CHAPTER I

OBJECTIVES OF TEACHING ENGLISH IN INDIA TODAY
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The language problem in any country will have a number of dimensions when viewed from the educational point of view. The number of languages that a child must study, the relative importance given to each language that the child is initiated into the learning of the 'second' language or the 'third' language, the purpose for which a language is to be taught and the medium through which instruction and examination take place are some of the aspects of the problem. In a country like India which lacks linguistic homogeneity it is only natural that the role of language - particularly that of a foreign language - should provoke bitter controversy and lead to striking divergence of views. However, there cannot be two opinions about the fact that whatever language we teach the students should ultimately serve the community's needs, needs which seem to change so fast that we are obliged to examine them periodically and orient ourselves in consonance with the changing times. This means that the objectives of teaching the language need to be specifically and unequivocally stated so that these facilitate the teaching-learning process in any given situation.
Against this background it is necessary to see what the place of English is in this country. What role does this language play in the present situation? What should be our objectives of teaching English today? These questions are better answered in the context of teaching English from the beginning up-to-date.

**Changing Objectives : A Brief Survey**

The East India Company, in the beginning of the 19th century, attempted to modernize India and sparked off a bitter and prolonged controversy regarding the medium of instruction and the content of education. Till then there was no well-defined educational policy in India. Initially there were several misgivings partly because in Britain itself education was not a government responsibility and partly because of the fear that interference with the native systems of education would result in confrontation with the natives. They also feared that the spread of education, especially of the European type, among the Indian subjects might make them resent the rule of the Company. The experience of the American colonies was fresh in their minds. John Clarke Marshman (1794–1877), editor of the earliest Bengali Newspaper, *Samachar Darpan*, which was founded by
Raja Rammohan Roy, attributed to one of the Directors of the EIC in the 1790's the opinion that

We had just lost America from our own folly in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges and that it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India.¹

On the other hand the nineteenth century advocates of English education believed that the superior civilization of Europe would overcome the civilization of India and would bring it into the fold of modern civilization. The Orientalists keen on Indianization of education wanted to avoid a conflict of civilizations. They wanted reconciliation and synthesis of the two civilizations. But they were misunderstood and were branded as Obscurantists.

Warren Hastings (1732–84), a sort of 'Indianised Englishman' himself, Marquess Wellesly (1798–1805), who founded a college at Fort William and which he intended to turn into the 'Oxford of the East'—Lord Minto, Marquess Hastings and others had an instinctive sympathy for Orientalism. They fervently supported the cause of the Orientalists. The British Parliament by setting aside a sum of ten thousand pounds—one lakh of rupees for education in 1813—showed its interest in the education of

¹ Parliamentary Papers, 1852–53, XXXII, p. 113.
Indians and accepted the responsibility for their education. There was, however, no indication given regarding the utilization of the amount. The Charter Act of 1813 contains only the directive that the money was to be utilized for the "revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." 2

James Mill (1820) and his illustrious son, John Stuart Mill, who entered the Examiners' Office in the Court of Directors were utilitarian and secular in their approach. They believed that the impact of useful learning of modern Europe would ultimately bring about a welcome change in Indian social attitudes, but they did not support English as the only medium of Indian education. On 18th February 1824, James Mill sent a despatch to the Government of Bengal to communicate the impatience of the court with the poor results achieved by the Orientalist education. Though Mill did not advocate any headlong introduction of English, the fact that the despatch emphasised the teaching of European Science, seemed to strengthen the argument for English.

Beginning with the latter part of the second decade of the 19th century, government started favouring the spread of English. Gradually a belief was developing that the more the people of India were enlightened by English, the more secure would the Empire be. They thought that an Indian elite receiving its ideas from European civilization would prefer British rule to the feudal past. The demonstration of the urban elite who wanted the Hindu College (1817) of Calcutta to impart English education was a convincing proof which led the government to believe that Indians were interested in English education.

