

Amity International Model United Nations 2025



Constituent Assembly of India

BACKGROUND GUIDE

LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Greetings Delegates,

We welcome you to AIMUN 2025, it is our delight to chair this simulation of *The Constituent Assembly of India* at AMITY INTERNATIONAL MODEL UNITED NATIONS, 2025.

The agenda might sound a bit complex and confusing for you but we will address all your doubts and queries. The Executive Board wants to make this as comfortable an experience for you as possible. Your comfort will be a priority for us at all times. Do not hesitate at any point to approach us with your doubts. As frivolous as they might sound in your head, trust me, we had them when we were starting out as well.

This guide is created to serve as a starting point for your research and to give you a brief overview of the agenda. It is important that you use this document as a reference point for more research and not as an end in itself.

Before coming for the conference, it is very important to break the larger agenda into smaller subtopics and ask questions to yourself about the agenda. It is also crucial to enhance your leadership skills and lobbying capacity since we would give equal importance to overall participation in the committee. Please remember that your research should not be limited to the topics just stated in this guide as this committee will be focusing on your critical thinking and analysis apart from just the research.

Hoping to see you all soon! Regards

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Mandate of the Committee

The Constituent Assembly of India in AIMUN 2025 is a Historic Committee due to its timeline being set in the year 1948 -49. Historic committees refer to committees that take us into the past. These committees are simulating the events, debates and crises of the past. The freeze date for the Constituent Assembly of India committee this year is **12th September 1949**. We have chosen this very specific date to ensure there is no confusion on the events which can be referred to in the committee (pre - 12th September 1949) and those which can not be referred to.

Please understand that when you walk into the committee you will be in 1949 on 12th September, everything that has happened before this date, has happened. So treat the freeze date as the present and understand that you don't know anything about the future. Even information that has come out after 12th September, 1949 - you don't know, no one knows because it hasn't happened yet. However, this doesn't mean that you only research what has happened before the freeze date, it just means that you can't use the information that has been published after the freeze date in speeches. We can, however, use it to predict what situation might be used by other delegates in the committee or use it when thinking about how to respond to a particular case. For example, even if some provision does not exist in the draft constitution at this point, you can still suggest something similar to the same provided you do not mention any events that might have led to the adoption of the same.

But also understand, that since this is a simulation - what happened in actuality after 12th September 1949 might not happen in our committee. Decisions that you members make may be slightly or completely different and your actions and the consequences of your actions may change the course of history as we know it. Please also note that it is not necessary for you to give the same speeches or make the same points as the ones which were given in the CAI, however changing your stance on the issues completely will not be advised by the executive board.

Chairs will serve strictly as neutral moderators, with no political affiliations or voting rights. This committee does not adhere to modern parliamentary procedure; instead, its rules may shift in response to circumstances. Delegates may speak in English or Hindi during oral debate, though all written work (draft resolution) must be produced in English. Proceedings open with a roll call, wherein each delegate has to mark presence and establish a simple majority threshold (50 percent + 1) for votes. Opening statements of two minutes each will follow, allowing delegates to articulate their stance on the agenda. After taking opening speeches, a cross-reference style

moderated caucus—emulating the original Constituent Assembly's practice—will permit directed questions or clarifications and rebuttals, with each follow-up speaker allotted sixty seconds. The agenda for the moderated caucus will be established through a resolution which has to be passed by simple majority.

Throughout the session, the Assembly may transition between public and private sittings. All remarks in public sessions are recorded and open to media and observers, inviting scrutiny beyond the chamber. Private sessions require a motion and simple-majority vote, enact confidentiality among members, and bar outside attendance. Any reference to private discussions during public debate constitutes a breach of privilege and may result in suspension or expulsion.

Delegates may raise procedural interjections at any time: a Point of Personal Privilege to address hearing difficulties or request repetition; a Point of Parliamentary Inquiry for clarification on rules; a Point of Order to highlight errors in proceedings; a Point of Information to question a speaker's arguments; a Breach of Privilege to correct factual inaccuracies; and a Right to Reply if any delegate's remarks become personally offensive. No parliamentarian may make derogatory statements toward another delegate's person or portfolio.

The final language policy resolution (amendment to the draft constitution) will be debated and adopted under rules akin to UNA-USA procedure, with the key variation that draft resolutions list only supporting members—without distinguishing sponsors or signatories—and no member may appear as a supporter on more than one draft. While the format should resemble a Lok Sabha bill, any coherent layout that includes all necessary clauses and pointers will be accepted. This mandate directs the Assembly's work toward a faithful and dynamic simulation of India's constitutional genesis. For additional details about the format the members will be informed of the same on the day of the committee to ensure there exists no miscommunication.

Sources of Proof/Evidence accepted

This background guide holds no evidentiary value in committee. It is not proof of the occurrence or non-occurrence of any fact and serves only as a foundation for further research. The contents do not reflect the views or political leanings of the Executive Board, which shall remain strictly neutral throughout the proceedings.

Delegates must prepare by studying both the political stance and personal outlook of the leader they represent. You are expected to argue and negotiate as your historical figure would have in 1949, not as yourself.

Accepted Sources of Evidence

Valid evidence includes:: Constituent Assembly Debates, draft articles, speeches, writings, and official documents of the time. Peer-reviewed journals, scholarly books, university publications. Established newspapers of the 1940s (e.g., *The Hindu, Amrita Bazar Patrika, Times of India*).

**Wikipedia, open-edit platforms, blogs, unverified opinion pieces, or unsourced summaries.

** Delegates must keep a source of all the facts they use in their speeches/chits in the committee and can be asked by the Executive Board at any time to provide the same.

Introduction

The language policy was one of the most hotly debated topics in the constituent assembly with some members supporting Hindi, some English others supporting regional languages. Even within the faction of members supporting Hindi some supported Hindi in its sanskritised form with the devanagari script whereas others preferred Hindustani i.e. a mixture of Hindi and Urdu written in either Roman or Perso-Arabic script. The members supporting Hindi were predominantly from north Indian regions and those opposing Hindi were predominantly from the southern states. The members in the due course of debate shall in this simulation try to represent their allotted portfolios and finally gather consensus to formulate a feasible language policy for the newly independent India of 1949.

The Assembly must therefore carefully decide whether Hindi, English, or regional languages should dominate governance and education in independent India. This decision carries long-term implications for how citizens will interact with their government, how knowledge will be imparted in schools and universities, and how the new Republic will foster a sense of belonging among all its people.

