra Das Gupta, Language Conflict and National Development, (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1970), p 142.
- 22 “Khaliq Anjum on Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu's Activities” , Muslim India, (September, 1995), p 415.
- 23 Jyotirindra Das Gupta, Language Conflict and National Development, (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1970), p 142,
- 24 Ibid. p 142. Cited from National Herald, December 25, 1951.
- 25 Ibid. p 142. Cited from National Herald, December 25, 1951.
- 26 Ibid. pp 142-143.
- 27 Ibid. p 143.
- 28 Ibid. p 143.

29 Ibid. p 143.

30 Ibid. p 144. In fact, before that, on 15th Feb. 1954, a deputation was submitted where the Anjuman requested to issue a directive under Article 347 of the Constitution of India that the Urdu language be recognised as one of the Regional Language of Uttar Pradesh, and that Urdu be officially used throughout that State for the purposes mentioned in the representation. Subsequently, on 24th Feb. 1956, a deputation of the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Bihar presented a memorandum, requesting to direct under Article 347 of the Constitution, that Urdu be recognised as a one of the Regional Languages of Bihar and be officially used throughout the said State for purposes indicated in the memorandum. See Muslim India, June 1990, p 268.

31 Ibid. p 145.

32 Ibid. p 145.

33 The Twenty-second Report by the Deputy Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India. For the period July 1981 to June 1982, (Government of India, New Delhi), p 280.

34 Jyotirindra Das Gupta Language Conflict and National Development (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1970), p 146. Cited from Report of the Uttar Pradesh Language Committee pp 81-82

35 Ibid.

36 Zoya Hasan, Quest for Power, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998), p 182. Cited from Report of the Uttar Pradesh Language Committee, Lucknow : Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, 1963, p 7.

37 Ibid. p 185. Cited from Selma K. Sonntag, 'The Political Saliency of Language in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh', The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, July 1995, p 7.

- 38 Ibid. p 224. Cited from S.K. Sonntag, 'The Political Saliency of Language in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh', p 6.
- 39 Ibid. p 185.
- 40 "Urdu Needs a Reassuring Smile : Saiyid Hamid in the Statesman, New Delhi, 2 July, 1989" , Muslim India, (August, 1989), p 373.
- 41 "Uttar Pradesh-Charade of Ordinances by Congress-I" , Muslim India, (December, 1984), p 566. Source : A. G. Noorani in Indian Express, 30 October, 1984. In 1987 April, I. K. Gujral talked about the story of his report in the seminar. He said:It is no secret now, and perfectly legitimate for me to reveal, that after a delay of some months, the report was finally presented to the Cabinet during the early months of the Emergency. Mrs. Gandhi was keen to accept and implement the report in its totality. To an extent, her motivation was political:the excesses of the Emergency were alienating large section of public. To her surprise and my dismay, Jagjivan Ram-contrary to expectation, opposed it vehemently. He was not objecting to a particular recommendation or any other-he just did not want to look at the report. 'You want equate Urdu with Hindi by the back door,' he said. Both Nurul Hasan and I tried to explain that the report had in no way tried to resurrect the old rivalry syndrome. On the contrary, the members-despite their personal proclivities, had carefully avoided any proposition that would revive the fading controversies. But Babuji was unrelenting. 'No, No he said foefully while the others chose not to intervene. Mrs. Gandhi watched quietly. Those were th earlier days of the Emergency and she was not too sure aboutBabuji's latent attitude. Instinctively she felt that the was seeking an issue to embarrass her. She therefore,

thought it expedient to close the discussion and told Nurul Hasan, 'We will look at it later.' This evasive instruction consigned the labouriously worked report to the dark dungeons of the Ministry's archives. See Muslim India, (June, 1987), p 257.

42 "New Age on Congress(I) : Fraud Against Urdu in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh" , Muslim India, (January, 1985), p 40, Source : New Age, 16 December, 1984.

43 Ibid. p 40.

44 Zoya Hasan, Quest for Power, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998), p 184. From Pioneer (Lucknow), 8 January 1981 and 16 April 1981.

45 Ibid. p 184. From Pioneer (Lucknow), 1 January 1982.

46 Seventh Annual Report of the Minorities' Commission, For the period 1-4-1984 to 31-3-1985, (Ministry of Welfare, Government of India, 1987), p 51.

47 Ibid. p 51.

48 Zoya Hasan, Quest for Power, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998), p 184.

49 "Recognition Of Urdu In UP-An Electoral Move", Muslim India, (October, 1989), p 459. Join Statement by Urdu Writers, Poets and Journalists, 8 June, 1985 also supported the reaction of the members of the Uttar Pradesh Academy. They said: This meeting of Poets, writers, and journalists and other friends of Urdu convened by Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu-Hind and other literary organisations, strongly condemns the statement of Shri Vasudev Singh, Minister of Food and Supply, Govt. of Uttar Pradesh on Urdu. His statement is highly irresponsible and anti-democratic and has hurt the sentiments of an important linguistic group of the country, as a reaction to

which all the members of the Executive Committee of the Uttar Pradesh Urdu Academy have resigned from the Academy. We support their action and we demand from the Government of Uttar Pradesh to take notice of the statement of Mr. Vasudev Singh and take appropriate action against him. See Muslim India, (August, 1985), p 356.

50 "Urdu Rabita Committee, U.P. Resolution adopted at the Meeting in Urdu Park, Delhi on 6 Oct.85", Muslim India, (May, 1987), p 215.

51 Zoya Hasan, Quest for Power, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998), p 185.

52 Ibid. p 185.

53 Report of the Committee to Examine Implementation of the Recommendations of Gujral Committee for Promotion of Urdu 1990, (Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, New Delhi), p 64.

54 Ibid. p 64.

55 Zoya Hasan, Quest for Power, (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998), p 185.

56 Ibid. p 186.

57 Ibid. pp 180-181.

V Case Study of U.P.-Urdu Language and Muslim Community in U.P.

1 Language policy in education of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

Before seeing the present Urdu educational system in U.P., we will see the activities of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898).

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was one of the most dynamic personalities of the 19th century. As a theologian, scholar, social reformer, educationist, politician, writer and journalist, he made incomparable contribution to the making of the modern India and as a modernist, he introduced a modern education to the Muslim community in India.

Though his activities were mainly done in U.P. in connection with Aligarh movement, it was not restricted only there and whole North Indian Muslims were influenced by him.

As I mentioned above, his activities were so various that we will take up only his language policy in education here in connection with this dissertation, which will help understand the present situation of the Urdu language and Muslim community in U.P.

Ram Gopal mentioned the implication between language and social situation those days. He said:

For about 150 years, to go no further back, jobs have mainly been in the background of linguistic agitations. Emotion occupied a secondary place though at times they played an important role. In the 19th century, Hindus readily took to English because it opened for them several new avenues of employment, and ultimately enabled them to get high posts reserved by the East India Company and then

the Crown Government for Britons primarily and Europeans generally. Muslims of aristocratic families who had kept aloof from English education for emotional and cultural reasons required a Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to tell them that they had been left behind and must take to English education. The entire movement of Sir Syed consisted of exhorting and preparing Muslim youths for Government posts and other professions connected with English education. So enthusiastic was he that with all the force leadership he wielded and with all the influence he exercised over his community, he tried with immense success to withhold Muslims from participation in the movements for political reforms. The aristocratic families, who monopolised high-grade services under Muslim rulers, recalled with helplessness the reminiscences of the glory of Persian and continued regretting for many decades after the establishment of British power in India that their court language had been reduced to a humiliating position and that it no longer possessed the merit of getting high posts. Hindu on the other hand, heaved a sigh of relief with the arrival of English in Government offices and said that Persian with which discrimination was blatantly exercised against them had fortunately gone into oblivion. Hindi-Urdu controversy of the 19th and 20th centuries had, in addition to religious prejudices, emotional fervour, and logical assertions, the temptation of jobs in the background or foreground.¹

Therefore, Sir Sayyid publicly emphasised the importance of the English language, and offered several pragmatic reasons for its cultivation:(1) Indians could not hope to gain government jobs without

the knowledge of English; (2) participation in modern trade and international commerce was not possible without it; (3) international politics and the relative development of other countries remained unknown; (4) and finally, the Indians could not be effective in the political processes of Indian even if the British Government offered them a generous share.²

But he did not yet espouse the cause of English as the medium of instruction, though he also knew that 'modern scientific knowlegde was available in English. He believed that modern knowledge could be acquired only through the mother tongue.³ For this purpose, he had already established in 1863 the Scientific Society, which had undertaken to translate Europe's scientific literature in to Urdu.⁴ But the incident had happened which made this policy changed.

