

[Shri P. Ramachandran]

1977-78, we programmed to achieve a target of about 2,500 MW. Of course, we fell short of it by about 500 MW and it is because we could not keep pace with the equipment supplies which we could not get in time.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: I hope you are on the on going schemes.

SHRI P. RAMACHANDRAN: Yes, only about the on-going schemes I am speaking. There cannot be new schemes. Now, in the current year, we have programmed to add to the capacity about 3800 MW and it is true that in the first three quarters or in the first two quarters the progress is not considerable and it is not as we had desired. In fact, by the end of December, we will achieve the target, we will reach the figure, of 1600 to 1700 MW and by the end of March, Sir, I can definitely assure honourable Member, a minimum of 3000 MW we can achieve. But even the other things that we want to achieve we can achieve^ provided we get the supplies in time from the manufacturers. But one thing must be said. Suppose I say that the target is only 2000 MW. Then also you can say that we have fallen short of the target by about 200 or 300 MW. We have programmed, for five years, for the creation of about 18,500 MW and each year we have programmes to commission some projects and we can even expedite commissioning of these projects in the coming years, because we have geared up the on-going schemes by putting, more persons to monitor them and at my level also I am having periodical meetings. I have meetings not because the officers want them. I am convening meetings with the manufacturers also and I am asking them to supply them in time and I am also getting into a dialogue with the various Electricity Boards. If there is anything wanting on the part of the Electricity Boards in the matter of commissioning of these projects, then we are also trying to see that they also do the job in time. It is only by this kind

of an approach that we can commission all these projects in time and I am hoping to achieve the targets definitely by the 31st March. If there is, any delay, or if there is anything like that, it will only be for a couple of months and by the first quarter of next year. Sir, all the schemes that we have programmed this year would generate power and that assurance I can give to the honourable Members.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2-15 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at twenty-eight minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at twenty minutes past two of the clock. [The Vice-Chairman (Shri Ghanshyambhai Oza) in the Chair].

THE DELHI HIGH COURT (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1978

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI S. D. PATIL): Sir, on behalf of Shri Shanti Bhushan, Minister of Law, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Delhi High Court Act, 1966.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI S. D. PATIL: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

MOTION RE. ANNUAL REPORT 1976-77 OF THE UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (SHRIMATI RENUKA DEVI BARKA-TAKI): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. I beg to move:

"That the Annual Report of the University Grants Commission for the year 1976-77, laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 2nd August, 1978, be taken into consideration."

In moving that the Report be taken into consideration, Sir, I do not propose to take much time of the House recounting the various steps that the Commission took during the year under reference, I shall only draw the attention of the House to a few important aspects of the work of the Commission, a few important problems that we face in the field of higher education, and the steps that have been taken to deal with these problems.

Sir, the House is well aware that the Commission is primarily responsible for the promotion and co-ordination of University education and for the determination and maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in Universities. The area of higher education is of crucial importance for development for building and strengthening the infrastructure that is necessary for development as well as the progressive realisation of our social objectives. We are, therefore, concerned in this area with access to higher education, facilities in institutions of education and research, the quality of education, the quality, and competence of the faculty, the relevance of higher education to our environment and to the needs of our society in every field, the facilities that students and teachers need and the promotion of the ethos that the Indian community and education institutions need for the fulfilment of objectives of higher education.

During the past three decades or so, Sir, the system of higher education in India has made a significant contribution to the overall development, although universities and colleges have come up to the expectations of the society. The best students in our Universities are as good as ever and the contents of courses are generally of a high level. Outstanding work is being done by the University department and colleges, and a number of university teachers have received recognition from well known centres of learning and research even in advanced countries of the world. Various schemes of

national development have been implemented by personnel trained in our universities. There is a fairly strong infrastructure which has provided manpower for diverse fields including developmental work in the field of science and technology. Universities have also helped the rural development in the country in a significant manner. They have also contributed to developmental activities in some of the neighbouring and developing countries, by way of teaching, research, consultancy and the implementation of technical projects.

Sir, while the university system has made a major contribution to development, it cannot be denied that during the last one decade or so, it has been under some stresses and strains. The growing incidence of education unemployment has been a disturbing factor. There has been an almost unplanned expansion and proliferation of education institutions. This, in the context of the rising cost of education, leads to dilution of academic and physical facilities in the universities and colleges. The establishment of new universities and colleges is hardly justified at the present stage of development. In view of the fact that there has been a decline in the rate of enrolments.

During the decade 1960-61 to 70, the university level enrolment increased by roughly 12 to 14 per cent per annum. The growth dropped to 9 per cent in 1970-71, 5.9 per cent in 1971-72, 2.5 per cent in 1972-73 and 0.2 per cent in 1973-74. The overall growth rate during the thirteen years has been 2.9 per cent.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): What is the total number of students?

SHRIMATI RENUKA DEVI BARKATAK: I am coming to that.

There are wide differences in the growth rates in different regions of the country; the rate varying from

[Shrimati Renuka Devi Barkataki]

less than 2 per cent to 7.4 per cent in some areas.

In spite of the drop in the growth rate of enrolment, it is due to lack of planning at the State level that some universities and colleges continue to be as over-crowded as ever before and are under severe pressure to expand further irrespective of the facilities they have by way of library and laboratory seats, hostel and class room accommodation etc. On the other hand, a number of Universities and colleges, especially in the rural and remote areas, do not have adequate numbers to make them academically and financially viable. This calls for detailed surveys and coordinated planning by the State Governments in order to ensure the optimum utilisation of our resources and a better correspondence between education and manpower needs.

Sir, the main approach of the Commission to the development programmes undertaken during the period under review has been underlined by three important objectives viz, (a) consolidation of existing facilities; (b) new thrust in teaching and research, with particular emphasis on rural orientation and extension programmes; and (c) maintenance and improvement of standards.

The measures of consolidation that have been taken include regulation of enrolments in formal and full time education, particularly at the undergraduate stage, restraint on the establishment of new universities and colleges and the development of postgraduate teaching as far as possible in university departments or at postgraduate centres rather than in colleges, most of which are not equipped for advanced level work.

The Commission has specially supported the provision of correspondence courses and permission to students to appear as private or external students, as these measures ensure access to higher education for the various sections of the community, such as

women employees, persons in remote geographical areas and others who may not be in a position to join regular university or college courses.

There is now a general consensus that in view of the considerations that I have already referred to, there should be a moratorium on the establishment of new colleges and universities during the next five years except in exceptional cases, such as tribal areas. The special needs of the backward areas could be met, not by starting new colleges for their students, but by helping them to go to colleges in neighbouring areas. The UGC's scheme of Lead Colleges is aimed at providing remedial teaching, thus enabling students from rural and backward areas to receive better quality education. I will now like to refer to some steps that have been taken in the field of teaching and research and the rural orientation and Extension Programmes.

The subject panels appointed by the University Grants Commission have reviewed the existing facilities, syllabi and standards of teaching and research. They have formulated draft outlines for revision and modernisation of courses in order to make them challenging to the students and relevant to our social needs.

In providing support for research projects undertaken by the universities and colleges, either by individuals or by groups of scholars and scientists or on a departmental basis, priority is given to projects that have a direct relevance to the problems of the community. This support is provided in addition to strengthening the infrastructure of research in universities and colleges under the normal development schemes.

Sir, the Commission has introduced a new scheme of restructuring of courses. This scheme has two important aspects viz. (1) to make the first degree level courses more relevant to the rural environment and to the developmental needs of the community

and (2) to link education and work practical/field experience at all levels. A number of courses have been suggested in the illustrative list sent to the universities. The subjects like horticulture, fisheries, soil-science, fertilizers, dairy science, plant protection, agriculture marketing, farm management, community development, rural banking etc. will be offered along with other traditional subjects at the first degree level.

One hundred and fifty colleges mostly in the rural areas have already identified to try out the new restructured courses.

Sir, programmes of continuing education were started in 20 universities earlier. These are being reoriented in order to take up adult education (with literacy as an essential component) community service and extension programmes in a big way. Many universities have already started these programmes.

Now, Sir, I should say a few words about improvement of standards. The steps taken by the University Grants Commission for the maintenance and co-ordination of standards include the development of universities and colleges, faculty improvement programmes, provision of essential student amenities and support of short-term and advanced research. The Commission has also formulated guidelines for the plus three stage under the new pattern of education. Sir, measures have been undertaken towards restructuring of courses, examination reforms, autonomous colleges, lead colleges. Centre of Advanced Study, University Leadership Project, College Science Improvement Programme, College Humanities and Social Science Improvement Programme, etc. all of which have a direct and significant bearing on standards.

Sir, great importance is being attached to faculty improvement programmes by providing opportunities to teachers to keep abreast of modern development in their fields of study and research and to exchange ideas with experts in similar or related

fields. The focal point in the improvement of standards, centres around augmenting the professional competence of the teachers to make them better equipped to initiate and carry out high quality instructional programmes. With that object in view, necessary financial support has been provided for raising the professional competence of teachers under different programmes, *e.g.* summer institutes, seminars, workshops, teacher fellowships, etc. the programmes have been designed to be implemented simultaneously to produce multiplying effect.

Sir, I must now refer to another important question that must receive attention in the field of higher education. It is true that there has been an increase in the number of incidents in academic institutions since March, 1977, mainly due to the pent up grievances of the period of emergency ventilating themselves. Though solution to all the problems that cause unrest among students cannot be found in the educational system itself, the Ministry of Education has suggested to the State Governments and Union Territory Administrations, from time to time, since June, 1977, to take appropriate steps to remedy the problems. For instance in June, 1977, the State Governments and Union Territories were requested to set up appropriate forums, giving adequate representation to the teachers, *karamcharis* and students to make representation of their grievances and redress them wherever possible. In March, 1978, it was suggested that suitable forums should be set up at the State, district and institutional level for this purpose. They were also requested to give adequate attention to the implementation of schemes intended for the welfare of students, admission procedures, prompt recruitment of teachers, improvement of teacher—student relations, formulation of extra-curricular programmes etc. In March, 1978, the Education Minister wrote to all Chief Ministers requesting them 'to initiate discussions with the leaders of political parties to ensure that the

[Shrimati Renuka Devi Barkataki] campuses of educational institutions are kept free from political activity. Later, on July 6, 1978, the Education Minister himself convened a meeting of leaders of principal political parties at the national, regional and State levels, at which their co-operation was sought to keep the campuses of educational institutions free from political activities. In September, 1978 the problems of students unrest were discussed in great detail at a conference of Chief Ministers convened by the Prime Minister at which they agreed that student problems should be handled with restraint and understanding and genuine grievances should be redressed as early as possible. Sir, I shall not take more time of the House. It is not necessary to refer to all of the many programmes that the Commission has taken up during the year or to cite statistics to indicate the size of problems or the progress that has been made. I am sure the hon. Members have seen these statistical details in the report of the Commission.

Sir, I look forward to the debate on the motion in the hope that the constructive appraisal of problems and solutions, achievements and shortcomings that one can expect from the Houses will help us to grapple more effectively with the problems and the national needs in the field of university education. Thank you.

The question was proposed.

DR. LOKESH CHANDRA (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the motion moved by the Minister has tried to register in an impressive manner the achievements of University Grants Commission. Nobody can deny what has been achieved by University Grants Commission, started as it was a few decades ago under the stewardship of the great Indian leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. In one of his speeches to a university he had defined what a university stands for and I think this bears repetition. He had stated: "A university stands for humanism, for tolerance, for rea-

son, for the adventure of ideas and for the search of truth. It stands for the onward march of the human race towards even higher objectives. If the universities discharge their duties adequately, then it is well with the nation and the people." When the University Grants Commission came into being, its functions were defined as:

"It shall be the general duty of the Commission to take in consultation with the universities and other bodies concerned all such steps as it may think fit for promotion and co-ordination of the university education and determination and maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in the university."

While we look at the report of the University Grants Commission and the grievances which have been put forward by the academic communities from time to time, we find that the University Grants Commission while doing a laudable job as a whole has, in particular, violated certain basic norms. For example, the University Grants Commission has not taken into account that India is a single country. It is a Union of States. We find that degrees of the Mysore University are not recognised by the Delhi University. When we came to this august House, we had taken an oath which clearly specifies that "I will uphold the sovereignty and integrity of India." When Members of Parliament come here and speak of the integrity of India as an integral part of the oath on their taking a seat in this House, I fail to understand how the U.G.C. can abrogate its duty to point out to the academic community that India is a single country and when the degrees of the University of Mysore are not recognised by the University of Delhi. I think it is a flagrant violation of the Constitution a Constitution which is wedded to the integrity of this land in all its aspects.

Another important fact which emerges from what Panditji had said is that a university stands for humanism

Herein also the U.G.C. has failed miserably. It has been a victim of bureaucratic red-tape, smothering of the humanising tendency and its major function has been to put up hurdles in the onward advance of academic life in India.

Well, I need not say much on this score; but I can point out to a recent newspaper report where several instances have been pointed out about the position of research in our country. This report has been prepared by an eminent scientist of our country and this study points out that India spends about Rs. 4,000 million a year on research and has the third largest scientific manpower. The report goes on to conclude that it is time for the scientists to realise that a good deal of research done in India just does not approach the international standards of quality and, therefore, is a waste of time and money. The editor of this report is Mr. S. Arunachalam, who is an information scientist in the Publications and Information Directorate of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research of the Government of India. This shows that the major function which the UGC has been trying to discharge is simply that everybody must come to them with a begging bowl and that they have the prerogative to refuse that alms or to be patronising in their approach. I think this patronising approach of the UGC has resulted in the backwardness of our standards. It has also been detrimental to scientific development in India. I would also like to point out that in India we have a vast potential for research and we have done a lot. But at the same time, the hopes which we had invested in the UGC when it was created have not been fully fulfilled. For example, India has found in the last ten years about 30 oil deposits as reported in the 'Hindustan Times' of 18th November. Out of these 30, only three are being utilised. This means, 27 oil deposits still remain to be explored and utilised in national interest. Now, many existing sources of oil supplies have dried out.

For example, Iran is in trouble and now we have a shortage of kerosene oil in the capital. You can go anywhere on the roads and you will find long queues. I am sure the hon. Minister and the Members of the UGC do not know what hardship the people have to face in this country. Well, they will say that the Ministry of Energy or the Ministry of Oil or some other Ministry of the Government of India is responsible. But the UGC equally shares the social responsibility of carrying India forward. I am sure—and my scientist friends have assured me—India has so much of oil that we can be self-sufficient and we will also be able to export to a considerable degree. As the hon. Minister has rightly pointed out, social relevance is an important element in the functioning of the U.G.C. But so far, the UGC does not seem to have applied its mind to this aspect of its activity or rather its responsibility and because the UGC does not offer courses which have a practical application and which have a national and social relevance, so many things are going wrong. Today, most of the socially relevant research is being carried in the Government laboratories and the UGC remains a silent spectator. Perhaps, it is a disinterested viewer of how things are moving. It is the most unfortunate thing in this country that our intellectual elite under the aegis of the UGC has failed to enthuse these great minds of our country into action for the well-being of their country-men.

I would like to point out that the share allocated by the UGC to Central and Deemed Universities and Delhi colleges is totally out of proportion to what it is giving to the rest of the nation. This is born out by the report of the Public Accounts Committee, 1977-78, on page 83. I would like to read out a few lines so that it becomes not a statement from me but one which has been pointed out by an august Committee of both the Houses of Parliament. This is what they observe, on page 83:

The Committee disapproves this unequitable distribution of grants

[Dr. Lokesh Chandra] considering the fact that the student coverage of State Universities and other colleges is much wider than that of Delhi colleges. They would like the UGC to play a positive role in creating conditions in which it will be possible for the State universities and colleges to take advantage of the facilities of development grants from the UGC in greater measure than heretofore."

The U.G.C. is indulging in discrimination in giving grants to those who can pamper to their personal whims being located in the capital and those who cannot travel from Mysore or from Andhra Pradesh or from Kerala or from Bengal or even from Assam to pamper the officials of the UGC. It ¹ is urgently required that the UGC take an initiative in seeing that there is a harmonised and balanced development of universities throughout the country. This is an aspect, which has to be borne well in mind because there are not only backward and tribal areas in the country but there are sometimes semi-developed areas and those areas which do not get nourishment from the capital. It is the duty of the Ministry and the University Grants Commission as well as their responsibility, a moral responsibility and a constitutional responsibility, to develop all the Indian universities in balanced measure. It is not up to the Universities in the provincial towns to come up and approach the dignitaries in the U.G.C. in a spirit of condescension.

The Public Accounts Committee points out to the bad planning of the University Grants Commission. On page 219 it is said: "The Committee have elsewhere in the report already commented upon the *ad hoc* manner in which allocations for new schemes have been made during the 4th Plan period." They have used a very dignified word '*ad hoc*', but as things go, the UGC does not feel that it has responsibilities to discharge, its approach is that of a bureaucratic organisation created for bureaucratic ends. The means and the ends are

both bureaucratic and that explains why the major objectives of the Commission are not being fulfilled. The Public Accounts Committee says: "The Committee would like to point out this as another instance of bad planning—financial as well as physical—by the Commission."

In this bad planning the Public Accounts Committee is primarily referring to the imbalanced allocation of funds to different Universities throughout the land. Because we are not going to create new Universities or as the Minister has put it, we are going to have a constraint on the formation of new Universities, it becomes even more important that the State Governments be taken into confidence and their suggestions be taken into account while allocations to the different States are made. On page 258 the Public Accounts Committee says:

"The assessment of problems and perspectives of higher education, in which the State Governments are also involved, it would be helpful if copies thereof are, as a matter of course, made available to all State Governments, Universities and recognised colleges or institutions."