Striking the right balance is crucial. Choosing one language over others could risk alienating communities, while a lack of clarity could create confusion in administration and education. The task before the Assembly is to ensure both effective governance and respect for India's cultural and linguistic diversity.

In India, historically there has always been immense linguistic plurality, with its spoken languages being categorised into 5 major language families by linguists and the country's population speaking a multitude of dialects.

- 1. **Indo-Aryan Languages** A branch of the Indo-European family, spoken by nearly three-quarters of the Indian population by the early 20th century. These included Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Assamese, Oriya, Kashmiri, and Sanskrit (as a classical tongue).
- **2. Dravidian Languages** Spoken predominantly in South India, including Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam. These languages were marked by rich classical traditions and literatures stretching back over two millennia.

- **3. Austroasiatic Languages** Found in eastern and central India, including Santali, Mundari, and Ho. These were spoken by several Adivasi groups and were among the oldest strata of the subcontinent's linguistic mosaic.
- **4. Tibeto-Burman Languages** Spoken in the Himalayan belt and North-East India, including Meitei (Manipuri), Bodo, Naga languages, and others.
- **5. Andamanese Languages (Isolates)** Small groups of languages spoken in the Andaman Islands, unrelated to any major family, preserved as linguistic isolates. (Here we'd like to mention that this family of languages was only categorised after the year 2000's specifically by a research paper of Anvita Abbi (2009) showed it was unrelated in its genealogy.

This diversity shows us how the problem was not only political in nature but also technical as there was no single "Indian Language". linguistic identities were deeply tied to regional, cultural, and literary traditions. As we move on we will explore further themes in the same issue, understanding the different contexts in the debate.

Colonial language policy and its legacy

The colonial government did not come to India with a clear language policy but introduced one that evolved over time, yet at its core the objective was to create as big of a divide in India, one between those educated in English and the ones who preferred vernacular languages. Here we see a shift in the policy in the early years before English was chosen as the path of education.

The Charter Act of 1813 was the first provision for official expenditure on education in India, setting aside funds for "revival and promotion of literature" and for introducing "knowledge of sciences." However, it left unresolved the medium of instruction. Governor Elphinstone in Bombay (1820s) leaned towards supporting vernacular education, arguing that instruction in the local languages would broaden access and create a more informed populace. The main point of contention was due to a debate on the above provision of funding. This was the first formal recognition that the state had to choose between fostering India's own intellectual traditions and introducing European knowledge through English. The ambiguity was deliberate, allowing both "Orientalists" (who supported Indian languages) and "Anglicists" (who pressed for English) to claim legitimacy.

The pendulum swung sharply with Thomas Babington Macaulay's famous Minute on Indian Education (1835). Macaulay dismissed the utility of classical and vernacular learning and insisted that English should be the primary medium, arguing that it would create "a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect." His views set the tone for the Anglicist victory in the education debate. Macaulay dismissed the "Orientalists" and argued that government funds should be devoted exclusively to English education. His most cited line that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia" captured his contempt for Indian languages as vehicles of modern learning.

Later, Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 institutionalized this approach further. While recommending vernacular schools at the village level, it emphasized English for higher education and administration. The despatch created a system where vernaculars were relegated to the margins while English became the passport to government service and social mobility. This is often referred to as the Magna Carta of Indian Education. Its dual approach: Vernacular for the masses, English for higher education and administration allows us to infer a hardened linguistic hierarchy, giving English unprecedented prestige while reducing indigenous languages to preparatory or "subsidiary" roles.

Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, who presided over important educational reforms in the mid-19th century, was pragmatic: he saw English education as essential for training a cadre of Indian officials and clerks to serve in the expanding colonial administration. Yet his policies reinforced the hierarchy of languages, with English at the apex and vernaculars treated as preparatory.

Here we'd like to remind you that the issue was not just in India but also in other countries where we see British colonial rule. The policy of dividing the local population and their westernisation was a classic of British imperialism.

In Nigeria, for example, Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo were widely spoken, yet schools after 1926 were pressured to transition to English beyond the first few years. Historian Ali Mazrui has noted that this reinforced a split between the English-educated elite, who monopolized administrative and political opportunities, and the majority who remained in vernacular education. Similarly, in Kenya under the Phelps-Stokes Commission (1924), English was advanced as the "language of progress," while Kiswahili and tribal languages were deemed fit only for primary levels. The parallels to India are striking. Just as in India, where access to English education created sharp distinctions between urban elites and rural populations, in Africa too the colonial education

policy entrenched linguistic hierarchies that later became fault-lines in postcolonial politics. In both contexts, English was promoted as a neutral link-language that "transcended" ethnic or regional divisions, but in reality it marginalized indigenous languages and produced a lasting tension between language, identity, and access to state power.

Draft Constitution provisions

The Historical Backdrop

When India gained independence in 1947, one of the most pressing questions was: "What should be the language of India?" The challenge was immense, given that the country was home to more than 1,600 languages and dialects, with 14 major languages officially recognized in the early years (a number that later expanded to 22 in the Eighth Schedule).

Under British rule, English had entrenched itself as the language of administration, law, and higher education. To many nationalists, its continued dominance after independence felt like a colonial hangover, incompatible with the vision of a free India. Yet, abruptly replacing it with a single Indian language was equally problematic, as it risked alienating large sections of the population whose mother tongues were different.

The Constituent Assembly became the stage for this contentious debate. Two major camps emerged. On one side was the **pro-Hindi group**, which demanded that Hindi replace English as quickly as possible, portraying it as a unifying force and a marker of cultural pride. On the other side stood the **non-Hindi group**, especially representatives from South and East India, who feared that enforcing Hindi would amount to "Hindi imperialism." For them, the shift risked substituting one kind of domination (colonial and English) with another (linguistic and Hindi).

After long and heated debates, the Assembly eventually settled on a middle path. This compromise found expression in **Articles 343–351 of the Constitution**, collectively known as the *Munshi–Ayyangar Formula*—named after K.M. Munshi and Gopalaswami Ayyangar, the architects of the settlement. It allowed Hindi to be recognized as the official language but retained English for a transitional period, ensuring space for regional languages while attempting to avoid a split in the fragile new Union.

