

Language in India

Strength for Today and Bright Hope for Tomorrow

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The Gujral Committee Report

A landmark in the history of the processes of language development in India, the Gujral Committee Report deals with issues relating to the use of Urdu in India in a detailed and balanced manner. The report is downloaded from the Government of India portal <http://education.nic.in/cd50years/u/47/3X/toc.htm>.

While the Report is reproduced and presented here in its entirety, only six appendices to the Report are reproduced here below..

“The Government of India appointed a Committee for Promotion of Urdu under the Chairmanship of Shri I.K. Gujral, the then Union Minister of State for Works and Housing by a Resolution dated May 5, 1972. It was requested to advise the Government on the measures to be adopted for the promotion of Urdu language and the steps required to be taken to provide adequate facilities for Urdu speaking people in educational, cultural and administrative matters.

19. The Report of the Gujral Committee was received in the Ministry of Education on May 8, 1975. It runs into 269 pages and contains 187 recommendations covering a very wide spectrum of problems and issues.

20. The Gujral Committee Report was placed before the Cabinet on January 30, 1979. Thereafter, it was laid on the Table of both the Houses of Parliament on February 21, 1979.”
<http://education.nic.in/cd50years/u/47/3X/473X0201.htm>

CHAIRMAN'S LETTER TO THE EDUCATION MINISTER

D.O. No. F.1-2/75-CPU

SHASTRI BHAVAN

NEW DELHI

May 8, 1975

My dear Professor Hasan,

I have great pleasure in submitting the Report of the Committee for Promotion of Urdu. On this occasion I would like to express the Committee's sincere gratitude for the help and encouragement which it has received in such generous measure from you. It has been our endeavour to provide a workable basis for charting out our future course of action with a flexibility of approach. I am confident that you will ensure speedy consideration and implementation of the recommendations we have made.

With regards.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

(I. K. GUJRAL)

Professor S. Nurul Hasan, Minister of Education, Social Welfare and Culture,
Government of India, New Delhi.

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INTRODUCTORY

1.1 The Committee for Promotion of Urdu was appointed by the Government of India Resolution No. F. 15-25/72-L. 1 dated May 5, 1972, notified in Part I, Section I of the Gazette of India dated May 20, 1972. The text of the Resolution is reproduced below "The Government Resolution of 18th January, 1968, on the Languages Policy as adopted by both the Houses of Parliament emphasised that in the interest of the educational and cultural advancement of the country, it was necessary to take 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 coordinated 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, necessary 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.

" The following are appointed to the Committee

1. Shri I. K. Gujral, Minister of State, Ministry of Works & Housing, New Delhi
Chairman
2. Begum Hamida Habibullah, Minister of State, Government of Uttar Pradesh,
Lucknow-Vice-Chairman
3. Shri Mishri Sada, Minister of State for Education, Government of Bihar, Patna
Member

4. Prof. M. Mujeeb, Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi
 5. Prof. Abdul Aleem, Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
 - 6 . Dr. Sarup Singh Vice-Chancellor, University of Delhi, Delhi
 7. Prof. S. Ehtesham Husain, Head of the Department of Urdu, Allahabad University, Allahabad
 8. Prof. Gian Chand Jain, Head of the Department of Urdu, University of Jammu, Jammu
 9. Shri Krishan Chander, St. Francis Avenue, Santa Cruz (West), Bombay-54
 10. Shri Malik Ram, C-396, Defence Colony, New Delhi
 11. Shri Sajjad Zaheer, Y-24, Hauz Khas, New Delhi
 12. Shri Abid Ali Khan, Editor 'Siasat', Hyderabad .
 13. Joint Secretary (1), Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi
 14. Joint Secretary (CL), Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi
 15. Joint Secretary (Languages) Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, New Delhi. Member-Secretary.
 16. Shri S. Ali Jawad Zaidi, Deputy Principal, Information Officer (Home), Press information Bureau, New Delhi. Member-Joint secretary,
- "The non-official members of the Committee will hold appointment at the pleasure of Government and casual vacancies caused due to death/resignation etc, will be filled by Government, if considered necessary.
- "An official member will cease to hold office if transferred from his present position.

"The Committee should submit its report to Government within a period of six months from the date it is set up."

1.2 Joint Secretary (I), Ministry of Information and Broadcasting; Joint Secretary (OL), Ministry of Home Affairs; and Joint Secretary (L), Ministry of Education and Social Welfare were ex- officio members and those who joined the Committee first in that capacity were Shri M.S.A. Rajan, Shri P. P. Nayyar and Shri Kanti Chaudhuri, respectively.

1.3 Prior to its issue, the Resolution was placed before Parliament by the Union Minister of State for Education and Social Welfare, Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, on May 2, 1972.

Elucidating' the background to the formation of the Committee he stated :

"Urdu is an important national language of India. It does not belong to 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

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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 of rupees one crore has been made for the production of Urdu books under the guidance of the Board during the Fourth 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."

1.4 The task before the Committee was further elaborated by Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, Union Minister of State for Education and Social Welfare, Shri I. K. Gujral, Chairman of the Committee and then Union Minister of State for Works and Housing, in their inaugural and presidential addresses respectively at the first meeting of the Committee. The texts of these addresses can be seen in Appendices XXV and XXVI.

1.5 The untimely death of the well-known scholar. Prof. Ehtesham Hussain, on December 1, 1972, deprived the Committee of one of its most important 'members. The vacancy caused by his death was filled by Prof. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, then Head of the Department of History and later Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University.

1.6 In the death of Shri Sajjad Zaheer on September 13, 1973, the Committee lost yet another active and eminent member. As the deliberations of the Committee were nearing completion by that time, it was not considered necessary to fill the vacancy.

1.7 On account of the change in the portfolio of Shri Mishri Sada, Minister of State for Education, Government of Bihar, from Education to Labour, Shri Dinesh Kumar Singh, the new Minister of State for Education in Bihar was co-opted as an additional member, on February 21, 1973. It was felt, however, that the Committee should not lose the benefit of Shri Sada's continuous association with it. This decision raised the strength of the Committee to 17.

1.8 In place of Prof. M. Mujeeb, Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, who was unable to attend further meetings of the Committee on account of ill health, Dr. Salamat Ullah, Principal, Teachers Training college, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, was appointed a member of the Committee on July 6, 1973,

1.9 Shri Kanti Chaudhuri, who had been associated with the Committee as its Member-Secretary from the very beginning was succeeded in November 1973 by Shri Shahid Alikhan as Joint Secretary (Languages) in the Ministry of Education and accordingly took over as Member-Secretary of the Committee. Shri Kanti Chaudhuri was, however, asked to continue as an additional member in view of his earlier association with the Committee,

1.10 Shri M.A.S. Rajan, Joint Secretary (Information) left the Ministry of Information and Broad casting and was succeeded by Shri H. C. Khanna, who took his place on the Committee.

1.11 Shri P. P. Nayar who took over as Joint Secretary (Political) in the Ministry of Home Affairs when the deliberations of the Committee were in their final stage, was asked to continue as member of the C Committee in place of Joint Secretary (Official Languages) for the rest of the period.

1.12 The Committee decided at its inaugural meeting to constitute four Sub-Committees to survey the educational, administrative, literary and journalistic areas of our study in an attempt to locate factors impeding the progress of Urdu and discover directions

towards which official and non-official efforts must be channelized to achieve the objective of making Urdu an effective medium of communicating modern knowledge, in unison with its sister languages. The Sub- Committees were expected to prepare working papers on broad outlines for further deliberations by the Committee. The constitution of the Sub-Committees is given below :

(a) LITERATURE SUB-COMMITTEE

1. Shri Malik Ram Convenor
2. Shri S. Ehtesham Husain
3. Prof. Gian Chand Jain
4. Shri Ali Sardar Jafri
5. Shri Krishan Chander
6. Shri Kartar Singh Duggal
7. Shri S. Ali Jawad Zaidi
8. Prof. Masud Husain Khan
9. Prof. Mohd. Akbaruddin Siddiqui

(b) JOURNALISM SUB-COMMITTEE

1. Shri Abid Ali Khan Convenor
2. Shri Sajjad Zaheer
3. Shri Ranbir, Editor 'Milap' New Delhi

4. Shri Kuldip Nayar Resident Editor Statesman New Delhi.
5. Shri Ishrat Ali Siddiqui Editor 'Quami Awaz' Lucknow
6. Shri Yunus Dehlavi Editor 'Shama' Delhi.
7. Shri Khalid Ansari Managing Editor 'Inquilab' Bombay.

(c) ADMINISTRATION SUB-COMMITTEE

1. Begum Hamida Habibullah Chairman
2. Shri P. P. Nayyar Convenor
3. Shri Yunus Saleem
4. Shri Ghulam Mohiuddin Education Secretary.
Government of Jammu and Kashmir Srinagar
5. Shri M.A.S. Rajan
6. Home Secretary Government of Bihar Patna
7. Joint Secretary Policy Planning Department
of Personnel Government of India New Delhi.

(d) EDUCATION SUB-COMMITTEE

1. Dr. Sarup Singh Convenor

2. Prof. M. Mujeeb
3. Prof. Abdul Aleem
4. Prof. S. Ehtesham. Husain
5. Dr. Khaliq Anjum. Joint Convenor

1.13 The Sub-Committees examined a limited number of experts in various disciplines before formulate general approaches. Two of the Sub-Committees, namely, these on Journalism and Literature, prepared working papers on their respective subjects, while the Education Sub- Committee prepared a detailed paper on the educational problems of Delhi. The Administration Sub-Committee did not prepare a working paper but discussed the issues with various representatives and experts at different centres of the language and formulated some broad outlines. The meetings of the Sub-Committees were held as a rule in New Delhi. Only the Administration Sub-Committee held meetings at Lucknow and Patna to study the local problems in particular. Following are the details of their schedules :

Sr. NO.	Name of the Sub-Committee	Dates	Place
1	Literature Sub-Committee	June 12 and 13, 1972	New Delhi
2	Journalism Sub-Committee	June 15 and 16, 1972	New Delhi
3	Education Sub-committee	June 19, 1972	New Delhi
4	Administration Sub-Committee	June 23 and 24, 1972	Lucknow
		January 11, 1973	Patna.

The total number of witnesses examined by the Sub-Committees was 61 (Appendix XXVII).

1.14 The main Committee held twenty-six meetings as detailed below :

S. NO.	Place	Date
1	New Delhi	May 22,1972
2	Bombay	July 5 and 6, 1972
3	Hyderabad	July 28 and 29, 1972
4	Lucknow	August 12 and 13, 1972
5.	New Delhi	August 27, 28 and 29, 1972
6	Srinagar	September 26, 27, 28 and 29, 1972
7	Patna	January 12 and 13, 1973
8	Chandigarh	January 23 and 24, 1973
9	Calcutta	March 4 and 5, 1973
10	Bhopal	April 5 and 6. 1973
11	New Delhi	April 20 and 21, 1973
12	Bangalore and Mysore	May 6 and 7, 1973
13	Jaipur	May 17, 1973

14	New Delhi	August 7, 8 and 9, 1973
15	New Delhi	August 18, 1973
16	New Delhi	September 4, 5 and 6, 1973
17	New Delhi	September 26 and 27, 1973
18	New Delhi	November 5, 6 and 7, 1973
19	New Delhi	November 15 and 16, 1973
20	New Delhi	December 26 and 27, 1973
21	New Delhi	January 24 and 25, 1974
22	New Delhi	May 20 and 21, 1974
23	New Delhi	June 22 and 23, 1974
24	Srinagar	July 4, 5,6,7, and 8, 1974
25	New Delhi	August 26, 27, 28 and 29, 1974
26	New Delhi	March 18, 19, 1975

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1.15 There were pressing requests from Urdu writers in Tamil Nadu to hold a meeting of the Committee in that State. While a meeting of the Committee could not be held as requested, a Sub-Committee consisting of Shri Abid Ali Khan, Shri S. Ali Jawad Zaidi

and Dr. Khaliq Anjum visited Madras on August 29, 1973. The Sub-Committee examined ten witnesses including the State Director of Public Instruction.

1.16 Another Sub-Committee was later formed to examine the feasibility of setting up Research Institutes, one in the North and another in the South. Shri Malik Ram, Prof. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, Dr. GianChand Jain, Shri Abid Ali Khan, Shri S. Ali Jawad Zaidi and Dr. Khaliq Anjum constituted the SubCommittee. The Sub-Committee bifurcated into two groups. It was decided that Shri Malik Ram, Dr. Gain Chand Jain and Prof. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami should go to Rampur and Shri Abid Ali Khan, Shri Ali Jawad Zaidi and Dr. Khaliq Anjum to Hyderabad. The Sub-Committee succeeded in producing an agreed scheme for research, which has been incorporated in the main body of the Report.

1.17 In addition to the 289 witnesses (Appendix XXVIII) examined by the Committee, the Sub-Committees also heard, as already mentioned, the views of 61 witnesses. A number of deputations presented their views to the Committee orally while some deputationists handed over memoranda to the Committee, The details of these memoranda, 125 in number, will be found in Appendix XXIX.

1.18 The witnesses came from different walks of life and represented many vocations and interests. Among them were Chief Ministers, Speakers of Legislative Assemblies, Education Ministers, Vice-Chancellors of Universities, Members of Parliament, Members of State Legislatures, Secretaries to Governments, Editors, Directors of Education and Information, Professors, Principals, Writers, Leaders of public opinion, Statesmen and Representatives of various literary and educational organisations.

1.19 The Committee also invited suggestions from the general Public for the promotion of Urdu. in response to the Committees advertisements in this regard, which appeared in important newspapers and periodicals, 198 letters containing suggestions were received from various individuals and organisations. The State wise breakup of the correspondence is given in Appendix XXX

1.20 For a detailed study of the various problems in the educational and Journalistic fields, the committee requested the Chief Secretaries/Education Secretaries/Directors of

Education and Public Instruction; Directors of information/Publicity/Public Relations, Vice-Chancellors of Universities and Principals of degree colleges for information on the points indicated in a proforma. While the response from the Vice-Chancellors and Principals, as also from Directors of Information and Publicity, was most encouraging, a few of the State Departments of Education did not supply full information despite repeated telegraphic and telephonic reminders. Moreover, some of the States did not conform to the proforma in supplying the information asked for. As a result the Committee felt handicapped in drawing certain conclusions. This has also been responsible, in part, for the delay in the submission of this report.

1.21 The Committee had been instructed to submit its report, within six months from the date of its Constitution. However, the appointment of the Committee evoked great enthusiasm in different parts of the country and the Committee was flooded with requests from various quarters to visit areas and centres not included in the original schedule and to hear local views and make on-the-spot assessment of the situation. The Committee was naturally keen to elicit the views of the largest number of persons and institutions interested in the problem and the, Government of India agreed to extend the term of the Committee finally up to June 30, 1975, to enable it to make a thorough and comprehensive study. The increased number of visits, the ensuing discussions, the Sub-Committee meetings and the final collection, sifting, correlation consolidation and analysis of data necessitated the extensions which were indeed essential for the detailed study we had embarked upon.

1.22 From the very beginning, the Committee has been conscious of the wide ramifications of the study undertaken and the complexity and diversity of the problems. Many of the factors responsible for the slow development of some of the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution have their roots in history. It was only through a meaningful analysis of these historical factors that one could hope to find solutions and plan for unhindered growth in future. The chapter on the Historical

Background and the introductory portions of the various chapters are meant to clarify the issues both for the scholars as well as the cultivated laymen.

1.23 There has been plenty of uninformed talk about the linguistic problems in general. This has caused misunderstandings and at times a hardening or polarising of attitudes which have also affected Urdu. There have been plenty of complaints and variety of demands. The authorities concerned have dealt with them as and when they arose. The process has gone on for years. Some of the difficulties are a legacy of the past while others have emerged with the opening of the new vistas of development in the post independence period. The improvement in educational standards and the media of communication has led to a greater awareness of rights and obligations and the general enrichment, of the quality of life has resulted in higher levels of aspiration in all spheres including language and culture. It is time that these phenomena were probed in depth in order to arrive at solutions which will satisfy the natural aspirations of the people for the development of the languages they speak.

1.24 Quite a few of the difficulties bequeathed to us are traceable to the inadequacies in the implementation of the safeguards provided to the linguistic minorities or to the inability to anticipate or fully appreciate the changing dimensions of the problem. While examining the problems of Urdu in all their ramifications, we felt that these could not be studied in isolation, because many of the difficulties faced by the speakers of one language are shared by those of other languages also. In fact a regional language turns into a minority language as soon as it steps outside its well-defined region. Thus, the speakers of the same language may encounter different sets of problems in different areas. In order to understand the basic character, the range and sweep of these problems, it is necessary to keep in view the entire national perspective. No tangible results can be achieved by moving in narrow groves. We have, therefore, adopted an empirical approach. We hope that our recommendations will be viewed in the same light.

1.25 The collection and collation of facts and statistics was rendered difficult by the absence of organised or scientific efforts in the past to compile material on various aspects of the language question purely from the linguistic, educational or cultural point of view. Little had been done to record the changing complexion of a problem which is constantly exposed to the pressures of prevailing political, economic and social conditions, or to study the complicated processes which a problem undergoes before attaining a certain stage of development. Basic research had, therefore, to be undertaken on some of the main areas of our study. We have relied primarily on the official and semi-official records and statistics, though we have also carefully studied the material scattered in newspapers, periodicals and books. Steering clear of vague generalisations, we have taken due note of the administrative difficulties and attempted to reach conclusions which promise long lasting solutions within the framework of the broad national policies and the constitutional safeguards already provided. In this task, the reports of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities have proved invaluable. Suggestions invited from the public and visits to Important centres of Urdu also yielded useful information. Apart from meeting the litterateurs, educationists and important citizens, we also examined the administrators. At most places we had a free and frank ex. change of views with the Chief Ministers and Education Ministers. The pattern of study set by the preliminary work done at the Sub-Committee stage, was amplified and modified as the work progressed.

1.26 We wish to express out thanks to the Cheif Ministers of the States and heads of the Union Territories, Administrations who extended all help and cooperation. Thanks are also due to all those Ministries, Departments, organisations, institutions and individuals who cooperated with the Committee by making available to it important information and relevant data.

1.27 It is gratifying to record that a number of difficulties brought to our notice were %moved soon after the discussions we had with the Chief Ministers and Education

Ministers, who were anxious to accord Urdu all reasonable facilities. The clarification of Government of Andhra Pradesh G. O. No. 1800 by that Government; the publication of official journals in Urdu by the Punjab, Maharashtra and Haryana Governments; the setting up of training Centre for Urdu teachers of Himachal Pradesh and the Publication of the State Gazettes in Urdu by the Governments of Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh are some instances of the positive action taken by the State Governments concerned and the effectiveness of the Committee's endeavours. Incidentally the State Government of Maharashtra has also very recently announced the setting up of an Urdu Academy.

1.28 We have pleasure in placing on record our appreciation of the services rendered by the Member-Secretary, the Member Joint Secretary and other officers of the Committee working with them. Shri Kanti Chaudhuri, the first Member Secretary, with his intimate knowledge of educational problems and his wide sympathies, brought to bear a fresh and dynamic outlook on the Committee's work. His successor, Shri Shabid Alikhan, showed keen insight and awareness of the problems and carried forward the work with great vigour and drive, initiative and understanding. They were assisted in this work by Shri S. Ali Jawad Zaidi, a scholar, poet and communications expert, whose contribution to the compilation of this report has been considerable. The thoroughness with which he marshalled the material deserves special mention. It was under his immediate supervision that the whole work was organised and executed in a planned and scientific manner. Despite his other multifarious and heavy duties, he worked unceasingly with efficiency and zeal and never allowed the Committee's work to flag or falter. The Committee also notes with appreciation the assistance so ably rendered by Dr. Khaliq Anjum, an Urdu scholar, to the Committee's devoted staff of list at Appendix XXXI for its unremitting efforts.

6

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Language is a great unifying factor. In our day-to-day dealings, we communicate through the medium of a language. It also serves as a transmission line conveying the accumulated experience, wisdom and cultural forms of a society from one point to another. As a political force, it provides a link between the rulers and the ruled and acts as a means of disseminating policies and ideologies.

2.2 A multi-lingual society adopts more than one language to make inter-communication easy not only for commercial and administrative but also for cultural purposes. Ours is a country of vast dimensions, with varying cultural layers and a multiplicity of languages and dialects. Historical forces have forged abiding links between divergent groups, far-flung regions and widely differing languages.

2.3 In the midst of a myriad languages and dialects, our social milieu represents a vast network of interacting forces, which have influenced our living and thinking patterns and moulded them to suit the ever-changing needs of modern society. While still retaining their linguistic identity, people in the various regions have aspired to seek integration with the main educational, cultural and administrative stream through a Sustained and dynamic excise in evolving synthesis out of diversities. The uninterrupted creative activity of centuries in our major languages has but added charm and colour to our national life.

2.4 In this process, they have encountered many problems of development and growth in common with sister languages and have sought to resolve them in accordance with their own genius and needs. An insight into the causes of the malaise, an awareness of the possibilities and a breadth of vision to foresee the future clearly are required for a comprehensive appraisal of these problems.

2.5 Many of the problems have their roots in the past while others have been generated by the quickening of the tempo of development particularly in the fields of education,

mass communication and administration. Although the size of the Population, the territorial limits and the stage of literary development differ from language to language, there is a striking similarity among them in respect of their growth. This is primarily due to the uniform neglect in the past of the regional languages by the alien masters. The creation new opportunities of progress in the post-Independence era has stirred the writers of different languages to new activity. It has made them conscious, on the one hand, of the enormous possibilities of development and on the other of the limitations of their resources. Even the languages which have been adopted for official use within their own regions face a new set of problems once they step outside their area. The problem of languages has, therefore, rightly acquired national dimensions.

2.6 As we proceed to deal with the problems of Urdu in the various spheres, this general survey of the common destiny of our languages is necessary to understand the genesis of its troubles and the confines within which solutions are to be sought.

2.7 The credentials of Urdu as a national language understood by large sections of the population all over the country are accepted without the need for a proof. In this context, it must not be regarded merely as a widely spoken or commonly understood language but also as one which has considerable cultural significance and local colour. In represents a rich heritage of India drawn from the last five hundred years of its history. It must not, therefore, be allowed to run even the remotest risk of being gradually reduced to a position of insignificance.

2.8 In undertaking the present study of its problems, the Committee has been guided by the accepted national attitudes towards the language, problem. It has delved deep into the history of the language, literature and journalism to highlight the important role the language has played and continues to play In our national life, In as much as it serves wide areas in the country including some substantial concentrations and sizeable proportions of our population, its needs are basically the needs of the entire community of languages in the country. The attitude of the governing hierarchy and socio- Political forces towards one language is relevant and significant for other languages as well and any remedies that we strive to find for the ills afflicting one should be broadly applicable

to them all. The study may also serve to remove some of the wide-spread misconceptions about the role of Urdu in our society and to assess the opportunities and prospects that the future may hold for it.

Early History

2.9 Like all modern Indo-Aryan languages, Urdu traces its ancestry to Sanskrit, the doyen of the Indo-European family. It shares the rich heritage of the Indo-Aryan family as also the story of evolution with sister languages. Studies in historical linguistics have revealed that a branch of Aryans, who had migrated to southern Mesopotamia and Iran, pushed forward further east and entered India around 1500 B. C. This is the time when the story of the Indo-Aryan languages begins. At this time, the languages and dialects of Asia Austric, the Sino-Tibetan and Dravidian families were already in vogue in India. Naturally a process of acculturation, and assimilation started, resulting in an obvious impact of the Aryan language on these languages and dialects and vice versa.

