
1797—Charles Grant of the East India Company discussed possibilities for educating Indians.

1813—The 1813 Charter of the E.I. Company, allocated 100,000 Rs. to educate Indians through an Indian language.

1833—The 1833 Charter allocated 1,000,000 Rs. to educate Indians.

1835—Macaulay’s famous Minute of 1835—T.B. Macaulay, Chairman of the General Committee on Public Instruction proclaimed the superiority of English for use in Indian education, i.e., education to a minority, given the need for development of the Indian languages:

We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even amongst the languages of the West

(Sharp, H. Selections from Educational Records, Part I 1781–1839, p. 110, In Sharma 1985: 2)

—That same year a resolution was passed approving Macaulay’s suggestion.

1854—The Wood’s Dispatch reaffirmed the importance of English in education but promoted the use of the vernacular at the school level for those not knowing English.

1882—The Hunter Commission also suggested the use of vernacular in primary education for subjects not leading to university study.

1904—A Resolution on Educational Policy by the (colonial) Government of India suggested the age of thirteen as a point of division for use of vernacular versus English in education.

1913—A Resolution on Educational Policy called for improvement of English at the secondary level.

1915—Rama Rayaningar’s Motion in the Imperial Legislative Assembly for the use of vernacular in secondary school with instruction on English as a second language sparked debate in parliament but brought no resolution, the decision being left to the states:

It was also openly admitted that a boy receiving education through the vernacular medium up to the highest classes of the school had an edge over the boy educated in English through middle school because he did not have the disadvantage of studying through a foreign language (Sharma 1985: 3).

1929—The Hartog Committee suggested the use of bilingual instruction in one school instead of starting two schools with different media in the same area. The Committee didn’t specifically examine vernacular languages or media of instruction, however.
1931—The Indian National Congress passed the “‘Karachi rights’” declaring protection for the “culture, language and scripts of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas”

1937—The Wardha Education Scheme recommended 7 years of basic education for all under the influence of Gandhi, who strongly opposed the use of a foreign language.

1937—The Abbott–Wood Report recommended the use of vernacular in high school, with English also compulsory.

1938—The Committee of Central Advisory Board of Education advocated the use of the mother-tongue in primary education to be supported by the government. At the Annual Meeting of the Central Advisory Board, however, it was said that dialects were clearly not acceptable as media of instruction.


1947—An Expert Committee of the Indian National Congress made recommendation for the protection of minorities who would not be kept from developing their languages, but also for government support in providing facilities for mother-tongue education if a non-regional language is used by a significant proportion of the population.

—The Minorities subcommittee of the Central Advisory Board of Education made a similar recommendation for rights protection.

1948—The National Planning Committee on General Education and Technical Education and Developmental Research reported that the time and energy of the students were diverted by the use of English and that the mother-tongue should be used at the secondary level.

1949—The Central Advisory Board of Education and the State Education Ministers’ Conference stated that at the primary stage mother-tongue instruction should be provided for linguistic minorities with 40 or more students in a school or 10 in a class. The regional language would be introduced after Class 3. Secondary education in the mother tongue would also be provided given sufficient numbers of students. It was stated that “the medium of instruction in the junior basic stage must be the mother-tongue of the child and that when the mother-tongue was different from the regional or State language arrangements must be made for instruction in the mother tongue by appointing at least one teacher to teach all the classes, provided there are at-least 40 such pupils in a school” (Ekbote 1984, pp. 200–201)

—The Congress Working Committee issued a resolution on bilingual areas, revealing a language-as-problem orientation. Provinces would choose a language for administration and education. In bilingual areas where a minority group made up more than 20% of the population, public documents should be available in both languages. State languages for communication with provinces and union government would replace English in 15 years.

—The University Education Commission, however, stated that only modern literary languages were fit for instruction.

1952—The Secondary Education Commission suggested a Two Language Formula.
1953—The All-India Language Development Conference decided that tribal languages were acceptable media for primary schools.

1954—The Congress Working Committee agreed that the use of tribal languages was acceptable in primary schools.

1956—The Central Advisory Board of Education suggested the Three-Language Formula.
—Protection for mother tongue education would still be possible up to the secondary level.
—The Second Five-Year Plan included provision for making textbooks in minority languages.
—On a different note, the Official Language Commission stated that only modern literary languages were fit for instruction, demonstrating that diversity of opinions still prevailed.

1961—The Conference of Chief Ministers of various states approved a simplified Three-Language Formula with the purpose to “promote national integration and equalise the burden of learning languages on children in Hindi and non-Hindi speaking areas” (Kumar 1985). The language to be added in secondary school was to be a modern Indian language, and thus, most notably, languages of the southern states should also be taught in the north.
—On a different note again, the President of India stated that it was not reasonable to expect mother tongue instruction to be provided for small linguistic minorities.

1964–1966—The Education Commission “emphasized the role of mother tongue education for the massive resurgence of national life, the development of indigenous languages, the achievement of industrialization and modernization goals through a wider dissemination of science and scientific outlook and the release of original, creative thinking necessary for national development” (Dua 1986, p. 166).

1966—The Education Commission issued a Modified 3-Language Formula:

1st the mother tongue or regional language would be taught for 10 years
2nd an official language—Hindi or English—would be taught for 6 years minimum, to be introduced in 5th–7th grade
3rd another modern Indian or foreign language would be taught for 3 years minimum, to be introduced in 8th–10th grade

1968—A Resolution of Parliament on the Official Language Policy affirmed the importance of the Three-Language Formula for learning other regional official Indian languages.

1968—The National Policy on Education urged implementation of the Three-Language Formula.

1979—The National Policy on Education (Draft) affirmed that “the medium of instruction at all stages shall be the regional language except a the primary stage where it will be the mother-tongue.”

1986—The National Policy on Education, paragraph 4.8 states:
Some minority groups are educationally deprived or backward. Greater attention will be paid to the education of these groups in the interest of equality and social justice. This will naturally include the constitutional guarantees given to them to establish and administer their own educational institutions, and protection to their languages and culture. Simultaneously, objectivity will be reflected in the preparation of text books and in all school activities, and all possible measure will be taken to promote an integration based on appreciation of common national goals and ideals, in conformity with the core curriculum (quoted in Group on Minorities Education 1991: 76)

This provision under the section on scheduled tribes, was not addressed as an issue of language or titled bilingual education, but was introduced as follows: “The socio-cultural milieu of the scheduled tribes has its distinctive characteristics including, in many cases, their own spoken languages. This underlines the need to develop the curricula and devise instructional materials in the tribal languages at the initial stages, with arrangements for switching over to the regional language” (quoted in Annamalai 1990: 2). Primers were to be prepared for tribal languages with over 100,000 speakers by the end of 1990.