In 1867 Sir Sayyid developed a plan for a truly national and modern university and the British Indian Association entered into a dialogue with Government on the crucial issue. On August 1, the Association sent a memorandum to the Government suggesting:⁵

- (i) that a system of university education be established in which the arts, sciences and other branches of European literature may be taught through the vernacular language of Northern India, that is Urdu;
- (ii) all examinations in the vernacular be held for those subjects in which the students were examined in English at the Calcutta University;
- (iii) that like students in English classes, degrees should be conferred on those students who pass the same subjects in vernacular;

(iv) that a vernacular department be attached to the Calcutta University, or an independent vernacular university be created for the Northwest Provinces.

But the government of India discouraged Sir Sayyid's plan of national education on more elevated academic grounds. Bayley, Secretary to the Government of India, wrote in a letter of September 5, 1867. He drew a broad distinction "between the vernacular language as a necessary and only medium of instruction of a popular kind, and the English language as an essential requisite for education of a high order." Emphasizing the unavailability of scientific literature and texts in Urdu, he maintained that the real object of university education was "to prepare and fit the mind for the pursuit of knowledge in the wide sphere of European science and literature," and that it could be accomplished only "through the medium of the English language." ⁶

Another demand was also in the local press that should a "vernacular university" be established in Northern India, Hindi rather than Urdu should be employed as the medium of instruction for the Hindus. Discouraged by the Government's negative reaction, the practical difficulties of translating a large number of scientific works, and the demands of the champions of Hindi, Sir Saiyyd abandoned his commitment to the vernacular university.⁷

Though he remained intellectually convinced that modern education, though the medium of English, would not produce in India a rational approach to life and truly creative scholarship, and that people in general would remain ignorant, this change in policy subsequently made Sir Sayyid a zealot of education through the medium of English.⁸

This issue also shows that Sir Saiyyd's strong attachment to Urdu

in his depth of his mind. It appeared again in the scene of the Hindi-Urdu controversy.

In 1837, "the government decided to replace Persian as the court language by regional languages. Urdu was made the language of administration in Bihar, Awadh and Agra. It took a while for some Hindus to see in the official status of Urdu a threat to their own position under the government and in society. By the 1860s a movement took shape, under the leadership of Babu Shiva Prasad (an Educational Department employee of the North-West Provinces), asking that Hindi and not Urdu should be the official language. Muslim resented this and mounted pressure for the retention of the official position of Urdu. Aligarh became the centre of the Muslim response." ⁹

In 1867, "the Hindus started to press for the use of Hindi in place of Urdu in the courts. Hindu sabhas (associations) sprang up in Benares and elsewhere in India with a central office in Allahabad to promote the adoption of Hindi as the official language of India. Sir Sayyid argued that Urdu, although it developed during the period of Muslim rule, was a product of Hindu-Muslim intercourse and was widely spoken in India by Hindus and Muslims." ¹⁰

Commenting on the demand of the Hindus for the adoption of Hindi, Sir Sayyid wrote from London on 29 April 1870 to his collaborator and friend, Mahdi Ali Khan:

I understand...Hindus are roused to destroy the Muslims' [cultural] symbol embodied in the Urdu language and the Persian script. I have heard that they have made representation through the Hindu members of the Scientific Society that the Society's Akhbar [Journal] should be published in the Devanagari rather than

in the persian script, and that all translations of [foreign language] books should likewise be in Hindi. This propose would destroy cooperation between the Hindus and the Muslims. Muslims would never accept Hindi and if Hindus persistently demanded the adoption of Hindi in preference to Urdu it would result in the total separation of the Muslims from the Hindus.¹¹

Actually, "he failed to recognize that the Hindu renaissance emphasizing Hindu cultural revival was unable to accept Urdu as the national language of India. At best, it would have tolerated Urdu as a Muslim version of Hindi." ¹² Iqbal A. Ansari said "it is a great pity that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who had developed a very modernised view of secular territorial nationhood did not respond to the situation in a judicious and realistic manner by proposing the adoption of the common language to be written in both the scripts." ¹³

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan "went so far as to claim that it was this development which made him aware of the importance of the retention of a separate Muslim identity: earlier he had shown greater interest in English than in Urdu but now he too became its champion. The pressure of the Hindu majority became irresistible, and Hindi written in the Nagri script was given an equal status with Urdu, first in Bihar (1881) and then in the United Provinces (1900). The politicisation of Hindi and Urdu had thus begun and this process has not yet run its course." ¹⁴

2 Urdu language for Muslim community in U.P.

Hamdard Education Society launched the larger Reserch Project on the Indian Muslims in the autumn of 1990 at the all India level. It is

about the Muslims India, whose educational, demographic and socio-economic status with comparative indicators for Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and other communities, based on a singular and systematic field survey 1990-1993. Till now 4 volumes has been already published as books. The volumes dealt with Bihar, Rajasthan, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh (urban). Here, I will take up this research and deal with the case of Uttar Pradesh (urban).

This study of the Indian Muslims is based on the household data collected from the four towns of Uttar Pradesh-Sambhal, Firozabad, Ghazipur and Zamania-during a survey of these places in 1990-91. While the survey covered the entire population of Sambhal, it was restricted to a sample of households chosen purposively in the other three towns. Keeping in view the population of Firozabad a fairly large sample was chosen from this industrial city. Barring Ghazipur where the survey was conducted in August 1993 all other places were surveyed in the early months of 1991.¹⁵

According to the Hamdard Education Society, "these four urban places were chosen on a random basis. Two of these towns are characteristically representative of the Muslims of Western Uttar Pradesh. The two others-Ghazipur and Zamania are representative of the eastern region of the state. Admittedly, Uttar Pradesh is a large state and its cultural diversity has contributed to the emergence of regional specificities of a highly varied nature. Central parts of the state, as well as Bundel Khand and the Uttarkhand regions remained unrepresented. Even then these data collected from the four sample towns can well be used for generalisations about the state of urban Muslims of Uttar Pradesh."¹⁶

The language affinity of Muslims in the sample towns is with as many as 7 different languages. However, mainly the Urdu and Hindi languages were known by the majority of the population. The other language reported to be known were Bengali, Marathi, Konkani and Surjapuri.¹⁷

From Table 1(p 114), we can see Urdu was claimed as the mother tongue by 99.59 per cent of the Muslim population. On the other hand, 0.04% Muslims in this sample claimed Hindi as their mother tongue.

Since Uttar Pradesh is situated in the Hindi speaking belt of North India, Hindi is likely to be the main medium of teaching particularly at the lower levels of education. In fact, about 81% of the literate population was educated through the Hindi medium. About 13% of the literate population was educated through the Urdu medium and only 6% through the English medium. The others were taking their education through other languages, but their number is negligible.¹⁸

When it comes to the Muslim community in U.P., the assumption that the choice of the medium of teaching is also determined by the religious and cultural background of the family, does not hold true for this urban sample. Since Hindi is prevalent all over the state, education is imparted through the Hindi medium, irrespective of the religious background of the population. The belief that Muslims generally receive education through the Urdu medium, is proved wrong.¹⁹

We can see from the Table 2(p 115) that 77.29% of the Muslims literates were educated through the Hindi medium. On the other hand, about 16% of the Muslim literates were educated through the Urdu medium and only 6% through the English medium.