The Language Provisions of the Indian Constitution: A Story of Compromise and Identity

When India achieved independence in 1947, the leaders of the new nation faced a delicate question: what should be the language of India? The issue was not merely administrative—it cut to the heart of identity, unity, and power. The Constituent Assembly had to decide whether the country would build its future on Hindi, English, or a multilingual balance. The result of those fierce debates is found in **Articles 343 to 351** of the Constitution, which continue to shape India's politics today.

The Assembly decided that **Hindi in the Devanagari script would be the official language of the Union**. This was enshrined in Article 343. But this decision came with a caveat: for 15 years, English would continue as an associate official language for administration and communication, especially between States and the Union. This compromise—Hindi as a symbol of national identity, and English as a practical necessity—was not easily reached. Southern representatives, particularly from Tamil Nadu, warned against what they called "Hindi imperialism." As T.T. Krishnamachari put it, forcing Hindi on non-Hindi speakers would reduce them to "second-class citizens." Thus, while Hindi was symbolically elevated, English remained the working tool of governance. The Assembly hoped that over time, Hindi would gradually spread, but without alienating non-Hindi regions.

To guide this gradual shift, **Article 344** created a mechanism: a Commission, to be set up after five years, would study the progress of Hindi and recommend steps for its expansion. A Parliamentary Committee would then review the recommendations. This structure ensured that change would be evolutionary, not revolutionary. The framers recognized that language cannot be imposed—it must grow through consent and usage.

The framers also understood India's linguistic diversity at the State level. **Article 345** allowed each State to adopt its own official language. This was crucial in a country where Tamil Nadu took pride in Tamil, Bengal in Bengali, and Maharashtra in Marathi. Without this federal flexibility, the Union risked alienating vast populations. Alongside this, **Article 346** provided that inter-State communication or communication between the Union and the States would default to English unless States agreed to use Hindi among themselves. This was another recognition that English, despite its colonial origins, had become a neutral bridge in a multilingual landscape.

Linguistic minorities were not forgotten. Article 347 empowered the President to recognize the language of any significant group within a State for official purposes if they

demanded it. Similarly, **Articles 350 and 350A** gave citizens the right to communicate grievances in any language and guaranteed primary education in one's mother tongue for linguistic minorities. These were not minor details—they reflected a commitment that democracy would not be reduced to majority rule, but would include dignity for smaller communities as well. To make this protection more robust, **Article 350B** created the post of a Special Officer for Linguistic Minorities, tasked with ensuring that the rights of such groups were not violated.

One of the most sensitive questions was the language of law and justice. Here, the framers were uncompromising: **Articles 348 and 349** kept English as the language of the Supreme Court, High Courts, and authoritative legal texts. Ambedkar and others argued that the precision of law demanded continuity. Changing court language to Hindi or regional tongues could create confusion, inconsistency, and even injustice. To prevent hasty shifts, Article 349 required a special majority in Parliament for any law changing this arrangement. This preserved stability in India's judicial system.

Finally, there was **Article 351**, which gave the Union a directive duty: to promote the spread of Hindi so that it would become a medium of expression for India's composite culture. It even encouraged Hindi to draw vocabulary from Sanskrit and other Indian languages, so that it would grow as a unifying, inclusive tongue. To its supporters, this was a noble project of cultural synthesis. To its critics, however, it looked like the Constitution was privileging one language, risking the marginalization of others.

Together, Articles 343–351 were a **fragile compromise**, often described as the Munshi–Ayyangar formula. They reflected three balancing acts: unity and diversity, tradition and modernity, majority and minority. Hindi was chosen to represent Indian identity, English was retained for administration and international linkages, and regional languages were protected to preserve dignity and culture. Yet, the compromise did not end the debate. When the 15-year deadline for English expired in 1965, violent anti-Hindi protests broke out in Tamil Nadu, forcing the Union to extend English indefinitely as an associate official language. Today, India continues with a dual system—Hindi and English at the Union level, with States free to use their own languages.

These provisions are not just legal clauses. They tell the story of a newly independent nation wrestling with its pluralism, struggling to balance pride in its heritage with the practicalities of governance, and trying to forge unity without erasing diversity. The debates of the Constituent Assembly on language were some of the most passionate, even bitter, but they ultimately ensured that India's Constitution did not impose a single

tongue. Instead, it enshrined a delicate equilibrium—one that still holds, though often tested.

Article	Core Provision
343	Hindi in Devanagari is official; English transitional; international numerals
344	Commission for language policy; parliamentary oversight
345	States choose official languages
346	State-Union communication language; requires agreement
347	Special recognition for minority languages
348	English in courts and legislation by default
349	Special majority needed for language-related judicial laws
350	Citizens may use any recognized language for grievances
350A	Mother-tongue education for linguistic minorities
350B	Special Officer for Linguistic Minorities
351	Union's duty to promote Hindi as a cultural medium

Positions on Hindi, Hindustani, English, and regional languages

The Constituent Assembly witnessed heated debates on whether Hindi, Hindustani, or English should serve as India's official language. Hindi supporters from the northern belt, like Seth Govind Das, R.V. Dhulekar, and Purushottam Das Tandon, argued for Hindi in the Devanagari script, enriched with Sanskrit vocabulary. They cited Article 301I, which made it the Union's duty to promote Hindi as a vehicle for India's composite culture. They believed only an indigenous language could symbolize sovereignty, and Hindi, spoken by the largest population group, was the natural choice.

The Hindustani proposal, once supported by Mahatma Gandhi as a secular compromise blending Hindi and Urdu, lost momentum by the late 1940s. The Hindi bloc dismissed Hindustani as vague and politically inconvenient. When the draft resolution came up, proposals for Hindustani were rejected. In fact, Seth Govind Das celebrated the moment as the triumph of Hindi over Hindustani.

English, however, remained indispensable. Leaders like Gopalaswami Ayyangar, B.R. Ambedkar, and Jawaharlal Nehru admitted that English had entrenched itself in law, higher education, and science. They stressed that India could not afford to lose access to international knowledge systems. As a result, the Munshi–Ayyangar formula was adopted: Hindi would become the official language, but English would continue for a transitional period of 15 years, subject to extension by Parliament. This was a political compromise that reflected both Hindi aspirations and non-Hindi anxieties.

Regional languages were equally central to the debate. States retained the right to use their own languages for official purposes, and Article 301H recognized the right of citizens to present grievances in their state language. This was designed to protect linguistic minorities and reassure states that Hindi would not eclipse their mother tongues. In practice, regional languages continued to dominate in administration and education at the state level.

