

CHAPTER - VLANGUAGE POLICY IN EDUCATION

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CHAPTER - V

LANGUAGE POLICY IN EDUCATION

Indian culture is considered as one of the oldest cultures in the world. It has a glorious past. The education in India like its civilization and culture is also very ancient which has gone through many changes in different times. The history of education in India can be broadly divided for the present purposes as:

- A. Pre-Independence Period, and;
- B. Post-Independence Period.

The Pre-Independence Period can further be divided in Hindu period, Muslim period and British period and the whole tradition of Indian education can be reviewed along with the policy of language use in education under the following heads:

- (a) Hindu period
- (b) Muslim period
- (c) British period
- (d) Modern period.

The educational system in the country has changed significantly at many times in the past, which is reflected in the change of language use in education both as medium of instruction as well as a subject of study. It is necessary for giving proper perspective to the present study that we study in brief the significant changes which have taken place in the policy of language-use in education through ages.

(A) The Language Policy in Education

During Pre-Independence period

(a) Hindu period

India has been a multi-lingual country from the very beginning but its educational system with its monolingual language policy in education during whole of Hindu period has made it a 'linguistic area' where languages belonging to four different language families have fused with one another to such an extent that all the modern Indian languages today share many similarities. This is mainly because of Sanskrit, which has been a dominant and educational language for whole of India not only during Hindu period from beginning to end but even after that upto modern times.

In the beginning of the Hindu period in the Brahmanic period, Sanskrit was the medium of instruction for elementary and as well as for higher education. This situation changed in the Buddhist period and Sanskrit was partially replaced by Pali and Prakrit, the language of the masses.

As a matter of fact about 600 B.C. or so, the vedic educational system of Brahmans has spread all over the country and the foundation of an all India system had been laid down. Since Vedic texts had to be studied along with its auxiliary sciences namely Shiksha, Kalpa, Nirukta, Vyakarna, Jyotish and Pingla and all these things were written in Sanskrit, <sup>which</sup> was the medium of instruction all over the country at all the stages of education i.e. elementary and higher education. But during Buddhist period situation changed as Buddha accepted Pali and Mahavira Ardhamagadhi for his proceedings and in this way Pali and Ardhamagadhi developed besides Sanskrit as educational languages and were used as medium of instruction in Buddhist and Jain educational system. But in later Hindu period, it was only Sanskrit which continued to grow and spread and Pali and Ardhamagadhi died as canonical languages of Buddhist and Jain scriptures and Sanskrit had to be employed for explaining and interpreting Pali and Ardhamagadhi texts. That is to say that during Gupta period Sanskrit was the dominant language studied

as a subject of study and used as medium of instruction not only in India but in many other countries of South-East Asia in particular and whole of Asia in general.

During Buddhist and later Hindu period Sanskrit was no longer the spoken language of the people, and number of languages were spoken in different parts of the country. But the main educational language in the country was Sanskrit, although Pali and Ardhamagadhi were also studied in Buddhist and Jain schools of higher learning. At elementary stage languages of masses were used as media of instruction and Sanskrit was also studied for it was the sole medium of instruction at higher level of education.

It may also be noted that for 200 B. C. onward the Tamil language was cultivated and studied in Tamilnadu. But Sanskrit was the medium of higher education.

Therefore, we can say that in the early period Sanskrit was medium of elementary as well as at higher level of education. But later on, it was medium at higher level only at elementary stage the local languages were used as media.

(b) Muslim period

The educational system and the tradition of language used in education underwent a change when India came under

the rule of Muslims. Although the Muslim brought with them many languages but the Arabic and Persian languages were generally used in Islamic education and administration in Muslim states. During this period Sanskrit also continued to be the medium of instruction for higher education in Hindu states. The people engaged in administration in Muslim states, the Muslim population in general were required to study Arabic and Persian. Thus two parallel systems of education started operating in India — namely the system of Hindu-Education and Muslim system of Education with Sanskrit and Arabic Persian as medium of instruction and subject of study at elementary as well as at higher stages of education.