From Table 3(pp 116-7), the majority of the Muslims in the sample

towns take education through the Hindi medium from primary to professional level and the second majority through the Urdu medium till 10+2 level. After graduate level, the English medium is next to the Hindi medium.

From these data collected from the field research, Hamdard Education Society concludes that:

Muslims are attached to Urdu only at the emotional plane. While the entire Muslim population living in these towns claimed Urdu as their mother-tongue, their affinity with the language was superficial. They were not serious about learning the language which preserves their traditional culture and the religious heritage. The lucky ones among them who were exposed to education learnt through the medium of Hindi. In sum, almost 78 per cent of the Muslims were educated through the Hindi Medium. Barring a few Urdu medium schools, whose performance has been far from satisfactory, most of the new generation of learners are being exposed Hindi only. In these circumstances the fate of Urdu is anybody's guess.²⁰

Table 1: Language spoken at Home by Muslim population

Language	Total		Male		Female	
	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%
Bangla	4	0	2	0	2	0.00
English	2	0	1	0	1	0.00
Hindi	811	0.04	453	0.42	358	0.38
Marathi	3	0	2	0	1	0.00
Konkani	1	0	1	0	---	---
Urdu	2,00,983	99.59	1,08,062	99.57	92,921	99.61
Surjapuri	10	0.01	5	0.01	5	0.01
Total	2,01,814	100.00	1,08,526	100.00	93,288	100.00

(Source : Aijazzuddin Ahmad, Muslims in India : Uttar Pradesh Urban
Vol. IV, p 90)

Table 2: Distribution of Muslim literates by Medium of Teaching

Medium	Total Population		Male Population		Female Population	
	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%
Punjabi	19	0.04	14	0.04	5	0.03
Bengali	4	0.01	4	0.01	---	---
English	3,194	5.89	1,909	5.37	1,285	6.88
Hindi	41,899	77.29	27,290	76.78	14,609	78.25
Kannada	24	0.04	17	0.05	7	0.04
Marathi	18	0.03	13	0.04	5	0.03
Konkani	54	0.10	35	0.10	19	0.10
Urdu	8,928	16.47	6,217	17.49	2,711	14.52
Malayalam	11	0.02	8	0.02	3	0.02
Arabic	58	0.11	34	0.09	24	0.13
Persian	2	0.00	2	0.01	---	---
Tamil	1	0.00	---	---	1	0.00
Total*	54,212	100.00	35,543	100.00	18,669	100.00
N.A.	284		261		23	
Total	54,496		35,804		18,692	

*In case of these literates the teaching medium is not applicable because they have been educated without schooling.

Table 3: Distribution of Muslim Literates Classified by Main Medium of Teaching, by Educational Levels

Medium	Primary		Middle		High School		10+2	
	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%
ALL POPULATION								
English	2,797	10.05	139	1.17	31	0.34	23	0.76
Hindi	17,513	62.94	10,676	89.66	8,770	96.58	2,899	96.06
Urdu	7,412	26.64	1,053	8.84	261	2.87	77	2.55
MALE								
English	1,634	9.38	72	0.87	23	0.39	16	0.76
Hindi	10,612	60.89	7,434	89.46	5,742	96.31	2,019	96.23
Urdu	5,121	29.38	775	9.33	184	3.09	50	2.38
FEMALE								
English	1,163	4.18	67	1.86	8	0.26	7	0.76
Hindi	6,901	24.80	3,242	90.13	3,028	97.08	880	95.65
Urdu	2,291	8.23	278	7.73	77	2.47	27	2.93

Table 3 (Contd.)

Medium	Graduate		Post Graduate		Professional Degree/Diploma	
	Persons	%	Persons	%	Persons	%
ALL POPULATION						
English	51	4.06	62	14.03	89	13.09
Hindi	1,162	92.52	342	77.38	533	78.38
Urdu	36	2.87	36	8.14	51	7.50
MALE						
English	41	4.75	47	15.72	74	12.8
Hindi	795	92.12	230	76.92	454	78.55
Urdu	21	2.43	21	7.02	43	7.44
FEMALE						
English	10	2.54	15	10.49	15	14.71
Hindi	367	93.38	112	78.32	79	77.45
Urdu	15	3.82	15	10.49	8	7.84

(Source : Aijazuddin Ahmad, Muslims in India : Uttar Pradesh Urban,
Vol IV, p 157, p 159)

3 Retention of Urdu language in U.P.

In fact, according to the Census of India, from 1971 to 1991 the proportion of Urdu has gone down from 10.49 to 9.7 and 9.0, while that for Muslim has grown 15.49 to 15.93 to 17.33, on the other hand, that of Hindi has grown, while that of Hindu has gone down, though it should be noted that all the Urdu speakers dose not mean Muslim and all the Hindi speakers are not Hindu, vice versa. It may be seen from Table 4(p 122).

Because of the status of the official language in India,"Hindi has subsumed many dialects and larger geographical area has come under its umbrella. More and more socio-economic values are being attached to Hindi which are playing important role to bring people of various sections into its ambit who declare Hindi as their mother tongue. A section of Muslims also came forward and declared Hindi as their mother tongue against Urdu, their traditional language." ²¹

The Table 5(pp 123-4) shows the population and per centage of Urdu speakers and Muslim and the coefficient of Urdu in the major states.²²

We can see from Table 5 that generally, the difference between the Muslim population and the Urdu-speaking population was high in Hindi speaking states. On the other hand, relatively small in non-Hindi speaking states. Especially, the case of U.P. should be taken up here. Though U.P. is a birth place of Urdu and there should be opportunity to keep this heritage, coefficients of Urdu is as low as 52.

A lack of Urdu literacy would be reflected in decline in the sale of Urdu books. According to Omar Khalidi's interview with Shahid Siddiqi, manager of Maktabah-i Jamia Limited, the leading publisher and distributor of Urdu books, "the largest number of the Makhtabah's books

are sold in Kashmir, Maharashtra, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and only then in Uttar Pradesh in 1990."²³

M. Ishtiaq mentioned some reasons for the decline of the retention of Urdu. He said:²⁴

Development and growth of a language depends on a number of factors including socio-economic and political condition. The impact of socio-political changes in shaping the course of development of a language is even greater when a language becomes closely linked with a particular social/religious group. On the other hand, social prejudices towards a particular community of language play a major role in bringing down the number of speakers significantly. It is unfortunate that Urdu, in independent India, has been subjected such discrimination and prejudices which have led section of Muslim population to drop Urdu and declare a regional language as their mother tongue.²⁵

Migration of the elite section of Muslims to Pakistan has played another important role for the lower order of language retention among the Muslims in India. Majority of those who were left here, by and large, belonged to the lower segments of the society and had to depend on the majority cultural group of their neighbours who had influenced their linguistic superiority, at least, in fetching jobs.²⁶ Besides, to feel more secure, and to be accepted by the majority people, some of the Muslims have switched over to the language of their neighbours and abandoned Urdu.

Judging the present socio-political situations of the country as well as the need of the day, majority of the Muslims

belonging to the middle class prefer to send their children to the non-Urdu schools as they find Urdu-medium schools in India inferior which do not impart education at par with other schools specially public schools. On the other hand, lack of Urdu medium schools in the areas where the Muslims want their children to be taught through Urdu medium have played a significant role for bringing down the levels of retention of Urdu among the Muslims in India.