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2.10 The oldest specimens of the Aryan language in India are known as Vedic Sanskrit, preserved in the four Vedas believed to have been compiled during 1200-800 B. C. or even earlier. The period from 600 B. C. is identified with classical Sanskrit. The entire period from 1500 to 600 B. C. is called the old Indo-Aryan stage. At the close of the old Indo-Aryan period a more significant process began with the original inhabitants also showing preference for the Aryan languages. On the other hand, the impact of the local languages and dialects affected the standard literary forms, styles and vocabulary between 600 B. C. and 1000 A. D. To attain linguistic unity, an effort was made to standardize it through a process of selectivity. Recognition was accorded to only such words as had acquired currency in all the regions. This standardized language was accepted and adopted in literature but moved farther away from the current dialects.

2.11 In the early stages, the middle Indo-aryan assumed the form of Prakrits including Pali, the Ashokan Prakrit and other dialects. In that stage, Prakrits: proper, namely,

Maharashtri, Shaursoni, Magadhi, Ardh Magadhi and Paishachi came into being. They got impetus from the launching of strong religious movements by Mahavir and Buddha, as both preached in local dialects.

2.12 The Prakrits did not take long to assume a literary status alongside Sanskrit, though the latter still reigned supreme. The literary style of Prakrits is represented by Pali, Dr. Shaukat Sabzwari has tried, to trace the growth of Urdu direct to Pali but the assertion is open to question. The extensive use of Pali by Lord Buddha and his followers has influenced the history of most northern languages.

2.13 With the passage of time, the Prakrits took the form of Apabhraṃshas, which according to Dr. Siddheshwar, Varma are only indicative of an evolutionary stage of an evolutionary stage of Prakrits. Varma puts their date around 600 A. D.* Linguists have enumerated seven main Apabhraṃshas: Shaursoni-Magadhi, Nagar, Unnagar, Brachad, Maharashtri and Ardh Magadhi. Shaursoni, however, was more developed and was used as a literary language even in Magadhi and Ardh Magadhi areas. Its influence is visible on the old Bangla and Maithili poetry also. In a sense, it was the lingua franca of northern India and the continuous stream of its literature runs through 900- 1300 A.D

Modern Indian Languages

2.14 The emergence of modern Indian Languages marks the third stage in the evolution of the Indo-Aryan, namely, Modern Indo- Aryan, which in order of time came after the Apabhraṃshas, around 1000 A. D. The more important among them were the Western Hindi dialects. They covered roughly the whole area then known as Madhya Desh, from Sirhind in the West to Allahabad in the east and the Himalayas in the North to Vindhya-chal and Bundelkhand in the south. Linguistically its borders touched Punjabi in the north-west, Marathi in the south, Eastern Hindi in south east and Jaunsari, Garhwali and Kumaoni in the north. The region where Sanskrit and Shaursoni Prakrit had flourished earlier, now witnessed the birth of modern dialects- Haryani, Khari, Braj, Qannauji and Bundeli, whom Grieson has given the group name of Western Hindi.

2.15 Braj Bhasha was the leading language with its centre in the Braj(Mathura)region. But it stretched southwards to Agra,Bharatpur,Dholpur,Gwalior and the,eastern districts of the erstwhile jaipur State.In the north,it reached up to Gurgaon and in the north-east, it encircled Aligarh, Bulandshahar ,Etah, Mainpuri, Budaun,Bareilly and the Tarai area of Nainital. In Bulandshahar, it merged into Khari Boli, was undisputed in the literary domain.

2.16. Haryani, also known as Bangroo and Jato, was spoken in the north-west of Delhi, in the districts of Karnal, Rohtak, Hissar, etc. According to Grierson it was a variation of Khari Boli, with an admixture of Rajasthani and Punjabi dialects. The Khari Boli region comprised Western Rohilkhand, northern parts of Doab. Ambala and Kalsi.

2.17 It is difficult to fix the definite point of time when modern, Indian languages supplanted Apabhranshas. The period is usually reckoned to be around 1000 A.D but the doha literary tradition in Apabhransha mixed language was found as early as 800 A. D. and Apabhransha literature continued in trickle right upto the 14th, even the 15th centuries A. D.

2.18 Earliest literary compositions in Khari Boli are to be found in Rasos and Amir Khusrau's compositions. The authenticity of their reported age and even authorship is open to doubt, as internal evidence suggests many later additions and interpolations. The language used in the Rasos is Braj, an admixture of Khari Boli and Rajasthani.

2.19 Then there is the considerable volume of literature produced by the Buddhist Sidhas and Nath panthiyogis. While the language of Siddhas has an admixture of Poorbi, the language of Nathpantis is different as they were based in the Punjab.

2.20 New influences were seeping into the modern Indian languages through Arabic flowing from the pre-Islamic Arab settlements along the Western Coast and later from Sind. persian and pushto words and phrases were also percolating through commercial and political contacts. With Iran and Afghanistan. Turkish was brought by the Turks the Mughals and other Trans-Oxonian elements. The impact was felt by various

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languages in varying degrees. The Punjab dialects and, a little later, Khari Boli and Braj assimilated them more than the others. The process was accelerated after the establishment of the Sultanate in Delhi (1206 A. D.). The earliest proof of his literary and linguistic fusion is provided by the compilation of a full Hindi diwan by Khwaja Masud Saad Salman (about 1121 A. D.). The diwan is now extinct but historian Aufo testifies to its existence in his *Ibbul Albab* and Amir Khusrau in his writings.

2.21 Although the fusion of certain non-Indian phonetic elements and words with the dialects and languages spoken in Sind, the Punjab and Gujarat and the strip of land around Delhi had started much earlier, there is scant historical or literary material on the early stages of its development, phrases and words indicative of the new current were first seen interspersed into the Persian writings of sufis, saints and, to a much lesser degree, in that of individual poets.

2.22 It is not before the 13th century that we come across the compositions of Baba Farid Gunj Shakar and that literary genius, Amir Khusrau (1253-1325 A. D.) Khusrau is the first major poet to be associated with compositions in Dehlavi languages. Only a few of his dohas, pahelis (riddles) and Rekhta (partly in Persian and partly in Urdu) have survived but, surprisingly, his language does not bear that stamp of antiquity which the *Malfoozat* (sayings) of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia do in the *Khair-ul-Majalis* version. Perhaps, the original text of Khusrau got imperceptibly modified through generations of oral transmission. The language used by Khusrau is either pure Khari Boli or mixed with Braj. His geets are all in Braj Bhasha. Stray samples of Khari Boli are so found in the *Malfoozat* of Sheikh Hamiduddin Nagori (1193-1274 A.D.) as reported in *Suroor-ul-Sudur*.

2.23 The main dialects spoken around Delhi find full throated expression for the first time in the Bhakti poets like Namdeva (1328- 1408 A. D.) in Marathwada, Kabir (1404-1515 A. D) in eastern Uttar Pradesh and Guru Nanak (1469-1539 A. D.) in the Punjab. The Bhakti period poetry is often a mixture of Khari Boli and Braj Bhasha and commands almost an all-India audience.

2.24 In Namdeva's creations, one can spot out a fair admixture of Arabic and Persian words and phrases and even more so in the writings of Kabir and Guru Nanak, making it obvious that the new comers and the local inhabitants were eventually settling down to a fruitful cultural partnership. Hindu, Muslim and Sikh mystic were working devotedly to achieve a synthesis in the realms of philosophy, morals and social behaviour. They used Dehlavi or the Khari Boli freely to communicate their ideas.

2.25 Dehlavi had already grown in stature in the North before the imperial capital was shifted in 1504 A. D. to Agra by Sikandar Lodhi, to be ruled later by the Mughal emperors. Agra lay in the Braj Bhasha area, where the popular Krishna Bhakti cult had found a forceful preacher in Vallabacharya. These political and cultural incentives made Braj literature highly popular. It became virtually the only popular Indian language in the north, sending Khari Boli into a temporary eclipse, The Dehlavi language remained active within its limited sphere of influence, and was cultivated only at the folk level.

2.26 While talking of the Dehlavi language, we must not forget that Braj exercised a profound influence over the less developed literature of Khari Boli. Compared to other languages and dialects of the old royal capital, Braj had a much richer literary tradition, which was reflected in the evolution of other emerging languages. The social and cultural movements, which swayed vast masses of people in the north, had their origins away from the centre and much of the literature produced by the preachers and reformers belonged to the peripheral regions of the Sultanate, capital rather than to Delhi proper.

The Deccani

2.27 The Hindi, Hindavi, or Dehlavi language that was growing under the patronage of sufis, saints and commoners in the North, had struck root in the South as early as the fourteenth century and had become an important literary vehicle after the forced exodus of the entire Delhi population southwards by the fiat of Mohammed Bin Tughlaq in 1326. It received royal patronage in its new-abode, the deccan Plateau. The speakers of Khari

Boli who flocked to Deogiri hailed from different areas and walks of life.. Soldecrse, traders and preachers tranplanted it in Gujarat also. There it found Marathi, Kannada, Telugu, Gujarati and some dialects already current in the now surroundings. As a result of the impact of these languages, Deccani Khari Boli developed some distinctive features different from the main Khari Boli and came to known as Deccani. Having once stabilised itself, it did not take long to acquire a literary status.

2.28 The writers and poets used the Persian (Nastaliq) script for Urdu either because it was the only script they knew or because of its wide use in courts and madrassas and for inter-regional communication. New alphabets had been added to the Persian script to represent the retroflex and aspirated sounds peculiar to Urdu. Many of these symbols underwent a constant change till the Urdu script was standardized towards the close of the nineteenth century.

Official Language in Deccan

2.29 It has been claimed that the Dakhani (Deccani) was made the official language of the Bahmani Kingdom by its founder, Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah and later by Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur. Dr. Mohammed Sadiq, who says that "there is a strong evidence to support the view that the court language In these countries (Bijapur and Golconda) was Dakhani and not Persian," *also quotes smith simultaneously to say that "Marathi language was ordinarily used for purposes of accounts and business." *

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In the first assertion he does not disclose his source and the statement lacks documentary confirmation, though another writer has also referred to it.

2.30 According to Prof H. K. Sherwani, an authority on the history of the Deccan, Proto-Urdu, which was called Hindavi or Dakhani in the Deccan, was in its embryonic form during the Bahmani period. Though it had become the means of communication

between the Ate and the common man, its foundations had not stabilized and. it moved like a pendulum between the easy language of the sufi saints and the high- flown idiom of the masnavi Padam.Rao Kadam Rao. It had also not yet found its way to enter the portals of Government, though it must have made considerable progress in that direction, for we find it was ordered to be used as an official language by Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur (1580-1672). In the time of Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golconda-Hyderabad (1626-1672), we find the bifurcation of work between two secretaries, the chief secretary, who was called Munshiul-Mamalik, and the Dabir-i-Faramin-i-Hindavi, who was evidently incharge of non- Persian firmans of the Sultan. The language was indicated in the Deccan as Hindavi or Dakhani, at least right up to the dissolution of the 'Adil Shahi Kingdom in 1686 and the Qutb Shahi Kingdom a year later'. In both these kingdoms Persian continued to be official language and Dakhani and Marathi replaced Persian at the lower levels of administration. In other spheres of State work and scholarly pursuits Persian was the presiding language.

Popular Roots

2.31 Whatever may be the extent of court patronage, the language thrived chiefly because of the growing ties of affection between the sufis and the common people. Notable among the earliest writers was Sayyid Hussain Gesu Daraz, the famous Delhi saint who had migrated to Gulbarga. His authorship of the treatise on mysticism, Merai-ul-ashiqin, has been questioned and it has been ascribed to a later period but a connected, history of Urdu literature can be traced from Saint Gesu Daraz's days. His brother sufis from Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmednagar also made their contributions. Among them were creative writers like Meeranji Shams-ul-Ushsbaq, Burhanduddin Janam, Khub Mohammed Chishti and Shah Ali Jiv, whose mystic poems and prose works were compiled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

2.32 The mystics of Deccan who started preaching and propagating their philosophy of universal love in the fifteenth century were the pioneers of Urdu literature. Very soon it attracted men of letters from all over the South as from the distant North. Deccani poets sang of seasonal festivals like Holi and Basant and wrote quite a few masnavis based on Indian fables. In the latter category Kadam Rao Padam Rao of "Nizami" Phool Ban of "Ibn Nishati" Kamroop aur Kala Kam of "Tebseen' Chanda aur Lorik of "Ghawwasi" and Gulshan-e-Ishq of "Nusrati" are read even today. These early masters drew freely upon Indian similes and metaphors. Occasional use of Indian metres and canons of versification was also noticed. The poetic genius of the South expressed itself in longer narrative poems rather than the concentrated and concise ghazal form. In the new surroundings of Golconda and Bijapur Urdu was freed from the influence of Persian which ruled the North and whose formidable weight hindered the progress of Urdu there. In form and style it still borrowed from Persian but it acquired a strong local bias in the south.

2.33 Deccani Urdu flowered in Bijapur and Golconda. Ibrahim Adil Shah the ruler of Bijapur composed Nauras around 1599 A.D. It shows his acquaintance not only with Urdu but also with Braj Bhasha. Poets like "Atashi" "Muqimi" and "Amin" belonged to this period. They were succeeded by "Hashim" "Rustami" and "Nusrati". Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1611 A.D.) the Golconda ruler wrote copiously on amorous and spiritual themes. He sang with great warmth of Indian seasons and fruits and festivals like Basant Holi and Diwali. Local fairs folk-lore and music enchanted him. In his works he drew freely upon words of Sanskrit or Dravidian origin and wrote as one who essentially belonged to the soil. Mulla "Wajhi" towers over the poets and prose writers of the period as the author of the classical prose work Sab Ras and the poetic fiction Qutb-Mushtari- Other notable works of the period are Rustami's Khavar Nama Ghawwasi's Saiful Muluk-e-Badiul Jamal and Tooti Nama Nusrati's Ali Nama and Gulshan-i-Ishq. Golconda is specially famous for its royal poets.

2.34 Urdu held sway even after the breakup of the Deccani Kingdom in the year 1687. In fact, Aurangzeb's long stay in the South with his retinue and large concentrations of armed forces drawn from heterogeneous outsiders served to augment the process of the growth of a common language. We meet a galaxy of poets composing in all the popular forms-ghazal qaside, marsia and masnavi. Prose also prospered.

2.35 The contribution of the Deccani poets and writers in giving deeper local colour and content to Urdu poetry is outstanding. The longer poems written in Golconda and Bijapur are soaked in Indian imagery and the ghazal also breathes a fresher air with the extension of its frontiers to accommodate new Indian images and symbols. Love and beauty acquire new meaning as the ghazal seems to endow Physical beauty with divine charm. The strain runs through the entire period right up to "Vali" until he yields partly to the temptation of the Persian tradition under the advice of Shah Sa'dullah "Gullshan".

2.36 What saved the later Urdu ghazal from sheer imitation of the Iranian themes was the emergence of India as an important centre of Persian and the revival of sabk-e-Hindi of Khusrau's time. We have talked of the influence of Braj literary tradition earlier. It was not restricted to the nascent Dehlavi, Hindi, Hindavi or Urdu. Even the firmly established Persian had not remained immune to its influence.

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The frequent use of figures of speech elaboration of style and imaginative exaggeration common to the languages of the Sanskrit family was fairly widespread in the Persian that was written at that time from India to Iran. To the awed literary critics in Iran today this special style of Persian appears unfamiliar enough to justify the title of sabk-e-Hindi but at that period of time it was in vogue. What Urdu borrowed from Persian was actually its Indian style. Frequent recourse to figures of speech like Iham Tainis, and other forms of rhetorics sound unmistakably like, an echo of Braj Bhasha. Mohammad Hussain "Azad" was probably referring only to these trends when he concluded that

"Urdu is an off-shoot of Braj Bhasha"; he was surely not talking in strictly linguistic terms.

In the Land of Braj

2.37 All literary activity in Urdu until the rise of the great Mughals was taking place, to quote Prof. Ehtesham Husain, "away from the birth place of Urdu, in the North, where its sisters Braj and Avadhi were flourishing in their respective regions in the gushing flow of Bhakti Movement" * In the new Mughal capital at Agra, Braj Bhasha reigned supreme. Akbar's patronage of Braj Bhasha quickened the pace of its growth and development. Akbar is himself said to have composed some lines in Braj. One of his queens, Taj, was a Braj poetess.

2.38 In the wake of Akbar's policy of secularising politics, one notices a movement of religious and social rapprochement visibly emerging in the North. Translations of Hindu scriptures and literary master-pieces from Sanskrit into Persian stimulated the mingling of the two streams. Under the protective umbrella of the Vedantic philosophy and the mystic works of Guru Nanak, Kabir and the early sufis, tasawwif became a very powerful system of thought in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. The twin influences of tasawwif and vedanta weave the diversity of the Indian scene into a magnificent single tapestry reflecting our national ethos. The intellectual elite were converging on to the belief that all religions were diving in origin and based on Universal elements of truth. All paths led to but one Reality. The orthodoxy and intolerance of the theologians of different religions came in for scathing criticism and the spirit of enquiry fostered universal love and positive deviationism. The mystics upheld the supremacy of compassion. It was common for a Muslim sufi to have a large number of non-Muslim disciples and for the non-Muslim saints to have Muslim devotee's. These socio-religious factors set the pace of a cultural synthesis of which Urdu became a symbol and a powerful medium.

2.39 Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, Surdas, Parmanand Das, Alam Sheikh, Azad Khan, Mehboob, Hafiz Musa, Mubarak, Ghananand, Damodar Das, Keshva Das, Ali Khan, Rajab Kajaal, Jamal, Haridas and Namdas are some of the figures that stand out in the long array of Braj poets. They represent the forces of cultural synthesis which Akbar's liberalism had released. The tradition was not only kept up but reinforced during the reign of Jahangir. It was towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign that one comes across occasional Rekhta compositions. Urdu was still struggling to gain a foothold in the North.

The New Centre in Delhi

2.40 Often there has been, much uninformed talk of Urdu having flourished under imperial patronage as a court language. But for a doubtful spell in Bijapur and Golconda, Urdu was never used for all official purposes, even at the district administration level under the Mughals. Persian did not yield place in the royal court. Urdu grew because it was the pet of the common man and its roots lay deep into the Indian heritage. This is not to deny the overall influence of the court language. It was extensive but mainly formal. It did not affect the course, of Urdu's literary growth which was determined by the traditions of Braj Bhasha mingling with Persian and, indirectly with Sanskrit, through successive waves of translations.

2.41 The language of common parlance that had been developing in the North for about five centuries, gradually rediscovered in Delhi a dependable focal centre with the shifting of the imperial capital back to the old city during Shah Jahan's reign. There was naturally a great revival of interest in Khari Boli, the most widely spoken language in and around that metropolis.

2.42 Braj Bhasha which had lingered on Delhi's stage so far, finally withdrew within its own area, after Khari Boli assumed the royal title of Urdu-i-Shahi or Urdu-i-Moalla. Chander Bhan "Brahman" and Wali Ram Wali** are reported to have written ghazals in Delhi. The major work of Shah Jahan's time was, however, the popular Khaliq Bati,

wrongly ascribed to Amir Khusrau. It was composed by Ziauddin 'Khusro' to provide a small lexicon in vogue of the commonly used Persian and Arabic words with Hindi, or Khari Boli equivalents. A little later a serious work of lexicography was taken up in Haryana by Mir Abdul Wage' Hansvi, who compiled the Gharaib-ul-Lughat-i-Hindi- Afzal Jhanjhanavi's Bikat Kahani is a classical example of Barah Mass. It found many imitators but stands unrivalled amongst similar compositions.

2.43 With the fall of the South Indian monarchies, Deccan ceased to be the centre of attraction but the language was still practised widely in the southern regions. Even in that twilight it could boast of "Wali" "Bahri" and "Siraj", whose contribution to lyrical, narrative and mystic poetry is universally acknowledged. With Delhi becoming the focal point, Urdu began to spread far and wide. The areas now comprising Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh Maharashtra Karnataka, Punjab, Rajasthan, Sind and Uttar Pradesh saw several satellite Urdu centres spring up Poetic symposia

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** According to Bashshash (vide his Aasarul-shoara-l-Hunood) "Wali" was associated with Dara Shikoh.

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were organised, books written and the language cultivated on an unprecedented scale. Some Persian poets also slowly started composing in Urdu by the time of Mohammed Shah (1719-1748), while many more took it up seriously.

2.44 A large group of prominent Urdu writers was busy creating literature. "Faez", "Hatim", "Abru" "Naji", "Yakrang", "Anjam" and "Mazmoon" set the tradition and pattern for the new centre. Hence- forth, Urdu witnessed unhindered literary activity on an ever-expanding scale. A large number of poets realised that their emergent mother-tongue offered a powerful medium of expression. The khanqahs, courts, educational centres and religious institutions of Delhi used it and enriched its literature. The strong Deccani

tradition of marsia (elegy) writing was also carried further by Miskin "Fazli", "Karam Ali" and "Ghamgin".

2.45 The period will be remembered for two important prose works. Karbal Katha is a free translation by "Fazli" of an abridged edition of the Persian classic, Rauzat-ul-Shuhada, and was most probably compiled within the Red Fort precincts. The other is Isawi Khan's prose fiction, Qissa-i-Mehr Afroz-o-Dilbar. Faez Dehlavi was the first to compile a complete Urdu diwan in northern India around 1715 A.D. The date of compilation of "Abru's" diwan has not yet been finally fixed and some scholars are of the opinion that his diwan might have been compiled ever) earlier. In any case, Faez is much closer to the Indian traditions and has more intimate affinities with the early Deccani compositions than "Vali" or the "Abru-Hatim-Naji" trio display. The coming of "Vali" Deccani's diwan from Deccan to Delhi did provide a new inspiration and "Abru", "Hatim" and "Naji" were the first to compile diwans in the Persio-Urdu style.

2.46 It was not merely the changed atmosphere but also the super- imposition of the Persian on the Deccani-Braj traditions which characterised Urdu poetry now cultivated in Delhi, giving it a distinct individuality. Stylised Persian was still partonized by high-brow scholars but in the Urdu circles there was a marked tendency towards democratisation and secularisation. of literature. Men from all walks of life readily welcomed a literature that spoke of popular urges and aspirations. One can easily discover that these writers strike a different chord in ghazal. Tile environ is not that of the court but of the ordinary middle class dwellings and market places from where came the poets, inspiration and audiences. Their voice differs also from their Persian, counterparts and the fellow-writers in other languages like Braj Bhasha. Turning away from the lifeless and outmoded literary traditions, they blazed a new trail. These nuances have not yet been clearly identified or been wrongly grouped under the unscientific category of lham (play of words). It is doing them scant justice to over-emphasise lham in which they occasionally indulged as a middle-class pastime. The life of the day the popular urges, the gay abandon alternating with melancholy moods and the local ethos to which they give expression, make the poets of this period a class

apart from the Persian writers or the court poets. This class character is further brought out by the fact that only a few of these poets arose from the aristocracy or were, associated. with the nobility. On the contrary, we find among them men of a wide variety of vocations like sufis, ulema, soldiers, architects, traders, barbers blacksmiths goldsmiths, cloth merchants, masons, even mahouts and palanquin-bearers.