Anti-Hindi / Pro-Regional Language Leaders and Blocs

The sharpest opposition came from South India and Bengal. T.T. Krishnamachari of Madras warned that making Hindi compulsory would "break the country," pointing out that in his state less than 5% spoke Hindi. Naziruddin Ahmad of Bengal declared that Hindi was as foreign to him as English, asking why one alien tongue should replace another. G. Durgabai raised concerns that non-Hindi women and children would be disadvantaged if Hindi became mandatory in education.

Southern leaders pushed strongly for English as a neutral medium. They emphasized that English did not belong to any single linguistic group and had already become a practical link language. They argued that the lack of teachers, textbooks, and scientific vocabulary in Hindi made its immediate adoption unworkable. Practical concerns about administration and higher education were central to their resistance.

The vote counts reflected how divided the Assembly was. For instance, the motion to adopt Hindi in the Devanagari script with international numerals was carried by a narrow margin of 78 to 77 votes. Proposals for Hindustani were rejected decisively, with most Hindi supporters voting against. Amendments to limit the dominance of Hindi or ensure stronger recognition of English also drew substantial support from non-Hindi blocs. The final settlement was Hindi as the official language, English as an associate language, and freedom for states to use their regional languages was the result of this knife-edge balance.

In sum, the Hindi bloc pressed for a cultural and demographic claim to leadership, but the anti-Hindi coalition ensured safeguards for diversity. This compromise, shaped by both numbers and persuasion, became the foundation of India's multilingual language policy.

Nehru Intervenes Sans Desired Effect

Nehru delivered a long speech combining the issue of language with various dimensions of personal and collective living. He made it clear that he was supporting Ayyangar's proposed amendment amongst cheers. After making his position clear with regard to language, he began his discourse on the question of language. Let us begin with one of the best specimens of this discourse thus; Language is a most intimate thing. It is perhaps the most important thing which society has evolved, out of which other things have taken growth. Now language is a very big thing. It makes us aware of ourselves. First, when language is developed it makes us aware of our neighbors, it makes us aware of our society, it makes us aware of other societies also. It is a unifying factor and it is also a factor promoting disunity. It is an integrating factor and it is a disintegrating factor between two languages, as between two countries. So it has both these aspects and when you think in terms of a common language here you have to think of both those facts.

After stating his position with regard to the significance of language in uniting and disuniting people, Nehru invoked Gandhi to support his contention and he argued why Hindi could be the uniting and integrating language in India. While invoking Gandhi, Nehru identified three crucial aspects of the language meant for India as a nation. **First**, despite its greatness, English could not be the language of the 14 countries, because a foreign language should not be the language of the people. **Secondly**, as a corollary to the first argument, the national language must be the language of the people. Finally, the language should represent the composite culture of the country. Gandhi used the word 'Hindustani' in a broad sense of the term. After making it clear that Gandhi used the expression 'Hindustani', it was important for Nehru to interpolate the argument to establish that what Gandhi said Hindustani was in fact Hindi.

He supported the international form of numerals explaining that if we did not do that, we might land ourselves in trouble. He concluded his speech with the following words:

"What sort of India do we want? Do we want a modern India – with its roots steeped in the past certainly in so far as it inspires us – do we want a modern India with modern science and all the rest of it, or do we want to live in some ancient age, in some other age which has no relation to the present? You have to choose between the two. It is a question of approach. You have to choose whether you look forward or backward."

Advocates of Hindustani / Dual Language Policy

The idea of **Hindustani**, a blend of Hindi and Urdu had strong advocates in the early decades of nationalist politics, most notably Mahatma Gandhi. He believed Hindustani, written in both Devanagari and Perso-Arabic scripts, could serve as a bridge between Hindu and Muslim communities and reflect India's composite culture. In the Assembly, however, this position weakened after Partition, when Urdu became politically associated with Pakistan. Leaders like Seth Govind Das rejected Hindustani as "amorphous" and insisted that Hindi alone should embody the national identity.

Still, many leaders favored a **dual-language policy**. Nehru and Gopalaswami Ayyangar recognized Hindi as the future national language but insisted that English be retained as an associate language for at least fifteen years, given its entrenched role in courts, higher education, and administration. This compromise was pragmatic: English provided continuity in governance and access to global knowledge, while Hindi could gradually be developed. Members also discussed vernacular education, with the understanding that mother tongues would remain the medium at primary levels, but advanced study in law, science, and medicine would still rely on English until adequate Hindi materials existed.

Regional Blocs and Cultural Identity Politics

Opposition to Hindi came strongly from **southern and eastern members**. T.T. Krishnamachari of Madras warned that imposing Hindi would amount to a "tyranny of the majority" and alienate the South, where the language had no organic base. Leaders from Bengal, such as Naziruddin Ahmad, argued that for Bengalis, English was at least useful for international exchange, whereas Hindi had little relevance. Odisha, Assam, and other non-Hindi provinces raised similar concerns, stressing that each region had its own literary and cultural heritage that must not be overshadowed.

These positions reflected deeper **cultural identity politics**. In the South, the Dravidian movement was already mobilizing against Hindi imposition, seeing it as a threat to Tamil and other Dravidian languages. In Bengal, linguistic pride was tied to its long-standing literary tradition. Across provinces, members insisted that no single language should dominate the Union, warning that doing so would undermine federal principles. The Assembly's prolonged debates, with hundreds of amendments and narrow divisions, reflected these anxieties. The eventual compromise of Hindi in Devanagari as official language, with English retained for transition emerged directly from these regional and cultural pressures.

Key Issues and Debates

(A) An inevitable consequence of independence: The Partition

On the midnight of 14-15 August 1947, the partition of India and Pakistan took place. The partition incited fear across India. Large groups moving with belongings were often attacked. The partition uprooted millions, entrenched patriarchy, and caused widespread grief and disruption. Cities like Lahore, Amritsar, and Kolkata became divided into 'communal zones'

- 1) Casualties and Displacement: Approximately 2 million people died in communal riots, and around 25 million were displaced. It is estimated that the Partition forced about 80 lakh people to migrate across the new border. Between 5 to 10 lakh people were killed in partition-related violence.
 - 2) Refugee Crisis: Both India and Pakistan struggled to accommodate and rehabilitate the massive influx of refugees.
 - 3) Atrocities Against Women: Women were abducted, raped, and killed. An estimated 100,000 women faced such violence. "Women's honour" is often taken away to humiliate an entire family or community. In many cases, women were killed by their family members to preserve the 'family honour'. Thousands of women were abducted on both sides of the border. They were made to convert to the religion of the abductor and were forced into marriage. Many children were separated from their parents.

