

raised very high. This is also my conviction, after careful observation and thinking, that the relegation of English to a secondary place in our education and public life will ultimately not be for the good of the country. Hence I beg to differ from the findings and recommendations of the Commission's Report.

What I consider just and proper I am stating below in my proposals for Recommendations to the President. I am also giving in brief my reasons for making these proposals. They should be before the Governments, the Legislatures and the People, in all the parts of the Country. It is only in this way that more points of view than one may be considered by persons who deal with the destiny of the people.

## B. THE RECOMMENDATIONS

Following the terms of reference indicating "the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President" on the five items mentioned in Article 344 of the Constitution of India, while having "due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the just claims and interests of persons belonging to non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to public services"—

I beg respectfully to make the following Recommendations to the President:

(a) Considering that the Hindi-speaking people will have a natural and permanent advantage over non-Hindi speakers, if Hindi, which is the regional language and mother-tongue of the former, comes to be used for all the official purposes of the Union; and that as a consequence India will have a privileged class of Hindi-speakers in all the departments of public life and administration;

Considering also the fact that as an immediate consequence the fundamental rights of the non-Hindi speakers in the matter of their language are sure to be profoundly affected both in a pan-Indian setting as well as within their States:

Considering further that the present political situation in the various States of India is at present quite abnormal and full of ferment through the working of linguistic and territorial jealousies and oppositions, and is not in the least propitious for any far-reaching change which may be taken to affect or modify the linguistic and other rights of various sections of the Indian people, particularly when they are outside of the Hindi orbit;

the question of the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union be kept in abeyance for the time being, as it may otherwise bring in other grave complications unnecessarily within the Union; and the Committee to be appointed under Section (4) of Article 344 of the Constitution be also directed to take cognizance of the situation in the country regarding the progress of education, administrative efficiency and the wishes of the non-Hindi speaking peoples of India in this connexion, while making their recommendations. The President is also respectfully

requested to give due weight to the altered situation in the country in the above matters before issuing any directions in accordance with the Report.

(b) The restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union, in the interests of Indian Unity and Harmony, Efficiency in Administration, and Advancement of the Indian People in Science and Technology as well as in the Humanities, similarly for the time being be kept in abeyance, and the same procedure be followed in the Committee as under section (4) of Article 344 as for Item (a) above.

The Items (a) and (b) should be considered as two aspects of the same proposition.

(c) For the present, for all the purposes mentioned in Article 348 of the Constitution, the use of the English language be continued as now, and the States be given the fullest liberty to use English, with translations in the regional language as and when necessary—Hindi as an Indian language being optionally used in non-Hindi States as a symbol of Indian Unity, for certain set and formal purposes, with a translation in English and/or the regional language as required.

(d) The international forms of the Indian numerals which have been once accepted for the convenience of the whole of India not only for easy communication but also for scientific purposes, be retained in pan-Indian Hindi. But for Hindi as a regional language, the Hindi forms of the numerals may be continued, subject to the use of international numerals side by side or alternatively.

(e) A language cannot be developed to order, and the preparation of a time-schedule before a language is actually developed will be futile and exasperating because it is impossible of achievement. As Sri K. M. Munshi has pertinently observed: "Unless Hindi becomes in some measure a powerful instrument of expression in the hands of the educated men, it cannot replace English as a language of power". The mind of the people must be first modernised, and sufficiently advanced in both science and culture, before its language can become an adequate vehicle for the expression of the mentality of a modern and progressive people, in politics as much as in other departments of life.

It will finally rest with the different States using their own regional languages to decide, after Hindi has been voluntarily adopted by them and a knowledge of it has spread among their intelligentsia, to what extent Hindi can be used for communication between the Union and the State Governments and between one State Government and another.

I would therefore recommend that for the time being the idea of having a definite time schedule for the above purpose be kept in abeyance (as the Majority Report also has suggested), and that we concentrate now on the spread of Hindi in non-Hindi States largely through voluntary effort on the part of the States themselves, and that Hindi be developed as a suitable medium for acquiring exact

and creative knowledge through the exertions of the Hindi-speaking peoples and the Hindi-using States.

I recommend further in this connexion that with a view to make the whole of India take up the idea of having an Indian language as the symbol of Indian Unity (and we should not forget the overwhelming claims of Sanskrit in this matter), the study of Hindi should be fostered and encouraged by each non-Hindi State, even though its study at present has not much cultural and intellectual value for non-Hindi speakers. In this connexion, making one of the Modern Indian Languages (other than Hindi or Urdu) a compulsory subject of study for Hindi-speaking areas will be a very helpful gesture of voluntary reciprocity which will largely conduce to inter-lingual understanding. This will also strengthen the pan-Indian Unity which already exists through English, and exists also to some extent both through Sanskrit and Bazar Hindustani (the latter mainly among Aryan-speaking urban people in North India).

The reasons and arguments for making the above Recommendations are stated below.

### C. REASONS AND ARGUMENTS

#### (i) Some Primary Considerations.

These Recommendations are made, according to my lights, in the best interest of the people of India. In making them, the approach has been realistic and practical and not idealistic and sentimental. It is necessary to go into the question of the difficulties that are cropping up in the way of the establishment of Hindi in all spheres in the place of English, and one has also to consider the rival claims of the various regional languages which are now becoming established for administrative, educational and other purposes in the various non-Hindi States. The circumstances in which Hindi was adopted by the Constituent Assembly, in spite of a nearly 50 per cent opposition to this adoption, are also to be reviewed. The present development of Linguism or Linguistic Intolerance which has become, during the last few years (and particularly during the last few months), such an ugly phenomenon and such a disconcerting problem in Indian public life, striking at the very root of Indian Unity, should also be dispassionately considered.

In a language policy for India, or for any other country where there are current numerous languages, we should have five primary objectives:

- (i) Maintenance of National Unity;
- (ii) Maintenance of Efficiency of Administration;
- (iii) Advancement of Knowledge among all sections of the people;
- (iv) Maintenance of Equal Opportunities for all Citizens, without giving special privileges to any particular group; and
- (v) Preserving India's Self-respect as an Independent People.