Urdu, for all practical purposes, has been reduced to be a language of Muslims alone after the Independence and therefore, Muslims and Urdu in India are intertwined. It is also a fact that Urdu is being nurtured and cultivated largely by Muslims. As a result the progress of Urdu is directly related to the Muslim community to which it is attached. As a matter of fact, though Muslims have improved their socio-economic conditions in the past few decades, the condition of Urdu is deteriorating day by day. It is said that a language belonging to socio-economically backward community in a multilingual country like India, in which both the official and the language of the learning (i.e., science and technology) are different, may not play important functional role, rather it would be confined to a smaller group and be called as the community's language. In such a situation, the elites, would like to dis-associate themselves from their ancestral/parental language. This may again affect the degree of variations in language retention.

Keeping the socio-economic and other conditions aside, lack of text books, sub-standard newspapers and magazines in Urdu,

lack of job opportunity, etc., may also be held responsible to bring down the levels in the degree of language retention.



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Table 4: Comparative Strengths of Scheduled Languages,
1971, 1981 and 1991 in U.P.

Language/ Religion	Number of Persons population			Percentage to the total		
	1971	1981	1991	1971	1981	1991
Muslim	13.68	17.66	24.11	15.49	15.93	17.33
Urdu speakers	9.27	10.77	12.49	10.49	9.7	9.0
Hindu	74.00	92.37	113.71	83.77	83.32	81.74
Hindi speakers	78.21	94.14	125.35	88.5	84.92	90.11

Population in millions

(Source : Census of India 1971, 81, 91 and Report of the Committee to Examine Implementation of the Recommendations of Gujral Committee for Promotion of Urdu, 1990)

Table 5

State/UT	Total population	Muslim population	Urdu population
Andhra Pradesh	66.51	5.92	5.56
Bihar	86.37	12.79	8.54
Gujrat	41.31	3.61	0.55
Haryana	16.46	0.76	0.27
Karnataka	44.98	5.23	4.48
Madhya Pradesh	66.18	3.28	1.23
Maharashtra	78.94	7.63	5.73
Orissa	31.66	0.58	0.50
Rajasthan	44.01	3.53	0.95
Tamil Nadu	55.86	3.05	1.04
Uttar Pradesh	139.11	24.11	12.50
West Bengal	68.08	16.08	1.46
Delhi	9.42	0.89	0.51

(Population in million)

Table 5 (Contd)

State/UT	% of Muslim population	% of Urdu population	Coefficient of Urdu
Andhra Pradesh	8.90	8.36	94
Bihar	14.81	9.89	67
Gujrat	8.74	1.33	15
Haryana	4.63	1.64	36
Karnataka	11.63	9.96	86
Madhya Pradesh	4.96	1.86	38
Maharashtra	9.67	7.26	75
Orissa	1.83	1.58	86
Rajasthan	8.02	2.16	27
Tamil Nadu	5.46	1.86	34
Uttar Pradesh	17.33	8.99	52
West Bengal	23.62	2.14	9
Delhi	9.45	5.41	57

(Source : Census of India 1991)

4 Problems of facilities in Urdu medium schools in U.P.

In fact there are problems of facilities in Urdu medium schools. Generally there are two factors to the disadvantage of students seeking education in or through Urdu.²⁷ (1) non-availability in time of Urdu books, (2) absence for long periods trained Urdu teachers. Arrangements for training of Urdu teachers are grossly inadequate. Urdu books are not available even in the libraries where Urdu speaking population lives.²⁸

As we have seen in Chapter 3, National Policy on Education 1986 Programme of Action 1992 recommended the action against these problems.

According to the Jafri Committee Report, the situation of Urdu in U.P. has not been improved. About teachers it reported that:

Many complaints were made by the witness regarding the shortage of Urdu trained teachers, appointment of the teachers and facilities for training the teachers to teach through Urdu medium. Following facts were brought to the notice of the Sub-Committee:

- (i) State Government created 5000 posts of Urdu Primary teachers in 1972 and another 5000 in 1984. It is complained that the number of teachers actually appointed is much less than 10,000;
- (ii) a large number of Urdu teachers who were appointed are forced to teach subject for teaching Urdu or in Urdu. Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Uttar Pradesh) in its memorandum submitted to the Sub-Committee, has demanded that a committee should be formed to look into the allegations about the appointment of Urdu trained teachers and their exact work in schools. The Anjuman has also demanded that teachers who are not qualified

to teach Urdu should be asked to teach subjects for which they are qualified and fresh appointments of Urdu trained teachers should be made against these posts. The said Anjuman has also pointed out that the State Government announced that the trained teachers would be appointed for junior classes. Instead of appointing fresh Urdu teachers, Department of Education promoted Urdu teachers of basic schools have no Urdu teachers and the teaching of Urdu has been virtually suspended in a large number of basic schools;

- (iii) the teachers who are teaching Sanskrit and Art are untrained but their grade is higher than the grade which is being given to Urdu to untrained teachers. It was demanded that there should be parity among the untrained teachers irrespective of the subject they teach;
- (iv) in 1972 and 1984 untrained teachers were appointed in the schools managed by Zila Parishads. But the State Government has not made any arrangement for the training of these teachers who are getting a salary much less than they would have got after training;
- (v) many witnesses complained that Headmasters discourage those teachers who take interest in the teaching of the Urdu. Such teachers are generally transferred to non-Urdu medium schools without replacement. Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (UP), in its memorandum also complained that State Government had set up 4 Urdu teachers' training colleges at Lucknow, Agra, Mawana (Meerut) and Varanasi, but there is not a single trained Urdu teacher in any of these 4 colleges. The result

is that the students lack the proper knowledge of Urdu. No Urdu medium school is affiliated to these training colleges where Urdu students could get practical training;

- (vi) it is also complained that a grant of Rs.10,000 per annum is sanctioned to purchase Urdu books for these training colleges, but not a single Urdu book has been purchased; and
- (vii) there is an acute shortage of Urdu trained teachers in Uttar Pradesh. According to All India Talim Ghar, it has set up U.T.C. Centres in 40 districts. In January 1989, the Chief Minister declared in an Urdu Education Convention that U.T.C. would be recognised for the appointment of Urdu teachers. But State Government has not recognised the U.T.C. so far. Recognition of U.T.C. can solve the problem of shortage of Urdu teachers to a large extent.²⁹

It reported about the text books that:

There are 33 text books for Classes I to VIII. The Spokesman of the Department of Education stated that all the books were available in the market. But Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (U.P.) informed this Committee that only 25 out of 33 books were available last year and these books were printed in such a small number that many students had to purchase Hindi medium books.³⁰

Even if the text books are available, there is another problem. According to the Note from Shri M. Riazuddin, General Secretary Minorities' Educational Institutions in U.P. on the Educational Problem of Minorities in Uttar Pradesh, "there is no place for the minorities to share the burden of the Text Books preparation. Consequently, the subject matter of the books misrepresents minorities history and social-

studies only to create a gulf between the majority and the minorities and tends to crush all integration programme set up on government papers.”³¹ It can be seen from Table 6(p 130).

There are some examples for it. From the text book, Sobodh Samajik Vigyan for Class IX-X, written by Sheo Narain Singh Rana and Medi Lal Arya;

Prophet Mohammad has been described as the founder of Islamic which, according to Islamic belief, is incorrect. Islam was perfected under his Prophethood.³²

From Samajic Vigyan by Dr. Ram Nath Sharma and R. N. Thakurai;

The book describes "Mehdi" as the last Prophet of Islam, which the Muslims consider Prophet Mohammad to be last Prophet.³³

In addition to this, the text books used in the public schools are full of references to the teachings of Hinduism. It can be seen from Table 7(p 131).