Here I may note that the report of the UGC is not sent to all the constituent colleges, to all the universities, to all the State Governments for their opinion, and not only for their information. The opinion of the institutions as well as of the State Governments should be sought for a more positive utilisation of the scarce financial resources. The Minister referred to rural orientation. As we see from the report of the Commission not much has been done in the rural sector. The rural people do not have access to the different officers of Delhi and the UGC finds it below its dignity to move into the rural areas. There is a gap of communication between the rural areas and the University Grants Commission. As has been submitted before, it is the function and the responsibility of the University Grants Commission to

move towards areas which are back, ward not only in the economic sense, not only in the social sense, but which have been deprived and starved of funds and do not find themselves on par with what has been happening in the metropolitan city of Delhi. I find, in the last two or three years not many colleges have been opened in the rural areas. We have been discussing this question in Committees and whenever it came up, the Government has held that they visualise restraint in the establishment of new educational institutions arid under this pretext they have, deprived the rural areas of institutions of learning.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: And this moratorium is going to hurt them *more*.

DR. LOKESH CHANDRA: I hope that the hon. Minister will not encourage a moratorium on the development of educational institutions in rural areas as well as in non-metropolitan areas. It is not the question of rural areas only. It is the problem of the University of Mysore, University of Madras, different Universities in the eastern sector, in the western sector and elsewhere. Everywhere the Universities are starved of funds, because they cannot come down to Delhi every time as coming to Delhi costs a lot of money. And it is a long procedure to cajole the officials of the UGC into sanctioning a grant. It functions in the bureaucratic style of a Government department.

In the matter of research, the UGC should have tried to set up standards but because of bureaucratic situations, it has not been able to bear upon the needs of research scientists a humanistic outlook. In this connection, I would like to quote one of the great commentators of the Holy Quran—ALQurtubi—who said:

"The best of men, and the best of all who walk the earth, are the teachers. When values fall into

decay, it is the teachers who restore it. Give unto them, therefore, their just recompense; yet use them not as hirelings, lest you wound their spirit."

This is precisely what has been done by the UGC. They have wounded the spirit of sensitive hearts who wanted to contribute to national research and development.

Now coming to support for research, on page 7 there is a long report. I find that several items are missing. For research, the research journals are an essential component. I am myself a researchman. I know what are the components of research. Very few universities are fully equipped with the most modern journals of research. For example I could not find in Delhi the "journal on Ideas" published by the University of Cambridge. Likewise, we will not find it elsewhere.

Another research facility which has also been ignored by the UGC is the reprographic equipment both for staff and students. These do not exist at all. There are no xerox or micro-filming units in the universities. Many times essential publications are not available which are a must for better and up-to-date research. Modernisation has remained a slogan. It is a concept which has to be converted into action, into equipment and this can be done only if the UGC is clear about what it intends to do.

For the support for research it is essential that annual lists of research subjects undertaken by different universities should be published and circulated. Quite a few subjects are being duplicated every year in different universities. There should be an annual list of those subjects which have been completed, of those which are in progress and those which have been proposed, so that there is less duplication, triplication, manifold multiplication of a single subject, or its insignificant ramifications.

[Dr. Lokesh Chandra]

The research students have a niggardly deal at the hands of the UGC. For example, they do not get hostel accommodation in universities other than their own, to which they have to travel to make use of materials that are stored there. It is a must that they go from one university to the other. They have to be itinerant scholars. To achieve this, it is essential that they be given proper hostel accommodation in different universities, under a special scheme.

The students do not have concessional railway passes to help them to travel from one university to another in search of material, in search of ideas, in quest of meeting great minds who belong to different universities scattered all over the country. Finally, I would like to say that for the support for research, there has to be a union catalogue of books and manuscripts. A stumbling hurdle in research today is that the library facilities in any one university are poor and no university in our country can afford to have a full-fledged and self-sufficient library. To provide this facility, a project of central cataloguing of library holdings should be undertaken by the UGC, or some other body so that the students can write to that body and get the journals, and books they want. Inter-library loans will have to be activated to make this scheme effective.

I would also like to refer to the development of computer facilities mentioned on page 9 of the UGC Report for the year under consideration. It is a depressing feature of the computer programme that most of the computers are lying inoperative. For example, we have a computer at the JNU which works sporadically. One day it works and for another ten days it does not. It takes a vow of silence. *Mauna Vrata*.. If we look on page 17 at the list of computers in different places it is revealing that in many of the universities the computers belong to the T.B.M. As the

Minister is well aware, the I.B.M. has left India. Now no I.B.M. machine in India can be maintained properly. The maintenance is so poor that millions and millions of rupees spent on the I.B.M. machines are going waste. The U.G.C. report fails to mention this.

Coming to another point mentioned on page 10, "Cultural Exchange with Asian Countries", we find that the main orientation of the U.G.C. is towards Europe. In spite of the new policy of closer ties with Asian countries enunciated by the Government, the Commission has done nothing in this regard. There are negligible academic exchanges with Asian countries. They are so few that they do not work out to any percentage. They need an urgent remedy.

Page 13 deals with "Area Study Programme". The word "Area Study" is objectionable. As the term came into being in the context of the cold war, now it has become irrelevant. "Area study" is a wrong term historically, academically any politically. It is primarily a strategic military term. Area study should be termed Asian Studies or West Asian Studies or South-East Asian Studies or according to the geographical area. Generalised term like South-East Asia is misleading. Thailand has a different complexion, Laos yet another and Vietnam still quite different. They have different languages, different cultures and different historic traditions. How can you lump together all these differences into one amorphous generic term. This gives a misleading picture of the whole situation. Take Far East, for example. There are so many different types of governments, different types of cultures and languages. To lump them together will provide an improper perspective.

. DR. V. P. DUTT (Nominated):
What is Far East?

DR. LOKESH CHANDRA: I am using the European term. We may call it East Asia if you so desire.-.

There is "Development of Post-Graduate Studies" on page 17. The development of Post-graduate Studies has been dealt with at length. Here, again, the report is not specific. It makes general statements. Assistance for books^ journals, equipment etc. is provided for Post-graduate colleges while equally essential items such as staff, buildings are not provided. Assistance is provided on the basis of incomprehensive norms. If some items are provided for and the infrastructure or superstructure is ignored the money provided will be lost. If there are two teachers what will the books, tables, buildings or laboratory equipment do? An integrated approach and holistic system is essential for the development of post-graduate studies. . You can not provide, subsidy for, books alone., alone will not. help if teachers are not provided!_ Assistance should be given, in the form of a package mrrte including' all the-. aspects of post-graduate studies.' It should be provided as a whole and not in bits and parts lest thei' become financially irrelevant.

My thne is i tinning" out. Permit me to add a few words about students.- Quite a number of scholarships are given but taking ths of the country, the number of scholarships provided are too few. The number of scholarships should be increased.

Another point which I have failed to find in the U.G.C. report is hostels for women students. The hon'ble Minister of State for Education is sitting here. She is well aware pf this, problem. Ladies find it difficult to get accommodation. In the report for ;the year no provision seems to have been made for women hostels. The money provided for the construction of teachers' quarters is insignificant. It should be a greater quantum. . Coming to page 27 of the Report, there is the caption- "English Language- and Literature". The greatest number of workshops under, taken with the help of the U.G.C, are for the development of English

language and literature while for all the other subjects like economics, education, law and history they have not exceeded 3, 4 or 5. Undue emphasis is being given to English. Further, on page 3 P.M. 56 we find "English Comprehension Courses for University Students." While undue attention has been paid to the English language, it should devolve on the Commission to help the development of Indian languages. In this context, I may refer to the booklet which the Commission has issued about the development of Indian languages. In para 3, 14 there is- a paragraph of 34 lines. Gut of those 34 lines, only four lines have been devoted to Indian languages and the remaining 3D. lines heap economism on the language. In the ancient times we had *stoiras* to deities, and in this report of the UGC wa have a lengthy *stotra* to the English language. A more balanced approach lo the development of languages is accessary on the part of the UGC; We have a vast heritage in all the Indian languages. It is essential that; »e preserve the *richesse* of this heri.} ' tage.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: You may be' having Hindi in your mind.

DR. LOKESH CHANDRA: No Professor, I do not have Hindi in my mind.

I am happy that the Commission has considered the emerging areas in science subjects. I would like, to congratulate the Commission for taking them into consideration. Only in the case of space research there is co-operation with a Governmental institution like the Regional Research Laboratory at Jammu. Several new areas in science cry for urgent attention, like oceanography, solar energy, geological surveying. The University Grants Commission does not apply its mind to these new disciplines that are coming into being and to known but not fully investigated areas which are going to play a pivotal" role in future development.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI GHANSHYAMBHAI OZA): I think, you should conclude now.

DR. LOKESH CHANDRA: There are short courses in the Himalayan geology, but nothing has been done to undertake geological surveys of the Himalayan region which would have helped us tremendously in various fields of our national development.

I do not understand why on page 45 the University of Hyderabad has been shown as having an enrolment of 32 only. I think, this is a printing error, and if it is not, I would be astonished that an institution with only 32 students has been given the status of an university.

Finally, I would like to say that the UGC should create men with great minds. It has to be humanistic in its approach and not be submerged all the time into the trivialities of bureaucratic procedure.

The University Grants Commission was established long ago in 1958. Quarter of a century has passed. It is imperative that there be a Parliamentary committee or commission to go into the details of the functioning and the objectives of the University Grants Commission so that it can become an effective instrument for implementing our national policy and for giving a vision for the future whose core will be man in his totality. Thank you.

DR. SARUP SINGH (Haryana): Sir, I never thought that some day I would have to defend the University Grants Commission against an attack from Dr. Lokesh Chandra. I, in fact, thought that both of us would attack the University Grants Commission because in one respect it is very easy to attack the University Grants Commission. The moment you describe it as a bureaucratic organisation, you have done it. And, unfortunately, the word 'bureaucratic' is so prevalent these days that you can use it for anybody. I have been trying to understand the meaning of the word

'bureaucratic'. In fact, I even asked Dr. V. P. Dutt one day because he is specialist in political science. Anybody with whom you do not agree is either autocratic or bureaucratic or whatever it is. But if you agree with somebody, then he is a very, very decent, civilised human being. Now this is the normal human failing. I do not accuse Dr. Lokesh Chandra of anything. Moreover, I would like to say this that some of the points that Dr. Lokesh Chandra has raised need to be considered seriously.

Now, one point on which there has been a lot of criticism, though, I must say, in a somewhat unfair way, is regarding the inequitable distribution of grants. There are State universities, there are Central Universities, and so on. Unfortunately, the Central universities have come in for a lot of criticism because they are accused of having received a lot of money from the University Grants Commission.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Are they not swallowing too much money?

DR. SARUP SINGH: Unfortunately, Mr. Ranga, the situation is that there is no other body which will give any money to them. The State universities are expected to get money from the State Governments. Actually the starting of a university in a State is the primary responsibility of the State. The University Grants Commission approves it at some stage and they also give some money. But they are expected to give money for development, for improvement, not for buildings and so on and so forth, though they, sometimes do even that. But normally their function is that when a State university comes into existence, they should give money so that its academic standards can reach a reasonable level and so on and so forth. In the case of the Central universities, whether we like it or not, the situation is that they have to finance the entire thing, and there is no option. I think we should recognise this. It is not the fault of the

University Grants Commission. If you tell them, "All right, here are the State universities and Central universities; you have to finance the entire higher education in this country", I presume they will do that. But the point is, you entrust them with a certain responsibility and then you are saying that they are not discharging another responsibility with which they are not concerned. I think you should be fair to them. I am not saying it is a good thing that in a country there should be different kinds of universities with different levels of education and with different financial commitments. I mean, you may have a uniform system, though I am not sure whether in a large country like ours it will be easy. But that is not the point. The point is, is it the fault of the University Grants Commission that they cannot give as much money to the State universities as they give to the Central universities? I am afraid it is not. I think we should recognise this. They are not anti-integration or anything. That is, after all, what they are expected to do.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: The system itself is wrong.

DR. SARUP SINGH: All right. But the University Grants Commission has not created the system. The system has been created by if I may say so with due respect to all, the Indian Parliament, of which all of you are very honourable Members. So it is not the fault of the University Grants Commission. There are other things where you can accuse them. Now, for instance, Dr. Lokesh Chandra mentioned rural orientation. It is true that not much work has been done. Here again there are difficulties. But I would like to say this: the Minister said that instead of opening colleges in the rural areas, you might as well send those students to other colleges, because as it is, the number of students in the rural areas is so small that it does not become a

viable institution. Quite often colleges are opened in rural areas for reasons we understand best here. It is a status symbol. It is a matter of prestige. Any important Member of Parliament—well, I have not that importance; therefore, I do not know how it happens; but I am told that any important Member of Parliament can do it—can get a college opened in his constituency. Now, what does he do? He puts pressure on all kinds of people. And if he is powerful, I obviously the University Grants Commission cannot do a thing about it. You can always open a college. Even if the State conditions are very marginal, very minimal, a college is started. But there are no students. Now the number of students is likely to fall. And in view of the new scale* that have come, many of the colleges are not financially viable. So there are difficulties. However, the answer is not that you should put a moratorium. That is not the answer. The answer ultimately lies elsewhere.

Let us face the problem in a square way. What is the problem? The problem is that during the last 30 years, our educational system has developed in such a way that in metropolitan towns, whether you like it or not, all the power has been concentrated, all the funds have been concentrated, all the facilities have been concentrated. Consequently, what is called today modern culture, that has also been concentrated. Most of the highly educated people lie in cities. Their children have to get better education than the children of the rural population. Consequently, they get better schools to begin with. Then they get better colleges; they get better universities. There is a dual system here ...

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Whose fault is it?

DR. SARUP SINGH: Oh, no, excuse me. This is how your society has developed all these years. In 1947 when we became independent we used

[Dr. Sarup Singh]
to say often, "Oh this colonial system!" But who continued that colonial system?

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Government.

DR. SARUP SINGH: Oh, no. We continued it ourselves. And we continued it deliberately. We know that this was the best system in the context of the kind of economic development that we wanted, in the context of the kind of economic development in which only about 20 per cent got all the facilities that this country could provide, and 80 per cent of the population got no facilities. And this went on; nobody bothered. It is not the fault of the University Grants Commission or even the Government, because the Government does what you want it to do, I am sorry to say that.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Not always.

DR. SARUP SINGH: I agree with you not always. But I used to think it is a very cynical way of saying that you get the Government you deserve. But I am convinced that there is a lot of truth in this cynicism; I am more convinced of this that not only do we get the Government we deserve; I am afraid, we also get the Members of Parliament we deserve, the Members of State Legislatures that we deserve, the Vice-Chancellors that we deserve, the Ministers of Education that we deserve. Why do you shut your eyes against what we have done all these years? I am not saying that the Janata Party is doing miracles. Oh no, please; it will not do miracles. In fact, the fewer the claims that the Janata Party makes, the better for its mental health and the better for the mental health of the country. Education is not a matter where radical changes can be brought about by political parties. Education is not like starting a factory where Government says, here are Rs. 5 crores, you start a factory and you say, all right, we start a factory. What do you see in the case of education? Many colleges have become

substandard, a large number of schools have become substandard; children are not getting employed; they cannot get employed; they are very often unemployed. What do you do with them? Naturally a large number of these children remain educated unemployed in the sense that they have B.A. degrees and so on and yet they have no jobs and they go roaming about all over the country—tens of thousands of them. What do they do? They are bound to agitate, and agitation will take a form which will destroy your better institutions. It is a social problem made into a political problem. Use the UGC as an instrument, if you can. But then, make up your mind; be clear, what is to happen to the society? Are we in an egalitarian society? No, we are not by any means. We are essentially a kind of society where some people prosper and others languish. And that is happening much more in the field of education, because, as I said, education after all is only a reflection of the social structure, the political structure.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: It need not necessarily be so.

DR. SARUP SINGH: Let us be fair. I am not saying for a single moment that the UGC is an ideal mechanism. I do not think it is an ideal instrument. But after all we are functioning in a situation where you can not do something radical. Let us try and see if we can do something which will ultimately break this vicious circle of division in the society. There is a division, a bifurcation of culture today. There is a bifurcation caused partly by education itself, because you have one kind of product from the elitist institution. He speaks a different language, puts on a different kind of dress. Dr. Lokesh Chandra spoke about westernisation and so on. But the fact is—whether you like it or not—most of the knowledge is coming to us from the West. English, he mentioned. He raised this question once

in the meetings of the Consultative Committee and I mentioned it there. Please remember, if you want to do research in English literature, naturally the books have to come from abroad. If you send students for research abroad, it costs money. But in the case of Hindi and other Indian languages all the books are published here. And the books are not so expensive as books on English literature printed abroad. Naturally, the money that is visible to you as research grants in the case of English will look more than what you are actually spending. Many of our students cannot go abroad to do research in English literature on Government of India funds. I think there are no funds with the Government of India which are available for the study of English literature. The Government of India has been consistently discouraging study of English literature. The previous Government was doing that and this Government is doing it. Some of us are still flourishing in that language. I am today speaking English. The point is; do not raise the question of English *versus* Hindi. These are minor questions. You take a decision and they will implement it. What is this University Grants Commission? University Grants Commission is an organisation that the Government of India had set up in the expectation that they will perform certain responsibilities. It was not established today. It was established many, many years ago.

There are one or two things more and I am afraid I will take a little more time, but not too long. Let me see.

My friend has mentioned that our research in science has not reached international standard. Obviously, our research quality, except in some areas here and there, has not reached international standards. That is true. We recognise that and therefore we

do want that we should be able to compete with the best in the world

That raises a larger question here. This.

question is: what do you do with the money available? The country has two problems today. One is primary; education. All these years, primary education had been neglected. Then there is elementary education upto the eighth standard. It is there from first class that some kind of bifurcation starts. The children of rich

parents go to one type of schools and the children of the poor go to a different kind of schools. We did not think much about the common

school system. If we had thought of it, maybe we might have improved the quality of teaching in ordinary schools and colleges* But nobody bothered about it and we continued to concentrate money and everything else on some institutions in the country, try which are quality institutions, it. The product of these quality institutions and their teachers who have.

been doing these researches which, according to my friend and most of us, have not yet come to international standards. Agreed. What are you going to do tomorrow? Are we in our anger against this social injustice going to stop research in these universities? It seems that the Government of India today does not regard university education as a priority item.

And it is dangerous for a country not to do so. Have primary education

by all means and spend as much as you can on that. But for God's sake, do not destroy what you have built over the past thirty years.