Diffusion and Diversification

2.47 The last years of Mohammed Shah's reign present the agonizing spectacle of the once mighty empire crumbling into pieces after the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah. The shaky central authority came to the brink of complete disintegration, as semi-independent governors started asserting autonomy over the provinces they governed. This had to quote Ehtesham Hussain again, "an element of perplexity and pathos for the poets who had no knowledge of the working of history".* To this phenomenon he attributed "the current of tragic sincerity in the creative writings of the period". The poets of the post-Nadir Shah period provides, a contrast to those who preceded the great loot. From among the innumerable poets that one comes across in the Tazkiras, Delhi and Agra were fortunate to have four of the greatest stalwarts who raised the literary stature of Urdu and developed nascent trends to maturity and perfection. The volume the canvas and the social insight displays in the creation of these giants, namely, Khawja Mir "Dard"- Mirza Mohammed Rafi "Sauda", Mir Taqi "Mir" and Wali Mohammed "Nazir" Akbarabadi, make them the crowning glory of Urdu literature. "Dard" was a great sufi poet and composed mostly ghazals, seeking communion with the True One. He sang of the yearnings of the soul. Goa was like ocean with which man, a mere drop, must seek ultimate reunion. Before this Reality, the universe was an illusion. But "Dard" gave to this illusory world also his compassionate and allembicing love. Although Sauda" was known for his panegyrics (qusida), his versatile genius could not be contained in a single form. He remains one of our most trenchant satiristis, who attacked individual railings. social chaos and moral degeneration with equal vehemence . He gave Urdu

marisia a. literary elegance, while his ghazals were noted for an intimate knowledge of man and universe and graced by an eloquent diction and style. His vocabulary was vast and his powers of perception and imagination great. "Mir" sang of the melancholy and pathetic aspects of the decaying society. His personal agony and tragedy coincided with those of the tottering social order. But his greatness lies in his depiction of the surrounding gloom and general decadence in terms of man's fight against overwhelming odds. He struggles despite despair. He, is seen at his best in his ghazals which are sweet, intimate, artistic and aesthetically powerful. He has left six completed diwanas besides his Persian works which include an autobiography. "Nazir" Akbarabadi

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is the great, poet of the common man. He sang of his sorrows and joys, of his hopes and aspirations, of his struggles and sufferings, of his successes and failures, of his familiar surroundings and pastimes. had equal respect for Lord Kirshna and Lord Mahadeva, for Guru Nanak and Narsi Bhagat. He participated in all Hindu, Muslim and Sikh festivals as he had a great zest and respect for life. Many of his poems have become part of our folklore.

Lucknow-the New Centre

2.48 Slowly but surely, Delhi was losing stability and strength. The provincial courts that had come into being at Farukhabad, Tanda, Oudh, Hyderabad and Rampur lured a number of poets, scholars and artists away by bestowing on them favour and patronage. In decadent Delhi, there was little to hope or live for. Poets like "Fughan", "Zahik" "Sauda" "Mir", "Soz", "Insha", "Mushafi" "Jurrat", "Hasrat" and Mir "Hasan" left Delhi and flocked to Lucknow, which developed into a major centre of literature in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

2.49 Ghazal was not the forte of the flourishing and expansive Lucknow but "Insha" and "Jurraat", the two migrants from Delhi, reflected in their ghazals the culture, gaiety and wit of the age. Poets like "Mushafi "Atash" and "Nasikh" were representatives of a neo-classicism. "Nasikh", like "Sauda", took delight in verbal grandeur and fanciful-elaboration in an effort to spread the canvas of the ghazal wider and varied the old but purely lyrical themes to include philosophical and ethical subjects. The tenseness) pessimism, mystic subjectivity and irony noticed earlier receded before a relaxed, even lighthearted attitude towards life and letters. The ghazal was still practised on a large scale in Lucknow but long poems like Masnavi and Marsia acquired great popularity.

2.50 Masnavi and Marsia were already in vogue but thrived more in the new centre and attained great heights. Among the outstanding works of the time were the two Masnavis-Sehr-ul-Bayan by Mir "Hasan" and Gulzar-i-Nasim by Daya Shankar "Nasim". Mir "Hasan" wrote a few other longer narrative poems besides a collection of ghazals. He was a master of the narrative and excelled in the portrayal of human nature and finer sentiments. His sense of details and dexterous use of the language turned his works into models, which succeeding generations of narrative writers tried to emulate. "Nasim" employed the technique of his preceptor, "Atash" mixing rhetoric with literary craftsmanship and remained unrivalled in that style for many decades.

2.51 The mid-nineteenth century produced the two immortal Marsia writers, Mir Babar Ali "Anis" and Mirza Salamat Ali "Dabir", who improved upon the innovations of Muzaffar Husain "Zameer". combining some of the features of the epic, the tragedy and the elegy, "Anis" employed empathy, elegance and lofty imagination in the narration of the tragedy of Karbala that seemed to offer little scope for artistic communication. Although the Prophet's grandson and the small hand of his Arab followers were the central figures, in the Marsias of "Anis" and "Dabir", the characterisation, sentiments, landscape, customs, forms, ceremonies, dresses weaponry and war tactics are predominantly Indian.

2.52 Similar is the case with the Naat (devotional praise of the Prophet) where Indian sentiments and customs gain the upper hand the trends found in the Bhakti folk songs

are fondly embraced. "Ama- nat's" opera, Inder Sabha, is yet another important contribution to Urdu literature. It combines music, dance and poetry, interwoven with Hindu mythology and Muslim courtlife.

2.53 The long line of nawabs, viziers and kings of Outh from Shuja-ud-Daula to Wajid Ali Shah "Akhtar" Produced great patrons of literature and art. Wajid All Shah, himself a great prose writer and prolific poet, will long be remembered for his patronage of music and as an exponent of the Kathak style of dance. He used to stage Krishna Raas (Rahas) every year at the famous Qaiser Bagh Fair.

2.54 The revival of the ancient glory of Oudh (Ayodhaya) appears to have kindled great interest in the epic of Ramayana. The first Ramayana in Urdu was written in 1851 by Jagan Nath "Kushtar", a court employee of Wajid Ali Shah.

2.55 With the exodus of prominent poets, Delhi had lost much of its glory and glamour as a leading centre of Urdu literature but the decaying Mughal capital could still boast of poets of the calibre of Mirza Asadullah Khari "Ghalib" Hakim Momin Khan "Momin" and Sheikh Mohammed Ibrahim "Zauq" On the literary horizon also shone Mustafa Ali Khan "Shefta", and Bahadur Shah "War", the last occupant of the Red Fort. We cannot afford to dilate on the quality and achievement of all these poets and scholars but three personalities stand out. Mirza "Ghalib" is Urdu poet. Philosophical in parts, he is remarkably unconventional. Classical in temperament, he gave his ghazals depth of feeling and an abiding thought content. His broad humanism and deep insight into the recesses of man's heart were unique. The manner in which he unravelled the mysteries of life and death and the strange ways of love, as also his mastery over language and expression, make him the most admired figure of our literary history. "Zauq" was facile but lacked vitality. He displayed conventional feelings in fanciful garb but whenever he tried to communicate melancholy moods, he impressed the reader. "Momin's" poetry was primarily erotic but marked with a delicacy of feeling, originality of theme and expression and consummate beauty.

Rise of Prose

2.56 The period begins really after our contact with the West. Christian missionaries, European traders and employees of the East India Company wanting to establish themselves in India needed the knowledge of

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a local language to serve as their means of communication with the local population. Persian or Sanskrit were the languages of the elite and were not of much use to them. Urdu was the most extensively used language in northern Indian at that time and seemed to be the obvious choice. European educationists and scholars had tried to study the grammar of the language, which they described variously as India, Hindoostani, Hindustani or Oordoo, and had written some books. In 1715, John Joshua Caterlaer compiled "Lingua Hindostanica" in Dutch and Benjamin Schulz wrote his "Grammatica Indostanica" in Latin in 1747. He also translated the Bible in 1748.

2.57 Among the Indian prose writers of the eighteenth century we must mention Mir Husain Ata Tahsin of Etawah whose Nau-Tarz-i-Murassa, was based on the widely known story of the four mendicants.

2.58 An Englishman Dr. John Gilchrist, compiled both a dictionary and a grammar of Urdu. Under his inspiration, the British East India Company planned more elaborately and founded the Fort William College at Calcutta in 1800, to teach Hindustani to its employees. The new college was faced with an acute shortage of text-books. There were very few prose books which could serve this purpose. The college authorities arranged to translate a sufficient number of Persian, Sanskrit and English books into Urdu during the first ten years. Simultaneously, an attempt was made to translate some of the books into Braj Bhasha, Avadhi and Khari Boli written in Devnagri script. Lallu Lall, "Kavi", Kazim Ali "Jawan", Mir Amman, Hyder Bux "Hyderi", Sher Ali "Afsos", Nihal Chand Lahori, Warn Ali and Mazhar Ali Khan "Vela" and a host of others proved to be creative translators. Admission to the college was restricted to the employees of the East India Company and a very small group of students benefited from the new prose

books like Bagh-o-Bahar, Hatim-Tai, Singhasan Battisi, Shakuntala, Mazhab-i-Ishq, Baital Pachchisi, Ikhwan-ul-Safa etc. But the experiment had a great impact outside the campus.

2.59 Insha was not only a poet but also a prose writer of merit. His work Rani Ketki Ki Kahani is claimed equally by readers of Hindi and Urdu as it eschews the use of Arabic and Persian words. His Darva-i-Latafat, though in Persian, deals with the phonetic and linguistic characteristics of Urdu and a variety of word formations and rhetorical expressions. Mention must also be made of the prose fiction Fasana-i-Ajaib, by Rajab Ali Beg 'Suroor' written in a highly florid style, in 1824. Despite the a basically supernatural character of the story, it depicts realistically the social background of contemporary Lucknow.

2.60 The effort of Fort William College was augmented later by Delhi College (established in 1825) which taught modern sciences and other subjects through the medium of Urdu. Later on, English was also introduced. Unlike Fort William College, where only the East India Company personnel could study, the doors of Delhi College were open to all. The need for suitable textbooks in Urdu was soon felt here as well and an Education Committee, more particularly the Society for the Promotion of Vernaculars in India, embarked upon a scheme of translating into Urdu a large number of books on arithmetic, algebra, biology, botany, chemistry, economics, geometry, history, law, medicine, philosophy, physics, political science and allied subjects. Pioneers among the Delhi translators were Maulvi Mamlooket Ali, Master Ram Chander, Moti Lal Dehlavi, Master Pyarelal, Maulana Iman Bux "Sahbai", Pandit Ram Kishan Dehlavi, Maulav Subhan Buksh, Master Husaini, Hardeo Singh and Master Nur Mohammed. Similar colleges had sprung up in Bareilly and Agra also but their achievements were not as significant.

2.61 Urdu prose had by then established itself. Mirza Ghalib, who took pride in his Persian prose and poetry, soon turned his attention to Urdu prose. He left specimens of exquisite prose in his letters written to friends, admirers, disciples and patrons.

Recently, a selection of these letters was translated into English by Ralph Russel and Khurshid-ul-Islam and published by the UNESCO.

2.62 A study of the literature produced at the time in the Urdu and Devnagari scripts would reveal that the gap between Hindi and Urdu was not very wide. While there was a slightly greater sprinkling of the words of Persian origin in Urdu, the percentage of Sanskrit words was higher when Hindi was written in Devnagari. Urdu was still referred to as Hindi by some writers, while Hindustani was used almost as a synonym.

Urdu and Administration

2.63 Urdu, which had grown up as a language of common parlance, soon developed into a language of higher thinking and science. While English was slowly pushing Persian out from various administrative fields, Urdu found some place at the district level administration in the revenue and judicial spheres.

2.64 Commenting on the position of Urdu, Bontros, the Principal of Delhi College, wrote in a personal letter to Garcin de Tassy on December 19, 1841, "Hindustani (Urdu) language has acquired an importance within the last two or three years which it did not have earlier. It has become official language of the area from Bihar to Western Provinces, that is from Raj Mahal to Hardwar. Hardwar is a small town at the foot of the Himalayas. Moreover, it is understood throughout India. At least four crore people use it as spoken language. Now the British Government has introduced it in the Courts and official business."

2.65 As time advanced, judgements came to be delivered in English and the use of Urdu was limited to the filing of petitions, the maintaining of land records and the recording of evidence in most of the Hindi speaking States. The situation demanded translation of laws and manuals into Urdu and a number of books were published under official patronage as well as by enterprising authors and publishers.

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2.66 The advent of the printing presses in India in the early nineteenth century made possible the publication not only of newspapers but also of books on a variety of subjects. The diversification of literature contributed to the widening of the horizons of knowledge. The process went on for a few decades until English elbowed out Urdu all vantage points.

Contacts with West

2.67 Out contacts with the literature of the West, though only indirect in the beginning, made our writers and poets aware of the new possibilities. An objective study of the outside world with all its stresses, strains and promises threw open to our writers new vistas of expression. The subject-matter became important and ideals and motivations like liberty, unity and rationality were responsible for the development of a new form of poetry i.e. "Nazm". This was modelled on the existing patterns of qasida and masnavi. Occasional use of museddas was also in evidence. The movement received great impetus from the Punjab Government and Colonel Holroyde, who in 1874 inspired Mohammad Hussain "Azad" to make an organised effort to renovate poetry. Although success eluded the form of "Nazm" in its initial stages, it soon could count amongst its votaries stalwarts like "Hali", "Azad", "Ismail" and others who became the forerunners of a reformist movement.

Urdu and the Freedom Struggle

2.68 We shall be discussing in detail the role of Urdu journalism in furthering the objectives of the freedom struggle. The part played by Urdu literature has been equally significant. Before the Great Revolution of 1857, a number of underground movements were organised. Of these, the Waliullah (some time wrongly called Wahabi) movement was most active and had a wide organisational network. Shah waliullah was a thinker of great eminence, who displayed an unusual historical insight into the economic and

political causes that had cost India her freedom. Syed Ahmed Bareilvi and Shah Ismail and their followers were influenced by the political and economic philosophy of Shah Waliullah when they organised an under ground movement which, though revivalist in character, had the overthrow of the British as its ultimate objective. The leaders of the movement employed Urdu for the propagation of their ideas over half a century and produced a sizeable volume of political literature.

2.69 With the rise of nationalism, politically conscious poets started writing on patriotic themes, The number of poets and writers who wrote vigorously in support of freedom is legendary. Beginning from "Munir" Shikohabadi, who went to the Andamans in a murder case, we have "Bali". "Azad", "Shibli" and "Ismail" Meeruti who sang of India's greatness. Dr. Mohammad "Iqbal", "Akbar" Allahabadi, Maulana Mohammed Ali "Jauhar", Maharaj Bahadur "Barq" attacked divisive and reactionary tendencies and called for unity in the fight against British, "Haeset" Mohani and Pandit Brij Narain "Chakbast" gave us some of their immortal patriotic poems. Durga Sahai "Suroor" Jahanabadi, Zafar Ali Khan and Tilok Chand "Mehroom", intellectually identified themselves with the movement and portrayed it in their poems. And, finally, the flame of freedom blazed in the hearts of "Josh" Malihabadi, "Jamil" Mazhari, "Ravish" Siddiqi, "Saghar" Nizami and Akhtar Shirani. "Ahmaq" Phaphundvi and "Zarif" Lucknawi satirized communal reaction and official despotism alike while Raghupati Sahai "Firaq" and Anand Narain "Mulla" sang sweet songs about social change and revolution. Some of our patriot poets like Ram Prasad "Bismil" and Ashfaq Ullah Khan were sent to the gallows, while the number of those who suffered imprisonment like Mohammed Ali "Jauhar", "Firaq" Gorakhpuri, "Jamil" Mazhari, "Ahmaq" Phaphundvi, "Hasrat" Mohani and Zafar Ali will run to hundreds.

2.70 Among patriotic journalists, we have such illustrious names as those of Lala Lajpat Rai, Hasrat Mohani, Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abdul Razzaq Malihabadi, Mohammed Ali "Johar", Kishan Chand "Zeba", Munshi Sajjad Husain, Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, Shabbir Hasan "Qateel", Lala Khushal Chand, Mahashay Krishan, Ranbir, Mela, Ram "Wafa"

and Gopi Nath "Aman". Many of them suffered imprisonment, confiscation of property or exile.

Age of Rationalism

2.71 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College, which later developed into Aligarh Muslim University, was not only a great educationist but also a distinguished prose writer. He collected around him a group of brilliant writers- - "Hali", Mohasin-ul-Mulk and "Shibli", whose contribution to the development of modern Urdu prose is immense. Sir Syed was moved by a spirit of rational enquiry and strove to propagate modern social and ethical ideas. For this, he made his journal, Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq, which has been doing very useful work in the field of Islamic studies. He was assisted by Syed Suleman Nadvi. The mantle has now fallen on the shoulders of Shah Moniuddin Ahmed Nadvi and Syed Sabahuddin Abdul Rehman. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Mohammed Hussain "Azad", Altaf Hussain "Hali", Nazir Ahmed, Zakauallah and "Shibli", Nomani, all of them were prolific writers, whose influence can be seen on a whole generation of prose writers.

2.72 The close of the nineteenth also witnessed the growing influence of the Western forms and styles. Following in the footsteps of Nazir Ahmed, a number of novelists shot into the limelight. Never modes of characterization and plot construction are to be seen in the works of Ratan Nath "Sarshar", Abdul Halim "Sarshar" and Mirza Mohammed Hadi "Ruswa. Sarshar's Fasana-e-Azad and Mirza Ruswa's

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Umrao Jan Ada provide intimate studies of the life of the times. Sharar's matier was the historical novel. Among the twentieth century fiction writers, the name of Premchand, who wrote earlier under the pseudonym of "Nawab Rai", stands out Soz-i-Watan, a collection of his short stories, was proscribed by the British Government for its patriotic content. Like him, Ali Abbas Husaini, Pandit Sudarshan and Azam Kurevi are worthy of

note for portraying frustrations, moods, aspirations and prejudices of rural India in their short stories.

Progressive Writing

2.73 This brings us down to the thirties of this century, which saw the birth of a new literary movement, commonly referred to as Progressive Writing. It was deeply influenced by the philosophy of dialectical materialism and the rise of socialist thought in Europe. The movement found active supporters among the writers in all Indian languages. In Urdu some of the wellknown writers like Premchand, Raghupati Sahai "Firaq" and "Joshhi" Maliabadi joined its ranks but Sajjad Zaheer was the most active. He took up this cause with a missionary zeal.

2.74 The movement produced some brilliant critics like Majnun Gorakhpuri, Ehtesham Husain and Ale Ahmed Saroor. Among the poets, Faiz, Majaz, Ali Sardar Jafari, Jan Nisar Akhtar, Makhloom Mohiuddin, Ali Jawad Zaidi, Shamim Karhani and Salam Maehhli Shahri soon gained popularity among the rising generation.

2.75 The Progressive movement produced several important short story writers and novalists. The main personalities are those of Krishan Chander, Hayat Ullah Ansari, Rajinder Singh Bedi, Suhail Azimabadi, Ismet Chughtai, Ahmad Ali, Khwaja Ahmed Abbas, Upendra Nath "Ashk", Saadat Hasan Munto, Prem Nath Dar and Ram Lal. Not all of them stuck to progressive writing all the time but their place in our literature is secure.

2.76 The ushering of provincial autonomy in 1937 led to a relaxation of the restrictions imposed on free expression by the alien rulers. The Progressive movement grew apace and stabilized soon. The period saw an abundant blossoming forth of talent both in prose and in poetry. Consequently, a large number of poems, short stories and critical essays and a good deal of political, and social literature was produced and many new literary and political journals were brought out. All this helped in popularising progressive ideas.

2.77 Not all the poets or writers belonged to the fold of the Progressives. In Lahore, those outside the movement organised Halqa-i-Arabab-i-Zauq. Important among them were N. M. Rashid, "Miraji", Gopal Mittal, Sufi Ghulam Mustafa "Tabassum" and Chiragh Hasan "Hasrat". Among the unattached Lahore poets there were notables like "Hafeez" Jullundhari and Jagan Nath "Azad".

2.78 Many others who were independent of groups have often been described as 'No Changers'. They came out bitterly against the Progressives. Those who led the vanguard included Jafar Ali Khan Asar, Kishan Prasad Kaul, Akhtar Ali Tilhari and Ghulam. Ahmed "Furqat". One cannot talk of Urdu criticism without mentioning two other unattached stalwarts, namely, Niaz Fetehpuri and Kalimuddin Ahmed.

2.79 On the eve of Independence, another group of younger poets sprang up. Among them mention may be made of Balraj Komal, Majrooh Sultanpuri, Kaifi Azmi, Akhtarul Iman, Sahir Ludhianavi, Khalilur- Rehman Azami, "Rahi" Masoom Raza, Wahid Akhtar, Suleman Arib, Khurshid Ahmed Jami and Baqar Mehdi. To this generation also belong Mohammed Hasan, Khurshidul Islam and Khalil-ur-Rehman Azami who have given a new dimension to the historical interpretation of literature.

2.80 Before closing the account of the pre-Independence literary scene, mention must be made of the strides made in research after the great literary recovery in 1937. Among our research workers who followed Maulvi Abdul Haq and Mahmood Shirani, we have outstanding figures like Prof. Masood Hasan Rizavi "Adib" Qazi Abdul Wudood, Imtiyaz Ali "Arshi", Malik Ram and Najib Ashraf Nadvi.

2.81 The, great-trio, Qazi, Abdul Wudood, Malik Ram and Imtiyaz Ali "Arshi" will be known not only for their researchers on Ghalib but also for giving our research a new depth and modern methodology. Accurate fixation of periods and dates is also one of their achievements. Professor Rizavi is known for his work on marsia and early theatre and Nadvi will be long remembered for his interest in the literature produced in Gujarat.

2.82 Among the twentieth century achievements is the initiation of systematic research on the Deccani literature. That little known period of our history was brought to light by Maulvi Abdul Haq, Mohiuddin Qadir Zore, Abdul Qadir Sarwari and Nasiruddin Hashmi.

They succeeded in locating a rich treasure, bridged a long gap in our literary history and shed new light on many of its hitherto unknown corners.

Multi-Religious Literature

2.83 We have deliberately refrained from making any mention of the religious literature produced in Urdu because its volume is too enormous to be encompassed within the short review we are attempting. We, however, wish to re-emphasise the multi-religious as well as secular character of the language. It has served all the regions and religions. In Islamics, it has covered all the known fields like tafsir, hadis, fiqh, kalam and Islamic history. It is an equally important treasure house, of the religious literature of the Hindus. In his book "Islam ke Alawa Mazahib ki Tarveej mein Urdu ka Hissa" Dr. Mohammad Uzair has enumerated

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four hundred books written in Urdu on Indian religions other than Islam. All the scriptures of the Hindus like the Rigveda, Yajur Veda, Sama Veda and Atharva Veda, at least four Puranas, viz. Kilki Purana, Vishnu Purana, Padam Purana and Ganesha Purana and four versions of Manusmriti are found in Urdu. There are books on Sankhya philosophy and Nyaya Darshana. There are over a dozen works on the reformist Brahmo Samaj movement, about a hundred on Arya Samaj, about half a dozen on Radhaswami sect; and a couple of books on Deva Samaj and Kabir Panth. Of Ramayana alone, Urdu has 14 known versions. Some of these including translations or abridgements of Valmiki's and Tulsī's Ramayana have run into more than sixteen editions. Similarly, three versions of Mahabharata have been printed. The Gita has been immensely popular with the Hindu and the Muslim scholars. Urdu can be legitimately proud of about sixteen translation or abridged editions, including those rendered by Muslims. The translations by Khwaja Dil Mohammed, Ajmal Khan and Jafar Ali Khan "Assar" and Bisheshwar Prasad Munnawar Lucknavi are widely read for their literary merit, Likewise, Shri Adi Granth, the Japjee and Janamasakhi and about 30 other works

on Sikhism have been published in Urdu. On Jainism also, there are at least 30 standards works. Books on Christianity will easily number over a hundred including several versions, of the Bible, the Old and the New Testaments. Bahaism, Theosophy and Judaism have also received their due share. The Zendavesta of the Parsis can also be read in Urdu translation. The literatures of the various reformist movements have also been either rendered into Urdu or originally written in that language. In this category fall the Bunyad-ul-Iman, Kalamatuddin, Roohani Zindigi, Miratuddin, the Dharam Prakash of Brahmo, Samaj; Satvarth Prakash, Rig Veda, Adi Bhashva Bhumika, Sansar Deepika, Kashif-e-Asrar-e-Haqeeqat, Qadamatahir-i- Veda, Arva Dharma, Vichar Darshan, Izhar-e-Haqeeqat, Ja wahir-ul-Sidq etc. of the Arya Samaj; Yathartha Prakash Sant Mat, Radha Swami Mat, and Radha Swami Mat Sandesh of the Radhaswami Sect; Lutf-i-Roohani, Anmol Ratanon-ki- Kunji, Ainai-Hamdardi, Jain Ratan Prakash and Husn-i-Amal of Jainism are all available in Urdu.