In this connection, Imtiaz Ahmad mentioned the aims of the education through the medium of Urdu:³⁴ (1) Preserving Urdu as the language and cultural symbol of Muslims in India, ensuring that the school texts Muslim children read were free to references to Hindu gods and goddesses and catered to the educational needs of Muslim children alone. (2) Muslim sensibility that the texts used in public schools were so heavily laden with references to Hindu gods and goddesses that Muslim children exposed to them ran the risk of compromising and eventually losing their faith. (3) The secular credo that in a multi-religious society the minorities had to have their own educational institutions in order to ensure the preservation of their cultural inheritance. Thus he continued that:

Promotion of Urdu through making it the language of education produced limited results. The elite and middle class Muslims, realising that education their children in the Urdu medium would act as a handicap, opted for...English medium...as a result of which their children grew up knowing no Urdu. The poorer Muslims, oriented towards self-employment in traditional occupations, had to send their children to madrasas. These children aquired a rudimentary knowledge of the Koran but had little retainable literacy in Urdu.³⁵

Table 6: Minorities Participation in the Preparation of “Hamari Tarikh
our Ilme Tammaddun” and “Hamara Itihas aur Nagrik Shastra”
for Class VI, VII and VIII (Urdu Version)

No.of Compliers	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Jains
6	1	Nil	Nil	Nil
No.of Advisors				
4	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
No.of Critics or Advisor				
2	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
No.of translators				
2	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

(Source : Seventh Annual Report of the Minorities Commission. For the
period 1-4-1984 to 31-3-1985, p 281)

Table 7: Pattern of Contents 'Hamare Purvaj' for Classes VI, VII and VIII

Part	Total No.of Chapters	Religious Personalities			
		Hindu	Muslims	Christian	Sikh
I	21	16	-	-	-
II	21	15	-	-	-
III	23	14	-	-	-

Part	Total No.of Chapters	Historical and others				
		Jain	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh
I	21	-	3	1	-	-
II	21	-	4	2	-	-
III	23	-	6	3	-	-

(Source : Seventh Annual Report of the Minorities Commission. For the period 1-4-1984 to 31-3-1985, p 281)

5 Madrasa education

Madrasa education also have some problems. Besides the problems of training for Madrasa Ustads and Imams of Mosque, and up graded text-books,³⁶ it is said that main problem of Madrasa education is the modernisation of its curricula.³⁷

In fact, unlike Catholic Christian Seminaries where the intake is fairly mixed with highly rich and intelligent families contributing their family member or two as a nun or a priest after fully imparting secular education and sciences to their beloved boys and girls, pupils going to Madrasas and Darul-ulums have very often a Hobson's choice and the drop out rate of these institutions is very often great, almost staggering. They do not easily get absorbed into the normal secular educational stream as they ought to be enabled to. With slight modification of their syllabus, they could take advantage of Multipoint School Entry now conceded by the department.³⁸ Or in another case, the desire to provide religious instruction to the children before they participate in secular education drives a large number of families to the fold of 'Madrasas' and 'Maktabs'. But by the time a child completes his 'Madrasa' education, he is more than 8 years'old. At this stage, in many cases, poverty of their parents compels them to discontinue education.³⁹

In fact, "their curricula must be brought adreast of modern strides in commercial arts, scientific knowledge and Islamic as well as general education while retaining their traditional subject intact."⁴⁰

According to Mohammad Akhtar Siddiqui "at present three distinct patterns of curriculum are being followed in the madrasas of the

country and each pattern is being separately led by Darul Ulum Deoband, Nadwatul Ulama and Jamiatul Hidayah.”⁴¹

After 1857 uprising, a network of madrasas was spread all over India and it was spearheaded by the Darul Ulum Deoband founded by Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanutwi in 1866. This institution followed Dars-e-Nizami, which was laid greater emphasis on the study of Logic and Philosophy that was case hitherto, and served as the prototype of many more madrasas adopting the Dars-e-Nizami in future.⁴²

After 1857 the Muslim community suffered economically and socially. The religious scholars of the time could not make any provision for these problems in the madrasa curriculum. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who was equally concerned about the Muslim's plight established Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College, which later became Aligarh Muslim University and was a centre of modern education and had a curriculum with a totally different orientation.⁴³

Some scholars, like Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shibli Nomani and others who were aware of the inherent weakness of Dars-e-Nizami and of the divide that was created among of the Muslims by Deoband and Aligarh movements and foreseeing the impending danger to Islam set up Nadwatul Ulama in Lucknow in 1894 with a view to strike a balances between the religious Deoband and the unreligious Aligarh.⁴⁴

Thus many madrasas having their allegiance either to Darul Ulum Deoband pattern of curriculum i.e. Dars-e Nizami or to Nadwa currirulum have been founded but a majority of them belongs to Deoband School.⁴⁵

In the post-independence period, it was repeatedly felt that the madrasas should also train their students in natural sciences and in useful vacations for better career prospects. To enable students to meet

these realities of life, in 1986, came up a new institutions at Jaipur called Jamiyatul Hidayah which, in fact signified the third and latest trend in the madrasa curriculum.⁴⁶

According to the all India survey by Hamdard Education Society, following subjects are generally common to all madrasas:

- (1) Tafsir,
- (2) Hadith,
- (3) Fiqh,
- (4) Usul-i-Tafsir,
- (5) Usul-i-Hadith,
- (6) Usul-i-Fiqh,
- (7) Insha,
- (8) Arabic literature,
- (9) Philosophy,
- (10) Mantiq,
- (11) Sarf and Nahw,
- (12) English (in some madrasas),
- (13) History,
- (14) Geography (in some madrasas),
- (15) Political sciences,
- (16) Economics,
- (17) Comparative studies of religions (in some madrasas), and
- (18) Hindi. ⁴⁷

When we see the aspects from modern education, Darul Ulum Deoband also takes some modern subjects ; political sciences, elemental economics and history of Islam.⁴⁸

Nadwatul Ulamae teaches much more modern subjects;geography,

political sciences, English, religions, economics, history and Islam and history of India.⁴⁹

It is worth while noting Jamiatul Hidayah's curriculum. This madrasa begins at the upper primary stage i.e. from class VI or from the 10/11 years and continues for period of the nine years divided into two levels of Sanawi and Aali of four and five years duration respectively. The Sanawi courses include both religious and modern subjects and they are so framed that in case a student after having studied these courses does not wish to pursue his students in the Jamia he is able to seek admission in a modern education institution. The subjects included in the Aali courses are : Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh, Arabic language and literature, Hindi, English, Social Sciences and intensive technical training in one of the three disciplines namely, Computer Application, Welder cum-fitter and Electrician cum-Wireman. In the Jamia the standard of teaching of modern sciences is equivalent to a graduation level course and that of technical education to a certificate level course.⁵⁰

In fact this kind of modernisation of madrasa education has been insisted again and again. In Prime Minister's Fifteen-Point Programme on Minorities, 1983, there are mentions about it:

Point 11 In many areas recruitment is done through competitive examinations. Often minority groups have been handicapped in taking advantage of the educational system to compete on equal terms in such examinations. To help them to overcome these handicaps, steps should be taken to encourage the starting of coaching classes in minority educational institutions to train persons to compete successfully in these examinations.⁵¹

National Policy on Education 1986 Programme of Action states that "Efforts will be made to teach Science, Mathematics and English on voluntary basis in institutions imparting instructions in Traditional Schools." ⁵² National Policy on Education 1986 Programme of Action 1992 gives much more details that:

- * A Centrally sponsored/Central scheme for the introduction of Science, Mathematics, English and Hindi etc., in traditional institutions to be formulated by the Department of Education and to be adopted by such institutions purely on voluntary basis (Action:Deptt. of Education, Ministry of HRD).
- * The state Govts would be encouraged to establish Madrasa Boards to look after the education of the minorities. Effective administration of these boards to be ensured through adequate staff support. (Action:States/UTs.).⁵³