(i) Elementary Education

The elementary education was imparted in the Maktab by Maulvis in Muslim areas and in Hindu areas. It was through Pathashalas, Talas etc. by Brahmins. Since Persian was the official language, it became necessary for the rulers to open Persian schools. Medium of instructions in these schools was Persian. In the words of Dr. Yusuf Hussein, "for the primary and secondary stage of education, great emphasis was laid on the Persian language and sometimes it was made the medium of instruction. Being the official

language of the country even the non-Muslims eagerly acquired it".<sup>1</sup>

(ii) Higher Education

Like elementary education the higher education in Muslim period was available in two independent and autonomous streams namely Hindu and Muslim systems of higher education, they influenced each other at the top level i.e. in the courts of Hindu and Muslim. One of the evidence and outcome of the mutual influence is that a lot of standard Sanskrit works of higher learning were translated into Persian and vice-versa. Therefore, the media of instruction at higher level of education in both the Hindu and the Muslim systems were Sanskrit and Persian respectively. Although some regional languages were also used freely. We can say, therefore, that for Muslim the medium of instruction was Persian and Arabic was also a compulsory subject for Muslim students. In Pathshalas, however, Sanskrit was prevalent as the sole medium of instruction. In some Madrasas Arabic was also the medium of instruction. Humayun, Sher Shah Suri, Akbar and Jahangir paid their special attention towards Madrasas. At the

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1. B.P. Johri and P.D. Pathak, "An outline of Indian Education", Agra: Minod Pustak Mandir, Hospital Road, p.81.

same time the mother-tongues were adopted instead of Persian and Arabic in the Madararasas. Hindi and Urdu were encouraged by Aurangzeb, but could not attain the importance equal to that of Persian and Arabic. They could not dislodge Persian and Arabic from their place of pride.

During the end of Mughal period, the mother-tongues were also used in the Sanskrit Pathshalas. But in Madararasas, Persian was the chief medium of instruction and in Pathshalas Sanskrit enjoyed that place of pride.

It may therefore be concluded that during Muslim period most of the modern Indian literary languages were used as medium of instruction and were also studied as subjects at elementary stage of education in their respective regions but the dominant languages at this stage also were Sanskrit, Persian and to some extent Arabic. At higher level of education two parallel systems of Hindu and Muslim learning used Sanskrit and Persian respectively as media of instruction. Most of the modern Indian literary languages were also used as complimentary subordinate media languages in their respective States. However, Bhakha - medieval form of modern Hindi and Urdu were used at inter-regional level

(c) British Period

With the downfall of Mughal empire and princely states in the country, the East-India Company established its own rule to carry on their day-to-day work. The East India Company opened some schools for recruiting staff according to their needs which later on developed into a very strong national system of education with English and Western Sciences, Literature and Culture as its main thrust. It is a fact that new system gradually replaced the ancient Hindu and medieval Muslim system of education in all the parts of the country. As a matter of fact, the Western education had different language as well as education policy which gave rise to the language controversy in education.

(i) Primary Education

Till 1765, East India Company did not pay any attention towards the education. However, in 1839 Lord Auckland, the then Governor General recommended to the continuance of vernacular languages as the medium of instruction in the indigenous elementary schools. From 1849-50, it had become the usual custom to teach English as a language and other subjects such as arithmetic, geography and

history in vernacular from third classes of the English schools.<sup>1</sup>

At the time of the Education Despatch of 1854 also elementary education was imparted through the medium of vernaculars. Indian Education Commission 1882-83, recommended that medium of instruction for primary education should be the mother-tongue. Lord Curzon in 1901 held an Educational Conference at Simla to discuss the educational problems of the country. He said, "The main obstacle which Primary Education has to contend with spring from the people themselves. As they rise in the social scale they wish their children to learn English".<sup>2</sup>

In 1917 teaching of English as a subject began in class III, that is, from the first year of upper primary section.

In October, 1937, the Holland Education Conference which was presided over by Mahatma Gandhi, resolved that at primary stage, the medium of instruction should be the

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1. "The Educational Writings of R.V. Parulkar", New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1957, p.19.
  2. Goshtha Behari Kanungo, "The Language controversy in Indian Education - An Historical Study" Comparative Education Centre, The University of Chicago, 1962, p.45.

mother-tongue. The Sargent Report 1944, recommended that the mother-tongue should be used as the medium of instruction in Primary Schools.

Mahatma Gandhi prepared a report on the scheme and later on a Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Hussain. The Committee recommended that the medium of instruction at the elementary stage should be the mother-tongue of the pupils.