These had massive impacts on discussions regarding language policy. Religious segregation and fear had to be countered. Hence, the partition had to be considered as well.

(B) Key Issues and Debates

The major issues to be taken into mind while deliberating on language policy were:

1) Colonial Context: The imposition of English through means such as Macauley's Minute, Lord Hardinge's notification on linguistic bias in employment, etc, had been a colonial tendency. Administrative efficiency had also depended on English. While drafting language policy, it had to be ensured that colonial biases did not appear in independent India, and administrative convenience did not outweigh regional voices.

- 2) Historical Context: Before colonialism, the Indian subcontinent had diverse languages including ancient classical languages like Sanskrit, its vernacular descendants Prakrit and Pali, and the indigenous Dravidian languages such as Tamil in the South. After the arrival of Muslim rule, Persian became an official administrative language, fostering the development of Urdu. Hence, these languages had to be considered as well while drafting language policy.
- 3) Partition Context: The partition took place because of the Two-Nation theory, advanced by the Muslim League, which advocated for a separate nation based on religion. It was feared that India too, would become a religious state, and non-majority religions would be suppressed. Here, language policy would play an important role in re-affirming secular structure and providing cultural representation to various communities.

Official vs. national language distinction

The Constituent Assembly's debate on language reached a sensitive climax in **September 1949**, when members grappled with the difference between an **official language** and a **national language**. This was not a matter of mere semantics but one with deep cultural and political consequences.

From the Hindi-speaking heartland, leaders like **R.V. Dhulekar and Seth Govind Das** argued that Hindi should not only serve as the official medium of administration but also be recognized as the **national language of India**. They insisted that a country striving for unity after Partition needed a single cultural marker, and that Hindi, spoken by a large section of the population, was best placed to fulfil this role. Dhulekar even went so far as to claim that Assembly debates should only be conducted in Hindi, reflecting the conviction that the nation's identity and state authority must merge into one linguistic framework

Opposition came swiftly from the South and the East. Leaders such as **T.T. Krishnamachari**, **Naziruddin Ahmad**, **and Frank Anthony** pushed back against the terminology of "national language." They made it clear that while Hindi could be tolerated as the **official language** for Union administration, giving it the symbolic status of "national" language would reduce other languages to an inferior position.

Krishnamachari in particular warned that such a step would alienate non-Hindi speakers, especially in Madras Presidency, and could threaten the fragile unity of the country.

At this stage, **N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar** intervened to provide clarity. He explained that the Draft Constitution had *deliberately avoided* the term "national language." The intent was never to elevate Hindi above other languages as a symbol of Indian identity, but simply to designate a language for **practical purposes of governance** conducting parliamentary proceedings, maintaining records, and managing communication between the Centre and States. In his words, India's immense diversity meant that no single language could embody the entire nation.

The debates of 14 September 1949 highlighted this confusion. Shankarao Deo of Bombay remarked that members were blurring the categories of "national" and "official" language. According to him, the amendment before the House was strictly about official purposes, not about national cultural identity. When Ravi Shankar Shukla interrupted to claim the arrangement was permanent, Deo replied that passions were being inflamed because the matter was viewed from an emotional angle rather than a practical one. This exchange reflected how sensitive the issue had become, with each word carrying symbolic weight.

Ultimately, the Assembly resolved the issue by drawing a firm distinction: the Constitution would **not declare any national language.** Article 343 specified only that "the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script," with English continuing as an associate official language for 15 years. The idea of a single national language was rejected to preserve unity and accommodate diversity.

The reasoning for this distinction was clear:

- **a.** Declaring a national language would have implied cultural or symbolic superiority, sparking resentment among non-Hindi speakers.
- **b.** Official language was a functional need of the Union government and had to be decided for administration, not identity.
- **c.** By retaining English alongside Hindi, the Assembly acknowledged India's multilingual reality and ensured a smoother transition in governance.

This distinction institutionalized the balance: while Hindi supporters continued in popular rhetoric to call it the "national" language, the Constitution itself made no such claim leaving India without a national language, but with a carefully chosen official language framework.

Script choice - Numerals (Devanagari vs. Perso-Arabic)

Among the many contentious issues that surfaced in the Constituent Assembly, the question of numerals acquired unusual intensity. For several members who supported Hindi, the Nagari numerals (o ? 3 8 9 8 6 6 8) were seen as an organic extension of the Devanagari script. Their argument was that one could not logically adopt the script while discarding the numerical symbols that had long been associated with it. To them, replacing Nagari numerals amounted to weakening the cultural authenticity of Hindi itself.

Opposing this view were those who advocated the adoption of the so-called modern international numerals (0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9). They stressed that what were commonly referred to as Arabic numerals had in fact originated in India. It was through transmission to the Arab world and later to Europe that they became global. To this group, embracing international numerals was not a concession to foreign influence but an act of reclaiming an Indian contribution to world knowledge.

The debate frequently drew on historical evidence. One example that was cited was the Nāneghāṭ cave inscriptions in present-day Maharashtra, dating to the first century BCE. Commissioned by Queen Naganika of the Satavahana dynasty, these inscriptions were written in the Brahmi script and recorded endowments and donations. The records include symbols that closely anticipate the form of later numerals. Such epigraphic traces demonstrate that the roots of the numerical system that dominates the modern world lay in the Indian subcontinent itself.

Despite suffering damage over time, researchers note that these inscriptions contain numerals in at least thirty places, and among them are some of the earliest known symbols for "2", "4", "6", "7", and "9" that bear a striking resemblance to the modern numerals familiar today, particularly those in the Nāgarī (Devanagari) script. (Bhadauria, 2025 - Delhi University).

For scholars in the Assembly, this past was not a matter of antiquarian interest alone. It was used

to argue that continuing with the international numerals was in fact a way of acknowledging India's ancient ingenuity while ensuring that the Republic did not isolate itself from contemporary scientific and educational practice.