NCPUL also mentioned about the modernisation of the madrasa education. It mentioned in the meeting on 25 February 1998 that madrasa education should be the center for the religious education but at the same time, it should offer the secular education also.⁵⁴

However, the process of Modernisation of the scheme to encourage traditional institutions like Madarasas and Maktabas by giving financial assistance to introduce science, mathematics, social studies, Hindi and English in their curriculum will be entirely voluntary. The scheme will provide opportunities to students of these institutions to acquire education comparable to the National Education System. Assistance would be given to Madrasas and Maktabas for the activities which contribute to this objective.⁵⁵

6 Opinion from Maulana Wahiduddin Khan

As we have seen in the introduction in this dissertation, "Few topics among Indian Muslims invite such emotional outpouring as dose Urdu. This is one of the few subjects over which there is nearly unanimity among "progeressive" , "moderate" , modernists" and "orthdox" Muslims. " ⁵⁶

But some people's opinions are different. Here I will take up Maulana Wahiduddin Khan's opinion. Mushirur Hasan explained his personality that:⁵⁷

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan, founder of the Islamic Center in Delhi and editor of Al-Risala, emarged as major exponent of the ' multi-culture model', a model 'truly in consonance with nature'.⁵⁸ as against 'cultural nationalism' or 'uni-culturalism'.⁵⁹ The political journey of this man of extraordinary vigour, energy and initiative started with the Jamaat-i-Islami before he joined the Jamiyat al-ulama in the 1960s and edited its official organs, Al-Jamiyat. He no longer retains links with the Jamaat or the Jamiyat, although he still admires the Tablighi Jamaat, whose headquarters are adjacent to his own institute in the Muslim-dominated west Nizamuddin locality in south Delhi. He edits Al-Risala, travels widely and writes for newspapers and magazines. His eclecticism and unortohdox ideas, especially on the Babri Masjid issue,⁶⁰ cause embarrassment to the religious establishments. He is courted by some, but his heterodoxy dose not find favour with the Jamiyat al-ulama or the Muslim Personal Law Board.

At the same time, a scholar of Wahiduddin Khan's background, learning and reputation has a decided advantage over other secular modernists. His religious background, deep knowledge of Islam and acknowledged status as an Islamic thinker are powerful assets. He can get away with talk of reforms and reinterpretation, and take an unpopular stand on the Babri Masjid without the fear of being ostracised or declared a kafir. He can interpret the Quran without incurring the wrath of the mullahs.

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan mentioned about his language policy:

...In terms of the sense of identity which a language confers, there are still complains about the non-fulfillment of promises made by Indian leaders prior to 1947, that 'Hindustani' written in both Persian and Devnagari scripts would be the national language of liberated India. The later decision to make Hindi the official language of post-independence India is still regarded as an affront and a deliberately limiting factor. But, in the context of the present day, I regard all this lamentation over Hindi's predominance as having little or no relevance...

Muslims, however, still make a grievance of this use of Devanagari script. But they are wrong to do so. If they were simply to apply themselves to learning this script along with Urdu script they would find that they could have easy access not only to news and journalistic commentary but to a much wider field of literature and general information that is available to them at present. Devnagari script, being phonetic, is easy to learn, and its acquisition would bring it home to Muslims, once they began to make use of it, that the prevalent national language in actuality

is Hindustani rather than Hindi, a language with which they have been familiar all their lives. They should learn lessons from the many Hindu Punjabi officials who were schooled in Persian and Urdu, but who, after independence had suddenly to make the transition from Urdu to Hindi in their office work, without their ever having had any previous knowledge of Devnagari script. No one says that this changeover was easy, but the fact remains that it was successfully accomplished by dint of personal endeavour. Muslims must begin to see linguistic change as the need of the hour.⁶¹

In fact, as Ashgar Ali Engineer said, "Conservative Muslim leadership is certainly guilty of neglecting the socio-economic problems of Indian Muslims and play in up chauvenistic issues like Muslim personal law, character of the Aligarh Muslim University, status of Urdu."⁶²

Maulana Wahiduddin Khan also said:

The self-development of Muslims is a primary condition for the propagation of Islamic teaching in this country. As part of this process, Muslims should, for instance, learn the language of the country. For forty years Muslims have been agitating for the safeguarding of Urdu, but instead of concentrating on Urdu, they should have been campaigning for Muslims to gain a mastery of all regional languages. The movemnet to safeguard Urdu is a sign of the desire to remain static, whereas any step taken towards learning others'languages is a sure sign of progress.⁶³

7 Linkage between education through Urdu language and employment

After independence, in U.P. "Hindi rapidly became for its users the language of mobility, both vertical and horizontal. For the elite there was no place for Urdu in the new political scheme because they saw themselves as the vanguard of a rising Hindi-speaking middle class which they believed would displace, the older more westernized and generally English speaking middle class which had grown up under the British.⁶⁴ Hindi allowed these classes and communities to gain economic and social advantages, and it created the basis for the formation of a political community."⁶⁵

Contrary to popular belief, during the days of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, " Muslims of North-Western Provinces and Oudh(U.P.) were much more advanced than the Hindus and constituted an administrative and cultural elite...As for long time Persian and then Urdu was the language of the administration, a large number of Muslims got recruited in government services. Educationally too, they were ahead of others."⁶⁶

But now because of the abolition of Urdu as a language of education and administration, "This is the language used by the majority belonging to the poor sections that remained in India after the middle class Muslims left for Pakistan in 1947. Its virtual abolition as a medium of instruction affected that very section of the middle classes which sought employment at the clerical level in lower government service or in educational institutions. Apart from fear of discrimination, also the virtual abandonment of Urdu has made it difficult for a great many Muslim candidates to take competitive examinations for government posts. The cause of Urdu, which has been a

victim of communal bigotry and linguistic jealousy, is thus not only central to the cultural identity of the Urdu speaking Muslims but equally crucial for their material advancement" ⁶⁷ In fact according to the Gopal Singh Panel Report on Minorities in 14th June 1983 (Table 8 and Table 9)(pp 142-3), it accounts for very few taking the competitive examinations for government posts.

After the partition, "Urdu lost its geographical base and withered away. It has in fact been reduced to being a language of the Muslims, and even among them, a growing number of the present generation give Hindi preference because of better job prospects."⁶⁸

In fact "we say that primary education should be in one's mother tongue, that facilities should be provided for teaching the language till the eighth standard, that the teachers should be available in areas where there is a demand for learning the language. But it can only revive its past status as the premier language of north India if it is once again linked with opportunity."⁶⁹

Therefore, Implementation of the second language status of Urdu by Mulayam Singh Yadav in U.P. in 1994 was "linked to the material needs of Muslims who were unable to compete for government jobs in the absence of provisions such as the availability of translators for translating their Urdu applications into Hindi or government orders into Urdu."⁷⁰

Table 8: Employment of Muslims under Central Government-Classwise

State (Sample Districts)	Total No.of employees	Muslim emplo- yees	%age	% of Muslim in Sample Districts	Class I		
					Total	Mus- lim	%age
Uttar Pradesh	12307	929	7.55	17.29	134	11	8.21

Table 8 (Contd.)