I agree we were not following the right path. The reaction was wrong. But what about these men and women you have produced? What about the scientists you have produced? What about these administrators or bureaucrats you have produced? All these men and women are running your country today, whether you like it or not. They are running the country. They are responsible for whatever good is happening in terms of development.

I Dr. Samp Singh] You continue producing them, even u you have to save money elsewhere. I *auui* not -saying: Bring the primary education down—no. The university exists for the pursuit of excellence. In the pursuit of excellence, if a country falls back then that country cannot progress. In other words, if you destroy what you have already built, you will be nowhere. Let us all remember this. I come from a village. I come from an ordinary school. I was born to illiterate parents. My father was illiterate. So what? Once I come out of that world to a new world of universities, I have to compete with the best. If I cannot do that, then I have no business to be there. In a university there is no place for inferior individuals, whether you like it or not. University education is essentially elitist in terms of intellect. University education is elitist in terms of the quality of work that you produce. It is elitist in terms of the quality of teaching that you provide. All these have to be there. In our anger against the rich, let us not destroy the intelligent. Let us make a distinction between our anger against the rich and our anger against the intelligent. Today unfortunately English in this country has become the monopoly of the rich. And, Sir, English has become the language of culture which hurts, because Indian languages must become the languages of our culture. But what do we do? Our rich people, the upper-middle-class people imitate the West and so on and they have ruined many things and they have ruined, among other things, our attitudes. We hate English and we want to remove that in order to remove social injustices. No, no. Removal of English will not end the social injustices. The upper-middle-classes will continue to dominate whether it is through Tamil or whatever language you have in mind. Please let us not have these illusions. I am sorry, Sir, I have been carried away by many of these things and what I thought I would say I have not been able to say. It is a great

pity. But I don't know why Dr. Lokesh Chandra, in spite of his sweet temper seems to make me impatient. I am trying to recover myself quite often. Sir, I will say two things more and I will have done.

I think—it is in a sense complimentary to the University Grants Commission—that they have these Centres of Advanced Study and they were doing really well. Some were doing well and some were not doing well. In the Report, Sir, they have mentioned four of such Centres. But there is one difficulty. Originally, they started with the intention of helping the neighbouring universities and the neighbouring colleges to improve their intellectual standard*, that is, to concentrate all the quality men and women in one place and then spread them so that the quality elsewhere improves. Unfortunately, that has not happened. Even when the Committees go to visit these* Centres of Advanced Study, all that they want to see is how much work they have done, that is, the individuals. Individual work may be there. But the purpose is to improve the standard of education throughout the country. But that has unluckily not been fulfilled and I think that the University Grants Commission should pay special attention to this.

Then, another thing is there: The 10 plus 2 formula was an excellent formula in various respects. The intention was that up to the 10th Class you give what you call the general kind of education and then at that level, at the 10th Class, you make a distinction between the general, the academics and the other thing, that is, you make a distinction between those who want to go in for general education and those who want to go in for vocational education. Unfortunately, not many people are interested in the vocational education and everyone is going to the academic side only. The intention is that after the 12th Class, give a three-year rigorous, concentrated, intellectual course in whatever discipline you like. You can call it Honours or

anything you like and that is immaterial. You give such a concentrated intellectual course so that your BA or Honours degree means something. Unfortunately, our colleges are only finishing schools and they are not colleges. That shows the devaluation of the quality of education that is there, the devaluation of our educational institutions. But, what we have lost we have to salvage. We have to salvage something and that we can salvage provided at the 12th Class we make a distinction. That is where the difficulty comes in really. The point is that the urban middle-class people may catch hold of all the seats in the universities and the others will not be able to get the seats. I agree, the massive scholarship scheme should be there. The idea, was to have two colleges in each district. But, I am sorry to say, that has not yet been utilised as well as it should have been utilised. Then, the question of autonomous colleges is there. Let not these autonomous colleges become public schools at that level. If they become that—this is not a question of the students going to the autonomous colleges—the idea is to have a good college, autonomous college or otherwise, and let the children go there from all over the place, best students, academically oriented, and let there be that type of education and let the Government finance that type of education. That is the scholarship scheme. *(Time bell rings)*. Two minutes more, Sir.

While discussing the UGC, here I would like to mention something. It is not a matter of pleasure to me. I read a news item in the newspapers this morning about a directive having been issued by the Ministry of Education to the University Grants Commission. I will plead both with this Government and with any other Government that may be there, this is the consistent policy that I have followed throughout my life—that the educational institutions are very fragile and it is very easy to hurt

them and it is very easy to destroy them. A teacher, again, Sir, a good teacher, is a very frail plant and you can destroy that plant very easily. Once you start issuing directives—your intentions may be the best, but that is not the point—you will not be respecting the autonomy of the institutions. Unless you respect the autonomy of the individual and the autonomy of educational institutions, it is no good. There are ways of going about; yes. If you think the autonomy is being abused, have consultations. After all, the University Grants Commission is a body on which you have, I presume, representatives of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Education permanently there. The University Grants Commission should be handled more gently, more delicately—and so also the Universities. Unless we learn to respect educational institutions, let me tell you they may continue as they are continuing, but the quality will not improve . . . *(Tim* bell rings)*

Sir, last point; one sentence more, and ...

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, on a point of order. I would like to have a reply from him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI GHANSHYAMBHAI OZA): 'You will have an opportunity to speak.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: This is not the question.

इन विश्वविद्यालयों में यू० जी० सी० के डायरेक्टिब्ज को, उनके बनाए हुए नाम्स वाइस चांसलर लोग उठाकर फैंक रहे हैं, उनकी खवहेलना कर रहे हैं।

Third class people are being appointed by the Vice-Chancellors in the Universities in utter disregard of the U.G.C.'s directives. What is this? And the U.G.C. is helpless. Therefore, the Government has to issue directives and has to intervene. Such

[Shri Nageshwar Prasad Shahij

things cannot be allowed. Third class people are being appointed. I would like to have a reply from the Doctor.

DR. SARUP SINGH. I won't give a reply. Anyway . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI GHANSHYAMBHAI OZA): Kindly finish.

DR. SARUP SINGH: The point that I am making is this. The Government can always issue directives; it has the right to issue "directives. And as somebody said the other day, one has the right in the present circumstances to divorce his wife, but one "does not divorce his wife. The point is that if there are difficulties, if there are differences of opinion, should be resolved in a manner that the public does not see this. I "plead that the educational institutions should be handled in a different way.

Sir, my last point is this. We say again and again that student violence in the campuses is owing to the pent up feelings, so on and so forth. But, unfortunately, the standard of discipline in our national life is going down. And this is reflected in the student community, Unemployment, over-crowding, bad teaching or indifferent teaching—these are the very basic reasons. Students are disturbed. And why do we not touch political parties? Actually, political parties never support Universities. In fact, politicians are hurting the future generations. Sir, the politicians are . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI GHANSHYAMBHAI OZA): Even the discipline here.

DR. SARUP SINGH: Therefore, I plead that the University Grants Commission and the Government of India should examine this question of campuses carefully and see whether something is possible. As I said,

Universities are part of the national, social system. Unless we improve there, I do not know whether they can improve Universities. But we can at least make an effort.

Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI GHANSHYAMBHAI OZA): Mr. Madhavan. Since you are going out, I have called you. But you have to observe the discipline of five minutes. Kindly be very brief.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: (Kerala) : Sir, I was getting ready to go out,, But you have called me. Thank* you. t

I would like to say that I welcome one thing.- In the introductory part of the Report,, there is an element of emphasis on rural development. Then there is 'another thing: pattern of education, re-structuring of courses, etc. That development is very significant. That is exactly what I welcome also. Sir, I have suspicion about the autonomy of colleges. - '

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni) in the Chair]

I am as suspicious as the doubting Thomas, the disciple of Christ because the autonomy is claimed to misuse it as a cover for all types of misdeeds. This kind of autonomy is abused to any extent. The previous speaker, who happens to be the ex-Vice Chancellor of a very well-known university, was speaking about autonomy of institutions and universities I also listened to Mr. Shahi. My friend from the Janata benches made observations about the misdeeds of the Vice-Chancellor who happened to be the speaker before me, That is the point exactly. The claim of the autonomy to colleges and the universities is really a claim for all the heads of the institutions to do anything wrong to any extent. That is what I understand from autonomy. I am opposed to the idea of autonomy. I can under-

stand the autonomy of the spirituality of the individual. I can understand the spiritual autonomy of the teacher concerned. I can understand the spiritual guidance given to the Students concerned. I am agreeable to all this. But the point is this. What are they thinking about autonomy and where they taking autonomy? We are speaking about autonomy in a country where the society and the structure of the society is different. I shudder to think what will happen to the weakest section of the society. This autonomy will lead them to destruction and slavery. This is a very important point. I am afraid about the poorest sections of the people. I can see from Section IX of the report that it deals with facilities for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. There the cat is out of the bag. These people claim that the standard of teaching should be maintained and the standard of teachers should be maintained. But they appoint third-rate teachers at dignified places for giving guidance to the students. This is what happens. The University Grants Commission has not done anything in favour of the weaker sections of the society for such a long time. They have been awakened by the parliamentary committee and even after the report of the parliamentary committee, they have acted upon it at the proverbial 'snail's speed' or they have not acted at all. What does it mean? It means that the people who are at the highest seats of learning do not want to know what exactly is the society and what exactly is the need of the society. This is the tragedy of this day. What happens to the hundreds and hundreds of Harijans and people? They are looted and the modesty of their women is violated. That is the structure of society we have.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Madhavan, are you speaking in the University Grants Commission?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I know what is relevant. I know the law of relevance. I am a lawyer, by profession.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): That is good. Carry on.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I am coming to that. We are in a country, we are in a society where men are not equal. We have got political equality in terms of one-man-one-vote. But in everything else, we have inequality. And the University Grants Commission do not take note of this inequality. They speak about the students coming from the poorer sections of the society and the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Do they know the living conditions of these students? Sir, I was born in a Harijan family. My father was not an agricultural worker, he was a scholar. From the 5th standard onwards, I was a merit scholarship-holder throughout. I am not speaking about myself. What about the students coming from the Harijan community? What are the living conditions under which they study? They live in houses far away from the colleges. They have to walk ten or even 20 miles. They have to read under the light of a chimney burnt by kerosene. But sometimes when the boy is reading, the mother will take away that chimney to the kitchen and he will have to read in darkness. What is his social condition? He is starving or half-starving. For such a boy, at a tender age, at the high school level, at the college level, if you take into consideration those living conditions, how can you prescribe standards? Now they say that they have given an allowance of five marks, a relaxation of five marks. What is this relaxation of five marks compared to the pitiable living conditions in which they are? And they say that they have provided so many things. But reading from pages 13(j) to 141 of the Report, you find that admissions are

[Shri K. K. Madhavan] not given to the students coming from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, appointments are not given and promotions are not given to these people though they are well-qualified. That is the condition now. Then they speak about the universities. They have said that a number of universities have not implemented these things. I want to know what action this University Grants Commission have taken against those universities. Have they withheld their grants? If they don't obey your directives, why do you give grants to such institutions? They say that they have requested them. What is this nonsense of a request? They should have directed the universities to comply with the orders of the Government. They do not comply. What action do you take? You don't take any action. And what about the UGC office itself? They themselves have denied these opportunities of appointment and promotion to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people. After receiving the Report of the Parliamentary Committee, they have begun to open their eyes. But even to do something, they took much more time. And they boast of posting a peon or promoting a peon or somebody to a Class IV or a clerical post. That is what they say.

Then, Sir, most of the posts have been de-reserved. I don't have enough time to go into the entire structure. This de-reservation policy is there in the UGC office itself. That is my complaint. When that is the policy of the University Grants Commission, how can the policy of different universities differ from that of the UGC? That is a very strange fact, Sir. There is a march of de-reservation. I know in the newspaper advertisements it is said that the posts are reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. But, in actual practice, at the same time they invite applications from other sections also. They interview them separately. The interviews are a farce. After that so many obstacles are there. The whole

thing is de-reserved. It is a question of manipulation. It is a very very clever way of manipulating things against the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. That is what has happened in the colleges and universities. I am not referring to autonomous colleges, where the position will be much worse.

Sir, I will give you my own personal example. I did not want my daughter to be educated in a Christian convent. But she wanted to be there. After the 10th standard, she joined there; though she got admission in our own Government college also. She joined there; but then she had a bitter experience. Why? That college, I dare I mention the name, St. Teresa's College, Ernakulam, Cochin-II located at the place from where I come, is known to have produced first division students in a large number, with high percentage of marks, 100 per cent, and all that, but do you know how they manipulate that? They will persuade the students before the final examinations to withdraw, take transfer to some other institution and go somewhere else. Then they take the bright students for admission at the higher secondary stage. From the Slaughter of a gentleman, who subsequently became a Minister in Kerala they took bribe. Bribery is the order of the day in such institutions. In many institutions in Kerala the entire salary of college teachers is now paid by the Government. It is an invitation to private managements to boost up their bribery. It is bribery rampant. A lectureship in these colleges means a bribe of Rs. 20,000. In a private college the entire expenditure, including the grants for buildings, is given by the Government, but still they are known as private colleges. They are the colleges of bribery. They are the colleges of corruption. All this is done by very holy people, the priests and nuns. My daughter had a bitter experience there and she had to leave that institution after being there only for two years. Sir, they take all the money from the Government for running the hostels mess for Scheduled

Caste/Scheduled Tribe students but they give only sub-standard food. Such things are happening. Some students remarked that, if Hie Hell was to be monopolised by any particular section, it will be monopolised by the nuns and the priests. That is the impression among the younger people, among the students. Of course principle are there but practice is entirely different.

Sur, I wanted to quote extensively from the last chapter but for want of time I am not doing it. Sir, you may kindly go through the last chapter. It is on the measures or Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, i.e., the facilities to be given to them. You will see that all the directions of the Government have been violated by the colleges and universities and the University Grants Commission is a silent watchman of all this corruption and indiscipline. How can such an organisation, the University Grants Commission, preside over the destinies of the growing generations of this country? How can such an institution instil discipline among the younger generations of this country? If any action is to be taken against any wrong that is invisibly committed by anybody, by any association or institution in this country, I would say the first offender is the University Grants Commission, then only come the universities and lastly the colleges. So, the dismal position is that we are a country where the society is not equal. We are thinking in terms of an egalitarian society. That is a very nice word. This is being talked of by the people in power. But there is nothing but revivalism. Even in this emphasis on rural economy and development, I feel there is the hidden element of revivalism which may ultimately come to totalitarianism or even authoritarianism. That is the position. The culture of this country is congenial to the growth of totalitarianism or authoritarianism. All the parties have to fight against this the feudal culture of this country, the feudal character of this country, the

feudal economy of this country and the feudal minds of the people at the top in this country. Unless we have a frontal attack on it, we cannot get rid of it. Sir, I am ashamed that I am headed by the people who fool their followers, who desert their followers, who betray their follower* and who betray their masters. That is the tragedy of the day. Sir, I feel, I stand disillusioned not by the Janata party Government or by the people who brought them to power. So long as the people do not decide to remove them, they cannot be pulled down. At the same time, when they are going towards revivalism, their trend is towards authoritarianism, the people of this country have a right to check them at the appropriate time. The point is, Sir, it is a difference between tweedle dum and tweedle dee and nothing else. There is absolutely no difference between the tendency towards totalitarianism on the one side and tendency towards authoritarianism on the other side. And I stand in between these two, between the devil and the deep sea.

I thank you, Sir, for giving me an opportunity to speak. As a token of protest against the leaders, of Congress Party Organisation, I was sitting silent in the House for so many days in this session and this is the first occasion that I speak during this session. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Thank you, Mr Madhavan. bi-. Adiseshiah.

DR. V. P. DUTT: May I ask one question, Sir? I think the normal order that is given should not change. The order should not be changed without informing the Members because there was a certain order given of speakers. Now, unfortunately, we make some other engagement according to that order and it makes it difficult for us.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I

[Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni]

am sorry; when I occupied the Chair, I had .

DR. V. P. DUTT: No, Sir, I was only submitting.

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH (Nominated): I rise to associate myself with the proposal of the Minister of Education to take into consideration this annual report of the University Grants Commission for 1976-77 which I find a good and informative report about the functioning of the university system under its overall guidance for that year 1976-77.

I note three general limitations that I find reading through this report. The first is that the report is somewhat dated 1976-77 and the number of us present here who are connected actively with the universities find ourselves like having to partake of warmed over milk or a piece of stale bread for which, of course, neither the Minister nor the University Grants Commission is responsible, because that is the time rhythm in which the report is presented annually. The second limitation which I find is this. In the Introduction, there is an attempt to synthesise the nine sections into which the report is divided. In the first section, which deals with the trends in enrolment in universities and colleges, there is an attempt to synthesise. But when we go on to the other eight sections in the Introduction, the synthesis is lacking and I would call the attention of the UGC to making an effort in their future reports to continue the attempt at synthesising and at making a synthetic presentation of the trend which has been begun in the first part of the nine different sections of the report. On student enrolment, we get a clear idea. When we go on to other things like the intensification and co-ordination of instruction, support for research and so on, we do not get the same idea and the same kind of trends which we notice in the first section. The third is, there are certain gaps in the report both on the student side

and the university side which I will come to presently.

Turning first to the first section on enrolment in higher education, the Commission reports, and the hon Minister also, in her excellent presentation, called attention to the fact

that there is a declining trend in enrolment.

There is only a 0.2 per

cent increase in enrolment for 1976-77

and for the three years together, it is somewhere around 2.9 per cent in-

crease in enrolment. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think, this refers only to full time students registered and enrolled in the universities and their affiliated colleges. I would like to

suggest that the UGC begin to collect data on all students. There is in the appendix, in one of the appendices,

appendix III, a listing of the correspondence course students. I think, if we put all the information together, with the universities supplying infor-

mation on private students, as well the very important group which we

do not take ever notice of, those who are at the tutorial colleges pursuing tertiary education, we would get a better idea of what the enrolment trends are, full time, part time, own time and in the non-formal education system. Now, such a consolidated picture is not available. I tried to put the things together, but still it did not add up to a consolidated trend. With regard to total enrolment.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would invite your attention to page 2 of the report. I do not find my Andhra friends here. It says:

"In Andhra Pradesh, there was a precipitate decline of 12.2 per cent in enrolment in 1976-77 due to the introduction of 10+2 system."