Thus by 1947 when India got freedom the mother-tongue had become the medium of instruction at primary school stage.

(ii) Secondary Education

In 1835 it was decided that henceforth the education will be imparted through the medium of English. This was a historical decision in the field of education as well as language policy of the Government. "Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854, which has been described as the Magna Carta of English education in India, embodies a clear recognition of the importance of the indigenous languages of the country in its educational system".<sup>1</sup>

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1. "Report of the Official Language Commission",  
New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1957, p. 25.

The Education Despatch of 1854, visualised the importance of Indian Languages as the medium of instruction upto secondary schools, but in practice the Indian languages had no or very insignificant place in the education system and it was English which dominated the scene. However, one can say that the vernaculars along with English were used as media of instruction.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Ripen set up an Indian Education Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir William Hunter. The Commission in its report concerning the secondary education remarked as follows:<sup>2</sup>

- "1. The study of English language was begun before the pupil was properly grounded in his mother-tongue.
2. English was taught as a subject before it was used as a medium of instruction. But the period of its study as a subject was too short to give the pupil that control over the language which was essential for its successful uses as a medium of instruction.

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1. G.B. Kanungo, "The Language Controversy in Indian Education", Chicago, University of Chicago, 1961, p. 41.
2. Ibid.

3. 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.

The conclusion, therefore, is that the most important object of secondary education at that time was to impart a knowledge of the English language with a view to preparing candidates for the universities".

"By 1902, the teaching of English had become the prime object of the secondary course".<sup>1</sup>

But from 1904 onward the importance of Indian languages was recognised. As a result of the resolution on Educational policy of the Government of India on February 21, 1913 vernacular languages of the country became the medium of instruction at the middle school stage.

In March, 1915 the Imperial Legislative Council recommended to the Governor General-in-Council that Indian vernaculars should be used as the medium of instruction and English should be studied as a compulsory second language in all secondary schools.

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1. S. Nurullah and J.P. Naik, "A Student History of Education in India (1800-1965)", Calcutta: Macmillian & Co.Ltd., 1964, p. 250.

During this period the Indian National leaders such as Cokhle and Gandhiji criticised the educational system of India and complained that the vernacular education of the masses had not been given proper attention. In response to public demand, a Commission under the Chaimanship of Sir Michael Sadler was appointed by the Government of India in 1917. The Commission was to inquire into the problem of Indian education in general and affairs of university of Calcutta in particular. The report included the problem of language. The Commission accepted the policy laid down in the Despatch of 1854 regarding the problem of languages at the secondary stage and the Commission recommended the use of vernaculars as the media of instruction. However, in practice, the use of English as the medium of instruction was not abandoned for the following reasons:

- "1. The use of English as the medium of instruction at the university stage coupled with the fact that

secondary education was only a preparation for entrance into the universities, compelled some Governments and private managers to continue the English medium.

2. Parents as well as pupils desired a knowledge of English as a means to public employment.

3. In multi-lingual or bi-lingual areas where it was not possible on financial grounds to impart instruction through all the local languages, English was retained as the medium of instruction so as not to offend the sensibilities of any linguistic group."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Gostha Behari Kanungo, "The language controversy in Indian Education", Chicago: University of Chicago, 1962, pp. 47-48.

Thus in those days two types of schools came into existence known as Anglo vernacular and Vernacular. In Anglo-vernacular schools English was taught as a subject in addition to Hindi, Urdu etc. But beyond matriculation examination Indian languages had no place. The classical languages Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian were taught as an optional subject in the secondary stage.<sup>1</sup>

In 1944, Sir John Sargent, the then Educational Adviser to the Government of India, submitted a report on the educational development of the country. The following suggestions in regard to the language of education in the country were made in the report:

1. The report recommended that the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction in the middle schools. The study of English as an optional subject in the middle schools, was also recommended in the report which ultimately depended on public demand for it in certain areas and on the decision of provincial education departments.
2. The report recommended that at secondary stage the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction while English should be a compulsory second language.

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1. B.R. Saxena, "Gandhiji's Solution of the Language Problem of India", Bombay: Hindustani Panchar Sabha, 1972, p. 3.

3. The report distinguished between two broad types of secondary schools - Academic High School and Technical High School, and in the former the study of classical Indian languages was recommended.