2.84 This multi-religious character was reflected in journalism also. In the late 19th century alone there were weeklies like Satdharam Pracharak (1890), Dharam Pracharak (1860), Banaras Gazette (1845), Gyan Prakash (1862), Gyanawali Patrika (1865) and Dharmakjivan (1882) and Makhan Mahabbarat (1871) devoted to Hindu religion. We had Khair Khwah-i-Hind (1837) and about 50 other papers preaching Christianity, the Jain Prakash was devoted to Jainism, while Shri Gurumat Prakashak (1868), Khalsa Panth (1884) and Lyall Khalsa Gazette (1891) were the community organs of the Sikhs. The Arya Darpan (1887), Arya Samachar (1879), the Arya Samaj and Arya Gazette propagated Arya Samaj ideals, while Tabligh (1893), Tohfa-i-Mohammadia (1892), and Anjuman-i-Islami (1862) projected Muslim religions views. Tashheedul Azhan represented the Ahmediya sect while Majmaul Bahrain and Ishaat-i-Islam served Shia and Hanafi sects respectively.

2.85 To this may be added the large volume produced by religious controversialists and missionary literature, of which it is difficult to give a detailed account.

2.86 There were also a few papers which were the forerunners of secular thinking in Indian journalism Dharam Parcharak (1882), owned by Amba Prasad and edited by Sadiq Hussain, took interest in propagating the teaching of all the religions and the need for equal respect for them. Similarly, Sat Parkashan (1883) encouraged parallel studies in Hindu and Muslim mysticism. Gau Raksha (1884), which preached cow protection, was owned by Sindi Khan. The Weekly Sabha, Kapurthala (1879), owned by Babu Pohnu Mal and edited by Barkat Ali, advocated that every sect and religion was part of the wider human brotherhood.

Translations from other languages

2.87 The readiness of Urdu to own and assimilate ideas from other sources is exemplified by the translations undertaken. Sanskrit classics like the works of Kalidas, the Shataka of Bhartrihari and the Panchtantra have been translated into Urdu and are available in published form. Works from other Indian, languages like Braj Bhasha, Bengali (specially the works of Rabindra. Nath Tagore, Nazrul Islam, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Sarat Chandra) Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam are also numerous. The encouragement offered by the Sahitya Academi, the National Book Trust and the All India Radio has helped speed up the, process. Famous Indian romances like Sassi Punnoo, sohani Mahiwal, Nal Damyanti are read avidly in their Urdu renderings. We have deliberately refrained from talking about the translations from English, French, Russian, Persian, Arabic, Turkish and other foreign languages. Their number is very large and will require a much more detailed study.

2.88 Because of the unprecedented popularity of the ghazal and qawwali, these achievements have generally escaped public-notice and given rise to a distorted view of the richness, variety and comprehensiveness of Urdu literature.

Dar-ul-Tarjama

2.89 A very significant event of the twentieth century was the establishment of the Osmania University at Hyderabad with Urdu as medium of instruction up to the highest level. In the very nature of things the establishment of an organisation to undertake translation of books of graduate level became an urgent, need. Dar-ul-Tarjama was accordingly set up at Hyderabad. It translated a large number of classics on humanities and sciences. Those associated with the Dar-ul-Tarjama included Wahid-ud-din "Saleem" of Panipat, Mirza Mohd. Hadi "Ruswa", Maulvi Abdul Haq and Syed Husain Bilgrami. The thread has been picked up now by the Taraqqi-e-Urdu Board at Delhi.

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Post-Independence Era

2.90 Despite the temporary setback which the language received after partition as a result of the loss of one of its centres, namely, Lahore, Urdu literature continued to make headway in India. Many an important poet and writer migrated to India from Pakistan and thus offset the loss of some of the poets and literateurs who went in the opposite direction.

2.91 The dawn of Independence witnessed the appearance of a very vocal and daring group of writers and poets keen on striking new paths. An age of experimentation and innovation began which also brought in a robust wave of enquiry and research. A number of literary and research organisations got liberal financial assistance from the Central and State Governments to undertake some major research and publication projects. Among such organisations, one can name Anjunman Taraqqi Urdu (Hindi), which recently shifted its headquarters from Aligarh to Delhi and is housed in its own new palatial building now nearing completion; Idara-e-Adabiyat-e-Urdu, Hyderabad; Dar-ul-Musannefin, Azamgarh; Idara-e-Tahqiqat-i-Urdu, Patna; Anjuman-e-Islam Urdu Research Institute, Bombay; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute, Hyderabad; Ghalib Academy, New Delhi; Ghalib Institute, New Delhi; Islamic Research Institute, Aligarh and Idara-e-Anis-e-Urdu, Allahabad. The activities of these

organisations, coupled with those of established publishers like Maktaba Jamia, New Delhi; Nadwat-ul-Musannefin, Delhi, Indian Institute of Islamic Research, New Delhi; Adabi Trust, Hyderabad; Nasim Book Depot, Lucknow and Idara-e-Farogh-e-Urdu, Lucknow, were responsible for the production of a considerable volume of quality literature, especially research works. The popularity of pocket-size editions and of paperbacks made it possible to publish classics and other works on a large scale, bringing them within the reach of readers of average means. As usual, the popular form of literature were poetry, criticism and fiction.

Research

2.92 Research both at the universities and outside has, however, benefited most. Many of the universities introduced research courses in Urdu in the post-Independence period and the University Grants Commission liberally subsidized research work. In addition, the Union Ministry of Education, particularly its Department of Culture, gave substantial grants for the printing of critical editions of important works, research works and descriptive catalogues of libraries. It also provided facilities of foreign exchange for obtaining photostat copies and micro-films of manuscripts found in foreign libraries. The tradition of research which was built up immediately before Independence was carried forward in the post-Independence period and among the new names deserving mention are : Nazir Ahmed, Mukhtaruddin Ahmed, Gian Chand Jain, Masud Husain Khan, Nurul Hasan Hashmi, Nisar Ahmed Farooqi, Khaliq Anjum, Gopi Chand Narang, Rashid Hasan Khan, Abdur Razzaq Quraishi, Mohd. Akbaruddin Siddiqi, Syeda Jafar, Sakhawat Ali Mirza, Rashid Musavi and Zeenat Sajida.

2.93 Work on linguistics is primarily a post-Independence development. The only pre-Independence work is "Hindustani Phonetics" by Syed Mohiuddin Qadri "Zore". After Independence, interest in linguistics developed considerably and quite a few important works were published. Among the linguists who shed new light on historical and descriptive linguistics in Urdu are Masud Husain Khan, Gian Chand Jain, Ehtesham

Husain, Gopi Chand Narang, Khaliq Anjum and Abdul Sattar Dalvi. Shaukat Sabzwari had already made a name before migrating to Pakistan.

New Writing

2.94 The Partition of the country caused emotional upsets and the idealists of the pre-Independence days were badly disillusioned. The difficulties, trials and strains of the days of reconstruction and development brought them face to face with new realities and many a challenge. The sharpening of political and class conflicts also forced a process of rethinking. The freedom of expression now enjoyed encouraged writers and poets to resist even a remote suggestion of ideological conformism as regimentation in thought. Some went so far as to reject even a sense of commitment. Not that the ideological grip was completely loosened but there was a great deal of debate and heated discussion. The progressive writers movement had lost its verve but not its basic validity. Its past dogmatism cost it many followers but it soon regrouped its ranks. The reinterpretation of post-Independence historical reality in concrete literary terms was delayed and there was little guidance from the old critics. During this interregnum some writers chose to indulge in imitations of the experiments made by the disillusioned post-war generation in Europe and America. Howsoever one may disagree with their approach, they were responsible for a fresh wave of literary activity. We have now a crop of poets and short story writers, many of them promising and talented, but it is not possible to make an exhaustive list. The account, however, will not be complete without a mention made of Shaz Tamkanat, Makhmoor Saedi, Balraj Komal, Raj Narain Raz, Bani, Shahryar, Nidar Fazili, Qazi Saleem, among the poets.

2.95 In the field of fiction, the galaxy of new writers in the post-Independence era is more striking. The name Qurratul Ain Hyder stand out. Others deserving mention are Jeelani Baru, Wajida Tabassum, Ali Mohammed Lone, Mohammed Amin Kamil, Tej Bahadur Bhan, Anwar Azim, Balraj Mainra, Iqbal Majid, Ghias Gaddi and Kalam Hyderi. Some good novels have been written by Qurratul Ain Hyder, Rajendar Singh Bedi, Qazi

Abdul Sattar, and Balwant Singh. Qurratul Ain Hyder's "Aag Ka Darya" is a modern classic. Commendable effort has been made at writing dramas and in this field, the contributions of Mohammed Hasan, Masihuzzaman, Reorti Saran Sharma and Kartar Singh Duggal are noteworthy.

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2.96 In literary criticism, the established writers are still active but many new names have emerged. Among these whose talent has won recognition in the post-Independence era are Shamsul Rehman Farooqi, Mahmud Ayaz, Baqar Mehdi, Mahmud Hashmi, Wahid Akhtar and Aslam Parvez, and Wahab Ashrafi.

Humour and Satire

2.97 The record of Urdu writers in the field of humour and satire has been exceptionally brilliant and its history reaches back to the early Mughal period. The names of Birbal, Mulla Do Piazza and Jafar Zatali have become household words. Sauda, Zahik and Insha were masters of this craft. In the recent past, the Awadh Punch produced a whole class of humourists and satirists. Munshi Sajjad Husain, Ratan Nath Sarshar, Mirza Bachhu Beg and later Mumtaz Husain Usmani and Zarif Lucknavi have all left their mark. In the pre-independence period, A. S. Bokhari (Pitras) Rashid Ahmed Siddiqui, Azim Beg Chughtai and Shaukat Thanvi were among the prominent humourists. In the post-Independence period also, we have satirists of the calibre of Kanhaiya Lal Kapoor. The tradition has been maintained by Wahi, Yusuf Nazim, Fikr Taunsavi, Ahmed Jamal Pasha, Mujtaba Husain and Bharat Chand Khanna. The most prolific humourist of the period was Ghulam Ahmed "Furqat" who had attracted notice even in the pre-Independence days. Qazi Ghulam Mohammed of Kashmir is also among the promising humourists of the day.

Fresh Fields

2.98 The modern period is also remarkable for historical writing. The most outstanding works are those of Dr. Klialiq Ahmed Nizami. A number of books have been compiled by Syed Sabahuddin Abdul Rehman on the cultural and social history of medieval India as also on the historical and political background of our literature. These follow the Shabli-Suleman pattern of historical evaluation. Letters of important writers and thinkers including those of Mirza Jan Janan Mazhar, Sir Syed Ahmed, Dr. Mohammed Iqbal, Amir Minai and Mirza Ruswa have been documented and published. Studies in depth of the various prevalent literary forms like marsia, qasida masnavi, shahr ashob, naat and ghazal and history of literature have also been taken up. History of novels by Ali Abbas Husaini and history of journalism by Atiq Siddiqi and Imdad Sabiri also deserve mention. On Urdu journalism, Imdad Sabiri alone has contributed four volumes. The early tendency of bestowing all attention on poetry is gradually yielding place to a balanced study of literature and prose and has evoked fairly wide interest of late. A number of books on the ancient prose, the Deccani prose and prose works produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have appeared recently.

2.99 Attempts have also been made to compile a comprehensive history of Urdu literature. Fortunately a number of old Tazkiras have been edited and published. Among these Musarrat-Afzaa, Umda-Mun. takhaba, Khush Marekah-i-Zeba, Tabaqat-ul-Shaura, Majmua-i-Naghz, and Gulistan-e-Sukhan deserve notice. The diwans of 'abru", "Naim", "Naji". "Hatim", "Mumnoon", "Naseer", "Asar" "Ehsan" "Bayan", "Mazhar", "Soz", "Jarat" and "Mushafi" have brought within our reach rich material on poetry to facilitate farther research.

2.100 In short, the progress and development of Urdu literature in the post-Independence period is most Heartening. Much of the work has been aided and subsidized by the Central and State authorities. In the building up of the new literature also, as the foregoing pages bear out, all the regions and communities have been equal partners. The witnesses who appeared before the Committee have not only underlined this fact but showed genuine eagerness to maintain this secular character of the language.

Population Statistics

2.101 A language with such a rich heritage, which has responded to new inspiration with great enthusiasm and has retained its dynamism and alertness through succeeding centuries is facing fresh problems of growth today. In order to understand the background fully, it would be useful to glance through the population statistics to be able to assess the size and extent of the problem and also the adequacy or the wise of the various safeguards and the effectiveness of the implementation machinery.

2.102 The number of speakers of Urdu in the country totals up to 28 million. Although it does not enjoy a regional language status in any State or Union Territory, millions of students continue to study it from the primary to the postgraduate levels, as we shall see in the Chapter on Education. After English, it is the only other language which is spoken, written and understood all over the country, but the speakers are spread too widely and in places too thinly to attract the advantages which other languages spoken by fewer persons but with greater concentrations in specified areas are able to secure.

2.103 Urdu is the sixth major language, of India according to the number of speakers. Only Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu can claim numerical superiority. The number of speakers of the following languages, which enjoy an official position in their respective regions, is far less than that of Urdu speakers :

TABLE I

Language	Total number of speakers
Assamese	8,958,977
Gujarati	25,875,252

Language	Total number of speakers
Kannada	21,707,918
Kashmiri	2,438,360
Malayalam	21,938,231
Oriya	19,855,450
Punjabi	16,449,573
Urdu	28,607,874

2.104 We have not taken into account Sanskrit and Sindhi languages as they have not been recognised as official languages in any region, though they have an honoured place in our national life as also in the VIII Schedule.

2.105 According to the Census of 1971, Urdu is numerically the second Most important language in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Mysore and Uttar Pradesh, while it is the third most important language In the States of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan and West Bengal, besides Union Territories of Chandigarh, Delhi and Goa, Daman and Diu.

Urdu Speakers

2.106 Up to the Census of 1941, Urdu was bracketed with Hindi, Punjabi, and Pahari dialects and all these together were put under the umbrella title of Hindustani for the purposes of the census. For the first time in the history of regular decennial censuses of India, all these languages were returned separately in the 1951 Census. Hindustani was also recorded as one of the Indian languages, though the Constiution of India did not

mention it in the Eighth Schedule. It would be safe to presume that a fairly large number of Urdu speakers in the rural areas returned Hindustani as their mother tongue in the 1951 Census but subsequently changed their mind. The following comparative table of the 1951, 1961 and 1971 Census in Uttar Pradesh will illustrate the assumption :

TABLE II

Language Pattern in Uttar Pradesh

Number of persons

		1951	1961	1971
Hindustani	Rural	60,11,260	1,00,530	..
	Urban	7,31,677	Nil	..
	Total	67,42,937	1,00,530	..
Urdu	Rural	21,17,363	53,44,216	..
	Urban	21,83,062	25,47,498	..
	Total	43,00,425	78,91,714	92,73,089
Hindi	Rural	4,52,52,457	5,60,86,160	N.A.
	Urban	52,01,760	63,61,555	N.A.
	Total	50,454,217	62,447,715	7,19,24,071

2.107 It will be noticed that while the number of Urdu and Hindi speakers both rose between 1951 and 1961, the rise in the case of rural population of Urdu speakers has been more steep. There has been a more or less corresponding fall in the number of Hindustani speakers in rural areas. In 1971 , Census, Hindustani virtually ceased to be a significant, member of our family of languages.

2.108 The percentage of increase of Urdu speakers in Uttar Pradesh from 19 51 to 1961 has been fairly high as will be seen from the following table :

TABLE III

Percentage increase during

1951-61

Rural	152.4
Urban	16.7
Total	84.5

2.109 It may be explained in part by the reluctance of both, he Hindi and Urdu speakers after 1951 and identify Hindustani as their mother tongue. Some confusion appears to have crept in at the time of recording the languages in 1951, perhaps because due care was not taken by the enumerators. The 1971, Census seems to confirm that the 1961 returns were more dependable than those of the Previous decennial. The rise registered in 1971 is only marginal. A few witnesses complained before the Committee that the enumeratorS failed to register Urdu speakers properly in cases where the public was not fully vigilant. While such complaints may be exaggerated, one cannot completely rule out the possibility of common human failures. Anyway, the Committee finds 1971 Census figures fairly dependable.

2.110 The census figures for the years 1951, 1961 and 1971 (table below) give a bird's eye view of the growth of Urdu speakers in India as a whole as also in the various States

TABLE IV

Name of the State	Census figures		
	1951	1961	1971
1 Andhra Pradesh	N.A.	25,53,753	32,99,854
2 Assam	6,826	11,263	6,325
3 Bihar	27,36,303	41,49,245	49,93,284
4 Gujarat (included in Bombay etc.)		5,94,670	5,81,508
5 Haryana (included in H.P.)	88,21,184	6,271	10,121
6 Himachal Pradesh	88,21,184	6,271	10,121
7 Jammu and Kashmir (included in A.P.)		12,617	12,740
8 Kerala -	N.A.	9,162	11,374

9	Karnataka	6,51,696	20,34,482	26,36,688
10	Madhya Pradesh	4,78,418	7,40,185	9,88,275
11	Maharashtra	27,08,348	27,25,737	36,61,898
12	Manipur	N.A.	1,311	
13	Meghalaya	N.A.	1,410	
14	Nagaland	N.A.	252	
15	Orissa	1,59,617	2,12,891	2,86,541
16	Punjab (included in H.P.)		55,660	29,003
17	Rajasthan	N.A.	5,09,673	6,50,947
18	Tamil Nadu	8,66,040	6,15,503	7,59,607
19	Tripura		21	67
20	Uttar Pradesh	43,00,425	78,91,714	92,73,089
21	West Bengal	4,57,981	8,32,847	9,50,363
Union Territories				
22	Andaman and Nicobar Island	862	1,897	2,488
23	Arunachal Pradesh	N.A.	N.A.	330
24	Chandigarh	N.A.	N.A.	1,703

25	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	N.A.	140	134
26	Delhi	16,56,476	1,53,251	2,31,127
27	Goa, Daman and Diu	N.A.	9,521	19,205
28	Lacadive, Minicoy and Aminidivi Islands	N.A.	1	32
29	Pondicherry	N.A.	2,594	3,362

2.111 While making the comparison, one has to bear in mind the changes that have taken place in the State boundaries after the reorganization of the States in 1954. For the sake of convenience, we have retained the names of the present States but those interested in a more detailed research will do well to look for the equivalents of the present nomenclatures of the States in the various Census years and also other modifications.

2.112 Allowance must also be made for the fact that figures for Urdu speakers were not given separately in the case of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, PEPSU and Bilaspur. These were lumped together with Hindi, Punjabi and Pahari in 1951. One should not, therefore, be unnecessarily alarmed by the sudden drop in the figures of Urdu speakers which may be noticed in respect of these territories in the 1961 Census.

Subsidiary Language

2.113 The 1961 Census had given figures of subsidiary languages also in addition to the mother tongue. The numbers of those who had declared Urdu as a subsidiary language are :

TABLE V

Name of State/ Union Territory	Urdu spoken as subsidiary language	Percentage of total population
States		
Andhra Pradesh	3,28,182	9.2
Assam
Bihar	53,610	0.2
Gujarat	1,58,138	0.3
Jammu and Kashmir	1,57,659	6.9
Karnataka	97,560	0.41
Kerala	1,403	..
Madhya Pradesh	46,968	0.2
Maharashtra	84,315	0.23
Orissa	265	0.002

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Name of State/ Union Territory	Urdu spoken as a subsidiary language	Percentage of total population
Punjab	4,41,798	2.0

Rajasthan	32,236	0.22
Tamil Nadu (previously Madras State)	17,822	0.05
Uttar Pradesh	6,73,192	0.52
West Bengal	75,133	0.22
Union Territories		
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	552	
Delhi	60,357	
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	8	
Nagaland	58	
Himachal Pradesh	6,775	
Arunachal Pradesh	374	
Lacadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands	12	
Manipur	..	
Tripura	165	
Pondicherry	313	
Goa, Daman and Diu	..	

Urban and Rural

2.114 It is generally assumed that Urdu is an urban language. The language-wise breakup of urban and rural population for 1971 is not yet available. The 1961 Census figures are, however, sufficient to illustrate the inaccuracy of this assumption. The percentage of Urdu speakers living in rural areas was 52.67, while only 40.33 per cent lived in urban areas. The following table gives the rural/urban breakup of the population of Urdu speakers in 1961 Census :

TABLE VI

S. No.	Name of the State	Urdu speaking population	Rural	Urban
1.	Andhra Pradesh	25,53,753	13,40,723	12,13,030
2	Assam	11,263	7,209	4,054
3	Bihar	41,49,245	35,37,703	6,11,542
4	Gujarat	5,94,670	1,45,711	4,48,959
5	Jammu and Kashmir	12,617	11,366	1,251
6	Kerala	9,162	2,836	6,326
7	Karnataka	20,34,482	10,60,274	9,74,208
8	Madhya Pradesh	7,40,185	2,12,790	5,27,395
9	Madras	6,15,503	1,94,963	4,20,540

10	Maharashtra	27,25,737	12,41,281	14,84,456
11	Orissa	2,12,891	1,40,161	72,730
12	Punjab	2,55,660	2,14,438	41,222
13	Rajasthan	5,09,673	1,74,934	3,34,739
14	Uttar Pradesh	78,91,114	53,44,216	25,47,498
15	West Bengal	8,32,847	2,73,686	6,59,161
Union Territories and other areas				
1	Himachal Pradesh	6,271	4,914	1,357
2	Delhi	1,53,251	3,052	1,50,199
3	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	1,897	401	1,897
4	Lacadive, Minicopy and Amindivi Islands	1
5	Manipur	36	22	14
6	Tripura	21	21	..
7	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	140	140	..
8	Goa, Daman and Diu	9,521	4,804	4,717
9	Pondicherry	2,594	749	1,845

10	North East Fronteir Agency	209	209	..
11	Nagaland	56	41	15

Concentrations of Speakers

2.115 As has been pointed out elsewhere also, the distribution of Urdu knowing population over the country as a whole as also within various states is not even. In a number of districts they form ten per cent or more of the total population. The following table shows the concentration of Urdu speakers in districts of various State according to 1961 Census.