Now, I suppose, the UGC or some of them at least know the real reason for this precipitate decline. My fellow Vice Chancellors in Andhra Pradesh have told me that 1976-77 was the first year, when there had been honest examinations at the higher secondary level, when there was no copying. Therefore, there was a precipitate decline in the number of students who were eligible

to enter the universities and colleges. They had to give grace marks and so on to get even the minimum number in. This is simply an aside. I agree with! the general trend and conclusion, reached here and that is given the mismatch between the products of higher education and the employment market which has been referred to by Dr. Lokesh Chandra, Dr. Sarup Singh and others, this effort to first stabilise full time enrolment in higher education is inescapable. How this is to be done, however, is a matter which has not been discussed here. I do not know whether the UGC can do very much about how to implement this desirable objective. I think the only way to do it is by opening up the various channels of higher education apart from full time attendance at colleges and universities. Then the second section goes on to the numerical growth of colleges and here there is a flat statement, using very strong language; it says on page 2:

"Thus taking the country as a whole, there seems to be an urgent need for banning the establishment of new colleges for some years to come."

And the hon. Minister used the phrase 'moratorium on colleges' except where they are needed, such as in tribal areas. I am in broad agreement with this, Mr. Vice-Chairman, but I think the reasons given for this are not quite convincing to me. I am agreeable to the conclusion but how we go about implementing it again needs to be thought about because as the report points out in this section, starting of colleges is not a responsibility of the UGC, nor of the Union Government, but of the State Governments and, therefore, how this agreement or consensus about bringing forward a sort of Central legislation which will limit the starting of new colleges, is to be arrived at, that is a matter to be thought about.

Here I have one comment with regard to this report and that is the definition of non-viable colleges.

There is rather a wooden definition of non-viability that is to say, any college which has an enrolment below 400 is called non-viable. I think this is bureaucratic in the sense as used by Dr. Lokesh Chandra and Dr. Sarup Singh. I think, it is the easy way of defining non-viable colleges, but I must say, to me, coming from my University, some of the best institutions which are known all over India, like the Christian Medical College in Vellore and the Women's Christian College in Madras, deliberately have kept down their enrolment to below 400 and, therefore, I think the question of viability does not depend upon the number of students only. Viable institutions should be defined in terms of the use of facilities, full-time and part-time use of facilities, the quality of teaching, the facilities available for sports and culture and the contribution made to local community development. It is difficult for the UGC to use all this criteria in order to arrive at what are the Institutions which are viable, but I have some serious doubts which were expressed by me in the UGC and at other forums, of using purely the four hundred student figure for arriving at this large number of non-viable institutions.

Now I agree with the general conclusion here for not starting new colleges, for stabilising full-time enrolment, but I have my own reasons for this agreement. First of all, there is the social frustration that higher education is causing *vis-a-vis* employment. Then there is the social injustice which my friend Mr. Madhavan, speaking before me, referred to, namely that it is the system through which, as Dr. Sarup Singh said, we, at the higher class, the top 20 per cent of the society and our children, are getting into universities and into the labour market. I think this stabilisation is necessary, but we should not stop at that. I think there is the need here for replacing the present system of certification, the giving of degrees and diplomas as a means of breaking

[Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah] this close link between the university certification and the employment in the organised sector and replacing them by records of the learning path and learning attainment of each student. This would leave it to the employers, whether public sector or private sector, to devise their own selection procedures, selection methods and not distort the education system by requiring the certification to be the means or passport to employment.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the same section, in the in-4 P.M. introduction there is a mixture of the numerical growth of colleges and the numerical growth of universities, and at page 2, the report makes a rather cautious statement about the growth of universities, namely, "the desirability of allowing any new universities to be established for the present needs careful consideration." There is not the moratorium or a complete ban in this case. This paragraph is with regard to colleges. But with regard to universities, the matter needs careful consideration. Here I would like to bring to the attention of the House and of the University Grants Commission the peculiar situation of Tamil Nadu with its three universities. You may take any criteria. The number of colleges which was recommended by the Gajendra-gadkar Committee or by the Kothari Commission was 30 or 40 colleges for each university. And I was the Vice-Chancellor of a university with 160 colleges! And my colleague, the Vice-Chancellor of Madurai University had 110 colleges! If we take the criterion of population, the all-India figure is one university for 63 lakhs of population. In Tamil Nadu, one university has double that number—137 lakhs. Therefore, with regard to Tamil Nadu, we have followed the UGC lines suggested here. During the last three years when I was the Vice-Chancellor—and this is the fourth year and my successor is there—we had not and have not started a single college. This is where money is being wasted and we have followed

the line of holding it. But we want in the Madras University, for instance, which is facing an impossible situation with 160 colleges spread over half the State to be broken into two more new universities, for which the University Grants Commission and the State Government have given all the infrastructure in Coimbatore and Tiruchirappalli. So I welcome the idea if the Minister and the Commission means that new universities should not ordinarily be opened, but they must be carefully considered in order to see whether they should be. I would assure you that in Tamil Nadu, you could, without any additional financial commitment to the U.G.C., make the University of Madras, which is now unviable, more nearly viable by opening two more universities.

Now, I come next to Section II of the Report, with regard to maintenance and coordination of standards. It has a number of things which are of mixed value. I think that the Faculty Improvement Programme is an excellent programme. The Faculty Improvement Programme helps teachers to undertake M. Phil, studies. But unfortunately, this has got linked with eligibility for UGC scales of pay. I understand Delhi has taken its own decision. But we in Madras still follow the UGC lines. A college lecturer, to be eligible for the UGC scale, must get a M. Phil, and later on Ph.D. Now, there is no academic motivation for going in for the first research degree. Therefore, to that extent, I must say that if the Faculty Improvement Programme can in some way delink M. Phil, from eligibility for UGC scales of pay, then the purpose which the UGC has in mind, of improving the quality of teachers and lecturers in our colleges and universities, would be served through the M. phil. programme.

Then, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have read carefully through the work of the subject panels mentioned in Section II of the Report. I must say that apart from the panel work on history—it may be that because of the spe-

cialisation of the Chairman of the University Grants Commission, they have done an excellent job on history and the social work panel—the work of the other panels does not seem to be very impressive. Certainly it has not reached out to my university. Nothing came to us from the work that these panelg have done, which we could use in restructuring and improving the curriculum and teaching in the university.

Now, with regard to restructuring of courses, Dr. Lokesh Chandra and Dr. Sarup Singh referred to problems faced in linking these courses to rural development. We have done that in our University, and this is an essential reform. It is not a revolution; it is a reform, and it can be done. The UGC guidelines are wise. Each university has to work this out. The content of this cannot come from Delhi, from the central place, not even from Madras for the colleges. We will have to work together in the various places where this takes place, whether it is s. dry land, whether it is a fishery land, whether it is a wet land, and so on; you have to link the curriculum and the syllabus concerned to the local rural conditions.

Another thing I would like to call the attention of the UGC to is the cost. I found that the amount of money that we have to spend on retraining our teachers or putting new teachers and on equipment and laboratories is much more than what the UGC and the University thought were essential in this programme.

In this connection I also want to say that the emphasis with regard to maintenance of standards in adult education is, on paper, very well expressed. But I must tell the House and the UGC, on the basis of my own practical experience—I also happen to be president of the All-India Adult Education Association—that the universities are being left far behind compared to the other voluntary agencies^{an(*)} Government departments in this programme of adult education to

which we, as a nation, have given the highest priority. I would call attention to this aspect, even if we do not want to be in forefront, at least we must move as fast as others. This aspect should be looked into. (*Time-beli rings*) Now that you have rung the bell I shall skip the other portions and I come to my last point. And that is with regard to the development of universities. Here, unlike Dr. Sarup Singh or Prof. Rashiduddin Khan and others who will speak after me,—like Dr. Dutt coming from a State University, I must join with Dr. Lokesh Chandra against Dr. Sarup Singh, about the present financing system of the universities. Look at pages 102 and 103 and you will see the inequity. On page 102 you will see that something like Es. 32 crores is being spent on non-Plan expenditure for the live Central Universities and something like Rs. 38 crores on Plan expenditure for 110 universities including the five Central Universities and deemed universities. Now, Dr. Sarup Singh is quite right in saying that the UGC is not responsible for this inequity. This is an inequity. This is an inequity because the State universities do not get from the State Governments the financial support which Dr. Sarup Singh referred to, to make up for the kind of support which the five Central Universities are getting from the UGC. I agree with him that this is not the fault of the UGC. We wrote as Parliament this item into the UGC Act, under Section 12(b) and as long as Section 12(b) is there, the UGC will be making this kind of inequitable distribution of its limited resources, more than 50 per cent going to the five Central Universities and less than 50 per cent going to the other 100 odd State Universities. Now, what is the way out in regard to this? Even under the present conditions I believe there are two things which can be done. The University Grants Commission can be responsible for Plan grants for everybody, both for Central Universities and State Universities. And let the Minister of Education, the Central Minister of Education, provide* the non-Plan grant

to the Central Universities just as the State Ministry of Education provides the non-Plan grants to us the State Universities. The Central Ministry of Education should provide the non-Plan expenditure to the Central Universities. Even in these grants to the Central Universities, there is inequity. Whereas, for giving grants to the State Universities, the UGC requires the State Governments to provide 50 to 25 per cent matching grant, when it comes to the Central Universities they get hundred per cent from the Commission. So, in order to get over this kind of an inequity the immediate way out that I have been advocating is to open up the doors for the University Grants Commission to provide some non-Plan assistance, some non-Plan aid, to the universities. That is the second immediate alternative. There is nothing in the statutes, as far as I understand it, which will prevent the University Grants Commission from financing non-Plan aid to the State Universities. This should be open to them, wherever it is necessary, wherever it is deserving, wherever it is meritorious. My last point is about the governance of our universities and on the question of autonomy to which Mr. Sarup Singh referred and, I think, another hon. Member has also mentioned this. But there was a misunderstanding. I think Mr. Sarup Singh put very clearly what the university means by 'autonomy'. It means quality and freedom to think and teach and move forward along with all countries of the world in the realm of the mind and spirit.

Now, this report is silent on two things. There are two gaps. One is that in the students section there is no report on student disturbances. I know that 1976-77 was the period of emergency and there was no report on student disturbances officially made in newspapers. I think, however, that the UGC files should contain this information. The files in the Education Ministry has the information on student disturbances that have taken place. I remember Prof. Nurul Hasan

giving this information while answering starred or Unstarred questions in Parliament. Therefore, that Silence is not necessary in this report because this is official information and it needs analysis.

Secondly, and more seriously, during this period of 1976-77—Prof. Ranga will correct me if I am wrong—a number of State Governments took action in order to abolish elected syndicates, elected Academic Councils and elected Senates and nominate persons on these bodies end this continues today. This took place in 1976-77 in a number of universities. A number of other universities—not only these universities—were brought under the State Secretaries of Education as Departments of Government

in such a way that the Vice-Chancellors in those universities could not even appoint a peon or a clerk or typist without the permission of the Secretaries of Education Departments of the Government. This is a fact, but this report is silent on this. Mr. Sarup Singh said that the only justification for universities is that they should become centres of excellence. To attain some part of that ideal, they must be universities, not Departments of Government. If that is so, I would like to suggest that the University Grants Commission should appoint a Commission to look into this whole question of governance. 8 years ago we had the Gajendragadkar Commission. Now we have a different situation and therefore this commission should suggest improvements and the type of model we should have....

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Including its relationship with students.

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH: That is what I mean.

I believe that the time has come for the University Grants Commission to look into the method of appointing Vice-Chancellors in the University. I think it has become—if I may use strong expression—an instrument of political intervention in a number of States. I would like to suggest that:

in the premier universities of the country—coming from Madras University, I have no hesitation in including Jawaharlal Nehru University and Delhi University in that category—the UGC and the Central Government should start new traditions. For instance, in Jawaharlal Nehru University there are at least half a dozen Heads of Centres or Departments, in Delhi University probably there are more than half a dozen who could be Vice-Chancellors. Here the post of Vice-Chancellor should go in rotation by seniority among these Heads of Departments. Why should we continue to bring outsiders as Vice-Chancellors? I think the time has come to look into a more orderly way of ensuring appointment; of Vice-Chancellors as part of these autonomous structures. It exists in all the other countries.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Can't there be a system of election?

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA (Maharashtra): You want the UGC to appoint them?

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH: No. I want the Universities to do that, just as it is done in Oxford, Cambridge, London, etc.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: The UGC has nothing to do with it. It is by an Act of Parliament that you decide the procedure. It is for Parliament to do that.

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH: I am suggesting that the UGC should appoint a Commission to go into the whole question of the governance of the Universities which includes the students' relationship with the Universities and the appointment of Vice-Chancellors and I have made one suggestion as to how this could be done, starting with some of the well-established and premier Universities of the country, by a system of rotation of the Heads of Departments in the Universities and no outsiders need come. Thank you, Sir.

"Regarding the maintenance of standards and coordination of work and facilities in the universities, the University Grants Commission

श्री विश्वम्भर नाथ पांडे (नाम निर्देशित):

माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन की 1976-77 की रिपोर्ट इस सदन के सामने है, राज्य शिक्षा मंत्री ने यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन के कार्य के सिलसिले में एक अच्छी विवेचना की है। मैं उनकी बहुत सी बातों से सहमत हूँ। यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन में जब से वह अस्तित्व में आयी तब से बड़े उपयोगी काम किये हैं। यूनिवर्सिटी टीचर्स का ग्रेड, डिग्री कॉलेज के टीचर्स का ग्रेड, एफीलियेटेड कॉलेज के टीचर्स का ग्रेड जो बहुत कम था और जिसके परिणामस्वरूप अच्छे ब्रिलियेंट स्कालर्स एजुकेशन की फील्ड को छोड़ कर एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की फील्ड में जा रहे थे That has been arrested.

अब यू० जी० सी० का जो ग्रेड है वह इतना अच्छा है कि लोग उसकी तरफ खिंचकर आ रहे हैं।

दूसरी सुविधा जो उसने दी, चूँकि इलाहाबाद यूनिवर्सिटी में और उसके एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन से बहुत वर्षों से मेरा ताल्लुक है, इसलिए मैं कह सकता हूँ कि 25 वर्ष के बाद यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन की ग्रांट से हमने एक होस्टल तीन सौ विद्यार्थियों के रहने के लिए बनाया। इसके पहले स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के पास फंड्स नहीं थे, वह फण्ड्स दे नहीं सकते थे और काफी कठिनाई उससे पैदा होती थी विद्यार्थियों के रहने के लिए। उसकी वजह से अनुशासन में भी बहुत बड़ी कमी आती थी, यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन ने इस कमी को पूरा किया। सिर्फ हायर एजुकेशन इन द यूनिवर्सिटी जो उसका लक्ष्य है उसको बढ़ाना, मजबूत करना, कन्सोलीडेट करना उसके अलावा जैसा इस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट में दर्ज है, मैं यहाँ उद्धरण पढ़ रहा हूँ :

[श्री विश्वम्भर नाथ पांडे]

has been conscious of the fact that the best results could be achieved by developing simultaneously the physical infrastructure of class rooms, libraries, laboratories, hostels, etc. A substantial investment is required to ensure minimum facilities even in selected institutions with sufficient regional spread."

लेकिन आज जो 'टाईम्स आफ इंडिया' में रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित हुई है उस रिपोर्ट को देखते हुए मुझे ऐसा लग रहा है कि इन फिजिकल फेसिलिटीज के देने के संबंध में आप कोई मोरेटोरियम रखना चाहते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत गलत कदम होगा। दूसरी बात गवर्नमेंट को पूरा हक है, शिक्षा मंत्रालय को पूरा अधिकार है, कि वह पालिसी डायरेक्शन दे। लेकिन पालिसी डायरेक्शन देने का मतलब यह नहीं है कि जिन प्रोप्राइटीरी ट्रेडिशन पर पिछले 25 वर्ष से यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन चल रहा है उसमें कोई दखल दिया जाय या उसमें उलट पलट किया जाय। कोई नोति ऐसी होनी चाहिए कि ऊपर के दबाव से, पोलिटिकल प्रेसर से यह समझ करके कि इसमें ऐसे तत्व हैं जो प्रोग्रेसिव तत्व हैं या जिनके साथ उनका मेल न बैठता हो उनकी आइडियोलोजी, ख्यालात का, मिथ्यातों का, उस दृष्टि से इस पर कोई आक्रमण नहीं होना चाहिये। आपने बहुत सी तबदीलियां की शिक्षा के दूसरे क्षेत्रों में। मैं आपसे चाहूंगा कि यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन के मिलसिले में कोई अभी व्यापक तबदीली इस वक्त, फिजहाल करने की बात न करें। प्रधान मंत्री जो ने कहा है कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में वे आमूल-चूल परिवर्तन करना चाहते हैं और अभी तक उनकी रिपोर्ट कि क्या परिवर्तन करना चाहते हैं देश के सामने, पार्लियामेंट के सामने नहीं है। लिहाजा नीति सम्बन्धी परिवर्तन करने की बात उससे पहले न करें। अगर करना चाहते हैं यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन के सम्बन्ध में तब आप पार्लियामेंट के दोनों

सदनों की कमेटी बनाएं और उसके बारे में जो सुझार या परिवर्तन करना चाहते हैं उस कमेटी की राय से करें।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन ने, जो उनकी अनुदान सम्बन्धी सूची है उसको देखने से पता चलता है कि साइंस डिपार्टमेंट्स को उन्होंने 1974-75 में 609.07 लाख रुपया, 1975-76 में 781.88 लाख रुपया, 1976-77 में 1162.36 लाख रुपया दिया, ह्यूमेनिटीज और सोशल साइंसेज पर उन्होंने खर्च किया 1974-76 में 327.91 लाख, 1975-76 में 306.82 लाख और 1976-77 में 554.82 लाख, इंजीनियरिंग और टेक्नालाजी पर 271.02 लाख 1974-75 में, 1975-76 में 393.64 लाख और 1976-77 में 577.88 लाख और मिस-लेनियस स्कीम्स जो हैं उसमें उन्होंने 1974-75 में 905.28 लाख, 1975-76 में 1077.21 लाख और 1976-77 में 1194.34 लाख रुपया दिया।

मैं समझता हूँ कि मिसलेनियस स्कीम्स पर इतना ज्यादा जो साइंस डिपार्टमेंट से, ह्यूमेनिटीज और सोशल साइंसेज, इंजीनियरिंग और टेक्नालाजी से सबसे ज्यादा काबलित उनका मिसलेनियस पर खर्च है। इसके सम्बन्ध में हम चाहेंगे कि व्यापक आप रोशनी डालें कि आपके जो डिपार्टमेंट्स हैं, उनके मुकाबले में इसमें अधिक खर्च यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन ने कैसे किया?