Inclusion of regional languages in the Eighth Schedule

An interesting view presented by the leaders at the time was on the issue of which regional languages to be included in the 8th schedule and get constitutional recognition. The inclusion of Mundari, Gondi and Oraon into what later evolved into the 8th schedule was put forward both in the assembly and outside it on the grounds that these languages were spoken by lakhs of people and represented an ancient cultural heritage. The Draft Constitution had earlier proposed, under *Article 23 (Draft version)*, that "any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same." This provision was a recognition of India's deep linguistic diversity, and it implied that the state bore a duty to protect regional and minority languages from marginalisation.

Despite this acknowledgement, the final list of languages included in the Schedule was selective. While languages such as Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Oriya, Punjabi, Urdu, and Kashmiri were included, many others with substantial speaker bases were excluded. Bodo, for instance, spoken by several lakhs in Assam and neighbouring regions at the time, was omitted, despite its demographic strength and distinct literary tradition. By contrast, Sanskrit, a language with far fewer speakers in everyday use, was accorded recognition. This allows us to infer that Sanskrit was valued not for its mass usage but for its civilisational prestige and its symbolic status as the repository of India's classical tradition. Bodo and other tribal languages, despite their vibrancy, lacked the same level of elite advocacy within the Assembly and were therefore sidelined.

Status and phase-out of English

(A) Language in courts and administration

The British kept English as the official language for higher administration in most cases, with legal proceedings being substantially limited by the same.

- 1) In the mid-19th century, British East India Company's Regulation IX of 1837 mandated the replacement of Persian with regional vernaculars in lower courts and English in higher courts, a move primarily driven by administrative convenience and a broader educational policy favouring English education for Indian bureaucracy, as established under Governor-General Lord William Bentinck.
- 2) The Indian Penal Code (1860), Civil Procedure Code, and Criminal Procedure Code were drafted in English, making it the primary language of legal documentation.
- 3) The judiciary was impacted. Judges, lawyers, and litigants needed English proficiency, creating a narrow class of English-educated legal professionals. Common citizens often relied on translators, increasing delays and misinterpretations.
- 4) However, there were calls for Indianization. The Indian National Congress Resolutions demanded replacement of English with Indian languages in courts and provincial administration. The Nehru Report (1928) proposed a national language, Hindustani (a mix of Hindi and Urdu), but also acknowledged the continuing and important role of English in government and provincial communication.
 - (B) Educational inequality from English dominance

In Education, English was reaffirmed as the State's language multiple times.

1) In 1835, Macaulay's Minute, advocated for English as the medium of higher education, aiming to create "a class of Indians English in taste, morals, and intellect."

- 2) In 1844, Governor-General Hardinge I mandated English education for public service appointments, which created linguistic bias by favouring English-educated candidates.
- 3) In 1854, Wood's Despatch further expanded British education. Firstly, he restated that the primary goal of British policy in India was the propagation of European knowledge. Secondly, he clarified that the aim of British policy was not to substitute the vernaculars with English. Thirdly, he recommended that a balance be struck between English education and education in the vernacular languages by using English as the medium of instruction at secondary and tertiary levels, while using vernacular languages at the primary level.
- 4) By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, English became the language of universities, colleges, and technical institutions, marginalizing Indian languages at advanced levels. Indian Civil Services (ICS) exams were held only in English until 1922, favouring the English-educated elite. This created a social elite, often referred to as the "Brown Sahibs," who secured government jobs and privileges, leaving the majority disadvantaged.

Anti-Hindi agitations (e.g., Tamil Nadu)

Anti-Hindi Agitations

The resistance to Hindi in the late 1940s was neither marginal nor symbolic—it was deeply felt, often spilling into mass mobilizations and even violent confrontations, especially in **the Madras Presidency (later Tamil Nadu)**. For many in the South, the insistence on elevating Hindi threatened not only linguistic diversity but also cultural autonomy.

As early as 1937, when the Congress government in Madras under C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji) attempted to make Hindi compulsory in schools, large-scale protests erupted. The agitation, spearheaded by the Justice Party and later carried forward by the Dravidar Kazhagam (DK) under E.V. Ramasamy 'Periyar', mobilized thousands. Demonstrations spread across Madras, Trichy, Salem, and other towns. Protesters argued that compulsory Hindi was a tool of North Indian domination and an attempt to marginalize Tamil and other Dravidian languages.

The protests were not peaceful. They escalated into confrontations with the police, leading to multiple incidents of violence. **Two young men, Natarajan and Thalamuthu, died in police custody in 1938**, turning them into martyrs of the anti-Hindi cause. The agitation continued in waves, with strikes, student walkouts, and processions often being met with police lathi charges and arrests. Between **1937 and 1940**, several hundred were jailed, and numerous violent clashes were reported across Madras Presidency.

The bitterness of these struggles was still fresh in 1949 when the Constituent Assembly debated the language question. Southern leaders like **T.T. Krishnamachari and G. Durgabai** invoked this history of agitation to remind the Assembly that imposing Hindi could reignite the same fury. The memory of bloodshed and coercion during the pre-independence period was a powerful warning.

The underlying causes of these agitations were clear:

- a. Perception that compulsory Hindi was an instrument of political and cultural domination by the Hindi belt.
- b. Fear that regional languages, especially Tamil, with its classical literary heritage, would be relegated to second-class status.
- c. Belief that language imposition would reduce employment opportunities for non-Hindi speakers in government jobs and education.

At this stage, **N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar** intervened to provide clarity. He explained that the Draft Constitution had *deliberately avoided* the term "national language." The intent was never to elevate Hindi above other languages as a symbol of Indian identity, but simply to designate a language for **practical purposes of governance**—conducting parliamentary proceedings, maintaining records, and managing communication between the Centre and States. In his words, India's immense diversity meant that no single language could embody the entire nation.

Ayyangar identified various challenges associated with the adoption of Hindi as the national language:

- i. The question of numerals (whether to use international or Devanagari numerals).
- ii. The issue of language in States and for communication between States and between the Centre and States.
- iii. The language to be used in legislatures, High Courts, and the Supreme Court.
- iv. Whether Hindi at that stage had developed the capacity to absorb modern scientific, legal, and administrative ideas.

The debates of 14 September 1949 highlighted this confusion. Shankarao Deo of Bombay remarked that members were blurring the categories of "national" and "official" language. According to him, the amendment before the House was strictly about official purposes, not about national cultural identity. When Ravi Shankar Shukla interrupted to claim the arrangement was permanent, Deo replied that passions were being inflamed because the matter was viewed from an emotional angle rather than a practical one. This exchange reflected how sensitive the issue had become, with each word carrying symbolic weight.