But the national leaders did not like the education policy of the Britishers and they organised a number of educational movements for the replacement of English by the Indian languages. They emphasised that medium of instruction upto secondary schools should be the mother-tongue of the pupils.

Thus it may be concluded that upto 1947 the Indian languages had become the chief media of instruction upto secondary stage of education but English also continued as a compulsory subject and as a medium of instruction for few subjects such as mathematics, science, geography and technology. Besides there were some English medium schools in the country.

### (iii) University Education

In the beginning of the 19th Century Britishers realised that the responsibility of education of the people is also upon them. Out of these the most prominent person was Charles Grant, who considered the problem of medium of instruction for Indians and emphasised on English.

In 1821 they tried to impart instructions in vernaculars for the Practical Science and Engineering.<sup>1</sup> But Lord Macaulay was the first person who changed the position of Indian languages.

In 1835 it was decided that the medium of instruction for higher education should be English.<sup>2</sup> In 1848 Government of Bombay also adopted English as medium of instruction for higher education. The Education despatch of 1854 also suggested that English should be the medium of instruction at the university level. "It would greatly encourage the cultivation of Indian languages and therefore professorship should be founded for these languages" in the universities which were then proposed to be established.<sup>3</sup> In 1857 India came under the direct rule of England. Three universities at Madras, Calcutta and Bombay were established. These universities in accordance with the instructions contained in Despatch adopted English as the medium of

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1. "The Educational Writing of R. V. Parulekar", New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1957, p.5.
  2. Ibid, p.11.
  3. S. Nurullah and J.P. Naik, ~~Student~~ History of Education in India (1800-1965) " Calcutta: Macmillian & Co.Ltd.1964.

instruction. In Punjab and Uttar Pradesh attempts were made to introduce Indian languages as the media of instructions in higher education but they could not succeed. In 1882, Indian Education Commission, under the Chairmanship of William Hunter was set up to review the implementations of the principles laid down in the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such measures as it may think desirable in order to further carrying out of the policy laid down therein. The Commission suggested English as the medium of instruction of higher education.

In 1901 an Education Conference was held by Lord Curzon at Simla to discuss the educational problems of India. Although the importance of Indian languages was realised but the policy regarding the medium of instruction at University level remained unchanged.

In 1902 the Raleigh Commission was set up by Curzon which wrote "Speaking generally, we feel that the study of Vernacular language 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".<sup>1</sup>

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1. G.B. Kanungo, "The Language Controversy in Indian Education" Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961, p. 45.

Due to the impact of national movement in the country and policy of the Viceroy, the position of the vernacular in University courses began to improve.

The University of Madras made the vernacular study of Indian languages a compulsory subject of study for the Intermediate examination and an optional subject for the Bachelor's examination.

The University of Calcutta made the vernacular language a compulsory subject of study both for the Intermediate examination and Bachelor's examination.

The University of Calcutta also allowed the candidates to take a portion of the Matriculation Examination in the Vernacular instead of English if they wanted to do so.<sup>1</sup>

In 1917 Sadlar Commission was appointed by the Government of India to inquire into the affairs of the University of Calcutta in particular and the problems of Indian Education in general. The Commission in its report dealt with the problem of languages in Indian Education. The Commission recommended: "that a systematic effort must henceforth be made to promote the serious study of the Vernaculars in Intermediate Colleges and in the Universities".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid, pp. 45-46.

2. Ibid, p. 47.

It also recommended the continuance of English as the medium of instruction for teaching every subject except the classical and the vernacular languages.

The then Nizam of Hyderabad felt the need of a University to impart education through Urdu and with this aim he established Osmania University, Hyderabad in 1919. The University made Urdu as the medium of higher education and English as a language of study compulsory for all students. For this purpose arrangements were made by setting up a Bureau of Translating.

But Mahatma Gandhi and Tagore were strongly against English as the medium of instruction even at the University stage and wanted Indian languages in its place.

Due to the efforts of the national leaders, some national institutions came into existence with Indian languages as media. The prominent among them are the Jamia Millia Islamia, The Vishwa Bharati, The Gurukul University, Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Kashi Vidyapeeth and Bihar Vidyapeeth. In all these institutions the Indian languages were the media except in Vishwa Bharati.