तीसरी बात यह है कि आपने दो कटेगरी यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन की बना रखी हैं, एक अडवान्स स्टडी की ओर दूसरी स्पेशल असिस्टेन्स की। विजिटिंग टीम्स जाती है, जाने के बाद वे मुक्तलिफ यूनिवर्सिटीज के डिपार्टमेंट्स का वर्किंग देखती हैं, वर्किंग देखने के बाद वहां से आकर वे अपनी रिपोर्ट्स सेंट्रल देती हैं। यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन उन

रिकमन्डेशन पर विचार करता है और विचार करने के बाद वह उनको एलोकेशन देता है, ग्रांट देता है। लेकिन इसमें अक्सर यह होता है कि चूंकि यूनिवर्सिटी के एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन से मुझे वाकफियत है उसकी बिनाह पर मैं कह सकता हूं कि यह विजिटिंग टीम एक जगह से दूसरी यूनिवर्सिटी जाती है और दूसरी यूनिवर्सिटी की टीम उन के यहां आती है। तो आपस में तय हो जाता है और वे इस हिसाब से अपना फैसला कर लेते हैं। एक दूसरे को ओवलाइज करते हैं और ग्रांट्स फिक्स हो जाती है। मेरा ख्याल है कि यह चीज ऐसी है कि जिस पर हमको और ज्यादा सही तरीके से, सही नजरिये से विचार करना होगा। इसलिए यह जो स्पेशल एसिस्टेंस की बात आती है और एडवांस स्टडी इन डिफरेंट सबजेक्ट्स की बात आती है इन डिफरेंट यूनिवर्सिटीज में, महरबानी करके इस के लिए आप को एक ऐसा तरीका निकालना होगा जिससे ठीक तरह से काम चले।

इसके अलावा यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन ने यह जो फैसला किया है लेक्चरर्स के लिए कि कम से कम 50-55 फीसदी गुड सेक्रेण्ड क्लास मार्क्स उन के होने चाहिए और जो एम० ए० सबजेक्ट है उस में 55 परसेन्ट या फर्स्ट डिविजन या गुड सेक्रेण्ड क्लास के मार्क्स उन के होने चाहिए, एम. फिल० की डिग्री होनी चाहिए, डी० फिल० हो तो बहुत अच्छी है या रिसर्च वर्क का उन का अच्छा होना चाहिए कि जिससे वह अप्पॉइन्टमेंट के काबिल हों आपको देखना है कि कितनी जगह यूनिवर्सिटी से एम० फिल० के कोर्सेज हैं, और अगर नहीं हैं तो वहां पहले एम फिल० के कोर्सेज के लिए आप को प्रोविजन करना चाहिए था और फिर उस के बाद यह शर्त लगानी चाहिए थी। दूसरी चीज यह कि जो लेक्चरर्स के लिए आपने क्वालिफिकेशन रखी है वही क्वालिफिकेशन आपने रिडर्स के लिए रखी है, वही क्वालिफिकेशन आपने प्रोफेसर्स के लिए रखी है। कोई चीज ऐसी होनी चाहिए

कि जिससे आप यह जज कर सकें कि जो आदमी इतने दिनों तक, इतने वर्षों तक लगातार लेक्चरर रहा है वह रीडर के उपयुक्त है या नहीं है और अगर इतने वर्षों रीडर रहा है तो प्रोफेसर के उपयुक्त है कि नहीं है, यह आप को तय करना पड़ेगा। अगर खाली डाक्टरेट की डिग्री आप को रखनी है तो शर्त लगाइए कि लेक्चरर के लिए अगर डी० फिल० की डिग्री जरूरी है तो रीडर्स के लिए डी० लिट० की डिग्री जरूरी है और प्रोफेसर के पास कम से कम रिसर्च वर्क ऐसा होना चाहिए कि जिससे साबित हो सके कि वह हैड आफ डिपार्टमेंट या प्रोफेसर की पोस्ट पर रह सके। तो यह बहुत सी चीजें हैं जिन पर हमको और आपको सोचना पड़ेगा।

दूसरी बात, जिसकी तरफ आदिशेषैया जी ने और डा० सरूप सिंह ने ध्यान दिलाया, वह मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि अन्ड्यू इन्टरफियरेन्स इन दि मेटर आफ अप्पॉइन्टमेंट आफ वाइस चांसलर्स—जिस तरह से यूनिवर्सिटीज की चुनी हुई एक्जीक्यूटिव कौंसिल को खत्म कर के उनको एड् हाक अप्पॉइन्टमेंट किए गए पिछले कई वर्षों से और आप भी चला रहे एड् हाक एपाइन्टमेंट, तो यह आपको देखना होगा कि यह परिपाटी ठीक नहीं है। स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को कहना पड़ेगा कि इस तरह का एड् हाकजिम नामुनासिब है। इस चीज पर खास तौर पर ध्यान देना है।

मैं आपको कहना चाहता था एक जमाना था कि वाइस चांसलर्स किस तरह के लोग होते थे ? आप जरा देखिए सर सी० वी० रमन की जिन्दगी का वाक्या। सर आशुतोष मुखर्जी कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय के वाइस चांसलर थे वे जाते हैं मद्रास, वे जाते हैं बंगलौर। वहां उन को मालूम होता है कि एक बड़ा अच्छा स्कालर है सी० वी० रमन नाम का। उनके लिए वहां कोई रिसर्च की सुविधा नहीं है असिस्टेंट आडिटर हैं

[श्री विश्वम्भर नाथ पांडे]

एकाउन्टेन्ट जनरल के आफिस में। वह उसको बुलाते हैं, बुलाने के बाद उस को कहते हैं तुम मेरे साथ कलकत्ता चलो उस को कलकत्ता लाते हैं कलकत्ता लाने के बाद प्रेमचंद रायचंद स्कालरशिप दी जाती है और स्क लरशिप लेने के बाद अपने रिसर्च के जरिए सारे हिन्दुस्तान का नाम रोशन करता है नोबेल प्राइज मिलता है, इतना बड़ा आदमी होता है। क्या ऐसे वाइस चांसलर्स हैं जो डुड-डुड कर जो प्रामिनेट रिसर्च स्कालर हैं उनको जगह-जगह से लाएं अपनी यूनिवर्सिटी को अच्छा बनाएं? एक जमाना था, जब कुछ यूनिवर्सिटीज मशहूर थीं—इलाहाबाद यूनिवर्सिटी की ही बात में आप से कहता हूं कि डुड-डुड कर वहां पर एक से एक अच्छे आदमी जैसे कि कुण्णय या हमारे दूसरे प्रोफेसर्स थे फिजिक्स के, केमिस्ट्री के लाए जाते थे, लेकिन आज जो सेलेक्शन कमेटी होती है वह भी ऐसी होती है कि “भाई तू मेरा खयाल रख मैं तेरा खयाल रखूंगा।” नतीजा यह होता है कि—दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी की बात दूसरी है, मुझे दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी का कोर्ट अटेंड करने का मौका मिला वहां का मेम्बर मैं हूं—लेकिन मैं देखता हूं कि उसकी वजह से यूनिवर्सिटी में इतनी ज्यादा डिस-एपाइंटमेंट इतनी ज्यादा डिस्पैंडेंसी होती है कि कह नहीं सकता यह सेलेक्शन का तरीका भी अब ऐसा हो गया है कि जिस को देख कर बड़ा खेद होता है। तो अब इसमें भी सुधार करने की जरूरत है और आप को सोचना चाहिए कि किस तरह से यह करें।

जहां आप ग्रान्ट देते हैं स्टेट की यूनिवर्सिटीज को उन में कुछ यू० जी० सी० की ग्रान्ट्स होती हैं। उन की कुछ पोस्ट्स होती हैं, लेकिन उस के साथ-साथ उनके साथ एक मैचिंग ग्रान्ट की शर्त लगी रहती है और वह उन को नहीं मिल पाती उस के मिलने में स्टेट गवर्नमेन्ट से उन को बड़ी दिक्कत होती है और उस का नतीजा यह होता है कि बहुत सी ग्रान्ट्स लेप्स हो जाती हैं और जो काम साल भर में पूरा हो सकता है वह

तीन चार साल में पूरा होता है क्योंकि स्टेट गवर्नमेन्ट मैचिंग ग्रान्ट नहीं दे पाती। फिर आप को यह भी देखना है कि यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रान्ट्स कमीशन को जो ग्रान्ट आप ने दी है उस में से कितना पैसा वह खर्च नहीं कर सका। कितनी ग्रान्ट उस में से लेप्स हो गयी। इस का कारण उस की मशीनरी में कोई खराबी है या दूसरी स्टेट यूनिवर्सिटीज से उसका पूरा ताल मेल नहीं बैठ पाता, इस की तरफ भी आप को ध्यान देना चाहिए। तो मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि आज हम को एक एटमासफियर बनाना है यूनिवर्सिटीज में कि जहां हम अच्छे विद्यार्थी पैदा कर सके। आज कैफियत यह है कि आज यहां इतना ज्यादा हंगामा हो रहा है आज वहां अनुशासन की इतनी कमी है कि उस के कारण वहां कोई ठोस काम नहीं हो पाता और अगर हम उस को और बढ़ायेगे तो कुछ नहीं हो सकेगा। मुझे बड़ी रेस्पेक्ट है श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी के लिये, जो हमारे मंत्री हैं। मैं उन को छोटे भाई की तरह मानता हूं और वह भी मेरा आदर करते हैं, लेकिन मुझे अच्छा नहीं लगा कि जब वह डेलीगेशन ले कर यूनिवर्सिटी अथॉरिटीज के खिलाफ राष्ट्रपति जी से मिलने गये थे स्टूडेंट्स को कुछ शिकायत थी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन से उस को लेकर वह गये थे। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आज पोलिटिकल पार्टीज और खास तौर से हमारे जिम्मेदार नेता अपने को इन से जरा दूर रखे तो अच्छा है। आज अनुशासन की कैफियत क्या है। उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में करीब-करीब सारी यूनिवर्सिटीज बंद हैं। वहां जीरो इयर हो गया है। इम्तिहान नहीं हो पाये हैं। यूनिवर्सिटीज जीरो इयर की तरह जा रही है बिना इम्तिहान के तो कैसे काम चलगा? हमारे यहां इलाहाबाद यूनिवर्सिटी के वाइस चांसलर को अपने घर पर बैठ कर वाइस चांसलर करनी पड़ती है और उन के घर पर 40,50 पी ए० सी० के आदमी रहते हैं जिन पर 40 हजार रुपया हर महीने स्टेट गवर्नमेन्ट खर्च कर रही है ताकि

उन की हिफाजत हो। तो दो साल हो चुके जनता सरकार को शासन में आये हुए और उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में उन की पार्टी की सरकार है और केन्द्र में भी उन के मंत्री बैठे हुए हैं उनको किसी तरह से ताल मेल बिठा कर इस को राजनीति का प्रश्न न बना कर बल्कि इस को शिक्षा का प्रश्न बना कर नागरिकों का प्रश्न बना कर फूँचकर जनरेशन के लाभ का प्रश्न बनाकर इसको हल करना चाहिए। पर आज यूनिवर्सिटीज में कैफियत क्या है। वहाँ से जो लोग निकलते हैं वे भी आज जाति भेद में फसे हुए हैं वह लोग भी प्रान्त भेद में फसे हुए हैं। कितने दंगे कितने फसाद और कितना है उन का डागमैटिक एप्रोच उन का कोई दिमाग नहीं बन पा रहा है। मैं पढ़ रहा था एक किताब एडवर्ड कारपेंटर की जिस में आक्सफोर्ड यूनिवर्सिटी के सुन्दर संस्मरण दिये हुए हैं। उस में उन्होंने लिखा है कि जब वाइविल क्लासेज होते हैं तो उन में लड़के पोयम्स पढ़ते हैं, वह किस तरह की पोयम्स होती हैं। वह होती हैं:

"King David and King Solomon Led very merry lives With many, many concubines And many, many wives, But when old age came on them, With many, many qualms, King Solomon wrote the proverbs And David wrote the psalms."

तो आप लोगों के दिमाग से अंध विश्वास को दूर कर एक रेशनल और साइंटिफिक ट्रेनिंग दे कर उन में एक नया आउटलुक पैदा करना है। तो माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय आज क्या कैफियत है यूनिवर्सिटीज से निकल कर लड़के शादी नहीं करते जब तक कि उन को लम्बा दहेज न दिया जाय हमारे यहाँ कानपुर की एक लड़की थी बिमला वह हाई स्कूल फर्स्ट क्लास फर्स्ट और डिस्टिक्शन इन आल सब्जेक्ट्स इन्टर भी फर्स्ट क्लास फर्स्ट डिस्टिक्शन इन आल सब्जेक्ट्स बी० ए० फ्राम आगरा यूनिवर्सिटी फर्स्ट क्लास फर्स्ट

और एम० ए० इन फिलोसफी इसमें भी फर्स्ट क्लास फर्स्ट थी। उसकी शादी का जब सवाल आया तो किसी न दहेज में 15 हजार रुपये मांगे तो किसी ने 25 हजार रुपये किसी को मोटर चाहिये तो किसी को बिलायत जाने का खर्च। बाप बेचारा म्युनिसिपल स्कूल में मास्टर था। उसे 5 हजार रुपये प्रोविडेंट फंड के मिले थे पर उससे क्या होता? दो वर्ष तक लड़का खोजते-खोजते हार गये तो लड़की के दिमाग पर इतना असर पड़ा कि उसने अपने ऊपर केरोसीन डाल कर आत्म हत्या कर ली। इतने ब्रिलिएंट एकेडेमिक कैरियर के बाद इस आजाद हिन्दुस्तान में सिवाय मौत के उसे कोई दूसरी चीज नहीं मिल सकी क्या ऐसे ही लड़के हम यूनिवर्सिटी में पैदा करते हैं? मैं चाहूँगा कि चाहे विद्यार्थी परिपक्व हो या दूसरी कोई स्टूडेंट आर्गनाइजेशन हो उनको यह काम अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिये इस प्रकार का सोशल रिफार्म का काम अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिये वजाय तोड़ फोड़ के और दूसरे गलत काम करने के। हमारे देश में सुसंस्कृत नागरिक पैदा हो सकें, ऐसे नवयुवक पैदा हो सकें जो देश को आगे ले जा सकें। इस प्रकार के काम इन आर्गनाइजेशन को अपने हाथ ले लेना चाहिये। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आपने मुझे समय दिया इसके लिये मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA (Assam) > Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the hon. Minister of State in the Ministry of Education while presenting the Report of the UGC, has commended the Report and also described some of the achievements of the Commission.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Shyam Lal Yadav) in the Chair]. But, before I deal with it, I would like to refer to the latest publication of the University Grants Commission, entitled "Development of Higher Education in India—A Policy Frame". Sir, I would like to mention a few

[Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma] words from it to show that the prestigious institution, which goes by the name "the University Grants Commission", is still confused as to what it wants to do. In this publication, the Commission has said. "As a result of the system of education that we have developed /during the last 150 years, we have now more than 120 universities, 4,500 affiliated colleges, 40,000 secondary schools, six lakh elementary Schools, 3.5 million teachers, one hundred million students and an annual expenditure of Rs. 25,000 million, which is next only to that on Defence." Now, by taking pride on this development, the Commission proceeds to say "It has given us a highly trained manpower, whose size is the largest in the world and the top levels of which are comparable to those of leading countries in the world."

Then, in the next paragraph the Commission says "But, unfortunately, the system has also developed three major weaknesses. It still continues to be dominated by models and value systems adopted during the colonial regime. For instance, it lays greater emphasis on narrow individualism, unhealthy competition to the neglect of social good, verbal fluency, especially in English, and mere acquisition of information; while it neglects social objectives, co-operation, manual work, training in skills and building up of character."

Now, Sir, such essays we are prepared to accept from any lay writer but not from the University Grants Commission, which has been entrusted with the specific task of promotion and co-ordination and development of higher education in proper direction. The Commission has been working since 1956 and in 1978 now it tells us of the system's main shortcomings. But of course it does not tell us that in the development of this defective system the University Grants Commission has also a large share to bear. It cannot avoid it. This is the first point that I would like to put before you.

Sir, the Commission is entrusted with the task of acting as a friend, philosopher and guide for all the institutions connected with higher education in the country. We must now see whether it has really done its duty properly and whether it has failed and if so, why it has failed. A pertinent question is whether the U.G.C. has really been conscious of its duty in the context of what the Kothari Education Commission said and what the Parliamentary Committees also reminded it and whether it has taken any measures to correct its own line of activities to fulfill the directions given by the Education Commission and by Parliament. Here again, we see that the U.G.C. has unfortunately not taken care of any of these directions. It is true that the U.G.C. must act as an autonomous organisation. It is meant to be so because it was established under the provisions of an Act of Parliament. This Parliament while passing the Act, laid down specific functions for the Commission. Firstly, the Act says that the Commission's primary duty is to promote and co-ordinate education in the higher stage. Secondly, it says that the Commission has to determine and maintain standards of teaching, examination and research. And to perform these duties, the Act has entrusted the Commission to enquire into the financial needs of universities. Among other duties, it has also to advise the Central, and the State Governments on the allocation of grants. It also has another duty to collect information on all such matters relating to the university education in India and in other countries and to make it available to the universities. Now, Sir, the Commission, during all these years of its existence, has not fulfilled any of these three important functions. It has neither enquired into the financial requirements of different universities all over the country nor has it given proper advice to the Central Government and the State Governments. It has also not collected information for the benefit of different universities.