** It was only later, in 1965, that the threat materialized when attempts to phase out English triggered fresh and much larger agitations in Tamil Nadu. But the seeds of those protests lay in the 1937–40 anti-Hindi movements, whose violent confrontations, casualties, and martyrs had already shown how volatile the issue could be.

Political exploitation of language divisions

Language was already a political issue as explained in the previous section how the issue was used by parties and movements to mobilise votes, win office, or defend local privilege. What

follows are a few well documented examples apart from the Madras agitations.

ANDHRA AGITATIONS FOR TEULGU -

Long before state reorganisation became a parliamentary question, Telugu speakers inside the Madras Presidency organised for recognition and greater autonomy. The Andhra movement, driven by organisations such as the Andhra Mahasabha, accused the Tamil-dominated provincial administration of discriminating against Telugu jobs and institutions. The movement shows how language claims could be marshalled as evidence of political and economic neglect and used to press for administrative redrawing. Once Potti Sriramulu described how Telugu civil servants were denied promotions because they lacked fluency in Tamil, while petitions sent to Madras were sometimes dismissed without proper consideration due to language differences. In the Constituent Assembly itself, the issue of linguistic pride came sharply into focus. T.T. Krishnamachari, representing Madras, warned that "if Hindi is to be imposed, it will be the death-knell of the Union," capturing the intensity of southern fear that language policy could create permanent divisions. Such interventions show that language was never just a means of communication but a rallying point around which communities drew sharp boundaries of "us" and "them," threatening national cohesion at a fragile political moment.

THE QUESTION OF ASSAM -

Assam and the court language controversy, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

In Assam the imposition of Bengali as the language of courts and official record in the nineteenth century produced long-standing resentment among Assamese speakers and missionary groups. Campaigns for Assamese as the language of administration and instruction therefore had a strong political edge. The Assam case illustrates how colonial judicial and bureaucratic language choices could create durable political cleavages that later regional leaders exploited.

These episodes share a pattern. A seemingly technical decision about schools, courts, or administrative forms became a rallying cry. Local elites and social movements converted language grievances into political programmes. By 1949 the Constituent Assembly members were acutely aware that language policy at the centre could be seized by regional actors and turned into crises on the ground. For the men of such a high stature and ego such daily humiliations couldn't be accepted by any chance.

Problems Arising from Lack of a Link Language

India's linguistic map made everyday communication difficult. As explained in the earlier sections, a lingua franca evolved from time to time to ensure smooth transactions. Officials, merchants, students and migrants routinely found themselves unable to converse with their counterparts in other provinces. This limited the circulation of ideas, hampered informal trade and constrained the mobility of skilled workers. The Constituent Assembly itself worked with interpreters and multiple printed texts because members came from diverse linguistic backgrounds, a fact recorded in the Assembly record. Upon touching this topic, we can use it as a suitable example to demonstrate the concerns against not having a lingua franca for the country.

In the Constituent Assembly, the issue of language was not confined to ideological debate alone but played out in the daily mechanics of its proceedings. While English was the working language of drafting, members were free to speak in Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani or their own regional tongues, which made the role of translators indispensable. The Assembly Secretariat employed more than fifty translators, and in 1948 the printing of parallel Hindi and English drafts was noted in Secretariat accounts as a major expenditure. This translation was often done in real time, with interpreters sitting in the chamber to provide immediate oral translations, and later by carefully preparing written versions for the *Constituent Assembly Debates*.

The process was far from smooth: members occasionally interrupted proceedings to complain that the translation of their words had altered their meaning or failed to capture the nuance of technical constitutional terms. Even phrases like "federation" or "directive principles," when translated, often sounded awkward or misleading. Translators sometimes had to consult the speaker afterwards to clarify what was intended before finalising the record. One such anecdote could be of Nairuddin Ahmad pointing out that the hindi version of the clause gave a "wholly different" meaning from the one intended in English.

The sheer scale of the operation is evident from the fact that dozens of staff worked exclusively on translation, and their work fed directly into the creation of standardised Hindi legal and political terminology after independence. These challenges revealed, in a very practical sense, the costs of operating without a shared link language. The Assembly itself became a living example of how translation difficulties could slow deliberation, risk misunderstanding, and highlight the importance of a common medium for communication in a multilingual democracy.

Another peculiar case to highlight here is the case of Bombay's Mill workers at the time. The migrant workforce faced similar struggles outside their home provinces. Bombay's textile

industry in the 1940s attracted thousands of laborers from the United Provinces and Bihar, many of whom arrived with little knowledge of Marathi or Gujarati. Within the mills, recruitment and wage negotiations were rarely conducted directly with the management. Instead, jobbers who spoke the local languages acted as middlemen, controlling entry into work and often deciding pay and shifts. For the migrants, this created a deep dependence on intermediaries, not because they lacked skill or willingness, but simply because they could not communicate on their own terms. Over time, such barriers translated into economic disadvantages and also bred resentment, as many workers felt they were being penalized by a language hierarchy rather than by the quality of their labor. with a strong emphasis on religion, community. (Chandravakar, 2008)

INTERNATIONAL CASE STUDIES

(A) Sri Lanka – Sinhala Only Act

Ethnic Composition of Sri Lanka

Three ethnic groups, Sinhalese, Tamil, and Muslim, make up more than 99 percent of the country's population, with the Sinhalese alone accounting for nearly three-fourths of the people. The Tamil segment comprises two groups, Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Tamils.

Language and Religion

Among the principal ethnic groups, language and religion determine identity. While the mother tongue of the Sinhalese is Sinhala, an Indo-Aryan language, the Tamils speak the Dravidian language of Tamil. Again, while more than 90 percent of the Sinhalese are Buddhists, both Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils are overwhelmingly Hindu. The Muslims, usually speak Tamil. Christianity draws its followers (about 7 percent of the population) from among the Sinhalese, Tamil, and Burgher communities.

Impacts

Official Language Act (No. 33) declared Sinhala as the sole official language and replaced English. All government administration, public service, and education were rapidly converted to Sinhala, making it the exclusive medium of official communication. Tamils were excluded from government jobs, university admissions, and other opportunities unless fluent in Sinhala. This act led to the alienation of the Tamil community and protests everywhere. It directly caused the rise of Tamil separatism and

civil unrest, escalating to a civil war. The loss of economic potential and social cohesion was also a direct impact.