In 1944, the Sargent report was published but the report was purposely silent regarding the medium of

instruction in the universities as the Indian public opinion was sharply divided on the issue, some favouring retention of the English while others pleading for the introduction of the Indian languages.

Thus, it may be concluded that during British period, the English language was most dominant language used as the medium of instruction in almost all the universities. But it was not liked by the nationalist leaders.

(B) Language Policy in Education in the Post-Independence Period

On August 15, 1947 India got freedom after a great struggle. At that time "there was strong resentment against the language of the erstwhile rulers, and the need for replacing English as quickly as possible by the Indian languages in the entire system of education and administration was proclaimed from hundreds of platforms and crores of institutions. But the issue was complicated by the presence of a number of rival languages, each one of which advanced its own claims as the proper substitute for English. The situation gave rise to serious controversies and agitations which still continue to dominate the

Indian political atmosphere".<sup>1</sup>

Although at primary level the regional languages had already been adopted as the media of instruction, but the controversy remained for the Secondary and University Education. To remove this controversy different Commissions and Conferences have been held from time to time.

(i) Primary Education: The accepted policy for the primary education is that mother-tongue should be introduced as medium of instruction. Different Education Commissions and Conferences of educationists have expressed this view. In August 1949 a Conference of State Education Ministers was called by the Government of India to consider the question of the medium of instruction at primary level of education. The Conference of State Education Ministers made the following declaration of policy:

1. The medium of instruction at the primary stage should be the mother-tongue of the pupil.
2. Where the mother-tongue differed from the regional or state language, arrangements should be made to impart education in the mother-tongue, provided there are not less than 40 pupils speaking that language in the whole school or ten such pupils in any one class.

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1. G.B. Kanungo, "The language controversy in Indian Education", Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960, p.54.

3. For pupils, whose mother-tongue is different from the regional or state language, the state language should be made compulsory towards the end of the primary stage.<sup>1</sup> The Article 350-A of Indian Constitution also provides for the use of mother-tongue as the medium of instruction in primary schools. However, the interest of the linguistic minority are to be safeguarded.

The Indian National Congress Working Committee also passed a similar resolution regarding the primary education in its meeting on April 15, 1954.

In 1955 the Official Language Commission was set up in which the problem was reviewed. So far as the medium of instruction is concerned, it recommended mother-tongue but in the non-Hindi areas, it suggested compulsory study of Hindi also.<sup>2</sup>

The Education Commission (1964-66) also recommended that mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction at the primary level of Education.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibid. p.66

2. "Report of the Official Language Commission"  
New Delhi, Government of India, 1957.

3. Report of the Education Commission: Education and National Development, Vol.I, New Delhi, Government of India, 1970 p.41.

"At the lower primary (class I-IV) level, the pupil will ordinarily study only one language - mother-tongue or regional language".<sup>1</sup>

In April 1967, a twenty eight member Committee of M.Ps. was established which also recommended that the parents have the right to claim primary education in the mother-tongue of their child. Every effort should be made to meet this demand and adequate safeguards should be provided for linguistic minorities. It further stated that one language should ordinarily be taught at the primary stage. For the study of regional language facilities should be provided.<sup>2</sup>

(ii) Secondary Education

At the time of independence some subjects were taught through the medium of regional language and some other subjects such as science, mathematics etc. were taught through the medium of English at the secondary school

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1. Ibid. Vol.II, p.393.
2. Report of the Committee of members of Parliament on Education, 1967, Government of India, p.3.

stage. To formulate a national policy, by resolving this issue the Government of India set-up different Commissions to examine the problem and to make the recommendations.

The Central Advisory Board of Education set up a Committee on Secondary education and recommended that at the middle school stage study of Hindi should be made compulsory but after that it should be optional.

In 1948-49 Radha Krishan Commission was appointed which recommended that at the Higher Secondary stage three languages viz. the regional language, the Federal language and English (the last one in order to acquire the ability to read books in English) should be studied. It further stated that English should be studied in High Schools in order to be in touch with the living stream of every growing knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

The Conference of State Education Ministers in August, 1949 recommended for the Secondary Education as follows:

1. The medium of instruction should be the mother-tongue of the pupil.

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1. Report of the University Education Commission, Vol. I, New Delhi: Government of India, 1962. p.326.