The Indian desire to learn English was further motivated by job opportunities. The government too wanted to have for its practical needs, translators, clerks and other functionaries. Though some Indian scholars continued to resist English, its cause was strengthened by the prevailing progressive social efforts and zeal of missionaries. The man who contributed most to the cause of English education was Raja Rammohan Roy. K. K. Chatterjee while discussing the role of Raja Rammohan Roy in this regard observes

Rammohan believed that the citadel of conservatism entrenched in the age old modes of Sanskrit education must be destroyed and the light of Western Science and Philosophy
must prevail in India so as to deliver his
countrymen from obscurantism and barbarous
superstitions.3

He further says:

...But he realized that England was the
leading country in the progress of modern
civilization and that Western education would
be a liberating force.4

Naik and Nurullah also express similar views. They say:

...He proved that a synthesis of Eastern
and Western cultures was possible and although
his method of synthesis was not acceptable to
many, he could convince his co-religionists
that Western education was not always culturally
dangerous as it was supposed to be. He thus
acted as one of the earliest Indian interpreters
of the West to India.5

Gradually English education became an
irresistible force. It was not that the native population
was undergoing a cultural or ideological conversion. People
had come to realize that they had little prospect of gainful
employment without English education. Thus until 1835 the
government policy was to support the existing oriental
institutions. However, the Anglicist cause was rapidly
gaining ground. The support of a body of English-educated

3. Chatterjee K. K., English Education in India,
Issues and Opinions, (Delhi: The Macmillan Company of
India Limited, 1976), p. 16.
4. Ibid; p. 16.
5. Naik J. P. and Syed Nurullah, A Students' History of
Education in India, (Delhi: The Macmillan Company of
natives, led by such persons as Raja Rammohan Roy and the founding of Hindu College were clear proof of the native willingness to accept English education.

The Charter Act of 1833 allowed the missionaries from other countries to carry on their work in India. It also announced that

... no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said company. 8

The Charter increased the educational grant from £10,000 to £10,000 and empowered the Governor of Bengal Presidency to exercise his control over the rest of the provinces of British India and authorised him to direct the educational policy of the Provinces. The Charter added a fourth member to the Executive Council of the Governor General, Lord Macaulay, the man who is credited with the introduction of English education in India. He was appointed a Law member and president of the Committee of Public Instruction.

The Committee of Public Instruction which had ten members, seems to have been equally divided in their

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opinion on the vital issue whether government should continue to encourage schools and colleges in the pursuit of Oriental studies or whether Western education should be given preference. Macaulay gave his whole-hearted support in favour of Western education. He wrote his famous Minute favouring the introduction of English education in India and once for all closed what has come to be known as 'Oriental Occidental Controversy' in the annals of education. K. K. Chatterjee remarks "... The Orientalists were thus defeated overnight and the vexing question as to the medium of instruction seemed to be answered once and for all."7

The Minute gave a definite swing to English. K. K. Chatterjee prefers to call 1835, the year in which Macaulay wrote his Minute as "the (year of) inauguration of the era of English education."8

The Minute had far-reaching effects on the educational policy of India. While emphasising the importance of Macaulay's Minute, F. K. Key observes:

The result of this action was that in future the teaching in the schools and colleges would be in English, and this momentous decision has had its effects on educational policy in India right down to the present time. Today opinions still differ as they did then as to whether


8. Ibid.
this was a step in the right direction. In any case its consequences have been far-reaching. So far as the educated classes were concerned it gave them a language in which those from all over India could converse and in this way helped towards the unification of India. It would have been difficult at that time, as it is not easy today, to find another language which could be used throughout the country. The rulers of those days foresaw that the introduction of Western education would bring India into closer contact with Western ideas of government and democracy and lead to Indian nationalism and the demand for self-government. But Macaulay himself said that if that day should come he would regard it as the proudest day of English history.\footnote{9. Frank E. Keay., A History of Education in India and Pakistan, 4th ed; (Calcutta : Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 202.}

The Governor, Lord William Bentinck, approved Macaulay's Minute in his Minute of March 7, 1835. Bentinck's resolution was followed by enactments which accelerated the spread of English education in India. The Freedom of Press Act (1835) boosted printing and publication of books and thus English books became available at a comparatively low price. The Acts passed between 1836 and 1847 opened out wide prospects for and put great responsibilities on Indian Judicial officers. These opportunities gave an incentive to learn English. In 1837 Persian was abolished as a Court language and was substituted by English in high courts. People realized that Persian was no longer the language
either to help secure a job or to help ascend the social ladder. They now turned to English. In 1844 Lord Hardinge issued a resolution which declared that in all government appointments preference will be given to persons with a knowledge of English. The resolution strengthened the position of English in this country. What little prejudice lingered in the Indian mind against learning English disappeared forever, and English education began to be valued in terms of livelihood. English became the medium of instruction. Consequently the Indian languages came to be neglected. What is called the 'Downward Filtration Theory' resulted in mass illiteracy and elitism. While discussing the 'Downward Filtration Theory' Naik and Nurullah state:

... It was claimed that such education, followed by employment in subordinate services of government, would win the loyalty of these classes and help the consolidation of British Rule in India. It was this motive that led to the education of the Muslims in Bengal, the Hindus in North Western Province and Brahmans in Bombay.10

At the same time there was also a demand for education in Indian languages. Three governors, in particular, did much in their respective provinces

for education through the medium of local languages. These were, Elphinstone (Bombay), Thomas Munro (Madras) and James Thomson (North Western Province).

From 1853 to the beginning of the twentieth century a number of commissions were appointed. Most of these discussed the problems concerning higher education. Wood's Despatch (1854), which is considered by some as "the Magna Charta of English Education in India", the 1901 University Commission, the 1919 Saddler Commission among others, aimed at education which might help government with reliable and capable public servants. There was considerable dissatisfaction with the educational system since it could only serve the needs of the rulers but not those of the people of India. As a result of this, in 1901, at the insistence of Lord Curzon, the teaching of Science was introduced as a subject in the curriculum.

The adoption of English as the medium of instruction in higher education had its repercussion on secondary education. Wood's Despatch (1854) had expressed the view that English as well as the modern Indian languages become the medium for dissemination of European knowledge at the secondary stage. But as it transpired, English became the sole medium at the secondary stage.
English dominated the entire curriculum. 'The Progress of Education' (1901-02), an official publication, sums up the situation as follows:

The English secondary course aims at giving school education. The teaching of English is the prime object throughout the course and in the higher classes instruction in all the subjects is given through the medium of English.11

Meanwhile, national consciousness was aroused in the country and the attitude towards Western civilization became not only critical but even hostile, at times. The Indian National Congress, which was founded in 1885, raised the slogan, "India for Indians." Incidentally it also inspired religious nationalism. Hinduism in particular, was greatly affected by the three distinct religious movements, viz. Arya Samaj (1875), Theosophical Society (1873) and Ramkrishna Mission (1897). People started questioning the superiority of European culture. Education naturally formed an important part of all the national movements and politically minded people began questioning the nature of education in the context of national needs. Gokhale, Tilak, Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and a host of Indian leaders rose to the occasion and pleaded the cause of Indian Languages in the educational system of India.

Commenting on Gandhiji's views on the removal of the domination of English, particularly its use as a medium of instruction, Naik and Nurullah write:

... Here the most uncompromising opposition to English came from Mahatma Gandhi. Even at this early period, he put forward the view that Hindustani should be the national language of India and English should not be the medium of instruction at any stage of education. 12

Jain quotes the following lines from Gandhiji on English as a medium of instruction:

Our boys think that without English they cannot get government service. Girls are taught English as a passport for marriage. The canker has so eaten into the society that in many cases the only meaning of education is a knowledge of English. All these are for me signs of our slavery and degradation. 13

With the introduction of diarchy at the provincial level in 1921, the political scene began to take on a national hue. Education passed into the hands of the elected representatives of the people. Education during this period expanded considerably. One of the great achievements of this period of transition was large-scale adoption of modern Indian languages as the medium of


instruction. English too continued as the medium of instruction mainly because of two reasons: (i) English was the sole medium of instruction at the university stage and the secondary stage was considered as an appendage to the university course, (ii) the medium of examination of government competitive examinations continued to be English and a person with a good command of English generally had greater chance of success in such examinations and consequently in securing employment under government than one without such a command.