TABLE VII

S. No.	State	Percentage
(1)	Uttar Pradesh	
1	Nainital	11.04
2	Bijnor	32.62

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S.No.	State	Percentage
(1)	Uttar Pradesh-contd.	
3	Moradabad	33.20

4	Budaun	12.71
5	Rampur	43.35
6	Bareilly	22.20
7	Shajahanpur	12.31
8	Saharanpur	27.92
9	Muzaffarnagar	17.77
10	Meerut	16.61
11	Bulandshahar	10.04
12	Sitapur	13.07
13	Lucknow	17.41
14	Bahraich	13.43
15	Gonda	13.99
16	Bara Banki	14.32
17	Basti	13.33
18	Azamgarh	10.65
19	Pilibhit	17.86
(2) Bihar		
1	Champaran	10.31

2 Darbhanga 11.61

3 Purnea 31.29

(3) Andhra Pradesh

1 Cuddapah 12.36

2 Kurnool 13.59

3 Hyderabad 25.88

4 Medak 10.32

5 Nizamabad 11.09

(4) Maharashtra

1 Aurangabad 13.70

2 Parbhani 10.33

3 Nanded 10.34

4 Akola 10.99

(5) Karnataka

1 Bijapur 11.14

2 Dharwar 12.75

3 Gulbarga 17.14

4	Bidar	17.00
5	Raichur	10.12
(6) Haryana (then in Punjab)		
1	Gurgaon	3.85

2.116 Apart from the districts, there are Concentrations of Urdu speakers at the tehsil and sub-divisional levels also. In response to requests from the Commissioner for Linguistic minorities, the States have identified the areas which have a minimum population of 15 per cent or more of Urdu speakers. Names of those areas have been published in the various reports. of the Commission. The list is, however, not complete as a number of States are yet to identify the areas. The available data is given in Appendix XIII. For a more detailed and up-to-date study, we will have to await the compilation of tehsil-wise figures for 1971 by the Census authorities.

2.117 If past experience is any guide, compilation of the figures on the basis of ten per cent of population at the levels below district is likely to take a very long time. In view of the recommendations made in the report, it is suggested that the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities may in anticipation try to get the figures from the Registrar General of India direct in addition to whatever may be available with the States concerned.

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CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS

3.1 The language problem had been exercising the minds of our national leaders even before Independence. The framers of our Constitution were, therefore, broadly aware of the aspirations and expectations of the people. Having regard to the multilingual character of our society, they had, on the one hand, to provide for the official, language at the Centre and in the States and, on the other, to assure the linguistic minorities of necessary constitutional protection. Accordingly, a comprehensive scheme of safeguards was written into the Constitution.

3.2 The need for the Organisation of States more or less on a linguistic basis, having been recognised, the future pattern had to be so designed that the change-over should cause no hardship to those whose mother tongue did not happen to be the official language. The first problem that arose after Independence related to the satisfaction of the educational needs of the smaller language groups in the States and Union Territories. In August 1949, the Provincial Education Ministers' Conference addressed itself to the educational problems pertaining both to the primary and secondary stages of education and spelt out the details of the educational safeguards for the linguistic minorities on the lines set out in the Resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress on August 5, 1949 (Appendix I).

Fundamental Rights

3.3 The scheme of safeguards provided by the Constitution of India, which the nation gave unto itself on January 26, 1950, was more elaborate and comprehensive. The basic concepts are enshrined in the Preamble to the Constitution and the chapter on the Fundamental Rights. Our Constitution lays great emphasis on the fundamental unity and equality of the people of India. The Union of India (of which the States form an integral part) recognises only one common citizenship for the entire population, and guarantees equality of rights and opportunities to all its citizens. The Constitution makes adequate provision for stimulating the personality of the individual and ensures equal treatment and full opportunities to linguistic minorities. These rights are accompanied by

specific safeguards in respect of language, culture, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, and equality of opportunities in securing employment, and in trade and commerce.

3.4 The basic provisions relating to the Fundamental Rights of the, linguistic minorities are contained in Articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution. These are

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

(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.

30, (1) "All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

(2) "The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language".

3.5 Certain other provisions of the Constitution, which are applicable to all citizens, are also equally relevant. For example, Article 14 (equality before the law), Article 15 (prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste etc.) and Article 16 (equality in matters relating to employment opportunities under the States) protect the interests of linguistic minorities in matters of vital importance. These articles are quoted below

Article 14 "The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.

Article 15 (1) "The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

Article 16(1) "There shall be equality of opportunities for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State.

(2) "No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against, in respect of any employment or office under the State.

(3) "Nothing in this Article shall prevent Parliament from making any law prescribing, In regard to a class or classes of employment or appointment to an office under the Government of, or any local or other authority within, a State or Union Territory, any requirement as to residence within that State or Union territory prior to such employment or appointment.

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(4) "Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class or citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State.

(5) "Nothing in this Article shall affect the operation of any law which provides that the incumbent of an office in connection with the affairs of any religious or denomination institution or any member of the governing body thereof shall be a person professing a particular religion or belonging to a particular denomination."

3.6 In regard to Fundamental Rights, it would be appropriate to reproduce the following extract from a speech by Dr. Ambedkar, Chairman, Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, to emphasise that Fundamental Rights were enforceable from the Union down to the Panchayat level :

"The object of the Fundamental Rights is two-fold. First, that every citizen must be in a position to claim these rights. Secondly, they must be binding upon every authority.. which has got either the power to make laws or the power to have discretion vested in it. Therefore, it is quite clear, that if the Fundamental Rights are to be clear, then they must be binding not only upon the Provincial and Central Governments, but they must also be binding upon districts, local boards, municipalities, even village panchayats and taluka boards, in fact, every authority which has been created by law and which has got certain power to make laws, to make rules are make bye-laws".

3.7 Elucidating the word 'minority' occurring in the relevant Draft Article corresponding to the present Articles 29 and 30, Dr. Ambedkar pointed out in the Constituent Assembly

"The word is used not merely to indicate the minority in the technical sense of the word (as we have been accustomed to use it for the purpose of certain political safeguards, such as representation in the Legislature, representation in the Services and so on), 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, if a certain number of people from Madras came and settled in Bombay for certain purposes, they would, be, although not a minority in the technical sense, cultural and linguistic 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 term as I have explained just now. It was felt that this protection was necessary for the simple reason that people who go from one province to another and settle there, do not settle there permanently. They do not uproot themselves from the province from which they have migrated, but they keep their connections. They go back to their province for the purpose of marriage. They go back to their province for various other purposes, and if this protection was not given to them when they were subject to the local Legislature and the local Legislature were to deny them the opportunity of conserving their culture, it would be very difficult for these cultural minorities to go back to their province and to get themselves assimilated to the original population to which they belonged. In order to meet the situation of migration from one province to another, we felt it was desirable that such a provision should be incorporated in the Constitution".

3.8 It will be recalled that while this Draft Article was being debated in the Constituent Assembly, a number of sneakers had pointed out that there would be 'islands' of linguistic minorities in different parts of the country and that the Article should be deemed to give a clear direction to the majority in those parts to look after the interests of such minorities in respect of their language and culture.

3.9 We do not propose to go into the details of the 'Directive Principles of State Policy and its relevance to the problem of languages. But we shall currently examine in detail the various express provisions of the Constitution having a direct bearing on the issue.

Language and Constitution

3.10 In this context, it would be useful to take a special note of Articles 343 to 351 of the Constitution.' Articles' 343 'and 344 deal with the official language of the Union. Articles 345 to 347 deal with regional languages while Articles 348 and 349 deal with the language of the Supreme Court, High Courts, etc. In these restricted spheres also, there are aspects in which linguistic minorities have a valied interest. Article343(i) of the Constitution declared Hindi in Devnagari script as the official language of the Union. In the matter of numerals, the international form of Indian numerals was adopted. Clause (2) of the Article, however, provided for the continued use of the English language for a period of 15 years for all official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before the commencement of the Constitution. The Article gave the President the power to authorize,by order,the use of Hindi in addition to English and of the Devnagari form of numerals in addition to international form of numerals, during the said period for any of the official purposes of the Union. The Parliament was authorized to provide, by law, for the use of English language or of the Devnagari form of numerals beyond 15 years also. Accordingly, an enabling Act was passed in 1965. The Act was subsequently amended in 1967, to provide for English being used for official purposes along with Hindi, till such time as all Legislatures of the non-Hindi speaking States recommend, by resolution, the discontinuance

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of English. The over-riding consideration has always been to make the transition smooth, and to eliminate difficulties of such groups as were likely to be affected by the change.

3.11 Under Article 344, there was a provision for the appointment of an Official Language Commission to recommend on the progressive use of Hindi for official purposes, restriction on the use of English, the language to be used for any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348, the form of numerals, etc. Again, the Commission was required to have due regard to "the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement

of India, and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services."

3.12 The other three Constitutional provisions in Articles 345, 346 and 347, dealing with the regional language, proceeded with equal caution. We have dealt with these articles in detail later in view of their significance for the linguistic minorities.

3.13 The picture will not be complete without reference to Articles 120 and 210, which deal with the language of the Parliament and of the State Legislatures respectively. The importance of these Articles lies in the provision for permission by the Chairman and Speakers to Members who cannot adequately express themselves in the official languages at the Centre and the States, to address the House in their mother tongue.

3.14 The directive for development of Hindi is contained in Article 351, which says

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

3.15 The Eighth Schedule, to which a reference has been made here, lists the following fifteen languages as regional languages of India :

- | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Assamese | 2. Bengali | 3. Gujarati |
| 4. Hindi | 5. Kannada | 6. Kashmiri |
| 7. Malayalam | 8. Marathi | 9. Oriya |
| 10. Punjabi | 11. Sanskrit | 12. Sindhi* |
| 13. Tamil | 14. Telugu | 15. Urdu |

Hindustani

3.16 The reference to Hindustani in Article 351 need not cause any surprise. Although Hindustani does not find a place among the languages of the Eighth Schedule, it has always been understood that the forms, styles and expressions imbibed and practised by the users of both Hindi and Urdu constitute Hindustani.

3.17 Hindi and Urdu have the same verbs and infinitives, their basic vocabulary is virtually identical and their idiom is largely common. The two languages, as spoken, have not much difference, apart from regional and other variations. In the early twenties, when Mahatma Gandhi preached the concept of Hindustani, he had in mind a judicious blend of Hindi and Urdu languages written in both the Devnagari and Urdu scripts. In a letter to Srinivasa Shastri dated March 18, 1920, he had, inter alia, indicated "definite acceptance of Hindustani- resultant of Hindi and Urdu-as a national language of intercourse in the immediate future". For quarter of a century, thereafter, he advocated these views with characteristic clarity and consistency. Twenty two years later, he wrote in the 'Harijan'.

"What is Hindustani? There is no such language apart from Urdu and Hindi. Urdu had sometimes been called Hindustani. It means a scientific blend extant. But it is the common speech of the unlettered millions of Hindus and Muslims living in Northern India. Not being written, it is imperfect, and the written language has taken two different turns tending to widen the difference by each running away from the other. Therefore, the word Hindustani means Hindi and Urdu".

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3.18 After Independence also Mahatma Gandhi reiterated his views and elaborated his ideas thus

"...The national language of India could be none but the one that was spoken in the north by the Hindus and Muslims and was written in the Nagri and Urdu scripts. It was the language of Tulsidas. The poet saint had not disdained to use Arabic and Persian words even in his time. That language which had undergone the evolution was the interprovincial speech written in two scripts... Hindustani

was a happy blend of the two (Hindi and Urdu) with the grammatical structure unaffected by Arabic and Persian..."

(December 18, 1947)

* Added by the Constitution (21st Amendment) Act, 1967,

*** Harijan', February 1, 1942.

Delhi Diary by M. K. Gandhi, p. 266.

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3.19 In the years immediately after independence, there was considerable development of Hindi in various directions. The coining of technical terms, the translations from international languages into Hindi and the progressive use of the language by a number of State Governments as also by the Centre, led to considerable diversification of the uses of Hindi. The desire to forge ahead speedily in the use and development of Hindi is fully understandable, but in working at speed and in haste, the form, style and even the genius of the language often undergo many changes. These changes take time to get assimilated in the main stream, as laid down in Article 351 of the Constitution which envisages the assimilation "of the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in other languages of India". If sufficient attention is not paid to this directive, the two sister languages, Urdu and Hindi, might drift further apart at the literary level and away from the genius of Hindustani. For all lovers of Hindustani this poses a challenge : Can we still attempt to reclaim at least a part of the heritage and halt this drift ?

3.20 One finds an echo of these thoughts recorded in the report of the Official Language Commission, presided over by B.G. Kher, a close associate of Gandhiji. In keeping with the spirit of Article 351, he called upon "those concerned with the policy aspect of the matter" to avoid the high-flown stuff on both i.e. Persianised Urdu and Sanskritised Hindi. He felt that after excluding the high flown part, "the remainder of the vocables needed for common use would not present a great number of such difficult points. To the small extent to which such a difficulty would occur, even within such vocabulary, it may be solved by using both words optionally.*

3.21 This aspect of the, problem has not yet attracted the attention it deserves but the Committee was glad to notice a keenness on the part of a number of well known writers of Urdu , who appeared before us, to preserve and develop the common heritage. The witnesses, without exception, emphasized the importance of learning Hindi and the regional languages, which alone could provide a common linguistic medium in administration and allied spheres. They were clear in their minds that the development of Hindi and Urdu in the spirit of Hindustani would help the development of both languages and receive greater acceptability.

States Reorganisation Commission

3.22 The States Reorganisation Commission was appointed in December 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 and administrative considerations. It foresaw clearly that the redrawn map of the States will have a number of linguistic minorities, who will need comprehensive safeguards based on the provisions of the Constitution. The Commission found that even if "the linguistic principles were applied rigidly, the problem of linguistic minorities will, by no means, be solved." It referred to the complaints of the linguistic minorities, in particular to the enforcement of language tests for recruitment to State Services in some States. In recommending safeguards in Part IV of its report, the Commission rightly emphasized the principle that the safeguards evolved to protect the educational, cultural and other interests of linguistic minorities should not so operate as to perpetuate separatism or to impede the process of natural assimilation.

3.23 Regarding the use of minority languages for official purposes, it spelt out that where one language group constituted about 70 percent or more of its entire population, the State would be considered unilingual and where a linguistic minority constituted 30 per cent of the population, the State would be bilingual.

3.24 The States Reorganization Commission had envisaged the application of the principles enunciated by it in respect of the safeguards not only at the State level but also at the district level. In fact, it went much beyond and considered even the smaller units. It recommended : "It will also be of advantage if, in bilingual districts, municipal areas or other smaller units, such as taluks, where there are minorities constituting 15 to 20 per cent of the population, documents which are used by the people at large, such as Government notices, electoral rolls, ration cards, etc., are printed in both the languages. It should also be permissible to file documents in the courts etc., in the minority language. Likewise, where the candidates seeking elections to any local bodies are required to have a working knowledge of a language, the knowledge of a language of such minor language groups would be given recognition's It pleaded for the adoption, in consultation with the State Governments, "of a clear code to govern the use of different languages at different levels of a State administration" and called for "effective steps to be taken to ensure that this code is followed."

3.25 The Chief Minister's Conference in August 1961 recommended that where at least 60 per cent of the population of a district spoke or used a particular language, that language should be recognised as an official language in the particular district in addition to the State's official language. Recognition for this purpose is to be given ordinarily only to the major languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Exceptions could be made in regard to the hill districts of the erstwhile composite State of Assam, and the district of Darjeeling in West Bengal, where languages other than those mentioned in the Eighth Schedule have claims to similar safeguards.

* Report of the Official Language Commission, p. 236.

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3.26 This was a modification of the recommendation made by the States Reorganisation Commission Which considered a population of 70 per cent necessary to entitle a language to claim the status of an additional official language. It was found that few areas would qualify for that test even after lowering the percentage to 60. A language will be entitled to claim the status of an additional official language only if it qualified on the basis of population.

3.27 Under Chapter IV of Part XVII of the Constitution of India, some special directives have been provided for, of which those under Article 351 have already been dealt with. Article 350 gives the right to every citizen to submit a representation for the redress of any grievances to any officer or authority of the Union or a State in any of the languages used there.

3.28 Subsequently, Articles 350-A and 350-B were inserted through the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act of 1956. These were largely influenced by the Commission's recommendations. Article 350-A provides for the use of the "mother tongue", at the primary stage of education to children belonging to "linguistic minority" groups and 350-B provides for the appointment of a special officer for linguistic minorities. The words "mother tongue" and "linguistic minority" used here embody the essence of the views expressed earlier in this regard in the Constituent Assembly.

3.29 Article 350-B has created a built in mechanism to ensure regular supervision by a competent authority, and parliamentary review of the implementation of the various safeguards provided either by specific constitutional provisions, or through the decisions taken by the Governments.

3.30 The appointment of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities was in fulfilment of the directive in the Article 350-B. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has since been submitting his annual reports to the President. These reports, in turn, have been laid before both the Houses of Parliament.

Comprehensive Scheme of Safeguards

3.31 In the foregoing paras we have surveyed the constitutional position of the languages and the built-in safeguards for their preservation and development. Our Constitution-makers had visualised the difficulties that could arise as a result of the replacement of English by the regional languages. Being aware of the hardships that the change-over was likely to cause to linguistic minorities, they took care to ensure that the transition was smooth. The reorganisation of States in the midfifties gave a new dimension to the problem of linguistic minorities. The States Recorganisation Commission had attempted to carve out unilingual States but was fully alive to the fact that no State could be unilingual in the strict sense of the term. There were pockets and concentrations of linguistic minorities in each State. They needed special protection against discrimination from the State down to the district, taluk, tahasil and panchayat levels. The Commission recognised the need for some detailed and concrete directive for safeguards from the State for the guidance of the executive.

3.32 Accordingly, the Ministry of Home Affairs issued a Memorandum outlining the safeguards for linguistic minorities in 1956 in consultation with the Chief Ministers of States. This Memorandum will be found in Appendix IV. It covers not only educational matters but also those relating to recruitment to services, use of mother tongue for official purposes and the freedom of trade and commerce. It also takes full note of the decisions embodied in the Resolution passed by the Education Minister's Conference of 1949, and later endorsed by the Central Advisory Board of Education.

3.33 In 1957, a Ministerial Committee of the Southern Zonal Council tried to consider how best the decisions set out in the Memorandum of the Home Ministry could be implemented in the southern States. The Committee's report was considered by the Zonal Council in May 1959, (Appendix VI) and adopted for general application, with minor modifications, in April 1960. Broadly, it followed the principles laid down in the Government of India Memorandum of 1956. The Chief Ministers of the States and the Central Ministers, who met in August 1961 reaffirmed the principles embodied in the

Memorandum and the decisions of the Zonal Council with certain variations (Appendix VII).

3.34 In September 1961, a National Integration Conference constituted a National Integration Council under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, to review the implementation of the various decisions taken to promote national integration in the States including those relating to the languages. Addressing the first National Integration Conference on September 28, 1961, Dr. Radhakrishnan, the then Vice-President observed that the country was a "multi-racial, multi-lingual, multi-religious society and there was never any question of saying that this group is the biggest and that is not the biggest. The idea was to accommodate all.". The Conference took note of certain apprehensions of minority groups and the need for removing legitimate grievances. Reaffirming faith in the principle of national integration, the Conference adopted a number of proposals amplifying or partly modifying some of the major safeguards provided to the linguistic minorities. A Steering Committee has since been constituted to consider questions relating to national integration.

Urdu and States

3.35 We have briefly referred earlier to the constitutional provisions relating to the official languages of the Indian Union. It was left to the States to decide what the official language of the administration as also the legislatures would be. All the languages, except Sanskrit and Sindhi, became official

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languages of the States within specified territories, a number of States opting for Hindi as their official language. Likewise, several State Legislatures adopted laws providing for the use of the regional language or languages for legislative purposes.

3.36 The main concentration of the Urdu knowing population was in the States of northern India and in Andhra Pradesh, Urdu was declared as official language in Jammu and Kashmir, where it had enjoyed the status of an auxiliary official language

even in the erstwhile princely State. The Jammu and Kashmir Constitution also provides for the promotion and development of other languages, like Punjabi, Pahari etc., which are spoken in the different regions of the State. Urdu serves as a link language between the regions within the State and maintains historical and administrative continuity.

3.37 Another State where Urdu has been accorded official recognition is Andhra Pradesh. In pursuance of Article 345 of the Constitution, the Andhra Pradesh Legislature has passed the Andhra Pradesh Official Language Act, 1966 (Appendix XI), which provides for the use of Urdu in addition to Telugu for specified official purposes.

3.38 Section 7 of the Act, which makes a reference to Urdu, is reproduced below

"The State Government may, from time to time, by notification in the Andhra Pradesh Gazette direct the use of Urdu or any other language or languages, in addition to the Telugu language in the interest of persons speaking such language or languages, in such areas and for such official purposes of the State and for such periods, as may be specified in the notification".

3.39 In quite a few States like Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, the language has lost its earlier status. For instance, in post-partition Punjab, Urdu gave place to Punjabi and Hindi. After the subsequent bifurcation of the composite Punjab State, Punjabi became the official language of the Punjab, and Hindi of Haryana. Similarly, in Uttar Pradesh, the pre-Independence use of Urdu for certain official purposes was given up.

3.40 While administrative convenience, efficiency and facility in communication have been the basis for seeking linguistic homogeneity, it cannot be considered, as the States Reorganisation Commission rightly points out, an exclusive or binding principle. The educational, cultural and communication needs of the linguistic minorities have also to be adequately met. Symptomatic of the situation are the demands voiced periodically by several organizations and the petitions presented to the President for the conferment of official recognition to Urdu in various States on the ground that it was used by a substantial proportion of the population in those States or parts thereof.

3.41 The status of Urdu, as can be seen, underwent a qualitative change; first after Independence and later after the reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis.

3.42 Many witnesses pleaded for some special status or special place for Urdu in Government official and demanded the declaration of Urdu as the second official language wherever a sizable number of its speakers lived, e.g., in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh. Their experience of the past was cited to support the view that the present pattern of safeguards had failed to ensure implementation at various levels. An overwhelming majority of the representatives of popular opinion and literary, cultural and educational organizations urged for a Presidential Directive under Article 347 or legislative enactments by the States under Article 345. In view of this demand, we propose to deal with the issue at some length.

3.43 According to Article 345, there is no bar to a State Legislature adopting any one or more of the languages in use in a State for all or any of the purposes of that State. It is under this Article that, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has passed a law permitting the use of Urdu and some other languages for official purposes.

3.44 Although some individuals and organisations including the Anjumn Taraqqi-e-Urdu (Hindi) have felt that the President could issue a Directive to the effect that Urdu shall be used as the second official language or the second language in certain States, the Article itself does not speak of a 'second official language' or the 'second language'. It only envisages a Directive for official recognition of a language either throughout the State or any part thereof, for such purposes as the President may specify.

3.45 Before issuing such a Directive in terms of Article 347, the President has first to be satisfied that a 'substantial proportion of the population of a State' and not only a part thereof, desires the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State. On such satisfaction, he may direct that such language' shall also be recognised through that State or in part thereof for such purposes as he may specify'.

3.46 As doubts were raised about the applicability of Article 347, in the case of Urdu and other languages which did not have big concentrations of speakers in a State as a

whole, we invited four constitutional experts to give their opinion on the Article. Two of the experts, namely, Shri Niren De, Attorney General of India and Shri Sardar Ali Khan, a leading constitutional lawyer from Andhra Pradesh, were of the view that 'substantial proportion' would imply percentage of population not lower than 15 to 20 in a State as a whole to attract the Article. Urdu does not claim that high percentage in any State as a whole and

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therefore, if these interpretations are to be relied upon, no relief will be available to the speakers of Urdu under Article 347. Shri De, however, clarified that Article 347 does not stand in the way of enacting a law by the Legislature of a State adopting Urdu to be used for the official purposes of that State, under Article 345, if Urdu is in use in that State.

3.47 Shri S. M. Sikri, former Chief Justice of India, whose views also we heard on the constitutional aspect, felt that the term 'substantial proportion' did not signify any particular percentage. He argued that the Constitution had deliberately not prescribed a percentage and it would be wrong to try to write it into the Article. Citing English cases, he said 'substantial' was not, the same as 'not insubstantial'. It should be just enough to avoid the de minimis principle. He felt that in defining the terms 'substantial proportion' the political factors in a particular State as also the total size of the minority in the whole State, the purposes for which the language was to be used and whether it was to be used for a part or the whole of a State would be relevant in determining the import of the words 'substantial proportion of the population of a State'.