Conclusions

- 1) Monolingual policy in a multi-ethnic society deepened divisions.
- 2) Language became a proxy for ethnic and political identity, undermining national unity.
- (B) South Africa Multilingual Policy

Ethnic Composition of South Africa

South Africa's ethnic composition is dominated by Black Africans, making up around 80%, who are diverse and include groups like Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, and Tswana. Other significant groups include Coloureds, mixed-race people, ~8-9%, White Africans comprising ~7-8%, and Indian/Asian South Africans ~2-3%.

Language and Religion

- 1) Early 20th-century South Africa recognized English and Afrikaans (the language of the white Afrikaner minority) as co-official languages, excluding the majority black population's indigenous languages.
- 2) The 1974 Afrikaans Medium Decree made it mandatory for black students to learn certain subjects in Afrikaans, a language seen by many as the "language of the oppressor."
- 3) Indigenous African languages were systematically denied official status, resources, or representation in education or government.

Impacts

- 1) Resentment culminated in the 1976 Soweto Uprising, when tens of thousands of students protested the Afrikaans decree, facing deadly police violence.
- 2) The brutality of the crackdown drew global condemnation and cemented language policy as a flashpoint of apartheid resistance.

Conclusions

- 1) The post-1994 constitution recognizes 11 official languages and commits to equitable resource distribution, but practical and social inequalities persist today.
- 2) Language policy that entrenches minority privilege at the expense of a majority becomes a focal point for mass mobilization and conflict.

(C) Switzerland – Multilingual Federalism

Ethnic Composition of Switzerland

Switzerland was almost entirely German-speaking until French occupation in 1798 and the subsequent 1803 Act of Mediation, which elevated the status of French and Italian-speaking cantons.

Language and Religion

- 1) Romansh, the smallest Swiss language, gained federal constitutional recognition in 1938 and further guarantees in 1996.
- 2) The Swiss federal government officially recognizes four national languages: German, French, Italian, and Romansh.
- 3) Cantons (provinces) retain autonomy to select official languages best suited to local populations, ensuring that governance remains responsive and representative.
- 4) Key federal documents, laws, and services are produced in multiple languages, with substantial investment in translation

Impacts

- 1) Decentralization: Allows each canton to tailor policy to its own needs, some are officially bilingual or trilingual.
- 2) Social Interactions: Multilingual education and public services promote knowledge of other community languages.
- 3) Recognition and Symbolism: Language parity at the national level signals respect for linguistic minorities and helps prevent marginalization.

Conclusions

- 1) Switzerland is seen as a global model for managing diversity through official multilingualism and subsidiarity.
- 2) Ongoing debates involve balancing language rights as populations change, but the consensus around inclusion remains strong.
- 3) Power-sharing and regional adaptation, backed by robust legal guarantees, sustain national solidarity amid diversity.

(D) Belgium

Ethnic Composition of Belgium

Belgium's ethnic composition is dominated by three linguistic communities: approximately 60% Dutch-speaking Flemish, who live primarily in the northern Flanders region; about 40% French-speaking Walloons, in the southern Wallonia region; and a minority 1% German-speaking community in the east. The capital, Brussels, is a bilingual region with a French-speaking majority (around 80%) and a Dutch-speaking minority (around 20%).

Language and Religion

Belgium's languages are Dutch, French, and German, reflecting its linguistic communities of Flemings, Walloons, and German-speaking Belgians, respectively. The predominant religion is Christianity. The capital, Brussel, is officially bilingual in French and Dutch, though a French-speaking population is more dominant.

Historical Context

In the 19th century, French was imposed on the Dutch-speaking population, leading to a strong Flemish movement demanding language rights. They protested the exclusion of Dutch-speakers from power and administration.

Impacts

Key Principles of Belgian Language Policy

- 1) Territoriality: The principle of territoriality dictates that each municipality falls under the jurisdiction of a specific language area (Dutch, French, German, or bilingual in Brussels).
- 2) Federalism and Autonomy: The federal structure grants significant autonomy to the language communities and regions, allowing them to manage their own affairs and promote their respective languages and cultures.
- 3) Coexistence in Brussels: The Brussels-Capital Region serves as the nation's sole official bilingual area, with both French and Dutch having equal status.
- 4) Community-Based Education: The Communities have jurisdiction over education, providing instruction in their official languages, Dutch in Flanders and Brussels, French in Wallonia and Brussels, and German in the German-speaking community

Challenges

- 1) Foreigners may face some difficulties, as the strict territorial application of language laws can be confusing and difficult for tourists, international students, and expats who may not be fluent in the local regional language
- 2) Some Dutch-speaking political parties continue to advocate for more radical reforms, such as the elimination of language facilities in municipalities bordering the language border.

Conclusions

- 3) This model has worked well in Belgium. Brussels is now the headquarters of the European Union, despite initial power-sharing challenges.
- 4) Belgium demonstrates that managing a multi-linguistic nation requires a delicate constitutional balance of territorial and individual language rights, alongside mechanisms for distributing powers and addressing historical grievances to maintain unity while respecting linguistic diversity.

Questions to Consider

- 1. Should India adopt **one national language** to symbolize unity, or should linguistic pluralism itself be the foundation of national identity?
- 2. If Hindi is chosen as the Union language, **should it draw vocabulary from Sanskrit or from Urdu/Hindustani**, and what cultural implications would each choice carry?
- 3. Why should or shouldn't **Hindustani**—a blend of Hindi and Urdu—be adopted as a compromise to reflect India's composite heritage?
- 4. Should the **Devanagari script** be mandated exclusively, or should the **Perso-Arabic script** also be granted official recognition?
- 5. On what basis should a language enter the **Eighth Schedule**—the number of speakers, its literary heritage, or its role in regional identity?
- 6. How can the Constitution protect the **rights of non-Hindi-speaking provinces** (Tamil Nadu, Bengal, Assam, the North-East) in a Hindi-majority India?
- 7. Should **English be phased out** immediately after Independence, or retained for a defined transition period? What risks arise if it is retained indefinitely?
- 8. Should the **language of Parliament, the higher judiciary, and Union laws** be English, Hindi, or bilingual?
- 9. How should **tribal and linguistic minority children** be educated: in Hindi, in English, or in their own mother tongues?
- 10. Should the spread of Hindi across India be **organic and incentivized**, or **mandated by law**?