The progress of education during the period of 'Provincial Autonomy' (1937-1947), lasting for about a decade in India is a grim story of stagnation, lack of state enthusiasm, and indifference on the part of the government. The popular upsurge for expansion and reform in the sphere of education which marked the inauguration of this era was, however, soon caught up in the waves of war. There was, however, one thing which was clear and it was that the question of the medium of instruction at the secondary stage had almost ceased to exist as a problem. English had come to occupy the place of a compulsory second language in the curriculum. It is true that there were certain difficulties in achieving the goal completely. But it was realized that those were not insurmountable. The most formidable was
the use of English as the medium at the university stage. Hence the attention of educationists came to be directed to problems like the medium of instruction at the university, the development of a national language and the creation of a uniform scientific terminology.

India attained independence in 1947 and the movement for the replacement of English by an Indian language began to gather momentum, particularly after the adoption of the constitution in 1950. One of the provisions of the constitution was that by 1965 Hindi should become the 'Official Language' of the Union. Two distinct reactions could be observed regarding the continuation of English, not only among politicians but also among educationists. There were many who believed that English should quit with the English. This group wanted the regional languages i.e., the mother tongue of a substantial majority of the students in most institutions to take the place of English. There were, however, others who could take a detached view of the whole situation. They firmly held the view that if the study of English was done away with in indecent haste the work of more than a century would be undone in a few years and would seriously affect the quality of education. The University Education Commission (1943) realizing the
complexity of the language problem sounded a note of warning when they said:

No other problem has caused greater controversy among educationists and evoked more contradictory views from our witnesses. Besides, the question is so wrapped up in sentiment that it is difficult to consider it in a calm and detached manner. 14

The Commission felt that "English language has been one of the potent factors in the development of unity in the country" 15 and that "English has supplied with the key to the fundamental ideas of modern civilization, to modern science and philosophy and, what is even more important, for all practical purposes English will continue to be our principal means of maintaining contacts with the outside world." 16 The Commission recommended:

English, however, must continue to be studied. It is a language, which is rich in literature—humanistic, scientific and technical. If under sentimental urges we should give up English we would cut ourselves off from the living stream of ever growing knowledge. Unable to have access to this knowledge, our standard of scholarship would fast deteriorate and our participation in the world movements of thought would become negligible. 17

15. Ibid; p. 317
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid; p. 325.
The dust which was raised by the controversy gradually settled down. It was conceded that the study of English could not be discontinued in our schools and institutions of higher learning but at the same time it was realized that it could not enjoy the same status in life and education of the country as it did before independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while addressing a meeting of the State Education Ministers, held at New Delhi on September 2, 1956, said that technical training should continue to be given in English in the foreseeable future. If it were given in Hindi, the product would be inadequately trained and, therefore, unable to do the required jobs. He said:

It is patent to me that this manpower for industrial, scientific and cultural purposes cannot be trained in any Indian language in the foreseeable future. It is absolutely clear to me and it is not arguable matter that the scientific and technological training has to be given in English.¹⁸

The Secondary Education Commission (1952-53) reiterated the arguments discussed by the University Education Commission (1948) while pleading the cause of English. It also lauded the part which English

played in raising Indian morale in the international field. It emphasised the importance of English and held the view that,

... Under present conditions and taking due note of the development of regional languages and official language of the centre, it is necessary that a sound knowledge of English should be considered a pre-requisite to studies at the higher levels of learning whether in the university or in other institutions. For this reason, it is stated that English should be a compulsory subject of study in the Secondary school beginning from the Middle school stage.19

In the year 1956, the State Reorganization Commission submitted their report in the light of which frontiers of all the states came to be clearly defined and determined. This gave rise to fierce boundary disputes in Maharashtra, Gujrat, Bengal, Bihar and Tamilnadu and its neighbouring parts. In the light of all such developments, the Indian government thought it necessary to appoint an official Language Commission on an all-India basis. This was done in June 1955 under the chairmanship of B. G. Kher. The Commission stressed the need for the teaching of English principally as a "Language of comprehension ... so as to develop in the students learning it a faculty for comprehending writings

in the English language, more specially those relating to the subject matter of their specialized fields of study.\textsuperscript{20}

The Commission, further suggested that the changeover from English to Hindi at the university stage seemed to be rather hasty in view of the acute dearth of suitable text-books both in scientific subjects and in humanities and social sciences. This suggestion of the Commission was severely criticised in non-Hindi regions and it, therefore, became necessary to examine this question further. The Kunzru Committee too, appointed by the U.G.C., recommended that English should be retained as a properly studied second language in our universities. It harped on the same theme "... for the majority the primary aim of learning English may be ability to read and comprehend."\textsuperscript{21}

There had been so far, no agreement among the various authorities regarding the appropriate medium of instruction in universities. This had a demoralizing effect on schools and colleges. The position in the schools was that right up to the matriculation stage, the mother tongue or regional language was the common medium.