3.48 Shri Anand Narain Mulla, Member of Parliament argued that "rights were better protected by the word of statute rather than the promises and good wishes expressed by political leaders". He linked Article 347 with Articles 350 and 350-A and argued that the rights given thereunder implied automatic conferment of subsidiary rights necessary for the enforcement of rights granted. A law which did not contemplate enforcement of a right given thereunder was dead ab initio. As the rights under Articles 350 and 350-A could be exercised by the State taking action under Article 345 or by the President

issuing a Directive under Article 347, he thought that the term 'substantial proportion of population' under Article 347 had to be viewed against that background. He did not agree with the view that 'substantial proportion' indicated a rigid percentage.

3.49 While stressing that substantial proportion of population corresponds to a dignified percentage like 15 to 20, Shri Sardar Ali Khan draw a significant distinction between 'mother-tongue', 'official language' and 'spoken language'. As people spoke languages other than their mother tongue also, it was possible to have a much larger proportion of people speaking a particular language than those claiming it as a mother tongue. He cited the case of Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh where the number of people speaking Urdu was much larger than that of those who had returned it as their mother tongue in the census. As compared to Articles 350-A and 350-B which speak of the mother tongue, "the linguistic minority" or "the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule", Article 347 is concerned only with the 'spoken language'. In this connection, he also cited the case of English, which was spoken by a much larger number.

3.50 To sum up, the constitutional experts are not unanimous in defining the exact scope of Article 347. Similar differences existed with regard to the question whether the 'proportion' of the State as a whole and not of a part thereof should be 'substantial' in order to attract a Presidential Directive under the Article.

3.51 Opinions are evenly divided on the interpretation of the word 'substantial proportion'. Some feel that it should be reducible into concrete terms of a percentage while others feel that the Constitution makers have repeatedly refused to accept any rigid percentage as an indication of the term 'substantial'. We, however, feel that a decision exclusively on the basis of percentage is likely to create anomalous situations in a vast country like ours. For example, ten per cent of the population in Jammu and Kashmir or in Nagaland will not be the same as ten per cent of the population in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The actual numbers involved in the densely and thinly populated States would vary considerably and a smaller group of one particular area will become entitled to certain facilities on the basis of a percentage, while another group with a much larger number would be deprived of it. We are led to think that among the

considerations weighing with Parliament in not adopting a rigid percentage must have been the wide divergence in the density of population and likely inequalities that may flow from rigidities of interpretation.

3.52 As already discussed, there is a divergence of views regarding interpretation of Article 347 of the Constitution. These differences cannot be resolved by the Committee attempting to pronounce a judgement on the legal validity of one or the other of the conflicting interpretations. In fact, it is well beyond the competence of the Committee. We are, therefore, not in a position to make a definite recommendation on the exact implications of Article 347. But, we appreciate the genuineness of the desire to find a way to provide a dependable safeguard against the non-implementation of agreed decisions by giving them a legal form within the framework of the Constitution. The way has been shown by the State Governments of Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Assam, who have made due provision in their language Acts, drawing authority from Article 345, to safeguard the interests of the linguistic minorities.

3.53 The applicability of either of the two Articles 345 and 347 to languages other than the main official language had never been in doubt. These enabling Articles give Governments in the States and at the Centre the powers for adoption of a language for use in the States and Union Territories as additional language for all or any specified purposes in the whole State or part hereof, In this case of Article 345, the State Legislatures have to judge what languages at what time and in what manner are to be chosen for the tasks envisaged in that Article. Shri A. N. Mulla rightly pointed out in his evidence that in the case of the

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State language laws, there is no condition attaching to the size of speakers. That gives the State Governments wide powers in extending the use of languages other than the official language, for all or specified official purposes.

3.54 The, Committee feels that whatever might be the interpretation of Article 347, the Centre should be able to ensure effective implementation of the safeguards for the linguistic minorities, by the States.

3.55 The State Government of Aadhra Pradesh has passed the "Andhra Pradesh Official Language Act, 1966" under Article 315, authorising, the use of Urdu or any other language or languages for specified purposes and in specified areas in addition to the Telugu language .(Section 7). The protective umbrella of Section 7 of the Act is wide enough to encompass all the legitimate needs of the linguistic minorities.

3.56 These States deserve our appreciation for the commendable work done by them in initiating legislation under Article 345. The Committee has, however, noted that the State Governments have not defined the areas or the purposes for which the language was to be used, though such an action was indicated in Section 7 of the Act itself and this has naturally evoked adverse comments.

3.57 While we particularly wished to record our appreciation of the efforts of Andhra Pradesh Government in taking steps under Article 345 with regard to Urdu, we would like to draw the attention of the State to the desirability of issuing comprehensive notifications under Section 7 of the Act, specifying the purposes for which the language is to be used and ensuring their implementation. We are sure that the Andhra Pradesh Government, which has pioneered legislation under Article 345, will soon take measures that logically flow from the enactment.

3.58 Provision of facilities on the lines of Section 7 of the Andhra Pradesh Act, to enable a fuller understanding of the governmental laws and rules, the right to submit petitions in one's own mother tongue and the availability of detailed information about the developmental programmes undertaken by the Government would give a feeling of fuller participation to those who speak languages other than the main language of the State. Much will be gained and nothing lost by all the States taking a bold line and bringing in the necessary legislation, specifying, the areas and purposes for which the use of minority languages is to be permitted. This would offer to the linguistic minorities the essence of what they want.

Implementation

3.59 We have discussed the Andhra Pradesh Act at some length as it is of direct relevance to Urdu and we feel that it does provide a dependable basis for future action by the other States as well, A broad outline of the safeguards necessary for the linguistic minorities is already contained in the Home Ministry Memorandum of 1956, as amplified by the Conference of Chief Ministers, Education Minister's and the Zonal Councils from time to time. These should prove helpful in defining areas and purposes for the amendments that may be proposed to the Language Acts.

3.60 Our recommendations in respect of the constitutional safeguards can well be summarized as follows:

(i) The Committee recognises the genuineness of the desire for effective implementation of the constitutional and administrative safeguards to the speakers of Urdu. However, it feels that the pattern of providing safeguards for the linguistic minorities in the State Acts on official language has been set by the Andhra Pradesh Official Language Act, which draws authority from article 345 of the Constitution. The Committee commends it to the States and Union Territories for similar action with the further proviso that the areas and purposes (educational, administrative, judicial, etc.,) for which the State decides to allow the use of the language should be comprehensively specified in the Act itself. Andhra Pradesh should also take further action on the lines indicated above,

(ii) The Centre should ensure effective implementation of the safeguards for the linguistic minorities, by the States and Union Territories. The functional importance of a language lies in its use (a) as a medium of communication and education (b) in the spheres of employment and occupation (c) in administration and judiciary, and the scheme of implementation has to cover all these aspects.

3.61 In the following chapters we have tried to take up specific, issues and recommended appropriate solutions in the hope that the Centre and State Governments will find these readily acceptable and be able to ensure fullest implementation.

EDUCATION.

Background

4.1 Reliable educational statistics for the pre-British period. are not available in respect of the state of education in those days. Generally speaking education was imparted through the medium of classical languages, e.g., Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic.

4.2 An educational survey was for the first time conducted by the East India Company in the early nineteenth century. The survey was confined to the territories under the control of the Company. Enquiries were conducted in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay in 1822 and 1823-25 respectively, and in the Presidency of Bengal in 1835.

These enquiries revealed that the traditional educational institutions seldom used the mother tongue as medium of instruction beyond the elementary stage. Persian, Sanskrit or Arabic continued to be the main media of instruction at these institutions.

4.3 William Adam, who had conducted the enquiry in the Presidency of Bengal, noted four types of schools then existing. These were : (i) Bengali Elementary Schools; (ii) Persian Schools; (iii) Arabic Elementary Schools, and (iv) Persian-Bengali Schools. The Bengali and Persian-Bengali Schools did use, a modern Indian language, i.e., Bengali at the elementary level. Adam, however, suggested the adoption of English as the medium of instruction in place of the classical languages.

4.4 The East India Company realised after 1765 that it was fast acquiring political power and felt that in order to consolidate its power it was a safe course to follow the policy of the earlier India, rulers and encourage classical learning in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic on traditional lines so as to leave the "Indian people to develop their traditional system of education according to their own genius."

4.5 The officials and the staff of the East India Company, who had to communicate with the local people were, however, handicapped owing to their ignorance of the local languages. The Company, therefore considered it necessary to train its civil servants in the, languages and customs of India. The Fort 'William college was established at Calcutta in the year 1800 with this object in view. The college was set up to teach the major Indian languages to the British civil and military officers.

4.6 Simultaneously, in pursuance of the policy, often referred to as the Orientalist policy of the company two important institutions were set up : (i) the Calcutta Madrasa and (ii) the Banaras Sanskrit College. Lord Minto recommended the establishment of additional madrasas and Sanskrit colleges 'at convenient places within the Company's territories".

4.7 This policy was affirmed by the British Parliament in 1813 when the Company's Charter came up for renewal before it. Thus section XLIII of the Charter as approved by the British Parliament provided that, "it shall be lawful for the Governor-General-in-Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereinafter provided, a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories of India."

4.8 A General Committee of Public Instruction was accordingly appointed on July 17, 1823 by the Governor-General-in-Council and vested with powers to advise, and also to expend the annual grants for the promotion of education. Between 1823 and 1833, the committee recognised the Calcutta Madrasa and the Banaras Sanskrit College, established a Sanskrit College at Calcutta and two oriental colleges at Agra and Delhi, undertook the, printing and publication of Sanskrit, Arabic and Urdu books on an appreciable scale and employed scholars to translate English works into the languages of India.

4.9 The Delhi College, founded in 1825, played an important role in the development of Urdu. It was the first institution in the country to introduce Urdu as a medium of instruction at the higher stage of education.

4.10 The policy of promoting education through the media of classical and some other Indian languages was soon reversed consequent on the famous minute of Thomas Babington Macaulay recorded on February 23 1835 in which he rejected not only the Indian classical languages as media of instruction but also the "vernacular" languages, branding them as "poor and crude", Macaulay's minute was accepted by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General. In the subsequent Resolution issued on March 7. 1835 the Company's future policy was enunciated as follows :

- (a) The great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science.
- (b) All funds appropriated for the purposes of education should be employed on English alone.
- (c) No stipend should be given to students of Sanskrit colleges or of Muslim madrasas,
- (d) No money should be spent on the printing of oriental works.

The Resolution amounted to the adoption of English as the medium of education to the exclusion of the classical and modern Indian languages from that role.

4.11 When the Company's Charter was due for renewal again in 1853, the Court of Directors of the Company felt the need for a thorough and comprehensive review of the educational developments in India under the Company's administration. Accordingly, a select committee of the House of Lords conducted an enquiry, whose findings formed the basis of the Education Despatch of July 19, 1854, commonly known as Wood's Despatch. The full text of the Despatch will be found in the British Parliamentary Papers 1854 (XLVII) (393)2 on pages 1 to 18. The Despatch reiterated "emphatically that the objective of education remained the diffusion of European knowledge" But, unlike Macaulay who has condemned classical and local languages, it acknowledged the importance of classical languages by recording that acquaintance with the works

contained in them was valuable for historical and legal purposes. While considering the importance of classical and modern Indian languages, the Despatch reiterated that these languages could, however, not be made the sole medium of education and that "English alone should serve the purpose for higher education." It was made incumbent upon those who desired to obtain liberal education to "acquire mastery of English language as a key to the literature of Europe." It was also felt necessary to "regard the knowledge of English..... essential to those natives of India who aspired to higher order of education ." The Despatch went on to say that "it is niether our aim nor our, desire to substitute English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the languages which alone are understood by the masses of population. It is indispensable, therefore, that in any general system of education the study of them should be assiduously attended and any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people can only be conveyed to them by one or the other of these vernacular languages"

4.12 The Despatch concluded by declaring that the objective of education was "to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of the people". It stressed "that this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher branches of instruction and that of the Vernacular languages of India to the great mass of the people." It drew the special attention of the Governor-General to the "education of the middle and lower classes both by the establishment of fitting schools for this purpose and by means of careful encouragement of the native schools which exist and have existed from time immemorial in every village."* One can not fail to notice in the new policy a shift in emphasis from an exclusively English education to the encouragement of education through the Anglo-Vernacular schools.

4.13 The uprising of 1857, however, made the then British rulers doubtful about the desirability of popular education. Lord Ellenborough felt that the new policy of educating the masses had led to the events of 1857, and he advocated resiling from that policy.**

4.14 The Education Despatch of 1854, issued during the rule of East India Company and subsequently ratified by the Secretary of State in 1859, envisaged that there would be secondary schools teaching through the Indian languages, in addition to the schools using English exclusively as the medium of instruction. But due to certain peculiar historical circumstances as well as the prevailing institutional set-up, that policy could not be implemented. The educational policy as implemented was not favourable to the cultivation of modern Indian languages, and the declared aim of the 1854 Despatch, that the difference between Anglo-Vernacular and vernacular schools be eliminated gradually, proved illusory.

4.15 The Despatch of 1854 resulted in the immediate establishment of three universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Following the general plan of the University of London, these universities were merely affiliating and examining bodies. Consequently, they completely dominated the tertiary and the secondary education and, while education in English received a great impetus in almost all institutions, education through Indian languages suffered total neglect. This situation prevailed in all the territories under the East India Company and created a small privileged class that learnt the English language, and other subjects through that medium. It left the poor and the underprivileged masses of the people to their own resources,

4.16 The situation took a turn for the worse when the then Viceroy of India approved the following Resolution on June 30, 1868, which aimed at encouraging greater use of English. The Resolution as communicated to the Secretary of State for India in London read as under :

"The Governor-General-in-Council, having considered the expediency of encouraging 'natives' of India to resort more freely to English, for the purpose of perfecting their education, and of studying for the various learned professions, or for the civil and other services of this country, believes that this most important object would be facilitated by creating a certain number of scholarships to be held on condition of residence in Great Britain."

4.17 The universities controlled college and secondary education by organizing courses of studies prescribing syllabi and conducting final examinations for diploma and advanced degrees. The secondary schools always looked up to the universities for inspiration and guidance and their sole aim was to prepare the students for the universities. As lectures in the affiliated colleges of the universities were delivered in

* Parliamentary Papers 1854-XLVII (393)

** Parliamentary Papers 1866-LII (52)

English, it was but natural for the secondary schools, whose main purpose was to supply students to the colleges, to adopt English as the chief medium of instruction and to impart proficiency in that language. The report of the Hunter Commission of 1882 shows the enormous influence of higher education imparted through the medium of English on the lower stages of the Indian educational system.

4.18 The Hunter Commission pointed out the following drawbacks in the language policy pursued at the secondary and primary levels :

(i) The study of the English language was begun before the pupil was properly grounded in his mother tongue.

(ii) English was taught as a subject before it was used as a medium of instruction. But the period of its study was too short to give the pupil that mastery over the language which was essential for its successful use as a medium of instruction.

(iii) in the secondary stage, English was invariably used as the language of instruction. This was due to the impact of the universities on the secondary education of the country.

(iv) The higher education that could be obtained through the 'vernacular' was limited to the middle school stage and the idea of high schools teaching through the mother tongue seemed to have been given up.

4.19 Modern Indian languages, including Urdu, were thus neglected and there emerged a new middle class indifferent to Indian languages and steeped in the values of the English language and its traditions.

4.20 The cumulative effect of all these steps was that the prestige of English education was greatly enhanced. A degree from Oxford or Cambridge University was looked upon as the pinnacle of education achievement. Graduates from English universities, who filled the academic ranks of Indian universities and colleges, were convinced of the futility of any attempt at imparting higher education through the medium of Indian languages. The three factors, namely, (a) the dominance of the universities teaching through the medium of English, (b) the encouragement of English by the Government and, (c) the emergence of the new middle class favouring the English language, were together responsible for a steady neglect and decline of Indian languages in the educational system of the country. Moreover, as the secondary schools and colleges were located in towns, this new educated class remained urban in character while the vast majority of the people living in the rural areas became isolated from the mainstream of formal education.

4.21 The place assigned to Indian languages in the field of higher education in the country has been explained in the report of the Indian Universities Commission of 1902, known as the Raleigh Commission after the name of its Chairman, Sir Thomas Raleigh. According to his analysis :

(a) For the Matriculation Examination, one of the four compulsory subjects was a second language which was defined as (i) "an Oriental or European classical language" or (ii) "an Indian or continental European vernacular language". In the Punjab and Allahabad Universities (which could have given due place to Urdu) set up in 1882 and 1887 respectively, the option of studying a regional language was not given, while in the Punjab University a candidate could take Urdu as an optional subject in addition to the four compulsory subjects from amongst a regional language, elementary science, or a second classical language.

(b) For the Intermediate Examination (first two years of college) a second language, defined as "an eastern or western classical or modern European language" was compulsory. Madras University alone out of all the universities of India, accepted the

option of an Indian language, though this did not have any effect in so far as Urdu was concerned.

(c) No university except the Madras University, at that time thought of including the Indian languages as an alternative to the classical languages for the B.A. Examination.

4.22 Lord Curzon who had a hand in appointing the Raleigh commission wanted to pursue a comparatively enlightened and practical educational policy. He felt that while English might be taught to those who were qualified to learn it, such education should be based on a solid foundation of the indigenous languages, "for no people will ever use another tongue with advantage that cannot first use its own with ease."

4.23 The Raleigh Commission came to a similar conclusion

"Speaking generally, we fear that the study of vernacular languages has received insufficient attention and that many graduates have a very inadequate knowledge of their mother-tongue. Unless, however, a good training in the vernacular is given in the schools, no effort of the University will avail."

4.24 Lord Curzon's language policy had a definite impact, as is evident from the Fifth Quinquennial Review, on the progress of education in India. The relevant excerpt reads as follows :

"There has been a certain increase in the honour paid to the vernacular languages of India; (i) The University of Madras made the vernacular language a compulsory subject of study for the intermediate examination and an optional subject for the Bachelor's examination.

* Lord Curzon in India-Selected from his speeches as Viceroy and Governor-General of India 1898-1905, Macmillan Co., London.

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(ii) The University of Calcutta made the vernacular language a compulsory subject of study both for the intermediate and Bachelor's examinations.

(iii) The University of Calcutta also allowed its candidates to take a Portion of the Entrance or Matriculation Examination in the vernacular instead of English if they wanted to do so." *

4.25 In 1913, there came a significant change in the attitude of the Government of India, who paid an official tribute to the Indian languages. The Resolution on the Educational Policy of the Government of India dated February 21, 1913, declared that "there is much experience to the effect that scholars who have been through a complete vernacular course are exceptionally efficient mentally." This pronouncement encouraged the establishment of 'vernacular continuous schools' for advanced studies through the medium of Indian languages. One of its immediate consequences was that local languages came to be widely used as media of instruction at the middle school stage.

4.26 During World War I, the educational system in India was bitterly criticized by national leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Mahatma Gandhi, who accused the Government of neglecting the education of the masses in their mother tongue. Reacting to the pressure of public demand, the Government of India in 1917 appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of Michael Sadler to enquire into the problems of education in India in general.

4.27 The Sadler Commission devoted much attention to the question of language in Indian education. Broadly accepting the policy laid down in the Despatch of 1854, the Commission agreed that the policy should be, "to make English and the Indian vernacular languages coordinate factors in working out in India a harmonious combination of eastern and western civilization". The Commission further declared: "We are emphatically of the opinion that there is something unsound in a system of education which leaves a youngman at the conclusion of his course, unable to speak or write his own mother-tongue, fluently and correctly, It is thus beyond controversy that a systematic effort must henceforth be made to promote the serious study of the vernaculars in secondary schools, intermediate colleges and in the university" | The Sadler Commission made recommendations regarding the medium of instruction at various levels of education. For the University stage, the Commission recommended the

retention of English as the medium of instruction for every subject except the classical and local languages. For the secondary stage, it recommended the use of the Indian languages as media of instruction.

4.28 Despite these recommendations, some Provincial Governments did not abandon the use of English as the medium of instruction at the secondary stage. In Hindi and Urdu speaking areas, the official reasons advanced in support of retaining the English medium were the following

(i) Parents as well as pupils desired knowledge of English as the means to public employment.

(ii) In multi-lingual or by-lingual areas it was not possible for financial reasons to impart instruction through all local languages.

(iii) The absence of a scientific terminology, lack of competent Indian language teachers and absence of text books made this proposition (i.e. instruction through local languages) not feasible.

(iv) The difficulty of script in Hindi-Urdu areas created more communal tension and it was preferable to continue with English.

The last reason advanced was symptomatic of the mind that has assiduously tried to divide the Indian people not only on the basis of religion but also on that of language and script.

4.29 During the Second World War, the Government drew up a comprehensive plan for their post-war educational policy. This was embodied in what is known as the Sargent Plan, named after Sir John Sargent, the then Educational Adviser to the Government,

and was published in 1944. Sargent examined the question of mother tongue also and the report made the following important recommendations :

(i) The mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction in the primary and middle schools. English should be studied as an optional subject in the middle schools, ultimately depending on public demand for it in certain areas and on the decisions of Provincial education Departments.

(ii) Hindustani, which was to serve as the lingua franca of the country, should be studied both in Hindi and Persian scripts. "Adoption of the Roman script might prove a solution to the language difficulty and greatly minimize the work of both the scholar and the teacher."

(iii) At the secondary stage, mother tongue should be the medium of instruction, while English should be a compulsory second language.

4.30 The report, however, did not cover the question of the medium of instruction at the university level. Public opinion in India then was very sharply divided on the issue, some favouring retention of the English medium and others pleading for the introduction of the national languages as media of instruction. The Sargent Plan, in its broad aspects, was approved after Independence by the Government of India. The developments since, 1947 form a new phase in the history of the language problem in India.

* Progress of Education in India, 1902-1907 Fifth Quinquennial Review : Vol. I-pp 27, 28, 61.

** H. Sharp Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912 Sixth Quinquennial Review, Vol. I Chapter V.

+ Sadler Report V. 58

4.31 While discussing the position of Urdu vis-a-vis administration, In matters other than education in contemporary India, we should not fail to note that during the Pre-Independence period efforts had been made by private individuals and organizations to use modern Indian languages as media of instruction. for example, Urdu was used as medium of instruction in the Delhi College) the Jamia Millia Islamia and

4.32 The dawn of freedom opened up new opportunities for the modern Indian languages. While the decision to adopt the regional languages for all official purposes had to be deferred for some time, most of the States made arrangements for introducing, in stages, the regional languages as Media of instruction. As was natural, the problem of linguistic minorities also arose simultaneously.

4.33 The Government of India and the major political parties were already seized of the problem of the linguistic minorities in the new situation and were keen on finding satisfactory safeguards for them in the, educational and administrative spheres. The Indian National Congress, which was then in power in the States and at the Centre, took the first step in formulating a positive attitude. The Congress Working Committee passed a Resolution on August 5, 1949 (Appendix 1) which embodied the basic Policy principles on there language question.

4.34 The Resolution took note of the fact that In several States more than one language, was spoken and that many of these languages bad a rich literature. It emphasized that these languages should not only be preserved but also developed further and nothing should be done to hinder their growth. Regarding education at the primary stage, it declared that children should get instruction through the medium of their mother tongue.