2. If the number of pupils whose mother-tongue is a language other than the regional or State language, a separate school in the locality may be started where the medium of instruction may be the mother-tongue of the pupils.

3. For pupils, whose mother-tongue is different from the regional or State language, the State language should be compulsory throughout the secondary stage.<sup>1</sup>

The recommendations of the University Education Commission were accepted by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1950.<sup>2</sup>

In 1952 the Secondary Education Commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Lakshmanswami Mudaliar, which is known as Mudaliar Education Commission. In regard to the study of languages at the secondary level the Commission recommended as follows:

"1. Mother-tongue or the regional language should generally be the medium of instruction throughout the secondary school stage, subject to the provision that special facilities should be made available for linguistic minorities on the lines suggested by the Central Advisory Board of Education.

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1. G. B. Kanungo, "The Language Controversy in Indian Education", Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961, p. 67.
  2. Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education (1935-60), New Delhi, Government of India, 1960, p. 247.

2. During the Middle school stage, every child should be taught at least two languages. English and Hindi should be introduced at the end of the Junior Basic stage, subject to the principle that no language should be introduced in the same year.

3. At the High and Higher secondary stage, at least two languages should be studied, one of which being the mother-tongue or the regional language".<sup>1</sup>

The two language formula suggested by the Secondary Education Commission was found unsatisfactory by educationists because the "students of non-Hindi regions could read only English if they were to leave Hindi or only Hindi in case they were to leave English. Only in Hindi-speaking areas, students could get opportunity to study both Hindi and English".

In April, 1954, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution that at secondary stage instructions should ordinarily be given in the regional language. But when there are pupils in large number with other languages then their mother tongue may also be used. Moreover Hindi should be taught compulsorily as a second language.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Report of the Secondary Education Commission, New Delhi, Government of India, 1972, pp.72, 226.
  2. "Official Language Controversy - set at Rest" New Delhi: Bureau of Parliamentary Research Congress Party in Parliament. p.82.

The Official Language Commission also suggested that at the middle school stage Hindi should be introduced as a second language besides the mother-tongue.

It was also stated that Hindi should be compulsory at the secondary school stage all over the country and wanted facilities for the study of other Indian languages in Hindi-speaking areas.<sup>1</sup>

The Central Advisory Board of Education evolved the three-language-formula at its 23rd meeting held in 1956. It recommended that three languages should be taught in both the Hindi and the non-Hindi speaking areas at the Middle or High school stage. The formula is given as follows:

1. (a) i. Mother-tongue
  - ii. or regional language,
  - iii. or a composite course of a regional language and a classical language.
- (b) Hindi or English.
- (c) A modern Indian or a modern European language provided it has not already<sup>2</sup> been taken under (a) and (b) above.

The Sanskrit Commission in (1956-57) recommended<sup>3</sup> a new three language formula namely (i) the mother-tongue or regional language, (ii) English or (iii) Sanskrit (or, in

1. Report of the Official Language Commission, New Delhi, Government of India, 1957, p. 404.
2. "The Study of English in India", Delhi, Government of India, 1967, pp.12-13.
3. "Report of the Sanskrit Commission 1956-57", New Delhi: Government of India, 1958, pp.250-257.

some special cases, some other classical languages as equivalent to Sanskrit e.g. Arabic, Persian, Old Tamil, Latin or Greek). Alternatively it recommended the three languages namely, Mother-tongue, Hindi or some other modern Indian language and Sanskrit. The Commission further recommended that if the above formula is not practicable then it recommended a four language formula viz. the Mother-tongue, English, and Hindi (or any other modern Indian language for Hindi speaking students), plus Sanskrit.

In 1961 the Chief Ministers in a Conference simplified and approved the three-language-formula which was evolved by the C.A.B.E. The following languages were recommended at the Middle and Higher Secondary school stage:

- (a) The regional language or the mother-tongue when the latter is different from the regional language;
- (b) Hindi or any other Indian language in Hindi speaking areas; and
- (c) English or any other modern European language.<sup>1</sup>

The above recommendation of the Chief Ministers Conference was later accepted at the Conference of National Integration in New Delhi in 1961. But it was urged that to

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1. The Study of English in India, New Delhi: Government of India, 1967, p.13.

implement the three-language-formula in the Hindi-speaking areas, steps should be taken to teach another modern Indian language preferably of the South Indian groups.