\textsuperscript{21} Kunzru Committee Report, UGC; 1965, pp. 3-9
In several states English was either abolished or taught at a very late stage with the result that the students' understanding of English was much too inadequate to follow lectures in English in colleges. The universities had not replaced the English medium by regional languages owing to the non-availability of books in the regional languages or perhaps because the teachers were not used to teaching in the regional languages or both. This meant that the standard of teaching in colleges and universities automatically declined. Referring to the deteriorating situation then, the Study Group appointed by the Ministry of Education in 1965, stated:

Meanwhile the standards of English are deteriorating very fast in our schools and colleges ... there are hardly pupils in our regional medium schools who can write a correct sentence in English. If we speak of a group of sentences the statement can be extended with slight modification so as to include our colleges inspite of English being the medium of instruction and examination there.22

A still more difficult situation arose when students from the colleges could not get admission to the professional colleges as they stood low in the priority lists either because they had done no English at all or because their knowledge of it was not up to the mark.

To meet such contingencies, the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1956 examined at length the complex problem of the teaching of languages in relation to the needs of the country and the requirements as laid down in the constitution. It devised a formula known as the 'Three Language Formula,' which was somewhat simplified and approved by the conference of Chief Ministers held in 1961. The formula was thought to be the only sensible solution to our language problem. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru while speaking at the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad, on the language problem in India was full of praise for the 'Three Language Formula.' He said:

... It is possible to criticize it, as it is possible to criticize any formula that you might evolve. But it is a good formula, keeping in view most of the aspects of this problem and helping to bring about in the political and cultural spheres that sensation of unity, common knowledge and common understanding all over India which is so essential. 23

According to the formula, a school-student in the non-Hindi region learns (i) the regional language, (ii) Hindi, and (iii) English; but in the Hindi region he studies (i) Hindi, (ii) English, and (iii) one of the

Modern Indian languages. Although all the States accepted the formula, its implementation varied from State to State. The students in the Hindi regions learnt Sanskrit in place of the third language which was not in accordance with the spirit of the formula. The Education Commission’s comments on the difficulties in implementing the ‘three-language formula’ are revealing:

In practice, the implementation of the three language formula has led to several difficulties and it has not been very successful. Several factors have contributed to this situation. Among these are the general opposition to a heavy language load in the school curriculum; and lack of motivation for the study of an additional modern Indian language in Hindi areas; the resistance to the study of Hindi in some non-Hindi areas; and the heavy cost and effort involved in providing for the teaching of the second and the third languages for five or six years. The situation was made worse by defective planning and by the half-hearted way in which the formula was implemented.24

The working Group (1961) appointed by the UGC to review the medium of instruction issue, reported that English should continue as the common medium in the universities. It suggested that English was to be replaced by Hindi on fulfilment of the conditions that a fair number of books of a suitable standard for students and teachers,

covering the whole degree course, is available. Arrangements should also be made for the training of teachers in the use of the new medium.

The Vice Chancellors' Conference held in New Delhi in October 1962 generally accepted the resolution adopted by the National Integration Council (1962) and the Inter-University Board of India at its Meeting held in February 1973, confirmed it and stressed particularly the role of English in the transitional stage "as a link amongst university men and between university and university, in respect of exchange of professors or migration of students." 25 It further hoped that,

English would thus be an international link at all times; its place as internal link will gradually be taken by Hindi, as it develops . . . . that regional languages would gradually become the media of instruction at the university stage. 26

The protagonists of Hindi did not however like this solution of the controversial issue. The replacement of English by the regional language rather than by Hindi as the university medium and designating English as "an international link at all times" disappointed them.

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25. Bhandarkar S. S; Association of Indian Universities (1925-75), (New Delhi : Association of Indian Universities, 1975), p. 77.