4.35 The Provincial Education Ministers' conference which also met in 1949 passed a Resolution (Appendix 11) defining the place of the minority languages in the scheme of education. It reiterated the right of the children belonging to the linguistic minorities to receive instruction through their mother tongue at the primary stage. It held the view that the medium of instruction and examination at the junior basic stage should be the mother tongue of the child and called for arrangements to be made for instruction in that language by appointing at least one teacher where there were 40 pupils speaking the language, in the whole school or ten in a class. The mother tongue of the child was to be declared by the parent or guardian. It also provided that the teaching of pupils at the secondary stage would be in the mother tongue, if their number was sufficient to justify a separate school in a particular area. Such schools, if organized or established by private societies or agencies, were to be entitled to recognition and grants-in-aid from Government according to the prescribed rules. Facilities were also promised in all Government, municipal and district board schools where one third of the total number of pupils of the school requested for instruction in their mother tongue. Regional language was, however, a compulsory subject throughout the secondary stage.

4.36 The problem assumed new dimensions after the Reorganisation of States. The Commission Appointed to go into the question of the reorganisation of States also considered the problem of Minority languages and came to the conclusion that there were a large number of bi-lingual belts between different linguistic zones, as there existed areas with a mixed population even within a unilingual areas. It was suggested that the existing constitutional guarantees to the linguistic minorities should be further strengthened. Certain amendments were accordingly made through the Constitution (seventh Amendment Act, 1956) inserting Articles 350-A and 350-B. Article 350-A makes a specific provision for arranging adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups

4.37 Apart from the new constitutional safeguards the Government of India, in consultation with the Chief Ministers of States, prepared a scheme of safeguards detailed in the Ministry of Home Affairs Memorandum of September 19, 1956. The Memorandum (Appendix IV) inter alia stated that it was the intention of the Government of India to accept the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission in respect of safeguards for linguistic minorities. It urged the Inclusion of instruction in the mother tongue and arrangements for learning it at the secondary stage, and recommended recognition of secondary schools established by linguistic minorities and giving grants - in-aid to them in the same proportion as to similar other institutions, as also the facility for the admission of pupils belonging to linguistic minorities in the institutions for technology, engineering, medical education, etc.

4.38 The Government of India Issued a Press Note on July 14, 1958 (Appendix V) embodying a statement on the language policy. It clarified the official policy in regard to various languages, particularly Urdu. It reiterated the position thus: "Urdu is officially and constitutionally recognised as one of our national languages and the various provisions that apply to these languages also apply to Urdu."

4.39 The Ministerial Committee of the Southern Zonal Council (Appendix VI) held in May 1959 elaborated upon the decisions taken by the Provincial Education Ministers' Conference in 1949. Although it was concerned with the four Southern States of Madras (now Tamil Nadu), Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Mysore (now Karnataka) only, the principles enunciated by the Committee were accepted for general application. The recommendations of the Committee were approved by the Southern Zonal Council in 1960, The Council Inter alia approved that:

(i) The position existing on 1st November 1956 in respect of separate secondary schools of linguistic minorities as well as separate sections for linguistic Minorities in the other secondary school

with particular reference to pupils' strength and schools facilities including teachers competent to teach in minority languages should be ascertained and continued without change.

(ii) If the number of pupils decreases to such an extent as to justify reduction in any particular local area, such reduction may be effected; but no reduction should be made in any individual case except under the specific orders of Government applicable to that particular case.

(iii) If the number of pupils increases, additional teachers should be provided in such relation to the increased pupils' strength as may be justified by the rules generally applicable to all schools.

4.40 The decisions taken by the Southern Zonal Council in regard to primary education were accepted in principle by the Conference of Chief Ministers of States and Central Ministers in 1961 (Appendix VII), and were thus made applicable to the whole country. The Conference emphasised that no facility previously available should be curtailed and, wherever possible, should be augmented. It also reaffirmed the right of the linguistic minorities to have instructions in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education.

4.41 The Conference, while reaffirming the general principles of the 1956 Memorandum, agreed to certain variations (Appendix VII). It also accepted in principle the recommendations of the Southern zonal Council, including those on secondary education.

4.42 Despite these high level pronouncements on policy, however, complaints continued to come from a number of States, particularly Uttar Pradesh, that facilities were not being provided to Urdu. The Uttar Pradesh Government, therefore, appointed

the Uttar Pradesh Language Committee under the Chairmanship of Acharya J. B. Kripalani on June 8, 1961. The Kripalani Committee submitted its report in August 1962 and emphasised the need for implementation of various recommendations in its report.

4.43 The first meeting of the Committee of the Vice-Chairmen of the Zonal Councils held in November, 1961 decided to appoint Standing Committees at the zonal level to review the implementation of the various policy decisions taken by the Chief Ministers' Conference. It was agreed that there should be a Special Officer in each State to work under the direction of the Chief Secretary. The officer was to prepare a note periodically, reviewing the progress of the implementation of the safeguards and pending correspondence, if any, on linguistic minorities with the Government of India, the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities and other State Governments. The work was to be coordinated at the district level by the District Officer. The State Governments were to see if any amendments were necessary to the laws governing local bodies to ensure implementation at the local level of policy decisions relating to national integration, which included the problem of linguistic minorities. Altogether, these committees were to look after all the safeguards for education concerned the future of a whole generation of school and college going age. The Committee of the Vice-Chairman of the zonal Councils also dealt with certain allied matters which will be found in Appendix IX.

4.44 The meeting of the Committee of the Zonal Councils for National Integration held on August 31, 1964 further reviewed the position in regard to the implementation of the safeguards for linguistic minorities and made some recommendations (Appendix X).

4.45 The above were then the bodies which shaped and crystalised, inter alia, the educational safeguards for the linguistic minorities, the implementation of which is investigated by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities.

4.46 The 10 : 40 formula evolved by the Provincial Education Ministers' Conference in 1949 which provided for the appointment of at least one language teacher if the total number of pupils belonging to a linguistic minority was 40 in the whole school or ten in a class, did not work satisfactorily, particularly in Bihar, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, etc. Some schools suggested the requisite number of 10 or 40 students coming for study all at once, which was practically impossible. In practice, however, the requisite number of students did not seek admission all at the same time and the school authorities could as a result refuse to provide the necessary facilities. Besides, if the number fell below the minimum prescribed by even one pupil dropping out for any reason either at the beginning or during the currency of the academic session, the facilities could be withdrawn in respect of the rest of the students. A via media was found by providing for advance registration of pupils of linguistic minorities and the Ministerial Committee of Southern Zonal Council laid down that all primary schools should register applications for admission of children belonging to linguistic minorities. In case of numbers being insufficient in certain schools, adjustments were recommended.

4.47 Shortly, afterwards the Three Language Formula was evolved to ensure education in minority languages at the secondary level. In some States the formula was modified in a manner which practically made the study of Urdu under it almost impossible. In most of the schools, the provision for the teaching of modern Indian language envisaged in the Three Language Formula was sought to be 'replaced by the teaching of Sanskrit, a classical language. Some States tried to reduce, the formula to a two-language formula.

4.48 Arrangements had to be made for the training of new Urdu teachers required for primary and secondary schools. The arrangements envisaged by the policy-makers were, however, not put through uniformly and in the absence of such training it became

difficult and sometimes impossible to provide Urdu teachers for classes and schools where they were needed.

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4.49 There were no arrangements for the supply of textbooks to conform to the new curricular pattern evolved by the States. Even where the publication of textbooks was nationalised, the books remained scarce. There were only three States, namely, Bihar, Maharashtra and Jammu and Kashmir which had, to some extent, solved the problem of textbooks. In Uttar Pradesh and Delhi, where textbook publication had been nationalised, there were persistent complaints of non-availability of Urdu textbooks in the market, particularly at the beginning of the session. The problem was still greater at the secondary level. These questions were also taken up at the all-India level.

Urdu Medium in Primary Education

4.50 Speedy expansion of primary education was one of the main planks of the educational policy adopted by the State and Central Governments, as also by the major political parties. They had laid emphasis on this sector of education with a view to remoulding the educational system into an effective instrument of social change. Primary education being the cornerstone of the educational system, it set the tone and pattern of the higher stages of education as well. The planning of education from the earliest stage was one of the many ways whereby the gap between the masses and the elite could be narrowed and scientific and technical knowledge brought within easy reach of the common people. But the planners were faced with many complex problems including the challenging question of the medium of instruction.

4.51 As no State was completely unilingual, the interests of the linguistic minorities had to be protected by the Constitution. Article 350-A, which was added later to the Constitution, enjoined upon the authorities to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage. In its implementation however, were

encountered many hurdles and delays. As the development of a language is closely linked with the place it acquires or is given in the educational system, deficiencies in implementing the educational safeguards at the primary level affect the growth of the language in a variety of ways and undermine the basic national policies. The cardinal issue, therefore, is to find ways of removing these hurdles and evolving a dependable system to ensure the smooth working of the agreed scheme of safeguards in the light of past experience.

4.52 Despite successive attempts by the Centre at deliberative and executive levels, the provision of facilities for primary education through Urdu medium left much to be desired. A brief State-wise survey based on the information collected by us and as given in the reports of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities is indicated below.

4.53 Andhra Pradesh : Statistical information about the progress of primary, secondary and higher education in Andhra Pradesh is not available. In spite of the Committee's repeated efforts, the Andhra Pradesh Government did not, Provide information, regarding facilities obtaining in the State for teaching through the Urdu medium during the year 1972. This experience of the Committee is shared by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities also, whose repeated requests for the supply of information have failed to evoke any response year after year. Quite a few witnesses were of the view that information was being withheld deliberately. This requires immediate attention of the State authorities at higher levels.

4.54 The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has been recording successively from 1962 onwards that the facilities for teaching through Urdu medium at the primary level were not adequate. In 1963, the cited instances of non-provision of adequate number of primary schools/teachers even where a sufficient number of linguistic minority pupils was forthcoming. When the matter was taken up with Government in 1964, it reiterated that the demand for additional teachers in elementary schools during 1964 could not be met on account of National Emergency. The Commissioner was not satisfied that the existence of National Emergency could justify the holding in abeyance of such

constitutional rights. The Commissioner also noted Significant fall in the number of Urdu and other minority students and a reduction in the number of schools and sections.

4.55 In the year 1964-65, while the number of Urdu medium schools was reduced from 1102 to 887, the number of sections imparting instruction through Urdu increased from 1139 to 1298. There was, however, an overall decrease in the strength of Urdu speaking students on rolls which fell from 1,56,603 to 1,53,765, notwithstanding the general increase in pupils in the primary schools. The Commissioner considered as alarming the Substantial decrease within a year in the educational facilities for the minority languages in the absence of plausible reasons for the decrease. He suggested to the State Government that the causes of the decrease in the number of schools and students might be investigated

4.56 The witnesses who appeared before us repeated the complaints about the paucity of Urdu medium primary schools in Andhra Pradesh. They asserted that there were demands for Urdu medium primary schools in almost all parts of the State but the spokesmen of the State but the spokesman of the State Government claimed that there was no such demand. In the midst of these claims and counter-claims, it was difficult to get to the root of the matter and a suggestion was made by one of the witnesses that such conflicts could be resolved by establishing an advisory body consisting of officials and non- officials, under the chairmanship of the Education Minister of the State Government to look into the grievances of Urdu speakers and to make recommendations. The Committee feels that in the light of the recommendations of Conference of the Committee of Vice Chairman of Zonal Councils held in November 1961, a State level committee should be appointed for this purpose under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister. It would, among other things, look to complaints in respect of primary Schools as well.

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4.57 Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Hind) has demanded that Urdu medium classes should be opened as a rule in all areas where Urdu speakers constitute ten per cent of population. According to a report, appearing in the daily 'Siasat' published from Hyderabad, the

Education Minister of Andhra Pradesh indicated to a deputation which met him recently on behalf of the Anjuman that facilities for teaching of Urdu would be provided in all areas where ten per cent or more of the population spoke Urdu.* The deputation also complained of a practice prevailing in some parts of the State where Urdu speakers were being asked for financial contribution to secure permission to start Urdu medium classes. In this connection, our attention was invited to the circular No. P4-542/68 dated February 5, 1968 from the office of the Zila Parishad, Adilabad, (Andhra Pradesh) and P.C. No. 14/2C/70-71/C5 dated August 4, 1971 from the office of the District Education officer, Karimnagar (Andhra Pradesh), asking for contribution from schools before recognition could be granted for upgrading the schools or opening higher classes. Obviously the condition applies to all languages alike, though Urdu institutions being economically weaker may be feeling the impact a little more. The State Government may like to examine this aspect of the problem and advise the local bodies accordingly.

4.58 Bihar : In the year 1971-72, there were 6,200 Urdu medium primary schools in the State with 2,48,579 students on rolls. The number of teachers employed in these primary schools totalled 5,620. The provision of teaching for such a substantial number of students had been possible because the State Government decided, as far back as in 1953, to make arrangements for teaching through Urdu medium at the primary stage up to class V.

4.59 Witnesses mentioned that while the facilities at the primary stage in Bihar were better than in some other States, they were still inadequate for the needs of the large population of Urdu speakers numbering 49,93,284.

4.60 In 1964, the State Government issued instructions that there should be no reduction of facilities for instruction in minority languages. However, the date on which the facilities were to be stabilized, namely November 1, 1956, was not mentioned in the Order. The State Government had promised the Linguistic Minorities Commissioner to issue another Order mentioning the date. This has not been done so far.

4.61 Representations have been made to the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities about the inadequacy of the arrangements for primary education through the Urdu

medium as also of the closure of some primary schools. In the year 1966-67 alone, it was alleged, the medium of 34 Urdu primary schools was changed while 23 Urdu medium primary schools were closed, despite their being located in predominantly Urdu speaking areas.

4.62 According to the latest report (1971-72), the Commissioner learnt from some school authorities that they were not even aware of the existence of instructions for the maintenance of advance registers in the primary schools. But even where registers were maintained, sometimes no action was taken on them. For instance, when the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities visited the Adalatganj Girls Middle School in Patna, he found from the advance register kept there that though there were demands from the required number of Bengali and Urdu speaking pupils for instruction in their mother tongue, no such facilities had been provided.

4.63 In 1967, a circular was issued by the Education Department of Bihar stipulating that seven to ten per cent of the vacancies in the primary schools should be filled by Urdu teachers, but quite a few witnesses complained that this circular had not been implemented. They alleged that non-Urdu knowing teachers were being appointed against posts in Urdu schools/sections and that the orders were not being followed even in the Government institutions. Witnesses suggested that the privately managed primary institutions should be given grants-in-aid regularly. No hurdles should be placed in the way of granting recognition to new Urdu primary or middle schools. A strong plea was made for the revival of the post of the Inspecting Maulvi whose job it was to supervise the teaching in maktabas and institutions imparting primary education. The witnesses appreciated that the educational policies framed by the State Government were basically sound but felt that they were not being implemented by the educational authorities. Therefore, they urged, a proper machinery should be created to ensure the implementation of Central and State policies.

4.64 The Deputy Secretary in the Department of Education representing the Government of Bihar informed the Committee that full facilities were being provided for the teaching of Urdu, one of the recognised languages in the State.

4.65 In the course of our discussions with the then Chief Minister of Bihar, Shri Kedar Pandey, we were assured by him that the Government had decided to appoint at least one Urdu knowing teacher in every primary school. According to a note prepared by the Education Department, Government of Bihar, which was sent to us later through our Member Shri Dinesh Kumar Singh, former Education Minister of Bihar, which Urdu has been made the medium of instruction, for Urdu speaking students up to class VII in the middle schools and up to class VIII in the basic schools. A teacher capable of teaching all the subjects through the medium of Urdu was being appointed in all such primary schools where that number of students conformed

* Report of the assurance given by the Education Minister of Andhra Pradesh as reported in the daily 'Siasat dated July 16, 1974 from Hyderabad.

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so the 10 : 40 formula. The State Government have now issued orders to conduct, a survey of primary schools and teachers on the basis of language. In the light of this survey, the shortages of teachers will be made up.

4.66 Delhi : The Union territory of Delhi had 34 primary schools to serve a population of 2,31,127 Urdu speakers and only 12,933 students on the rolls in 1971-72. This indeed constitutes a very small percentage of the total population. The number of teachers employed was stated to be 288.

4.67 Delhi had a long tradition of education through the medium of Urdu. Even when English replaced it as the medium of instruction from the secondary level of education upwards, Urdu continued to be the medium of instruction at the primary level. Until 1947, a majority of primary schools were imparting instructions through the Urdu medium.

4.68 On July 30, 1958 the Union Ministry of Home Affairs issued a note approving Hindi as the official language of the Delhi Administration and directing that proper status should also be accorded to Urdu. The note provided, inter alia, that facilities should be made available for instruction and examination in Urdu language at the primary stage to children whose mother tongue was declared by parents or guardians to be Urdu.

4.69 Apart from the Delhi Administration, the Municipal Corporation of Delhi and the New Delhi Municipal Committee are responsible for primary education in the Union territory. There were complaints of non implementation of official policies with regard to primary education by the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. Many witnesses complained that the number of Urdu teaching primary schools within the jurisdiction of the Municipal Corporation had dropped to 14. According to the reports of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, the situation in respect of imparting primary education through the medium of Urdu has slightly improved and the number of students has also gone up by about a thousand in the course of the year 1971-72.

4.70 Most of the complaints emanated from the densely populated walled city where, according to the Delhi Municipal Corporation, one of the inhibiting factors in opening Urdu sections and schools was lack of adequate accommodation. It was however, pointed out by witnesses that the Delhi Administration had already acquired a large number of dilapidated buildings like Kala Mahal, Zenat Mahal, Old Bulbuli khana, Sikri Walan School etc. It should not be difficult for the Administration to construct buildings for Urdu medium schools in these areas.

4.71 Similarly, demands for Urdu schools were voiced from areas like Qassabpura, Sadar Bazar, Pul Bangash and Bara Hindu Rao, Where there are large concentrations of Urdu speakers. The Delhi Municipal Corporation does not run a single school to serve the needs of this area. This deficiency has been made up only partially by two aided schools, a boys' school at Sarai Khalil and a co-educational one at Bara Hindu Rao.

4.72 It was suggested to us that Urdu schools should be opened at least in wards having ten to twenty per cent of population of Urdu speakers. The demand was backed by a memorandum submitted to our Committee signed by 500 Urdu speakers belonging to Bara Hindu Rao, Qassabpura and Sarai Khalil area. The Director of Education who also appeared before the Committee promised to look into the matter, although the said that no such demand had been received by his office earlier from the area concerned. He referred, besides, to the difficulty in acquiring accommodation for the Urdu medium schools in the walled city*

4.73 The Committee understands that it has now been decided that at least one Urdu teacher would be appointed in each school in Delhi and that the existing paucity of Urdu trained teachers would be overcome by appointing untrained teachers who were otherwise qualified for appointment. Such teachers should be given adequate in-service training. Once these teachers have been appointed, the Ministry of Education should arrange for their expeditious training. The Union Ministry of Education and Social Welfare has advised the New Delhi Municipal Committee to appoint one Urdu teacher at least in each of the two higher secondary schools which do not have such teachers. Teaching of Urdu for the present would be provided in one third of the number of primary schools under the New Delhi Municipal Committee. A time bound plan would be drawn up for covering all the primary schools.

4.74 Gujarat : The number of schools in Gujarat imparting primary education in Urdu stood at 148 in 1971-72. This represented an increase of 15 over the figures for the year, 1969-70. The number of students also registered a rise from 34,938 to 42,648. There was a corresponding increase in the number of teacher employed for teaching Urdu from 881 to 1,046.

4.75 Haryana : According to the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, the policy of the State Government for providing facilities for instruction through the medium of minority languages in Government schools did not accord fully with the agreed scheme of

safeguards for linguistic minorities. The Chief Mini Minister had told the Commissioner that pupils could study these languages as subjects from the first primary class.

4.76 Statistical data in respect of educational facilities for Urdu, as for other minority languages, is not available. A large number of witnesses expressed unhappiness over the non-availability of adequate arrangements for teaching through the medium of minority languages in Haryana which according to one view,

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was the birth place of Urdu. They pleaded that the State should accord generous treatment to that language. A noted writer of Haryana told the Committee that since arrangements for the teaching of Urdu were not available, he himself had to spend two hours daily to teach the language to his children.

4.77 According to 1971 census, there were 1,95,836 persons who had returned Urdu as their mother tongue in Gurgaon district but the district had arrangements for teaching Urdu only as an additional subject in two schools. Writers, journalists and educationists, who appeared before us demanded that Urdu should be allowed as medium of instruction at the primary and secondary levels in the areas where Urdu speakers were concentrated or where it was widely in use.

4.78 Shri Bansi Lal, Chief Minister of the State, at his meeting with the Committee members stated that it was his Government's policy to provide facilities for education in the minority languages if so demanded by the linguistic minorities. In the preceding year, he added only 68 students had offered Urdu as a subject at the junior secondary level. That was not indicative of a high demand. The Home Minister of Haryana told the Committee that the reason for a very few schools teaching Urdu as a language subject was the lack of desire on the part of the students to study through that medium. If there was demand for teaching of Urdu, necessary facilities would be provided.

4.79 Himachal Pradesh : Hindi is the medium of instruction at the primary stage of education and arrangements for Instruction through the media of minority languages are not available. But at the secondary stage, Urdu has found an assured place under the Three Language Formula. Each student, therefore, has to learn the language up to the secondary stage. In classes IX, and X, it is available as an optional subject.

4.80 Witnesses who appeared before the Committee expressed satisfaction at the facilities provided for teaching Urdu In Himachal Pradesh.

4.81 Jammu and Kashmir : In Jammu and Kashmir, Urdu happens to be an official language and simple Urdu in Urdu and Devnagri scripts is the medium of instruction at the elementary stage. At the primary stage, however, teachers well versed in the language were available to impart education orally. Books for these classes are available in both the scripts.

4.82 The State Government have not furnished information either to us or to the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities regarding the facilities available for teaching through the Urdu medium at the school level. It was, however, brought to our notice that the learning of both the scripts was not compulsory and the result was that while in the Valley and Ladakh area, most people were learning through the Urdu, script, In Jammu area the general preference seemed to be for the Devnagari script. Care has to be taken that the formula adopted there does not lead to segregation.

4.83 The Director of Education told the Committee that Urdu was taught as a compulsory subject from classes I to VIII. In classes IX to X it was available as an optional subject. Most of the students) however, opted for Urdu. In class XI Urdu was one of the elective subjects in the humanities group.

4.84 Karnataka : Urdu speakers, numbering 26,36,688, form nine per cent of the total population of the State, according to the 1971 census. They were served, in 1971-72,

by 1,829 primary schools with 1,89,088 children on rolls. The number of teachers available for teaching Urdu was 4,247.

4.85 The Joint Director of Education told the Committee that the Government had received no fresh demand for the opening of new Urdu medium schools or sections. On the other hand, a majority of the witnesses, who included several MLAs and MLCs, felt that the number of existing Urdu medium schools was definitely not sufficient to meet the requirements of Urdu speakers and demanded more schools. Complaints were heard also of non-implementation of major official policies on language by educational authorities.

4.86 In the Bellary district there has been a continuing demand for the opening of more schools since the year 1963 but it has evoked no positive response. In his report for the year 1971-72, the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has referred to complaints that the new Grants-in-Aid Code prescribed the minimum of 40 pupils per class to entitle a school to State recognition and grant. The condition was harsh on the linguistic minorities and should be waived in their favour, it was urged. In the Gulbarga district there was a demand for separate Urdu Schools for boys and girls under Independent headmasters or headmistresses in the rural as well as urban areas of the division in accordance with the practice obtaining in old Mysore.

4.87 The witnesses suggested the deputation of some officers of the Education Department to assess the requirements of Urdu schools in the State and to decide their location in consultation with the representatives of the Urdu speaking people.

4.88 The Joint Director of Education agreed with the need for evolving a machinery for more effective implementation of official policies. He gave the assurance that his Department was making efforts to fulfil then, schooling requirements of the Urdu speakers. He was happy to note that the number of Urdu students in the State was next only to that of Kannada.