This is a very serious matter for an organisation like the University Grants Commission because it was expected when it was instituted, that it will really act as a very good guide and help in establishing a proper system of higher education in the country. When we talk of higher education, we have to note that the sphere of higher education covers not only 120 universities but also 4,500 colleges throughout the country. The affiliated colleges play a greater role. Not only these colleges supply students to the universities but, if we look at the figures, we find that the affiliated colleges at the undergraduate stage have as many as 89.7 per cent students and even at the post-graduate stage, there are 53.5 per cent students. When we talk about research, there also, we find that about 11 per cent research students are in the affiliated colleges. But the UGC, up till now, has not attended to these affiliated colleges in the manner in which they have to be taken care of and developed. This is one important factor that we find missing in the activities of the UGC. Now, Sir, I would like to refer particularly to a very important observation made by the Public Accounts Committee which stands out to be a very serious matter. The Public Accounts Committee in its report at page 10 mentions:

"One of the primary functions of the UGC is the determination and maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in the universities. In pursuance of this function, a committee on standards of university education was appointed by the Commission in August, 1961. The committee submitted its report in October, 1964. The report of the committee was considered by the Commission in May, 1965. The UGC merely forwarded the report to the universities and the State Governments for suitable action. The perfunc.

tory action of the UGC in regard to the report of the committee on standards came in for criticism by the Estimates Committee in their 52nd Report."

Now, Sir, I do not want to go now into these things in detail. But I would like to refer to the comments of the Public Accounts Committee. They say:

"The Committee take adverse notice of the slipshod manner in which the suggestions and recommendations made by the Education Commission at considerable labour and expense spread over more than two years were handled by the UGC. The minutes of the meeting of the implementation committee in May, 1967, are a vivid testimony of the perfunctory and the insubstantial approach of the Commission to the report of the Education Commission. The _ Committee de. sire the Ministry of Education and the UGC to devise measures of systematic progressing of the recommendations of the various expert bodies appointed by the Government to go into the various aspects and problems of higher education."

This is a very important matter to be looked into by the Government, whenever it discusses the functioning of the UGC. I would like to refer to another point in regard to the functioning of the UGC. The Public Accounts Committee in their report at page 46 say:

"The Committee note that al. though the UGC Act, 1956, has been in operation for more than twenty years, the Commission has not made and notified the regulations under section 25 of the Act delegating its powers to the- Chairman, Vice-Chairman or any of its officers. They also note that in the absence of these regulations, the Chairman, the Secretary and the other officers of the Commission are exercising the powers under dele, gation by a Resolution of the Commission adopted way back in 1956.

[Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma]

An interesting feature of this Resolution of 1956 is that the Commission, by means of this Resolution, has authorised the Chairman to exercise all the powers and do all acts and things which may be exercised or done by the Commission. The Resolution also provides that the Chairman may delegate to the Secretary or to the other officers of the Commission such of the powers and functions exercisable by him or under the UGC Act as he may deem necessary. The Committee are informed that the Chairman has, from time to time, delegated to the Secretary and other officers of the Commission powers and functions exercisable by him under the UGC Act. The Committee feel that by means of this Resolution of 1956, the UGC have, by and large, abdicated their statutory powers, functions and responsibilities in favour of the Chairman, and under his delegation, the Secretary and other officers of the Commission."

The Committee feels that this position is not only far from satisfactory, but also against express intentions of the University Grants Commission Act. This is a very serious matter which Parliament must take into consideration. Parliament enacted an Act for establishment of a Commission, which was expected to function as an autonomous high-powered body, but it chose to abdicate its own authority. Sir, on different occasions I have visited the UGC office during the last twenty years. Recently, when I went to that office I found that this organisation had deteriorated to such an extent that it does not command respect from its own employees.

Now, Sir, I would like to refer to a matter of concern mentioned at page 34 of the PAC report. It says:

"The Committee were informed during evidence that the expenditure under the cultural and bi-

lateral exchange programmes was intended to cover foreign tours of 'individual professors and teachers going in connection with their research work and exchange programme between India and other countries' as also that 'incurred by us for the foreign professors coming to India and visiting our universities'. It was further stated during evidence that 'this expenditure includes the items covered under the cultural agreements the Government of India has with different countries and the programmes as far as it relates to the university system is handled by the University Grants Commission. From the information furnished to the Committee, they observe that Chairman and Secretary as also Deputy Secretary and Administrative Officers of the University Grants Commission have been regularly undertaking tours under this programme. The Chairman of the University Grants Commission has, since 1973-74 and upto December 1977^ undertaken as many as 13 tours, varying from 2 to 4 per year. During the same period, the Secretary, UGC has been on foreign tours on as many as 11 times. The Committee expresses its disapproval to be frequent tours undertaken by the University Grants Commission Secretariat officers at Commission's expense. The Committee would like the Ministry of Education to lay down guidelines for the professors and teachers undertaking foreign tours under the cultural and bilateral exchange programmes ensuring that no single person is allowed to take undue advantage under the programme."

Sir, may I emphasise that this is a clear misuse of funds by the Committee?

Now I would like to mention some very important problems. Some of the hon. Members have already referred to the discrepancy in the allo-

cation of grants to various universities and colleges. Parliament appointed a Review Committee to go into the working of the University Grants Commission and the Review-Committee has made important recommendations and also revelations. From the Review Committee's report we find, an analysis of the Grants given by the Commission during the 4th Plan, 1969—71 to 1973-74. It reveals that the four Central universities were granted Rs. 49.7 crores while 100 State universities were given only Rs. 47.4 crores. This is how grant are received by four Central universities on the one hand, and 100 State universities on the other, for the development of the university education. If we analyse further, what we find, the development grant distribution per student, per annum—I am leaving aside the maintenance grant—at the Central universities is Rs. 1192 per student. In the State universities it is Rs. 337 per student. In Delhi colleges, it is Rs. 319 per student. And if we take the students in the other affiliated colleges, what is the amount per student? It is only Rs. 23. That is what we find in the working of the University Grants Commission. When it has the specific duty of developing university education, it must treat all universities in an equal manner. It cannot discriminate between Central and State universities. The University Grants Commission should not function as a neo-Brahmanical institution, to develop a neo-Brahmanical system of higher education in the country.

Now, Sir, I would just speak about two or three things more and then I will finish. Many things have already been said about development of education, development of the quality of teachers and also about the autonomy of the institutions. In the name of developing the quality of teachers, the UGC has taken up a number of schemes. The number is so great that it is very difficult to keep track of these various schemes like lead col-

leges autonomous colleges,, advanced centres, . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Please conclude.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA:... special assistance schemes and so many other things. But the point is that all these different programmes have succeeded only to encourage a sort of rush for instant degrees and corruption among the teachers of the colleges and universities. The University Grants Commission has only just distributed the grants in the name of different schemes. All the schemes have failed to raise the standard of education, teaching or learning process.

Now, about the research degree, I would like to say specifically that the UGC's insistence on a Ph.D. degree for a teacher of a college or university initially is a wrong remedy. To get good teachers and to improve education in the higher stage, Ph.D. degrees alone will not help us. In fact, as the Ph.D. degrees find a big market all over the country, these degrees have come to be sold in the different markets. And many teachers have purchased them. If the UGC wants to improve education in the higher stage, instead of insisting on a Ph.D. or M. Phil., they should make serious efforts to motivate teachers to read and write in a better way and to learn and teach in an effective manner. Therefore research mindedness is more important than what are called Ph.D. degrees refresher courses and other such courses would be more helpful, for improvement of higher education in our country, than more dumping of Ph.D. or M. Phil. degrees. The U.G.C. should initiate schemes for arousing a sense of commitment among teachers. I would like the Education Ministry to look into this matter so as to decide a correct policy in that light.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): That will do. Please conclude.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: I would only say one thing more and then finish. The University Grants Commission has a particular duty to implement, and make it a greater success, the policy of medium of instruction in the regional languages, as envisaged by the Education Commission. But it has not given that much of emphasis up till now on the development of Indian languages and to see that these languages become a proper vehicle of higher thought and higher education in the country. I would like the Ministry to look into these two matters specifically and give the necessary guidance to the University Grants Commission. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV)} Dr. V. P. Dutt.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: Sir, it is already 5 O'clock. We can adjourn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): We shall continue up to 6 P.M. There are a large number of speakers. Kindly let us cover as many as possible.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: There is no quorum even.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): No question of quorum. Please don't raise that question.

SHRI S. W. DHABE: There is no quorum. How can we continue?

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI KAMLAPATI TRIPATHI): The question of quorum is never raised here.

SHRI BHISHMA NARAIN SINGH (Bihar): The question of quorum is never raised in the Rajya Sabha.

5 P.M.

DR. V. P. DUTT: Mr. Vice-Chairman, although we have had serious speeches, I am not sure whether today was quite the occasion for serious deliberation. I think the minds of most of the Members of this House were elsewhere and physically also most of them were away. However, since we are discussing this subject and since we are on the issue of education, and this morning somebody said to me, 'culture above politics', in that spirit I would first welcome Madam Minister who is here today with us and who has been braving the ordeal of listening to all the speeches since this afternoon, and I do hope that Madam Minister will be with us more often. I am sure, and in fact, I was going to suggest to Madam Minister that when she speaks without her notes she is even better and she speaks from her heart, and therefore, I hope, Madam Minister, you will reply from your heart and without your notes.

We have been on this subject of higher education almost for an year now and we have been discussing the report of the University Grants Commission. As I said, this is hardly the occasion for philosophical discussions. Dr. Sarup Singh ended with a philosophical note, and perhaps as I have been doing in the University where he was Vice-Chancellor, following him I might also start from where he ended at a certain philosophical spot, that is, there were certain reasons why the educational system that we developed in the last 30 years, developed in a particular direction, that after independence suddenly the lid was taken off all the choking of the social immobility under the British rule, some lid was taken off. And therefore, you had a phenomenal expansion of our education. Perhaps in those circumstances it was inevitable, and that is one of the reasons why we have had a lopsided growth. Dr. Sarup Singh, I was mentioning about your point of view and I was saying just like in the

Delhi University, I am again following you and I am taking up the point where you left, that we developed a higher education system in a particular direction because of the exigencies of the circumstances in which we found ourselves, that is, just after independence—when there was so little of higher education, when there was hardly a measure of social mobility in the structure, that we had the doors open, and naturally the result of it was somewhat unthinking, and, I would say, an inevitable expansion of higher education. And, unfortunately, the real problem was that it did not keep pace with the economic growth, with the rate of economic growth. As a result, whereas the rate of economic growth never went beyond 4 per cent or so, higher education—*tion expanded at the rate of 10 per cent. That is one of the reasons why we have had this distorted kind of development where you find, as it was mentioned, that our research is not of the standard of the world levels. But you do find, unfortunately, two islands— island of excellence and island of mediocrity. You have to find an answer, now to this problem, not by destroying what you have, not by pulling down the island of excellence, but by raising the island of mediocrity. Unfortunately, the impression that I got after listening to my friend who has spoken from that side and my dear friend who has spoken just now is that you are trying to pull down whatever has already been achieved rather than raising the island of mediocrity. I thought that in the last few years some effort had been made by the UGC precisely towards that objective, that is, to reassess, reconsider and reframe the policies. Certainly, there can be differences of opinion on whether 'A' should be there or 'E' should be there or not, or on how exactly we proceed towards that goal. But the policy followed in the recent past and the thinking that has been going on in the last three or four years constituted a step in the direction of reassess-

sing and trying to raise the levels and standard of higher education. In this connection I would say that the Chairman of the UGC is a distinguished academician. He is not a bureaucrat. The members of the UGC or many of them are very eminent people in the academic field. Therefore, it is highly improper for us to say that the members of the UGC do not know their job, that they have abdicated their functions and they are dummies and duffers. I do not think such an attitude should be taken towards eminent people in the educational field. To my mind it is a triviality to say that the Chairman went abroad so many times, the Secretary went abroad so many times and some Professor went abroad.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: Why should one go to foreign lands on eleven occasions? What is the reason behind it?

DR. V. P. DUTT: I am not concerned whether he has gone once or twice or any number of times. I have been abroad many times and I must say that I benefited every time through my discussions with other scholars in the field. If I have another opportunity, I will go again. Whether I will get another opportunity or not, that is a different matter. This is to expand the frontiers of knowledge. On the one hand, you are talking of standards of excellence, and on the other, you want to shut out opportunities for contacts. How will you achieve two purposes by pursuing contradictory policies? On the one hand, you want to raise the standards, and on the other, you say that there should be only limited contacts among the academicians of the world.

I am against cultural dominance. As the House knows, I have spoken against this. But I have always believed in Gandhiji's statement that

[Dr. V. P. Dutt]

the windows must not be shut. Windows of knowledge must be kept open and we must be open to new ideas, it is totally wrong to take higher education in a direction which is narrow and parochial. I am against this narrow and parochial approach. Certainly one of the major problems of this country is higher education and to raise the standards of those who are not at the same fortunate level as some others are who are more advanced. And the problem is this; How do you do it? We must consider ways and methods of raising these standards and I thought that some of the exercises that have been done by the University Grants Commission during the last two years were steps in the right direction although I disagree with some other things. I mentioned also that I disagree with some of the things. But, Sir, certainly, they were steps in the right direction. But you cannot, I say, Sir, raise standards by cutting money and you cannot raise standards by applying the financial axe. Unfortunately, my dear friend was also suffering from some confusion which I felt, was in the PAC Report. On the one hand, Sir, they are saying that the University Grants Commission did not tell the colleges and the Universities of this country what to do and, on the other, they are complaining that there is too much interference. But, keeping that aside, I am saying that unfortunately you, yourself have given—by "you" I mean Parliament and the Act of Parliament gives—the authority to the University Grants Commission only for the Central Universities and now, all such Universities in the States as take the UGC assistance, take the assistance only to that extent, but not more than that. Therefore, your Constitution did not permit the University Grants Commission to say anything to exercise any control to do any monitoring, to raise the standards, in respect of these colleges and Universities in the States. In fact, this is my complaint

I and this is one of my complaints: This new item I also read this morning and I have heard about it also. I have heard that some directives have been given to the University Grants Commission. Now, this is my grouse that this is for the first time, I think, in the educational history of free India that the Education Ministry has given a directive to the University Grants Commission. Now, Sir, I thought that the autonomy of the University Grants Commission should be respected just as I want the autonomy of the Universities to be respected. I do not want that either the Government of India or the Ministry of Education or the University Grants Commission should eat into the autonomy of the Universities. Certainly, you exercise supervision, see that your money is properly, advisedly, feasibly and use fully spent. There should be accountability and I agree. But it does not mean that because of that we start a new system. This is where my fear comes in, Madam Minister. I may be quite wrong—and I hope I am wrong—and this is my fear that this is a new thing that we are witnessing; that is, the Education Ministry giving a directive to the University Grants Commission to reappraise all of its programmes. Then, Sir, charge is levelled, according to the newspaper reports, that the University Grants Commission was not spending enough money on research and on raising of standards, so, how do you achieve that objective? Are slashing the budget of the UGC to Rs. 30 crores next year? Now, Sir, this is the way in which the University Grants Commission is expected to raise standards, by having its budget so drastically reduced? And, Sir, by UGC we mean higher education and it is not you and I who give money. We do not give money

the University Grants Commission. But what you are really doing to starve the Higher education in this country, to starve the Universities. You yourself have laid down that the University Grants Commission will give assistance only to five Universities

ties. Therefore, Sir, there is some confusion even between the metropolitan centres and the others when you talk of the UGC giving assistance to the metropolitan areas. I find, according to the Act of Parliament, the UGC can give assistance only to five Universities and, out of that, Banaras gets the highest—it is Rs. 7.15 crores—Aligarh comes next with 5.7 crores, Delhi University comes third with Rs. 3.65 crores, then comes the Jawaharlal Nehru University with Rs. 165 lakhs and then comes the Visva-Bharati with Rs. 145 lakhs. How can you say that the metropolitan unit is being given a disproportionately large sum? I cannot understand this. But I think that there is a point you made and I agree with it and I agree that we must diversify, that we must expand. But this is precisely what we are demanding, that you must amend the Constitution; we ask education to be brought in the Concurrent List precisely, because we wanted that there should be greater assistance as well as greater monetary help being given. But now, by taking away whatever power the University Grants Commission have, you are subjecting this money now that you have given to the State sector—taken away from the Central sector, taken away from the University Grants Commission and given to the State sector. You have, therefore, made this money now more susceptible to local pulls and pressures and less accountability than the University Grants Commission has, because the University Grants Commission's accountability is to Parliament and you can get up here and discuss all these things. But because of local pulls and pressures, there will be no accountability about this money.