The three-language-formula was also supported by the Committee on emotional integration, which was appointed by the Ministry of Education in 1961. The Committee stated that it should be introduced from the class VI, and Roman script should be used for Hindi in non-Hindi speaking areas for their convenience.

But while implementing the three-language-formula several States felt some difficulties with regard to: selection of language, standard to be attained at various stages, heavy language load in school curriculum, time to be allotted etc.

The Education Commission (1964-66) was appointed by the Government of India under the Chairmanship of Dr. D.S. Kothari "to advise the Government on the national pattern of education and on the general principles and policies for the development of education at all stages and in all aspects".<sup>1</sup> The Commission recommended that "mother-tongue has a pre-eminent claim as

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1. "Report of the Education Commission: Education and National Development, Vol.I", New Delhi, Government of India, 1970. p.XX.

the medium of education at the school stages.<sup>1</sup>

The Commission recommended the revised graduated three-language-formula as follows:

1.        "(a) The mother-tongue or regional languages.  
           (b) The official language of the Union or the associate official language of the Union so long as it assists; and  
           (c) a modern Indian or European language not covered under (a) and (b) and other than that used as the medium of education.
  
2.        The Commission recommended at the higher primary stage a pupil will study two languages viz. the mother-tongue or regional language and the official language of the Union (or the associate language). At the secondary stage he will study three languages viz. the mother-tongue or the regional language, the official or associate official language, and a Modern Indian language. At the Higher Secondary stage, only two languages will be compulsory.
  
3.        The study of important modern literary language other than English should be possible in selected schools in each state with the option to study it in lieu of English or Hindi. Similarly, in non-Hindi areas, the study of

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1. Ibid. Vol.II, p. 393.

Modern Indian languages should be possible in selected schools with a similar option to study them in lieu of English or Hindi.

4. The study of classical Indian languages such as Sanskrit or Arabic should be encouraged on an optional basis from class VIII".<sup>1</sup>

To review the recommendations of the Education Commission (1964-66) and to prepare a national policy on language, the Union Education Ministry established a twenty eight members Committee of the members of Parliament in April, 1967. It recommended that regional language should be the medium at the secondary stage. Second language should be introduced compulsorily in the beginning of the middle school stage. This language should be continued upto Class Xth. A third language may be introduced in class VIII. Thus before completing the school education a pupil must acquire knowledge of three languages viz. regional language or mother-tongue, Hindi or English, any other Indian language. At the Higher Secondary school stage a pupil shall study at least one language of his choice in addition to the medium of instruction.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid. Vol.II, p. 393.

2. "Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education, 1967", Government of India, pp.3-4.

Although the three-language-formula proposed by the Central Government has generally been accepted by almost all the States and the Union Territories, there has been some opposition to this and consequently Tamil Nadu has not accepted it in its school system. Similarly, there are some other States and Central systems of education which have interpreted the three-language-formula in different ways and accordingly implemented it differently. We can, therefore, say that as far as the school education is concerned, the three-language-formula, as explained in the Kothari Commission's report, has generally been accepted by the Centre and almost all the States and the Union Territories, but there are some variations in its implementation in different States and Union Territories.

(iii) UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

At the time of India's independence, the medium of instruction was English in almost all the Universities of India.

"In May 1948, a Conference of Vice-Chancellors of Indian Universities was held in New Delhi which advocated that English should be replaced by Indian languages as the

medium of instruction over a period of five years".<sup>1</sup>

The earliest step which was taken in the post independence period was to set-up a University Education Commission under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the report of which was submitted in 1948.

The University Education Commission reiterated the decision of the Vice-Chancellors in the following words:

"We recommend:

1. For higher education English should be replaced as early as practicable by an Indian language as medium of instruction.
2. The pupils at the higher secondary and University stages should be made conversant with three languages - the regional, the Federal language and English, the last one in order to acquire the ability to read books in English, and
3. Higher Education can be imparted through the instrumentality of the regional language with the option to use the Federal language as the medium of instruction either for some subjects or for all subjects.

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1. Humanyu Kabir, "Progress of Education in India 1947-52" in "Quinquennial Review", Delhi: Government of India, 1954, p.14.