4.89 Madhya Pradesh There is a sizable number of Urdu speaking persons in Madhya Pradesh where they total 9,88,275. The number of primary schools in the State was 165, imparting education to 35,448 students and employing 869 teachers in 1971-72.

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4.90 Several witnesses complained about the lack of adequate facilities for the teaching of Urdu and the conversion of Urdu medium schools into Hindi medium schools. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities cited the example of the primary school at Kandil which was handed over to the Narsingpur Municipality with the proviso that the school would remain an Urdu medium institution, and if the Municipality failed to manage it, it would be surrendered. The medium was, however, changed in spite of the proviso. and the educational authorities failed to remedy the situation. Similarly, the school at Shahjahanpur and a girls' primary school at Guna discontinued instruction through the Urdu medium. In 1964, in West Bhopal alone, as many as 30 Urdu medium schools were merged with other schools on the plea of shortage of accommodation and teachers. There was a general drop in the number of Urdu medium schools in the districts of Dewas, Bastar and Bhopal.

4.91 There were allegations of lack of sympathy on the part of the Education Department towards Urdu. For instance, witnesses complained that while the State Government had sanctioned the opening of five Urdu Sections in various schools in Bhopal, these orders had not been complied with by the Department of Education. Urdu teachers, it was said, were not being appointed in Urdu medium schools and textbooks were not available. A climate had been created in which Urdu speaking persons thought that the employment chances of their wards might be affected adversely if they received education through the Urdu medium.

4.92 The State Education Minister stated that it was the Government's policy to open Urdu primary schools in areas where the number of Urdu speakers was substantial.

Referring to the demand for the setting up of an Urdu cell in the Department of Education to make a survey and locate areas and places where Urdu speakers were in sizable numbers to justify the opening of Urdu medium schools, the Minister added that a Committee was being formed to go into the question of opening such schools.

4.93 The Director of Public Instruction told the Committee that orders had been sent to open primary schools wherever they were needed. In areas like Maha Kaushal consisting of Khandwa, Barhampur, Rampur and Bilaspur, the number of Urdu primary schools was already quite adequate.

4.94 Maharashtra : Those who had declared Urdu as their mother tongue in Maharashtra in the 1971 census numbered 36,61,898. This population was served in 1971-72 by 1,820 primary schools with 3,17,706 students on rolls and a complement of 8,901 teachers. The corresponding figures in 1969-70 were 1,687 primary schools and 107 attached schools, 3,12,720 students and 8,743 teachers. Thus, there was a general improvement in the situation.

4.95 The Education Secretary told us that all the corporations, municipalities and zila parishads in the State and various districts of Maharashtra were responsible for running Urdu medium primary schools. He did not feel that there was any shortage of Urdu medium schools in the State. Whenever a linguistic minority demanded the opening of a new primary school, it was looked into carefully and if found genuine the demand was conceded.

4.96 The Mayor of Bombay Municipal Corporation told the Committee that the Corporation ran 190 Urdu medium schools and was spending Rs. 175.35 per student. This was in addition to the financial aid given by the Corporation to the Urdu medium primary schools.

4.97 The witnesses expressed general satisfaction over the sympathetic attitude of the State Government and the Corporation authorities in providing the necessary educational facilities to Urdu speakers. There was, however, demand for still more Urdu medium primary schools. It was suggested that in any area where the population of Urdu speakers was 10,000, an Urdu medium primary school should be opened. Another witness suggested that the ratio between the population of Urdu speakers and Urdu medium schools should be fixed by the Government and whatever was decided should be faithfully implemented.

4.98 Orissa : Urdu speakers in the State numbering 2,86,541 according to the 1971 census constituted 1.3 per cent of the total population. There were 416 primary schools and sections with 603 teachers to serve the population. In 1971-72, the number of students on rolls was 21,274. This compares well with 30 schools and sections in the year 1969-70 and 16,813 pupils. There was demand for more schools still. One of the witnesses suggested the creation of a cell in the Department of Education to assess the requirements of Urdu medium schools and to decide upon their location. The Director of Education, on the contrary, felt that the existing facilities for teaching through Urdu medium at the primary level were sufficient to meet the requirements of Urdu speakers.

4.99 Punjab : The erstwhile State of Punjab was a centre of Urdu learning and the medium of instruction there at the primary level was Urdu. It was a compulsory subject at higher levels also. The State had produced outstanding Urdu poets, writers and academicians and had given fillup to Urdu journalism and research. Even today the number of eminent Urdu writers and poets hailing from that area is quite large.

4.100 Arrangements for teaching of Urdu now exist only at two schools, one at Malerkotla and the other at Qadian, both run by private agencies. The number of students at these two schools was reported to be 757. There were no separate teachers of Urdu. According to the latest report (1970-71) of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, the Punjab Government is not agreeable to providing facilities for

instruction through the minority languages in Government schools, though it is willing to give grants-in-aid to the schools :started by the linguistic minorities.

4.101 The witnesses who appeared before us included journalists, writers, poets in various age groups and belonging to different communities. They felt that Urdu should not be identified with any particular group. It had been used as a language by the people of Punjab for centuries, and, therefore, should receive its proper place in the curriculum in the primary, secondary and higher secondary education. Refuting the argument that Urdu students were not forthcoming, the witnesses argued that if normal facilities were provided, students would definitely come forward to study the language. Some of the witnesses even suggested that one Urdu teacher should be appointed in each school.

4.102 Although arrangements exist for the teaching of Urdu at higher academic levels, the non-availability of facilities at the roots makes this incongruous. While there may not be need for opening Urdu medium schools at many places, opening of Urdu medium sections wherever necessary may be considered

4.103 Rajasthan - The Urdu speaking population in the State totalled 6,50,947 according to the 1971 census and constituted 2.5 per cent of the total population. In the year 1970-71, there were 48 Urdu medium primary schools imparting education to 7,737 students with the help of 130 teachers. The figures for 1971-72 are not available.

4.104 Various reports of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities and the evidence tendered before us indicated that the available facilities for education through the Urdu medium at the primary level were not considered adequate. There have been complaints of non-implementation at the lower levels. Also, that after transfer of primary education to the panchayats, etc. arrangements for teaching Urdu in some of the

primary schools had been terminated. In 1966-67, the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities found that although there was a substantial number of students wishing to study through the Urdu medium, no arrangements for such study were made in 20 Government primary schools in the district of Jhunjhunu. In spite of the clear Orders of the State Government to the contrary, educational authorities had not implemented official policies in this respect.

4.105 Tamil Nadu : According to the 1971 census, 7,59,607, persons had returned Urdu as their mother tongue in Tamil Nadu, forming 1.8 per cent of the total population. There were 230 Urdu medium primary schools and 146 Urdu medium sections with 39,593 students served by 1,189 teachers in the year 1970-71, while in the previous year the number of schools was only 75 and the number of sections 272. It appears that some of the Sections were later on converted into schools. The number of students on rolls, however, gone down slightly.

4.106 Going through the various reports of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, one discovers considerable fluctuations in the number of schools and sections imparting education through the medium of Urdu. The Commissioner could not find an explanation for these fluctuations.

4.107 All the witnesses from Tamil Nadu expressed their satisfaction at the sympathetic attitude of the State Government towards Urdu. Some of them expressed their gratitude to the State Government for the interest taken by it in the promotion and development of the language. But, as elsewhere, in Tamil Nadu also the facilities provided through the medium of Urdu at the primary stage were considered inadequate and there was demand for more. Some of them complained that the facilities provided earlier were withdrawn subsequently from some of the primary schools and demanded the restoration of these facilities.

4.108 Regarding provision or facilities for teaching through minority languages, the attitude of the Tamil Nadu Government has been liberal. They have also agreed to provide facilities for instruction in the mother tongue even if the number of student speaking a minority language in a school is less than 40.

4.109 Uttar Pradesh : Until May 1949, both Hindi and Urdu were the media of instruction at the primary level. Also elementary Urdu was taught to those whose mother tongue was Hindi and vice versa. Form class VI onward the medium of instruction was English but both Hindi and Urdu were allowed as additional media of examination.

4.110 In May 1949, Hindi was made the sole medium of instruction at the primary, and secondary levels. The general scheme of educational safeguards for the linguistic minorities has already been discussed in the forgoing pages. The Government of Uttar Pradesh fell in line with the rest of the century by agreeing to provide facilities for Urdu medium primary schools in accordance with the policies laid down by the Education Ministers' Conference and later by Central Government and the Chief Ministers of the States.

4.111 There were however, allegations that implementation was halfhearted and the denial of facilities became a continuing cause of widespread complaints. At one stage the available figures suggested that the total number of students in some other States where the percentage of Urdu speakers was much lower than in Uttar Pradesh, was much larger than the number of Urdu students on rolls in Uttar Pradesh. In view of these complaints, the State Government had, as already mentioned elsewhere, appointed the Kripalani Committee which recognised the right of a child to be taught through the medium of the mother tongue at the primary stage.

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4.112 Urdu speakers constituted 10.5 per cent of the total population and according to the 1971 census number 92,73,089. According to the figures now supplied by the State Government to the Committee, in 1969-70, the number of Urdu medium schools at the primary stage was 1934, the number of students on rolls was 1,80,229 and the number of teachers was 3,392. In 1970-71, the corresponding figures were 2,061, 1,96,770 and 3,489 while in 1971-72 the figures were 2,085, 2,14,302 and 3,645 respectively. There is however, an unexplained discrepancy between, the statistics supplied to us to the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities for the year 1969-70. According to the information supplied to him there were 2,042 Urdu medium primary schools and 519 primary centres in that year as against a total of 1,934 given now. Similarly, the number of students on rolls was supposed to be 2,35,318 which has now been corrected to 1,80,229. This is in spite of the fact that the figures supplied to the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities pertained only to 51 districts. In the subsequent years, the figures supplied to the Commissioner by the Uttar Pradesh Government were in respect of 30 districts only and cannot be compared with the statistics now supplied to the Committee,

4.113 The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has been pointing out the areas where deficiencies were noticed in the provision of facilities for education through the medium of Urdu at the primary level. In 1964, he commented that the State Government had made no serious effort to implement the provisions of Article 350-A of the Constitution and in subsequent years continued listing instances of such non-implementation. In his 14th Report, he stated that the State Government had ascribed the decrease in the facilities for teaching Urdu to the requisite minimum number of pupils not forthcoming, and the general decline of interest in that language.

4.114 The State authorities have not supplied to the Commissioner statistical data for several years in respect of all the districts. In the absence of complete data it is not possible to assess the exact position with regard to the general allegation of denial of such educational facilities. There have, however, been specific instances quoted by the

Commissioner in his reports. He has given several instances in successive years of the lack of facilities for teaching through the medium of Urdu at various places. These include the primary schools run by municipal authorities at Varanasi, Marehra, Etah (although it had a sizable population of Urdu speakers, the district did not have a single primary school or section teaching through Urdu), Gorakhpur, Deoria, Kakori, etc., and the town area of Lucknow. The Commissioner also noticed continuing decrease in the number of Urdu medium primary schools in Ghazipur, Bara Banki, Etawah, Pilibhit and Partapgarh.

4.115 A large number of witnesses came to depose before the Committee at Lucknow. They all complained that the facilities for the teaching of Urdu were being progressively withdrawn and students were left with no option but to adopt the medium offered by the schools. Lucknow was held out as an example where it was alleged that predominantly Urdu speaking areas like the vast complex of Wazirganj, Nishatganj and Chowk wards had only one Urdu medium primary school out of the ten run by the Municipal Corporation. In the Nishatganj area, as many as 250 students offered to study through the Urdu medium but no arrangements were made. There were demands for the opening of new schools in several blocks of Bijnor district. Shri Ram Parshad, President of the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Uttar Pradesh), told us that he had to seek legal redress at Varanasi to have his daughter taught through the Urdu medium. "Witnesses deposed before the Committee that whenever the shortages of schools and non-existence of other facilities were brought to the notice of the authorities, they attributed the fact to lack of requisite number of students.

4.116 A witness mentioned to the Committee in a note that in districts where comparatively better arrangements prevailed, the number of Urdu students in primary schools had registered an increase. For instance, in Moradabad district where the number of Urdu primary schools was increased within one year the number of primary students rose from 2,430 to 18,610 in the year 1962-63. This also happened in the

district of Bara Banki. It was, therefore, argued that increase or decrease in the number of students was dependent on the availability of facilities at the primary school stage for teaching through the Urdu medium.

4.117 A large number of witnesses suggested that in districts, tehsils, municipal towns and wards where the Urdu speaking population was ten per cent or more, Urdu medium primary schools should be opened some put the percentage of eligibility at five.

4.118 Urdu Maktabas : Where arrangements for teaching Urdu at the primary level usually existed, were being given a grant of Rs. 20 per month only. This was considered entirely inadequate. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities has brought this to the notice of the State Government.

4.119 The State Government have, however, initiated a new scheme whereby teaching through the Urdu medium would be provided at least in one school in each locality irrespective of the number of students opting for this language as indicated in the advance registers. Such arrangements were to be made in the cities of Kanpur, Agra, Varanasi, Allahabad, Lucknow, Bareilly and Meerut. However, according to the instructions issued on the subject, the academic session from which the new arrangements were to come into force had not been indicated. This has been brought to the notice of the State Government by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities.

4.120 West Bengal : Urdu speaking population of the State, numbering 9,50,363 according to the 1971 census, constituted 2.1 per cent of the total population. In the year 1971-72, there were 408 primary

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schools including 46 Government run schools, imparting education through the medium of Urdu to 31,873 students. The number of Urdu teachers was 809.

4.121 Most of the witnesses observed that the attitude of the West Bengal Government was not at all hostile. In fact it was rather helpful.

4.122 There were demands for more schools in the Calcutta Corporation area, Howrah Municipal area, 24 Parganas, Hooghly, Bardwan, Murshidabad and Birbhum. Attention was specially drawn to the need for providing such schools for girls also.

4.123 Having considered the evidence and relevant facts and figures in the States and Union Territories, the Committee has arrived at the conclusion that while arrangements for teaching Urdu at the primary stage of education have been made by some States, they are inadequate taking the country as a whole Article 350-A of the Constitution has cast a duty on every local authority within the State to provide facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education for children belonging to the linguistic minority groups. It is, therefore, recommended that the Education Departments of the States, Union Territories and local authorities should make necessary arrangements for teaching of Urdu at the primary stage for the benefit of those who claim it as their mother tongue.

10 : 40 Formula

4.124 The 10 :40 formula envisaged provision of facilities for the teaching of Urdu at the primary stage in areas where it was not the official language, provided there was a minimum of 10 students in a class or 40 in the school as a whole. In practice, the formula had created a number of complications and given rise to widespread dissatisfaction mostly because of non-implementation by the educational authorities, at the lower level. As ten students were not always likely to seek admission to a class together at one time, nor 40 students to an institution, it was proposed to maintain advance registers where students belonging to the linguistic minorities would get themselves registered in advance and, as soon as the minimum required number was reached, facilities would be made available either to the class or to the whole school, as

the case may be. Here again, many schools failed to maintain the registers or to keep them up-to-date, as corroborated by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities. Many parents were not aware of the availability of the facility of advance registration at the schools. A number of parents, particularly those from the rural areas, who came to have the names of their wards registered, were illiterate or semi-literate, and there were allegations that their requests were turned down. Another safeguard was provided in the shape of introducing a column for mother tongue in the admission form. Here again the same difficulty was encountered. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities and the Committee for Promotion of Urdu were flooded with complaints that either the registers were not being maintained or, where maintained, necessary facilities were not made available even after the requisite number of students had registered themselves in advance. Instances were also cited before the Committee that where a school or a section was opened in response to demands backed by the admission of the stipulated number of students, the facility was withdrawn as soon as a few of the students either left the school or failed to qualify for promotion to the higher class.

4.125 Some witnesses considered it against the spirit of the constitutional provision to fix a minimum number of students as a pre-condition for opening classes for instruction in a linguistic minority language. Since the objective is to have universal primary education, all those claiming a particular language to be their mother tongue should be allowed the facility. It follows that not the number of pupils opting for education in a particular mother tongue in a school, but the school-going population in an area, speaking a particular mother tongue, should be the criterion for provision of this facility.

4.126 There have been various modifications of the 10 : 40 formula. The Delhi Administration has modified the original formula of 10 or 40, into 10 and 40. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities rightly commented that this was not in accordance with the all-India decision. In Madhya Pradesh, while accepting the basis in principle, the Government did not agree to implement it, on the plea of financial stringencies. Some witnesses stipulated that non-Government primary schools

providing facilities for the teaching of students belonging to the linguistic minority be given grants-in-aid under the rules provided if the number of such students was 40.

4.127 In Orissa, arrangement was to be made for teaching through the Urdu medium, if six students desired to be taught through that medium. This was definitely an advance over the 10 : 40 formula. In 1964, the State Government had intimated to the commissioner for Linguistic Minorities that under this Article, Urdu teachers would be provided temporarily but would be confirmed only after three months, if six pupils continued to attend the school.

4.128 The States of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu have issued orders for provision of facilities in teaching through the medium of minority languages if there were 10 pupils in a class or section, or 30 pupils in the whole school. This too constitutes a slight improvement over the normal pattern.

4.129 The complaints of non-implementation of the 10 : 40 formula were numerous in respect of Rajasthan Government primary schools. Reports have been made to the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities with particulars of 34 schools in different districts which fulfilled the conditions for provision of educational facilities under the 10 : 40 formula, but where Urdu teachers had not been appointed.

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4.130 A number of witnesses pointed out that the 10 : 40 formula was not being worked in Uttar Pradesh and that this was evident from the fact that not a single class or school for teaching through the Urdu medium had been started on that basis despite adequate number of students being available at several places. A few of these instances have been reported by the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities also. From West Bengal also there were similar complaints.

4.131 Some witnesses from Delhi complained that a few of the school authorities told the parents that there were no facilities for teaching through Urdu medium in their schools and registration of their wards could not be made on that account.

4.132 As the Statewise review of the actual working of the 10 : 40 formula reveals, most of the States have varied it according to their own needs. There is hardly a place where

it exists in its original form. It had led to numerous complaints and failed to satisfy the needs of the Urdu speaking people. It is, therefore recommended :

(i) Where in an urban or rural area, such as village, town or municipal ward, Urdu speakers constitute ten per cent of the total population, at least one Urdu medium primary school should be set up. Wherever necessary, the number of such schools may be increased. These schools should not be exclusively of one medium. Efforts should be made to keep Urdu and non Urdu medium students at the same school to avoid segregation.

(ii) In areas at the village or the municipal ward level where Urdu speakers form less than ten per cent of the population, there should be Provision of an Urdu teacher in such schools as are likely to get a minimum of ten students. This likelihood will be determined on the basis of the population of the children of Urdu speaking persons of school going age in a particular locality.

(iii) To tide over the immediate difficulty that will arise by a sudden demand for such a large number of teachers, we recommend the appointment of bilingual teachers in the schools mentioned in category(ii) above. The existing staff may also be given incentives to learn Urdu and the incentive may take the form of an allowance or an advance increment or a lump sum reward.

Secondary and Higher Secondary Education

4.133 After Independence a large number of States changed over gradually from English to the regional languages as media of instruction at the secondary and higher secondary levels. Some States like Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Maharashtra, simultaneously allowed institutions run by the linguistic minorities to have their languages as media of instruction, while in most States the Government run institutions offered only the regional language as the medium of instruction at the secondary and higher secondary stages of education. In the most populous States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, the number of secondary and higher secondary institutions run by linguistic

minorities was extremely limited and a vast majority of the students belonging to the linguistic minorities strove hard to get education through the medium of the mother tongue. This was duly taken note of at the national level. For example, the 'Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at its meeting held on August 5, 1949, resolved that the education at the secondary level "would ordinarily be given in the provincial language, but should sufficiently large number of people demand, schools may be run or sections attached to existing, schools in a minority language". It was specifically mentioned in this resolution that for the purpose of this resolution Urdu shall be one of the languages concerned.

4.134 The Provincial Education Ministers Conference meeting soon thereafter In 1949 worked out a formula through a resolution envisaging the following arrangements in respect of secondary education :

(a) If the number of pupils whose mother tongue is a language other than the regional or State language, is sufficient to justify a separate school in an area, the medium of instruction in such a school may be the mother tongue of the pupils. Such schools organised or established by private agencies will be recognised for the purposes of grants-in-aid from Government according to prescribed rules.

(b) Government will also provide similar facilities in all Government and district board schools, where one -third of the total number of pupils of the school desired to be instructed in their mother tongue.

(c) Government will also require aided schools to arrange for such instruction, if this is desired by one third of the pupils, provided that there are no adequate facilities for instruction in that particular language in the area.

(d) The regional language will be a compulsory subject through the secondary stage.

4.135 The States Reorganisation Commission wanted secondary education to be treated differently from education at the primary stage and recommended no further

constitutional provision to cover the right of instruction in the mother tongue at the secondary stage.

4.136 The Central Advisory Board of Education considered the report of the Secondary Education Commission and the Resolution passed on the subject by the All-India Council of Secondary Education and assigned an important place to the mother tongue in the curriculum, to enable the pupils belonging to linguistic minorities to study their mother tongue optionally as one of the three languages which were proposed to be taught at the secondary school stage. In its 1956 Memorandum, the Government

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of India declared that a clear policy would be laid down in regard to the use and place of mother tongue at the secondary stage of education, in consultation with the State Governments. Again, in the statement issued by the Government of India on July 14, 1958, it was stated particularly in relation to Urdu that facilities for instruction should be provided at the secondary stage also.

4.137 The Ministerial Committee of the Southern Zonal Council considered the provision of facilities to the linguistic minorities for instruction through the mother tongue as the medium at the secondary stage. For providing such facilities where they did not exist, a minimum strength of 60 pupils in standard VIII to XI of the higher secondary course, and 15 pupils in each standard in which facilities were to be provided was considered necessary. "This figure of 60 for all the standards and 15 for each standard shall be computed separately for each one of the diversified courses and for the academic course; and where different groups of optional subjects are provided in the academic course, separately for each such group of optional subjects." It was also stipulated that the position existing on November 1, 1956, in respect of separate secondary schools for linguistic minorities as well as separate sections for linguistic minorities in other secondary schools with particular reference to pupil strength and

school facilities, including teachers competent to teach in the languages of the linguistic minorities, should be ascertained and continued without change. Where the number of pupils decreased to such an extent as to justify reduction in any particular local area, such reduction could be made only under the specific orders of the Government. If, on the other hand, the number of pupils increased proportionately, additional teachers would be provided.

4.138 The Conference of the Chief Ministers of States and Central Ministers in August 1961 accepted in principle the decisions of the Ministerial Committee of the Southern Zonal Council.

4.139 The Uttar Pradesh Language Committee, also known as the Kripalani Committee set up by the Uttar Pradesh Government, however, recommended "the continuance of the State language as the medium". It suggested further that special facilities should be provided by the Board of High School and Intermediate Education to students for answering question papers in the Board's examinations in a medium other than the regional language. Simultaneously, it called for the provision of teaching Urdu as an optional subject in the secondary schools where a fair number of students were willing to offer it.*

4.140 The third meeting of the Committee of Zonal Councils for National Integration held on August 31, 1964, noted that the "State Government of Uttar Pradesh had not agreed so far to provide facilities for instruction through the medium of minority language at the secondary stage and that although facilities for instruction through minority languages existed in Madhya Pradesh, the decisions taken at the Chief Minister's Conference on National Integration (1961) had not been fully implemented."

4.141 Following the reorganization of the States on the linguistic pattern, it was likely that in some States, their boards and universities might not be able to affiliate all the colleges and schools teaching through the minority languages. The Government of