Sir, I was surprised when it was said that the University Grants Commission has spent inordinately larger proportion of money on building the infrastructure. First of all, the charge is not correct. That is a different matter. I went into the figures and I found that the expendi-

ture on Science buildings during the last four years, 1974—1978 was 12 per cent and expenditure on Humanities was 11 per cent. Now, can we develop higher education without developing the infrastructure of higher education? Do you suggest that we spend money only on research and no money on student hostels, no money for staff quarters, no money for *karamcharis* quarters for teachers' quarters, no money for hostels, no money for health services? What are you saying? This is the infrastructure. What are you saying that the U.G.C. should not spend on this infrastructure? What kind of higher education are we going to develop? On the other hand, I demand that the U.G.C. must spend at least 25 per cent of its budget on this in restructure, on buildings, on students' amenities, sports complex, and so on. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, half the colleges in Delhi, not to speak of colleges in the *mofussil*,—half the colleges in Delhi are in school buildings. And most of them do not have any sports grounds. You expect the students to have no facilities to study there, no facilities for any entertainment, no facilities to build and develop their bodies—that they would be doing nothing else, except burning buses. Where do they canalise their energies? Just on text-books? This, as you all know, is not our concept of well-rounded education. Sports complexes have to be developed, hostels have to be built, staff quarters are needed. In fact, in the Delhi University, Sir, I do not know for how many years I have been Professor, but still I do not know when my turn will come for a University residence. Perhaps I may get it when I am ready to retire from the University. This is the situation. You can imagine the position of *karamcharis*. In fact, I have one submission to make to you, Madam Minister. We have been talking about the distortion of priorities, distortion of higher educational system, and distortion of our primary school education system. But I am

[Dr. V. P. Dutt] afraid the Government has now added an additional dimension to this confusion by making it out as if adult education now is the first priority, as you have given Rs. 400 crores for adult education. I am not against it. I have been saying that illiteracy must be removed from this country. But the point is: Where do you start? I should have thought that in the consensus of thinking here in the country we should have started from primary school education. Most of our schools are one-teacher schools, and not even in a building. So, I should have thought that at least Rs. 200 crores out of these Rs. 400 crores would have been given for strengthening and developing schools. You say that we are making an elite system of higher education. Then how are you going to reverse that process? You have to do it at the school level. As Dr. Sarup Singh has said very well, it should not mean that the public school system of the privileged few is now extended to the universities. What is meant is that your school system is so strengthened that we move towards that objective. I do not know when we will achieve it. Probably 300 or 400 years later. But we must have such a vision and we must start moving first. What we have done is to provide 400 crores of rupees for dubious organisation under dubious cultural signboards through dubious procedures out of which, I am told, the R.S.S. will neatly pocket about Rs. 200 crores or so. (*Interruptions*) Is this the way in which we are going to have adult education out of Rs. 400 crores? You should give Rs. 200 crores to the primary schools and another Rs. 100 crores to higher education so that all the weaker areas and sections and weaker colleges are strengthened. I agree with those friends who have said that the chief link, the main link, in developing higher education, without further creating any imbalances that everybody has talked about, is to strengthen all the colleges. If you want that the University Grants Commission

should give policy guidelines to the entire country—that is, to the State universities and to the colleges in the States—then you must change your Constitution and the constitution of the U.G.C. also. You must be clear. On the one hand, you are demanding for making education a concurrent subject. On the other hand, you are complaining that the central organisation is not looking after State education. So I am saying: be clear. We are clear in our minds. We want education to be a concurrent subject and we want that the sphere of functioning of the U.G.C. should be expanded so that it can give help to the weaker areas in the States also. Please do not do it by starving higher education of sufficient funds and by starving the central sector of sufficient funds and by making them over to the State sector. I think this is one of the most serious developments which has taken place recently. I do hope that my fears are misplaced. I do see the hand of some of the dubious organisations that I mentioned behind this kind of new policy, shall I call it 'authoritative policy', of giving directives. I hope that my fear is misplaced. I leave it at that. I will not further go into it. But I do feel that the hon. Minister will reexamine this. I entirely agree with Dr. Sarup Singh that there are ways of doing this thing. Even if you feel that there is something wrong, you can sit with them. Don't send directives. If you think that there is something wrong, tell us, sit down with us and respect our autonomy.

Sir, I will end by making just two other points. One is the question of raising standards and the restlessness in the campuses. How do you feel in the present situation in which one does not know whether the classes will be held tomorrow and whether the campuses will function or not? We are talking of raising standards in a situation in which the universities are not even functioning. This is a grave problem. Some Members said that it is the politicians who are generally to be blamed for the

pollution of the atmosphere in the campuses. I distinguish between the politicians and politics and political ideas. After all, the universities are among the most educated sections of our society. If they are not going to discuss political ideas and if they are not going to discuss the society's problems, then who else will? And even working for your political idea is very different from professional politicking. And no matter which party is in power, it has been my experience that every student leader had a political patron behind who thought that he was exercising some pull and pressure by keeping his student leader there, and if anything bad happens, if anything untoward happens, then immediately the politician is ready to come to the help of the professionals. This is one part of it. I have not exonerated the University Administration. And I think they must also share the blame. Take the question of 10-]-2+3. Dr. Sarup Singh raised it. The university administrations in the country have done precious little to think about this problem as to how they are going to restructure the university's framework of education in the light of 10+2+3. Nothing has happened. And there I would say that even the University Grants Commission has not given sufficient thought. And they should give more thought to this question of imparting education more relevant and more purpose-oriented. I am not saying that education should be purpose-oriented. I am careful * about it. But certainly there should be some more relation between education and industry, education and agriculture, and education and other aspects of the society's problems and life. That link is missing. And we must have, for instance, Vocationalisation. We must give more thought and more money also to it. I also do *not agree with the UGC's prescription of a Ph. D. for every teacher. I think my friend, Mr Pande, pointed out very well that the qualifications for the Lecturer and the Reader and the Professor are now getting confus-

ed because everybody is supposed to have the same qualifications, and it encourages among the academicians, for example, as he mentioned, "you take care of my student and I will take care of your student." That is why I have been pleading for making more strict the obtaining of a Ph. D). degree. If I may mention, in Japan, nobody is given a Ph.D. degree without at least 50 published articles of a high level. And sometimes, some of the younger Japanese scholars have gone to the United States of America to get Ph. Ds because they could not get them at home. So, we should beware of this problem and make these things more strict. I am one with others for raising the standards, for giving more money for research. The UGC has already given a lot of money for research and I appreciate that. And I hope, more money will be given.

Sir, one final point I should like to make. Many universities are in great difficulties as a result of not taking any serious decision on this matter of pay-scale of the Directors of Physical Education and the Librarians. Their pay-scales have not been commensurately increased. We have always held the view that in the Universities, whatever pay structure you have had for the last 10 or 15 years, let us respect it. And, therefore, I would plead with the Ministry again that they must take an immediate decision on this and give the same pay-scales to the Directors of Physical Education and the Librarians as to the teachers.

Finally, Sir, I will end by saying that the confusion is not limited to one organisation or even to one individual. After all, there is a national confusion. If there is a confusion about education, it is a confusion of all of us and it is no use blaming this, that or the other person. And I am in favour of developing evolving answers, as far as possible, from within the community. There may be situations in which it is not pos-

[Dr. V. P. Dutt] sible. But as far as possible, it should be. Today, there is a brave restlessness in the campuses. Many of the universities are not functioning at all. They are paralysed.

In U.P., it has been mentioned, that the examinations have not taken place for a whole year in many of the universities. What are those students going to do? ' Then you are pleading for more money for the States. First, I say, put your house in order. What has happened in U.P., in Bihar and in other areas, do you want that to be repeated here also? Therefore, I say please involve the academic community more through the University Grants Commission for finding answers to these various difficult problems.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I must say, at the outset, that I am neither an academician nor a scholar and I have very little to do with education except this that I got good education in my own time. But I do feel that our education is divorced from our social objectives. Some attempts were made over the years to attune the education to the social objectives. Now we have different set of objectives in our country. In our Constitution we talk of socialism, we talk of secularism and we talk of democracy. But, what do you find is the position in our educational establishments? Even now the public-schools have a pride of place and in the universities also I find that some universities have the reputation of being very good universities, while other universities are just so and so universities.

Then, Sir, according to me, there has been a needless and unwanted proliferation of the type of education which was suitable for the British, who wanted to, so to say, strengthen their bureaucratic set up. I am not saying that certain efforts were not made in the correct direction. ' I do know that the first Prime Minister that our country had was a very enlightened individual and realising that

we are a country which is steeped in backwardness and are trying to come up, he told us that without a modern scientific outlook and without training up a whole team of scientists, we will be nowhere. And, I do think that everybody should be proud of the fact that we in India are a country which is the third largest in terms of scientific personnel, except for the United States and the U.S.S.R. I think the order is the U.S.S.R., and the United States, if I am not wrong. But what I want to say is that in a different situation I would be looking at the functioning of the UGC in a different way. But, in the present situation what I find is that whatever halting attempts were made towards the attainment of our social objectives, towards giving us an educational system that would set us on the road to self-reliance, that would set us on the road to overcoming our poverty, and backwardness, that would set us on the road to modern outlook and scientific approach, all that is being given a go-by. When I am saying this, I am not at all defending what was done by the past Government and by the past regime, specially during the emergency. In fact, I find that too little was done too late to bring our educational system on proper lines so that our country's needs could be met. Under the emergency many many wrong things were done, for example, in the Jawaharlal Nehru University itself. I find that in the post-emergency period a certain suffocation persists, a suffocation that was natural to the emergency but that is not natural to the present situation at all.

While I am on this, I would say that I was deeply hurt by what was done about the history books produced by some of the historians of the NCERT and, when I am saying this, I am in the good company of the History Congress of this country. I am saying this because I was born in a Sikh family. I was fed on the prejudices spread by the British and all that through history. What were we taught? We were taught that

'the Ninth Guru,; whose martyrdom was being celebrated here, when he left for Delhi said "The cap is in the window". I cannot exactly translate it; the Punjabi words are "topi aya", the cap is in the place on the wall where utensils are kept. A deliberate lie was inserted in order to tell the people that when people with caps come, they will be the disciples, or, in other words, when the British come we should be their slaves. That was deliberately done in history books. Then, the entire history of the Sikhs was a distorted history that was taught to us, like the history of struggle of Sikhs against Muslims and that the Sikhs used to be the vanguard of the communal fight, that was there, especially in our parts. You know Sir, when Punjab was divided, we had to wade through blood. So, all kinds of distortions are there. Nobody would tell us that the very foundation of the Golden Temple of Sikhs was laid by a Muslim. Nobody would tell us that there was a *Peer Budha Shah* of Sardana who stood by Guru Gobind Singh. Nobody would tell us that when Guru Gobind Singh was surrounded by the Mughal army, it was the Muslims who lent him their dress, the *neela buna* to make him safe. Nobody would tell us the history of Malerkotla State which survived the worst holocaust because their predecessors were in a most difficult situation and were defended by the tenth Guru. All this I came to learn when I outgrew the British history. Why I am saying all this is because there was the first attempt, a very belated one, to give us a secular history but it was very violently trampled upon.

And then, Sir, we talk of democracy. Democracy in relation to the university is autonomy. After all what are our universities? They are not the ordinary type of universities. In the universities, you have to educate specialists; you have to educate people in the higher fields of learning who have to be equipped with

a certain investigative, a certain interrogative and a certain researching outlook so that they can grapple with the problems of the time. But there has been created an atmosphere in the universities—I am in agreement with my hon. friend that it started with emergency; but it has continued to operate—where we find that things do not shape well. I would not refer to other places and other universities; I would give you the example of Patiala University. It is called Punjab University. And an hon. colleague of mine who is not satisfied by being in the Lok Sabha and who thinks that Mr. Badal was wiser of the two by going back as the Chief Minister, is always trying to create such things in the Punjab politics by bringing in irrelevant things like the Dhanwar College and all that. And he comes out with the statement that the Vice-Chancellor of Patiala University is a card-holder of the CPI. It is a fantastic nonsense. And why does he come out with such statements? It is because the previous Chief Minister who promoted a junior principal to the Vice-Chancellorship and the present head of the Shiromani Committee who wants to be the Chief Minister also, both of them were sold out in the same way. I do not want to pursue this line but it is horrible that all sorts of false things and all sort of witch-hunting they are trying to resort to in the grossest possible manner with regard to the autonomy of the university, a university which was to promote the Punjabi language. And the gentleman said: The V.C. does not know about the Punjabi language and though this gentleman had been in this institution but he does not know one-tenth of what the V.C. knows about the Punjabi language. He wrote dramas in Punjabi thirty years ago. I am not saying that this is happening in Patiala only; it is happening in many other places also. It is not a question of witch-hunting from the narrow angle. It is there everywhere, in Delhi, in the Jawaharlal Nehru University and other places.

[Dr. V. P. Dutt]

Sir, when we were students, we were the vanguards of struggle against the British. The most powerful segment of the struggle against the British was the students' federation of our time. What is happening now? The vanguards of goondaism, the vanguards of all irresponsibility, are found now. We used to be the pride of our institution, in my former Christian College where I was educated and which was an American College. And I know how the colleges were protected more than once from the British Wrath and the way they shielded me also. I have a great respect for them. What do we see today? Neither the college nor the university is respected and this is again so horrible when we see this casteism, all sorts of regionalism, all sorts of communalism being injected.

My colleague, Pande Sahib, was talking of U.P. The worst example is Bihar where the university had been closed for a long time and when the university opened after a very long time only a few days back, on the very first day violence erupted. The students do not know what the examinations are. First of all, we have a very outdated and outmoded examination system in which all sort of corruption is penetrated and even that examination is not held. That is what I am trying to say. So, instead of trying to restrict, instead of trying to impinge upon whatever the U.G.C. has done today, by various means, what is needed is to make the U.G.C. an instrument of defence of the autonomy of the universities, to give the U.G.C. the leverage to defend the universities from the onslaughts of the narrow communal, regional and caste factionalism which is being imported into the universities and which has brought "our universities to a very bad situation.

Here, I would also say that when we were students, we from the colleges, for the summer vacation, used to go for adult education and I do not deny that the mass contact that we forged in the Doaba district of Punjab

during this adult literacy campaign stood us very well when we went forward in our struggle against the British. Now, we have launched a big adult literacy campaign. We are sparing a lot of funds, and as everybody knows a major part of our funds are being diverted to those who are obscurantists, to those who are communal and to those who are (reactionary and to those who try to subvert everything that is positive in our country's life. They may put any sign board. But why are we not taking steps to see that all these students in the colleges, and I would say even from the high schools, are sent compulsorily along with their teachers to do adult literacy work in the villages at least for two months in a year? Why is not some compensation given to them? Some sort of compensation in the form of marks may be given to them. In the Punjab, after the partition, those who did social work during the holocaust after the partition, were given degrees so that they are encouraged to go and engage in adult literacy campaigns. This is necessary because this will orientate the teachers and the students towards the basic problems of the masses. While I am at it, I would like to say one thing. We are establishing so many universities. I have the figures before me. I do not have the time to go into the details of these figures. We find that in 1954-55, the number of universities was 31 and the number of colleges was 922. Now, we have 115 universities and 4,589 colleges. Now, this number might have gone up. What I am saying is that, though there is a proliferation of universities, I find most of the institutions—I have been associated with an institution, namely, the Guru Nanak University in Amritsar—are least bothered about where they are placed, what is their environment, what are the problems of the people among whom they are working and how to integrate university work with the real needs of the people. For example, Amritsar is on the border. There are certain specific problems in regard to the border. They should be studied very well.

They went on creating Chairs in the name of this *Guru* and that *Guru*, this *Pir* and that *Pir*, but they did not create a Chair to study the special problems of the border area, which have been subjected to three consecutive wars with Pakistan. This is situated at a place where some specific types of vices are there for example, smuggling across the border. There, uprooting of life is very common. Therefore, in such an area, some sort of military training is absolutely essential even for the common people. In other countries, the universities nurse their surroundings. They get integrated with what is happening in their surroundings. They orientate themselves towards the interests of the areas in which they operate. But here, this thing also is totally missing.

Now, Sir, while I am at it, I would like to say one thing. Now, the Government has come forward with a proposal. The Government deserves our congratulations. Under this proposal, all the examinations of the Union Public Service Commission will be conducted in all the so-called regional languages. Why I say so-called regional languages? These are not regional languages. They are all national languages. All of them are national languages. Now, if we do not impart university education to the highest level in the national languages of the States or the Regions concerned, this declaration or this new policy of the Government will also remain barren. While I am at it, I would like to point out that in Kerala, the Government have gone to the length of giving medical education also, which is specialised system of education, in their own language. Now, Malayalam is being used there. When we talk about campus unrest, when we talk about the atmosphere in the universities going down. I would like to pay my tribute to the students and teachers of the Aligarh Muslim University for the great role they have played during the very difficult period about which we have talked a lot. Originally, the Aligarh Muslim University was created to

look after the interests of a particular community. After a certain period the British tried to operate this University in a narrow communal way. There are some grouses also. Then, the Aligarh Muslim University Act was enacted by the last Government. Now, during this difficult period, the students and professors of the Aligarh Muslim University have conducted themselves in a very exemplary manner. There are no two opinions that they have played a role which is a very positive role, a very fruitful role and a role which should set an example, a shining example to the students in other institutions who are indulging in all sorts of violent and unbecoming activities.

Then, Sir, while I am at it, I will also say that I have a standing complaint regarding the UGC. (*Time bell rings*), I am finishing. I am not one of those who would say, restrict the funds of the UGC. I would not even criticise the Universities coming up with proper laboratories, with proper libraries, with proper hostels, with proper staff quarters with proper buildings where the people can be educated in their special types of studies but I would like to say, curb ostentation to whatever extent possible. In-built facilities should be excellent but nothing much should be spent on ostentation.

When I am on this, I must say that there is an in-built defect in the UGC Act itself. The UGC deals with universities. The universities are like a tripod, like a table which has three legs. The one leg is the teachers, the other is the students and the third is the non-teaching employees who keep the entire university going. But the UGC hardly recognises the third leg of the tripod. When it is the question of buildings, it is only bothered about giving buildings for the students and teachers, for the hostels, but no attention is paid towards providing quarters to the non-teaching employees who are forming a very very important segment, one-third of the whole structure. In the matter of the security of service, in the matter of amenities to the non-

[Dr. V. P. Dutt] teaching employees, it does not come in and when they take up the question with the UGC, the UGC says that it deals with the problems of teachers and students only. So long this continues, I think the situation of unrest in universities will remain. The non-teaching employees are an important segment in the structure of the University. They are deeply interested in proper functioning of the universities. Now they have crossed the age limit and they cannot settle elsewhere. They are the persons who will normally contribute to stability and better functioning of the university. Now they continue to be aggrieved and there is a great discontentment going on in all the universities of the country. So, while I am on this, I will request the hon. Minister to see whether the UGC Act has to be amended or some other steps have to be taken, but the UGC must be made to look into the grievances and demands of the non-teaching employees also so that peace in the universities can be restored.