4. That Provincial Governments to be required to take steps to introduce the teaching of the Federal language in all classes of degree colleges and in universities".<sup>1</sup>

The recommendations of the University Education Commission regarding the medium of instruction and the place of Hindi and English in university curricula were accepted by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1950.<sup>2</sup>

In view of the fact that some universities had switched over to Hindi and some regional languages as media of instruction, the Conference of English teachers held in 1953 stated that for the uniformity of the standard in all the universities, the question of medium of instruction at the university stage should be solved on a national basis. The Conference further stated that this switch over to Indian languages should be planned and gradually.

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1. "Report of the University Education Commission, Vol.I", New Delhi, Government of India, p.326.

2. "Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education" New Delhi, Government of India, p.247.

On April 5, 1954 the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution that medium of instruction at the university stage should be the regional languages or Hindi. While normal teaching will be done in the regional languages but teachers can deliver lectures in Hindi and English also.<sup>1</sup>

The question of language at the University stage was also considered by the Official Language Commission. It recommended that for higher education medium of instruction must be Indian languages.

In 1955 University Grants Commission appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Pandit H.N. Kunjuru to look into the question of the language policy for education at University stage. The report was submitted in 1957. The Committee recommended that change to the regional languages should be gradually after fully developing the regional languages. In such cases English should be studied as a second language. The recommendations were accepted by the University Grants Commission.<sup>2</sup>

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1. "Official Language Controversy — Set at Rest" Bureau of Parliamentary Research Congress Party in Parliament, p.32.
  2. "Proceeding of the 29th meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India", New Delhi: Government of India, pp.55-56.

On 15 May, 1961, Ministry of Education, Government of India appointed the Committee on Emotional Integration under the Chairmanship of Dr. Sampurnanand. The Committee recommended that instruction at the University stage should be imparted through the regional languages but there should be a phased programme to switch over from English to regional languages. Switch over should be slow and not hasty. The importance of English and Hindi languages was recognised.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of this the fragmentation in Education was anticipated and to overcome this difficulty "the only way in which this could be done was to retain the use of English as an additional medium in every university which adopts the regional language as the medium of instruction".<sup>2</sup>

In August 1961 the Conference of Chief Ministers also considered the language problem concerning the medium of instruction at the University stage. In many ways adoption of regional language was considered desirable. Further it recommended that Hindi, being the National language, should also be adopted for University education as a medium

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1. "Report of the Committee on Emotional Integration", New Delhi, Government of India, 1962, pp.90-92.

2. Ibid. p.93.

of instruction.<sup>1</sup>

The Government of India set-up the Education Commission to advise Government on national pattern of education. The Commission recommended that mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction in schools and colleges stages and the same should generally be continued at higher education. The regional languages should, therefore, be adopted in higher education. The change over should be completed within ten years. All India Institutions should continue to use English as the medium of education for the time being. The eventual adoption of Hindi should, however, be considered in due course subject to certain safeguards.

English should serve as a link language in Higher education for academic work and intellectual inter-communication. But arrangements should be made for teaching different Indian languages in colleges.

The Conference of Vice-Chancellors held in September, 1967 was in favour of recommendation of the Education Commission and was of the opinion that the change-over at

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1. "Proceedings of the meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India", New Delhi, Government of India, p.32.

the under graduate level should be within a period of five to ten years. The continuance of English for All India Institutions having multi-lingual students was recommended.<sup>1</sup>

The Medical Education Conference decided that English should be used as the medium of instruction in Medical Colleges.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, the medical education committee appointed by the Union Government recommended that in Medical Colleges English should be used as the medium of instruction.<sup>3</sup>

#### CONCLUSION:

Thus it can be concluded that in the post-independence period great stress has been laid on the regional languages and mother-tongues as the medium of instruction, as well as the subjects of the study at different stages of education including higher education. Though many efforts have been

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1. University Grants Commission: "Conference of Vice-Chancellors (1967)", pp. 34-35.
  2. The Search Light (Patna), 9th July, 1970.
  3. The Hindu, 17th September, 1970.

made to switch over to the regional languages and Hindi in place of English, there is controversy over this question specially for technical education. But it can be said that most of the universities have accepted the case of Indian languages to be the media of instruction in certain faculties. In most of the universities Indian languages are being used as media but English continues to be the main medium at university stage specially in technical and medical faculties.