State (Sample Districts)	Class II			Class III			Class IV		
	Total	Mus- lim	%age	Total	Mus- lim	%age	Total	Mus- lim	%age
U.P.	335	15	4.48	7295	550	7.54	4543	353	7.77

(Source : Gopal Singh Pannel Report on Minorities, Vol II. Cited in Muslim India, January 1986, p 30)

Table 9: Representation of Muslims in State Public Commission Examinations

Exam./ State	Person applied		Appeared		Called for interview		Selected	
	Total	Muslims	Total	Muslims	Total	Muslims	Total	Muslims
U.P. Forest rangers	8086	513 (6.34)	6149	371 (6.03)	270	11 (4.07)	67	2 (2.98)
Combined State Services	19557	1310 (6.60)	12261	1037 (8.46)	660	18 (1.21)	244	6 (2.46)

(Source : Gopal Singh Pannel Report on Minorities. Cited in Legacy of a Divided Nation by Mushirul Hasan pp 290-291)

8 Problem of identity

The discrimination against Urdu in the Hindi Belt is rather strange.⁷¹ Saiyid Hamid cited the excerpt from the English version of Pandit Anand Narain's presidential remarks at the Convention on Three Language Formula, Lucknow, 1963 as follows; "Is it not surprising that in those States where the Urdu-speaking population is not substantial i.e. Maharashtra, Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Orissa and Assam, the Governments do not find any difficulty to make arrangements for teaching the language? It is only in the Hindi States that all kinds of difficulties crop up. Does this indicate that the U.P. Government ...is prepared to use all means, proper or improper, against Urdu?"⁷²

The treatment could be a result of "(a) a handover of the country's partition. That Urdu is the national language of Pakistan has by a perverse logic been construed against it. Far from being deprecated or spurned on that ground, Urdu should have received even greater attention, as it constitutes a link with our immediate neighbour, or (b) Urdu has wrongly been identified with the Muslims ; consequently it constitutes an easy way to spite them."⁷³ As we have seen before, Urdu in U.P. has been used as a tool of the politics and communal disharmony also.

In U.P., "unlike other non-Hindi states, cultural identities were not defined in regional terms, they were a composite of language and religion. While there is no direct link between Hindi-Urdu controversy and the subsequent emergence of a unified identity, the Hindi-only

policy pursued by the government and backed by the UP literati and political elite influenced and facilitated the formation of this identity. Its growth entailed the displacement, or at least the weakening, of the long-standing mixed traditions and plural cultures of UP.”⁷⁴

In the politics of pre&post independence, “Urdu and Hindi have both emerged as distinct languages and the differences were deepened as each began to be associated with a distinct community. The divide was intensified by the collapse of Hindustani after Hindi was declared the official language. The communal view reinforced this divide by simply opposing Urdu on the ground that it was a problem of minority rights and Muslim interests. In this view, the choice between Urdu and Hindi was presented as a choice between Hinduism and Islam, nationalism and foreignness.”⁷⁵

Thus, “The rejection of Urdu, built up as a literary and conversational language by the combined efforts of both Hindus and Muslims, made it appear that the Muslim contribution to Indian culture was being rejected, and that the culture of free India would be exclusively Hindu.”⁷⁶ M. Mujeeb said that “Probably nothing has hurt the Muslims of north India more than the deliberate and sometimes provocative way in which advantage was taken of the political circumstances and all other possible arguments to oust Urdu and replace it with Hindi.”⁷⁷

In short, “The Urdu language because of its perceived association with Muslim separatism in north India has been systematically denied opportunity to be learnt in schools by its speakers and to be used in offices and law Courts, especially in the State of U.P. where its script

is on the way to becoming rare, except for the backwaters of religious seminaries. This is a loss to its users both in functional terms and in terms of cherished identity.”⁷⁸

Zoya Hasan explained this situation:

Running through the controversies surrounding the status of Hindi and Urdu were distinct texts about political dominance and equally significant subtexts on the cultural identity of the state and alternative conceptions of political community. Government policy over the years has sought to promote integration by proscribing linguistic pluralism in order to reorganize the cultural domain. This required the complete separation of language and religion as well as language and culture. But this did not happen because government policy encouraged the identification of Urdu with Muslims by refusing to support Urdu and thus forcing its advocacy on the minorities. This was not all. The expansion of Hindi has occurred mainly through Sanskritization and a sharp disassociation of the written from spoken form which is closer to Hindustani, separating it increasingly from written Urdu which has developed through Persianization. Government policy thus made Hindi a Hindu affair and Urdu a Muslim affair. Both developments reinforced the process of linguistic growth and conflict intersecting and overlapping with Hindu and Muslim religious revivalism.⁷⁹

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- 9 "T. N. Madan on Urdu and the Muslim Ethos" , Muslim India, (December, 1989), p 556. Source : The Times of India, 14 October, 1989.
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- 11 Ibid. p 246. Cited from Maktubat-i Sir Sayyid, ed. by Shaikh Muhammad Isma'il Panipati, (Lahore : Majlis Traqqi-i Abad, 1959), p 103. But during his stay in London, he came to believe that the separation of Muslims from Hindus might be beneficial for the Muslims. In the letter to Mahdi Ali Khan in 1870, he said: "If, after separating from the Hindus, the Muslims were to establish their own businesses Muslims would benefit more than the Hindus." See Hafeez Malik's p 246

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- 16 Ibid. p 42.
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- 18 Ibid. p 140.
- 19 Ibid. p 140.
- 20 Ibid. p 202.
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- 37 Ibid. p 43.
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- 41 "Development and Trends in Madrasa Education" by Mohammad Akhtar Siddiqui, Education and Muslims in India since Independence. Edited by A. W. B. Qadri (Chief Editor), Riaz Shakir Khan, Mohammed Akhter Siddiqui (Institute of Objective Studies, New Delhi, 1998), p 84.
- 42 Ibid. pp 80-81. In fact Shah Waliullah of Delhi(d.1760) had introduced some reforms in the curriculum, but it could not gain general acceptance. It was left to his contemporary Sheikh Mullah Nizamuddin Sihali (d. 1748) of Firangi Mahal to set up landmark in the history of teaching of Islamic sciences in India. His curriculum came to be known as Dars-e-Nizami.

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VI Conclusion: Identity, Social Mobility and National Integration

The founding fathers of the Constitution were aware of the linguistic multiplicity in India. Thus they laid down the articles for the use and the status of languages in the Constitution.

The safeguards for linguistic minorities in India derive their authority from two sources.

One of them is the Constitution of India. Among the articles dealing with language, Arts. 14, 15, 16, 29, 30, 347, 350 and 350A deal with the safeguards for linguistic minorities. At first the suggestion that the right to education through the mother tongue at the primary level should be included in the Constitution was rejected for the reason that, it being such a universally accepted proposition, it was so natural that there could not be any dispute on the principle of it at all even without the Constitutional guarantee. But the States Reorganisation Commission felt that linguistic minorities did not have the resources required to establish and maintain their own educational institutions particularly in rural areas. Therefore it suggested that a positive duty should be cast on the State to provide facilities to the minorities for education in the mother-tongue at the primary school stage and that constitutional recognition should be given to it. On the basis of this recommendation, in June 1956, it was inserted as Art. 350A in the Constitution.

The other is the Scheme of Safeguards agreed to at the All-India level from time to time. These safeguards are contained in the decisions arrived at various Conferences, etc.

In addition to this, the National Policy on Education and the Three Language Formula were declared for the development and the use of the languages.

These have become the basis of the Language policy in general in India.

When it comes to the Urdu language, the Indian Government has been cooperative with the promotion of it. In the National Policy on Education, a number of Schemes had been envisaged for the promotion of the Urdu language. In addition to this, some organisations for the promotion of Urdu like NCPUL, Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Hind), Gujral Committee and Jafri Committee have also been set up.

But these are only paper agreement and it depends on the State Governments whether or not they adopt and implement these policies properly. There is the big difference between law and the reality.

In fact, even during the Constituent Assembly Debate, there were some arguments against Urdu language. The problem of Urdu language has always been taken up in connection with Hindi and it has been treated very politically. Because of the birth of Pakistan which is a Muslim State and because Urdu was decided as its national language, Urdu has been wrongly connected with Muslim. As we have seen from the presidential speech of the Constituent Assembly Debate on the Official language of the Union, the language issue is very emotional. The debate on whether to provide safeguards for the minorities in India before Pakistan did the same, and the sudden changing of the official language from Hindustani to Hindi are such examples.