I would not go on and on with this, but I would say that the situation is pretty unsatisfactory and the way to that is not to interfere with the autonomy of the UGC or the universities. That is all and to go back with whatever little is achieved is not good to speak of.

Thank you.

श्री नरथो सिंह (राजस्थान) उप सभा-ध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री आनन्द साहब के पहले जितने भी माननीय सदस्य बोले वह थे जो पढ़े भी हैं और जिन्होंने पढ़ाया भी। मैं तो उनमें से हूँ जो पढ़े हैं, लेकिन पढ़ाया नहीं हैं। इसलिए मेरी अप्रोच उनसे भिन्न हो सकती है। मंत्री जी ने अपने शुद्ध के भाषण में कुछ बातें बताई और यह सही है कि यू० जी० सी० ने हायर एजुकेशन के क्षेत्र में सफलताएँ प्राप्त की हैं कुछ अंशों तक। परन्तु यह बात भी बिलकुल सही है कि दो बातें जो हमारे डा० स्वरूप सिंह जी ने उठाई थीं और कहा था कि इसको ब्यूरोक्रेटिक कहकर जो कड़म करने की प्रवृत्ति

है वह उनका दोष नहीं है। वह पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों का मिनिस्ट्रों का दोष है जो 30 वर्षों से शासन चला रहे हैं। उस सम्बन्ध में मैं केवल इतना ही कहूँगा कि ब्यूरोक्रेट्स का मवाल नहीं है, ब्यूरोक्रेटिक अप्रोच का सवाल है। आजादी के बाद इतने दिन तक शिक्षा की बात हमने सबसे मुनी, प्रिंसिपल मिनिस्टर से लेकर नीचे तक कि शिक्षा क्लर्क बनाने के लिए लाई गई थी, वही पद्धति चल रही है। इसमें आमूलचूल परिवर्तन करना है। यह बात तब भी कही गई और आज भी कही जा रही है लेकिन ब्यूरोक्रेटिक अप्रोच यह है कि कोई क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन 30 सालों में नहीं हुआ और मंत्री लोग जो आए वे भी ब्यूरोक्रेसी के इन्ने जाल में फँस गये कि वह कहते तो रहे लेकिन किया कुछ नहीं। इसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि आज हमारी यू० जी० सी० की रिपोर्ट जो है उसमें एक बात कह जा रही है और वह बात यह कही जा रही है कि हमारा उद्देश्य यह है कि शिक्षा का स्तर बढ़ायें और हायर एजुकेशन में हम अपने नौजवानों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा पारंगत कर सकें, लेकिन रिपोर्ट यह भी है कि जो कालेज हैं उनसे आगे कालेज खोलने पर पाबन्दी लगा दी जानी चाहिए। यह स्वयं में विडम्बना की स्थिति है। विडम्बना की स्थिति इसलिए है कि हमारे देश के विकास के साथ-साथ चाहे कोई भी क्षेत्र हो, शिक्षा का क्षेत्र हो, आर्थिक क्षेत्र हो या विषमता मिटाने का क्षेत्र हो ब्यूरोक्रेसी का अप्रोच बना हुआ है और मंत्री लोग भी इसके शिकार हैं। मैं आशा करता था कि हमारे मंत्री जी और यह सरकार इस ब्यूरोक्रेटिक अप्रोच से बच सकेगी तो जायद शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में कुछ आमूलचूल परिवर्तन हो सकेगा बरना नहीं।

जब कालेजों की बात कही जाती है तो एक बात कही जाती है कि शिक्षित बेरोजगारों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है और कालेजों में एडमिशन कम हो रहा है। यह इस रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि इसलिये हम कालेजों पर पाबन्दी लगाना चाहते हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आज से 8-10 वर्ष पहले मुझे एक सिनेमा

का गाना याद आ रहा है। जो सिनेमा मैंने देखा और गाना सुना उसकी कड़ी इस प्रकार थी "ऐश कर लो दोस्तों कालेज की दीवारों में कल से लिखे जाओगे सब के सब बेकारों में।" उस वक्त हमने समझा कि ऐश करने की बात है लेकिन आज देखते हैं कि बेकारी बढ़ती जा रही है और कालेजों में विद्यार्थी ऐश नहीं कर रहे हैं। वह स्थिति बदल गई है।

आज दूसरी बात यह कही जा रही है कि पोलिटिशियंस दोषी हैं इसलिये उसमें पोलिटिक्स नहीं आनी चाहिये। हम कहते हैं कि चाहे यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन हो, यूनिवर्सिटी हो या शिक्षा का मंत्रालय हो जब तक वह एक तथ्य को स्वीकार करके नहीं चलेगा, एक एक सच्चाई को स्वीकार करके नहीं चलेगा तब तक इन समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं निकल सकेगा। यह सच्चाई क्या है? सच्चाई यह है कि आज के नौजवान जो हायर एजुकेशन में हैं जो यूनिवर्सिटी में हैं उसे निश्चित रूप से रोज यह बात परेशान करती है कि कल जब हम कार्यक्षेत्र में जायेंगे तो क्या करेंगे। राजनीति आप किसे कहते हैं? प्रोफेसर साहबान जो पढ़ाते हैं उनको बड़ी चिन्ता है कि राजनीतिक शास्त्र की बात तो आए यूनिवर्सिटी में लेकिन, लोग राजनीति से सम्बन्धित न हो यह बिल्कुल अव्यावहारिक पहलू है राजनीति से सम्बन्धित होगा देश का हर नागरिक हर नौजवान आज जब हम मांग कर रहे हैं कि हमारे मतदाता की आयु 21 वर्ष से घटा कर 18 वर्ष की जाए तब यह यह कहें कि सक्रिय राजनीतिक से विद्यार्थी वर्ग जो यूनिवर्सिटी में पढ़ता हो, उसका इससे कोई संबंध न रहे, अव्यावहारिक बात है। यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट कमीशन कहता कि शिक्षा जगत में यूनिवर्सिटी की अटोनोमी रहनी चाहिये। मैं कहता हूँ कि उन सबको इस बात में समन्वय खोजना पड़ेगा कि देश की जो विषम स्थिति है जिससे नौजवान सबसे ज्यादा पीड़ित है उसके मन में जो व्यथा है उसको देखते हुए वह राजनीति से दूर नहीं रह सकता।

वह राजनीति से दूर न रहे फिर भी हमारी यूनिवर्सिटी का वातावरण मुझरे हमारे देश की फिजा बदले हमारा नौजवान यूनिवर्सिटीज से निकलने के बाद स्वावलम्बी बने, अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होने वाला स्वतंत्र चेतन स्वाभिमानी और इसके साथ साथ जिम्मेदार नागरिक देश का होकर निकले इसके लिये हमें क्या करना चाहिये अगर यह तथ्य और लक्ष्य ध्यान में नहीं रखेंगे तो यह हमारी बहम बेकार होगी और यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन की रिपोर्ट जो है वह रस्म अदाई के सिवाय और कोई बात नहीं होगी।

दूसरी बात यह उठाई गई कि यूनिवर्सिटीज में जो लोग आने चाहिये वे कौन लोग आने चाहिये भीड़ नहीं भरनी चाहिये। तो कहा जाता है कि ऐसे लोग जो सेलेक्ट हो, जूनियर्स हो, इंटेलिजेंट हों, योग्य हों वे यूनिवर्सिटीज में पहुँचने चाहिये। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हम शिक्षा की पूरी प्रणाली पर, शिक्षा की जो पद्धति है उस पर विचार नहीं करेंगे तो इसका नतीजा क्या होगा? हम चाहते हैं कि देश में विषमता मिटे, हम चाहते हैं कि लोग अपने पैरों पर खड़े हों, वेस्टेड इंटरैस्ट यानी निहित स्वार्थ दूर हो तो बिना शिक्षा पद्धति पर दृष्टिपात किये हम कुछ नहीं कर सकते।

इस रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि हम रूरल और एन्टिड एजुकेशन को बढ़ा रहे हैं। विश्वविद्यालयों में भी इसी तरह का अप्रोच ला रहे हैं। आज स्थिति क्या है। आज स्थिति यह है कि जहाँ हमारी उच्च वर्ग की नौकरियाँ हैं चाहे आई०ए०एस० की हों, आई०पी०एस० की हों या आई०एफ०एस० की हों रूरल बेस जिनका है उनमें ग्रामों से आने वालों की जो संख्या है वह 1:1 प्रतिशत है कब, जब कि अनुसूचित जाति, अनुसूचित जनजाति को संरक्षण प्राप्त है। आज आप कहते हैं कि हम अपनी शिक्षा को रूरल

[श्री नरवी सिंह]

ओरिएण्टेड कर रहे हैं। हमारे देश की शिक्षा को कितना आपने रूरल ओरिएण्टेड बनाया है, यह बात सबके सामने है। कई माननीय सदस्यों ने बिहार की बात कही है। ध्यान देने की बात यह है कि बिहार में झगड़ा किस बात पर है? झगड़ा इसी बात पर है कि पिछड़े वर्गों को नौकरियों में जो संरक्षण दिया गया है उसके कारण कुछ लोग नाराज हैं। अभी हमारे देश में स्थिति यह चल रही है कि कभी एक वर्ग नाराज हो जाता है तो कभी दूसरा वर्ग नाराज हो जाता है। असल में जब तक हम अपनी शिक्षा पद्धति को आर्थिक, राजनैतिक और सामाजिक दृष्टि से नहीं देखेंगे तब तक हमारा कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है। हमारे देश में जो वाटर टाइट कम्पार्टमेंट बने हुए हैं, जब तक इनको समाप्त नहीं करेंगे तब तक हम अपनी समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं कर सकते हैं। हमारी सरकार कहती है कि हमने शिक्षा पद्धति के अन्दर होटिकल्चर, रूरल बैंकिंग और खेती सम्बन्धी पाठ्यक्रमों को शामिल कर दिया है। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में इस सम्बन्ध में कहीं पर भी कोई प्रकाश डाला है? हम यूनिवर्सिटी की स्वायत्तता की बात करते हैं। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी जो यह नीति है कि हमारे देश के शिक्षित नौजवानों को शहरों के बजाय गांवों की तरफ जाना चाहिए, उसके सम्बन्ध में हमने क्या किया है? क्या किसी भी प्रान्त में या किसी भी यूनिवर्सिटी में इस दिशा में कोई प्रयत्न किया गया है और शिक्षा पद्धति में कोई इस प्रकार का परिवर्तन लाने का प्रयास किया गया है? हमारी सरकार की यह नीति है कि हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति ग्रामोन्मुख होनी चाहिए, लेकिन इसके लिए पाठ्यक्रमों में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं किया गया है। हमारे देश के नवयुवक अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो सकें और वे शहरों की तरफ जाने के बजाय गांवों की तरफ जायें इसके लिये कोई प्रयत्न यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन की तरफ से नहीं किया गया

है। अभी डा० सरूप सिंह ने कहा कि हमारे देश में अंग्रेजी हमारी कल्चर की निशानी बन गई और इसके बिना हमारा काम नहीं चल सकता है। बात तो ठीक है। लेकिन हम जैसे जो लोग अंग्रेजी का विरोध करते हैं उनका कहना है कि हम अंग्रेजी के विरोधी नहीं हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि अंग्रेजी का अध्ययन किया जाय, उसको पढ़ा जाय। अंग्रेजी भाषा एक महान भाषा है। उसके पास बहुत बड़ा साहित्य है। अंग्रेजी को पढ़ने से हमारी प्रगति होगी। लेकिन अंग्रेजी हमारी कल्चर की भाषा नहीं हो सकती है और न ही अंग्रेजी राज सिंहासन की भाषा हो सकती है। जिस देश में अंग्रेजी को दो प्रतिशत लोग भी अच्छी प्रकार नहीं समझते हैं वहां की राजकाज की भाषा अंग्रेजी रहे, यह बहुत ही गलत बात है। जब हम अपनी शिक्षा को ग्रामोन्मुख बनाने की बात करते हैं और हम गांवों की तरफ बढ़ रहे हैं तो आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम अपनी भाषाओं में अपने नौजवानों को शिक्षा दें। आज हमारे देश में हमारे शिक्षित बेरोजगार तड़प रहे हैं। बड़ी बड़ी डिग्रियां प्राप्त करके भी उनको नौकरी नहीं मिलती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि शिक्षा पद्धति में ग्रामोन्मुख परिवर्तन लाने में अभी तक सरकार सफल नहीं हुई है और हमारा यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन भी सफल नहीं हुआ है और हमारे नये शिक्षा मंत्री जी कह रहे हैं कि हायर एजुकेशन के लिए सैलेक्टेड लोग ही लिए जाने चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस नीति का परिणाम यह होगा कि केवल पब्लिक स्कूलों के लड़के ही हायर एजुकेशन प्राप्त कर सकेंगे और जिन पब्लिक स्कूलों को आप खत्म करने की बात कर रहे हैं वे कभी भी खत्म नहीं हो सकेंगे। हमारे मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि पब्लिक स्कूलों को खत्म नहीं किया जा सकता है क्योंकि इस सम्बन्ध में हमारे संविधान में कुछ प्रावधान हैं। लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि हमारे संविधान में तो यह साफ लिखा है कि हमारे यहां समाजवादी समाज होगा और हमारी क्लासलैस और सेकुलर

सोसाइटी होगी। ऐसी स्थिति में माइनोरिटीज के नाम पर अगर हम इस सम्बन्ध में कोई कार्य-वाही नहीं करते हैं तो यह अपने दायित्वों से मुकरना होगा।

श्रीमन्, इसके साथ-साथ मैं कुछ और बातें भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। जहाँ तक शिक्षा के स्तर का सवाल है, हमारे देश में शिक्षा के स्तर का जो हाल है वह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। आज स्थिति यह है कि विश्व-विद्यालयों में परीक्षाएँ नहीं हो पाती हैं। जब हम लोग पढ़ते थे तब से यह बात कही जा रही है कि हमारी परीक्षा पद्धति में परिवर्तन होना चाहिए। इसी आधार पर सिमेस्टर सिस्टम लागू किया गया। लेकिन इस से भी कोई खास सुधार नहीं हुआ। मैं समझता हूँ कि जब तक आप इस पद्धति में आमूलचूल परिवर्तन नहीं करेंगे तब तक किसी प्रकार के सुधार की आशा नहीं की जा सकती है। इसलिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि प्राइमरी से लेकर उच्च शिक्षा तक हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति में आमूलचूल परिवर्तन किया जाना चाहिए। आज कहा जाता है कि हमारे विद्यार्थियों में अनरेस्ट है, उनमें व्याकुलता है और यह भी कहा जाता है कि हमारा विद्यार्थी समाज अनुशासनहीन हो गया है। हमारे यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन की मदद से सबसे बड़ा अगर कोई फायदा हुआ है तो वह हमारे लेक्चररों और प्राध्यापकों को हुआ है। मैं राजस्थान विश्वविद्यालय की बात जानता हूँ। वहाँ पर हड़ताल चल रही है। हमारे विद्यार्थी हड़ताल नहीं कर रहे हैं बल्कि हमारे लेक्चरर हड़ताल कर रहे हैं, धरना दे रहे हैं और वाइस चांसलर का घेराव कर रहे हैं। वहाँ पर अनशन की बात भी चल रही है। जब हम शिक्षा के स्तर में सुधार की बात करते हैं तो हमें इन सारी बातों पर भी विचार करना चाहिए। (Time bell rings)

6 P.M.

श्रीमन्, आप घंटी बजा रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि शोध क्या है? हम

राजस्थान के उस क्षेत्र के हैं जो कि हिन्दी भाषा भाषी है। कई माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि शोध में अंग्रेजी की ही बात चलती है। आज राजस्थान के किसी भी विश्वविद्यालय में, न जयपुर में, न उदयपुर और न जोधपुर में यह सुविधा है कि हिन्दी में शोध कार्य किया जा सके। वहाँ जो लोग हिन्दी में शोध करना चाहते हैं उन्हें किसी दूसरी यूनिवर्सिटी में या दूसरी जगह जाना पड़ता है। क्यों नहीं यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन इस ओर ध्यान देता कि इस तरह की जो बातें हैं वह कैसे हल की जा सकती हैं। (Time bell rings)

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप घंटी बजा रहे हैं मैं सिर्फ इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक हम यह उद्देश्य नहीं बनायेंगे कि हायर एजुकेशन के बाद हमारे छात्र स्वावलम्बी, स्वतन्त्र-चेता और स्वाभिमान नागरिक बन कर निकलें तब तक हम कुछ भी कहते रहें उससे हमें को फायदा होने वाला नहीं है। इस तरफ न सरकार और न ही यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन का कोई बड़ा अचीवमेंट है। इसके लिए जैसे कि मैंने कहा है कि ब्यूरोक्रेटिक अप्रोच हमारे मंत्री लोग संग्रहीत कर लेते हैं, वे भी उसमें फंस जाते हैं और इससे वह कोई भी बड़ा काम नहीं कर पाते। इसको हटाने की जरूरत है, उसको दूर करना जरूरी है। आप देखते हैं कि आज जो पार्लियामेंटरी पद्धति है उसमें क्या है? मंत्री लोग, कबिनेट जो चाहती है वह पार्लियामेंट करती है क्योंकि इस पद्धति में एक पार्लियामेंटरी डिसिप्लिन है। इसलिए यह जो ब्यूरोक्रेटिक अप्रोच है वह मंत्री लोगों के जरिए हमारे पार्लियामेंट में आती है। इसको तोड़ने की जरूरत है तभी हम प्रबुद्ध नागरिक हो सकेंगे, वरना नहीं हो सकेंगे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया चाहे अन्त में ही दिया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्यामलाल यादव):
बहस जारी रहेगी।

सदन की कार्यवाही कल 11 बजे तक के
लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned at two minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 8th December. 1978.