26. Ibid.
The people in the south were unhappy because it was suggested that the place of English as an 'internal link language, would gradually be taken over by Hindi.

In 1963 the DMK launched a massive movement against Hindi, paralysing the Congress administrative machinery in the State. The late Prime Minister Nehru had to intervene and could mollify the Tamilians and people of other non-Hindi states only by giving them a solemn assurance that English would have the status of an associate language. He once again repeated what he had said in the Lok Sabha on August 7, 1959. He had then said:

... I do not know how long— I should have, I would have, English as an associate, additional language which can be used, not because of facilities and all that, but because I do not wish the people of the non-Hindi areas to feel that certain doors of advancement are closed to them, because they are forced to correspond—the Government, I mean in Hindi language. They can correspond in English, so I would have it as an alternate language as long as people require it and the decision for that, I would leave not to the Hindi-knowing people, but to the non-Hindi knowing people.27

In 1965, once again there was political upheaval in Madras on the issue of official language. The lease of 15 years for the continuation of English as an official language was to lapse. It was feared that in accordance with the provisions of the constitution

Hindi would become the official language of the Union with effect from January 26, 1965. The Prime Minister LalBahadur Shastri in his broadcast to the nation on 11th February 1965 reiterated that:

We stand by them (assurances given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru) fully and solemnly. They will be honoured both in letter and in spirit without any qualification or reservation. 28

He further said:

... there is no question whatsoever of Hindi being imposed on the non-Hindi speaking States ... English will continue to be used in non-Hindi States for as long as the people consider such use to be necessary. 29

The last authoritative statement on the subject of English was made by the Education Commission (1964-66). The Commission made repeated references to English as a 'library Language'. The Commission generally endorsed the National Integration Council’s recommendation about the use of regional languages as media of education "as matter of profound importance for national integration."


29. Ibid.
It suggested:

We suggest that the UGC and the universities carefully work out a feasible programme suitable for each university or group of universities. The changeover should take place as early as possible and in any case, within about ten years, since the problem will only become more complex and difficult with the passage of time.30

The Congress working Committee on September 2, 1967 accepted the decision regarding language policy taken by the Congress Working Committee in June 1965. It left the matter to the government to implement it. The resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee in June 1965, visualised a four-pronged approach. (1) Hindi would be the Link language of India but the government would bring forward legislation in terms of Nehru's assurances to continue the use of English as long as necessary.

(2) Each state would be free to transact its administrative business in any language it desired. (3) The medium of education would be changed to the regional language at all stages, and the U.P.S.C. examinations conducted in all the languages listed in the eighth schedule of the constitution.

(4) The implementation of the three-language formula would be tightened at the school stage and extended to the university.31


With the change of government at the centre and some of the states after the March 1977 general elections, once again we are on the road to babel. The Janata government did not for-swear the official policy which clearly stated that English will continue to be used as an associate link language until such time as the non-Hindi speaking people themselves wished to do away with it. The action of certain Hindi-speaking states, statements by certain Janata leaders from time to time and the move to extend the use of Hindi as was the case recently in the Union Territory of Pondicherry have created a sense of misgiving in the minds of non-Hindi speaking people that the Union government had decided to push Hindi to their disadvantage. This prompted Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, Chief minister of Tamil Nadu, to invite the Chief Minister of the four Southern States for informal consultations for adopting a joint approach to the language issue.

The Marxist led West Bengal government's Chief Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, supported the chief minister of Tamil Nadu on this issue and made it clear that his government would make a common cause with Southern States. Both the chief ministers considered the language policy of the Janta government as "indirect imposition of Hindi."

The Times of India in one of its editorials on language issue commented:

The initiative (Conference of the non-Hindi speaking states) is well-timed because, despite the periodic assurances of its leaders, in practice the Janata government has been pushing Hindi. Pondicherry is the latest instance. Moreover, Janata ruled states in the north, like Bihar, U.P. and Madhya Pradesh have no bones about promoting Hindi while at the same time devaluing English even though that language is an essential part of the three-language formula to which the whole country has subscribed.

All this goes to show that the linguistic situation in India continues to be baffling and poses a veritable challenge to the policy makers and the educationists. It has also certain menacing overtones which we can ignore only at our peril.

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