This sudden changing of the official language at the national level affected some State Governments also. U.P. is one of them.

Therefore during the Constituent Assembly Debate, some Urdu speaking Muslims from U.P. insisted on some guarantees in the constitution for education through the mother tongue and worried about the status of that language in U.P.

U.P. Official Language Act 1951 followed the Constituent Assembly measure by the introduction of Hindi as the sole official language in U.P. and made the use of Urdu language impermissible. From 1953 onwards, Hindi was decided as the sole medium for answering high school examinations. The U.P. State Government suspended aid to Urdu-medium schools. Consequently there is not a single Urdu medium school in the entire state run by the State Government. Even in the Urdu-medium schools by private organisations, there are problems of non-availability in time of Urdu books and absence for long periods trained teachers.

In addition to this, the U.P. State Government implemented the three language formula wrongly at the secondary stage. By substituting mother tongue by Hindi as first language, and since Sanskrit is included in the VIII Schedule, importing Sanskrit as possible Second Language along with modern Indian Languages like Urdu and by not providing the due facilities for teaching Urdu in most schools, it ensured that even children whose mother tongue was Urdu shall opt for Sanskrit.

Originally, the Three Language Formula was based on the effective steps with regard to the use and place of the mother-tongue at the secondary stage of education. But it was taken advantage of and manipulated wrongly in U.P.

The Government of India guaranteed the mother-tongue education at the primary level by 350 A of the Constitution, and at the secondary level by the Three Language Formula on the recommendation of the States

Reorganisation Commission. But this is not followed by the U.P. State Government.

This is what K. M. Munshi was worrying about during the Constituent Assembly Debate, and ironically, even after it found a place in the Constitution and the safeguards, this principle is not implemented properly.

In fact, U.P. State Government adopted an exclusive Hindi-only policy and this policy commitments cuts across the party lines. It is difficult to distinguish party positions on Hindi because they are so similar. This shows that language issues are very emotional, whether they come from the dominant segment or the dominated segment.

Though Anjuman Traqqi Urdu has been trying to solve the Urdu problem in U.P., it has not been successful.

While U.P. State Government has taken the Hindi only and anti-Urdu policy, it has taken advantage of the Urdu language for the election votes. Urdu, "as a second language in U.P." , was used as the party manifestos again and again, but it always remained a promise, until finally in 1994, it got the second language status.

Once Urdu is linked with Muslim and the Urdu-Muslim identification is built up, the rejection of Urdu language means the rejection of Muslim. At the same time, to support Urdu language leads the image of pro-Muslim. This was the way they tried to get votes from the Muslim segments in U.P.

In fact the U.P. Muslim's attachment to the Urdu language, and later, the Urdu-Muslim identity was born in the course of such a rejection of the Urdu language by the U.P. Government. Its policy encouraged the identification of Urdu with Muslims by refusing to

support Urdu. This causes the U.P. Muslim's insecurity, which can be seen from the Constituent Assembly Debate.

Since in U.P. cultural identities are not based on the regional term but on the language and religion, once U.P. Government policy which made Hindi a Hindu affair and Urdu a Muslim affair was set up, it always overlapped with Hindu and Muslim religious revivalism. Language issues are such an emotional matter for both Hindus and Muslims and are always treated politically also. The U.P. Government rejected the Muslims by rejecting Urdu and they got votes from the same by pretending to support Urdu during election.

This U.P. Government attitude towards Urdu causes the decline of Urdu. The decline of language, if it happens naturally, will not bear such a strong identity. But in the case of Urdu, because it was done deliberately, it evolved a strong identity.

As a result of this rejection of the use of Urdu in education and the denial of official status for Urdu in U.P., two cases can be seen in U.P. In one case, in urban U.P., even Muslims whose mother tongue is Urdu start to receive education through Hindi medium and in the entire U.P., the retention of Urdu as their mother tongue itself is declining year by year.

This is but natural. For the retention of a language, it needs socio-economic value and political support. Socio-economic value is especially important. If there is no linkage between a language and jobs, it becomes difficult to keep that language alive. People start receiving the education through a language more convenient than their own mother tongue, requiring better facilities including textbooks and teachers, which could provide them with the better chances of a job. In

that sense, to retain the language through education alone has its limitations.

In another case, those who want their children to receive education through the Urdu medium, whether for financial reasons or for religious reasons, have to send their own children to a Madrasa, which breeds orthodoxy and separatism, and which is not give secular enough curriculum, or to Urdu medium schools run by private organisations which have poorer facilities compared to Hindi medium schools. This leads to educational backwardness and thus to economic backwardness too.

In short, there are only two ways left for Muslims in U.P.; (1) Giving up their cultural identity, Urdu and getting social mobility or (2) Giving up their social mobility and getting their cultural identity, Urdu. Except the financially poorer section, most of the Muslims in U.P. have to face this dilemma, which their counterparts don't have to face it so much.

In fact, Hindus do not care about Hindi so much. In pre-independent India, it did not make any difference, whether the official language was English or Urdu, because neither of them was their language. It was just an alternative. This was one of the reason why they could easily be absorbed into the English stream of education. The British rule gave the Hindus chance and benefit, while it gave the Muslim segments insecurity and fear of the future.

After independence, Hindi has got the official status not only in U.P., but also in the whole of India, which gives it much socio-economic value and chance to get a job. Though English also remains in India and its demand is growing especially in the international scene, as long as Hindi is the language of the majority and keeps such a status and

official support, its speakers do not have to feel so much insecurity or dilemma.

In fact, the problem of identity and social mobility are deeply connected.

The Urdu language is so emotional for the Muslim community that there is nearly unanimity among “progressive”, “moderate”, “modernists” and “orthodox Muslims”. Even Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan treated the Hindi-Urdu controversy emotionally. He insisted on English education not only because it could give the Muslim segments a Government job, but also because he thought that it was better for Urdu to be replaced by English than by Hindi, which was identified with Hindu. It shows his emotional insecurity that the dominant status of Muslim might be deprived by the dominated Hindu, which had started to emerge educationally and economically in 19th century by taking English education.

In that sense, Maulana Wahiduddin Khan deals with the same issues more objectively. He just suggests the study of the regional language for the better, progressive Muslim future.

In fact, the overemphasis on identity is a burden for social mobility. Once such a strong identity is born emotionally and built up deliberately, it is very difficult to keep away from it. If the Muslim community is too conscious about it, it will prevent its members from progress and upper mobility.

Ironically, safeguards for linguistic minorities itself is a double-edged sword. Firstly, it might be used and implemented wrongly. Secondly, though the Government of India may provide many safeguards for Urdu speakers, including some organisations, it can't lead the Muslim

community to an economically better position because there is no use and no place for Urdu in the business scene at the present time. In addition to this, and most importantly, safeguards make them feel that they belong to the "minorities" and this minority feeling and insecurity make them stick to their identity and prevent them from joining the mainstream.

This is what the State Reorganisation Commission was worrying about. Therefore they wanted to avoid "overemphasis on too many safeguards for linguistic minorities which would tend to keep the minority consciousness alive and thereby hamper the growth of a common nationhood" .

In this sense, the problem of identity is deeply linked not only with social mobility but also with national integration. If their separate identity is so strong, they can't promote national integration and this will lead to separatism.

On the other hand, social mobility is much closer to national integration because it needs to be absorbed in the national mainstream. For example, to learn regional language gives them much more job chances than learning Urdu does, and in the course of learning, they will be absorbed in that region, which will lead to local integration.

In fact, Identity, social mobility, and national integration have a triangular-linkage and when the balance between three of them is kept, the minority consciousness will disappear and it will help solve the problem of minority insecurity.

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