

MOTION REGARDING THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION FOR THE YEAR 1968-69

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND YOUTH SERVICES (PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO): Sir, I move:

"That the Annual Report of the University Grants Commission for the year 1968-69, laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on May 13, 1970, be taken into consideration."

The report was laid on the table of the House nearly six months ago. We were not able to discuss it during the previous session on account of want of time. I am sure the members by this time would have had an opportunity to go through the Commission's report. I beg to invite your attention to some of the salient points mentioned in the report.

India today has one of the largest educational systems in the world with a total enrolment exceeding 700 lakhs and over 20 lakh teachers. In the field of higher education the student enrolment had in recent years been rising at an average rate of 13 per cent per annum. It rose from 22.19 lakhs in 1967-68 to 24.73 lakhs in 1968-69 and is estimated to have risen to 27.77 lakhs during 1969-70. This indicates that the student enrolment at the present rate of growth is being doubled over a period of 7-8 years.

In terms of numbers, we have been adding more than 250,000 students annually in the field of higher education. This is an extremely rapid rate of growth. The annual increase in enrolment in the universities and colleges in one year equals approximately the total enrolment in higher education in the United Kingdom. The number of universities in the country has risen from 20 in 1947 to 83 today. The number of colleges rose from 2,572 in 1965-66 to 3,112 in 1968-69 and it is estimated to be 3,300 in 1969-70. The extraordinary tempo of growth and expansion in the field of higher education has naturally imposed a severe strain on the educational system as regards the provision of basic needs and facilities as well as maintenance and improvement of standards. The Commission has been making concerted efforts, of course, within the resources available to meet the requirements of this unprecedented expansion on the

one hand and improvement of quality of standards of higher education on the other. Problems relating to improvement of standards of education and research have been examined and programmes have been initiated and assistance given to the universities and colleges for improving the quality of university education. The existing syllabi and facilities for research have been reviewed by expert committees. A major programme has been undertaken to acquaint teachers with new developments in their respective fields of work. Significant changes have been made in the system of examinations by a number of universities. A planned effort is being made to encourage the pursuit of excellence at the post-graduate and research levels. Assistance is being provided to universities and colleges for the provision of necessary facilities for conducting and improving their programmes of teaching and research. Steps have been taken to improve the conditions in which the students live and work.

The concentration of relatively meagre resources at a few selected centres is obviously necessary to raise the level of quality of academic achievement. So far, 30 university departments have been recognised as centres of advance study of which three, namely, the Department of Sociology, Delhi University, the Department of Bio-Chemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore and the Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, were recognised as centres during 1968-69. The question of giving special assistance to some selected departments in the universities to further develop programmes of advanced study and research has also been taken up. The needs and special requirements of 27 such Departments are being currently assessed by expert committees.

Normally, development grants are being provided to the universities for consolidation and improvement of the quality of higher education. In view of the limited funds available, the universities were earlier requested to limit their expansion of selected programmes up to 70% of their financial allocations approved by the Commission for the Fourth Plan period. It has now been found possible, the House will be glad to know, to make the allocations available. For schemes involving recurring

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expenditure, the Commission's assistance has been extended upto 1973-74. In the current plan period, the grants allocated to the universities have been substantially increased as compared to the financial assistance made available in the previous Plans. There has been a significant increase in the allocations for additional staff and equipment. Attempt is being made to provide adequate number of senior positions and to build up the essential infra-structure in the science departments. Assistance is being provided to develop workshop facilities. Some universities are giving special attention to the designing and fabrication of equipment and thus helping to build up an indigenous instrumentation technology.

A new programme has been taken up for the improvement of science teaching in selected colleges. It is proposed to take up about 100 colleges in the first instance. For this purpose, special assistance is also being provided to selected university departments in specific disciplines for undertaking the responsibility for improvement of teaching in the colleges affiliated to that university in that discipline.

The affiliated colleges in Kerala, Rajasthan and Orissa have been visited by the University Grants Commission Committees for examining the problems and difficulties facing such colleges and suggesting measures for further improvement of college education. I expect that similar visits will be paid also to the colleges in other States by the UGC Committee. The Commission's assistance to colleges for general projects and the development of postgraduate studies has been significantly raised. The programme of summer institutes, seminars and refresher courses has made sustained progress. Up to 1969, about 9,000 college teachers attended summer institutes in science subjects. 40 summer institutes in English language teaching have been held and about 2,000 college teachers have participated in them. Orientation courses for junior college teachers were organised in a number of universities.

The Commission has already emphasised the need for suitable consultative machinery in the universities and colleges so that the genuine needs and difficulties of the student community could be discussed periodically and regularly with them. Effective and meaningful, student participation has been recommended in the management of

hostels, student homes, canteens, libraries, etc. A committee has been appointed to consider issues relating to governance of universities and colleges, including the question of student participation and service conditions of teachers and related matters. The work of the committee is in progress. I am rather sorry that the work has been delayed. I was expecting to get the report much earlier but the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar, has not been keeping good health and that is the reason why the report has been delayed, but I expect to get the committee's report fairly soon. The first part of the report relating to the governance of the universities is likely to be available shortly.

In the same connection I would like to inform the House that it is my considered opinion—and I have express it on many platforms—that opportunity should be provided for student participation in university matters not only in regard to the welfare activities but also in regard to academic matters. I am not suggesting that students should appoint examiners or the professors but I think the students' voice must be heard when courses are being changed, when new syllabbi are being introduced, and when new text-books are being prescribed, I think it is important that the students' voice should be heard because after all they are the consumers of the product that the university supplies and we must also recognise that the student community of to-day has reached a stage of adulthood, sometimes with consequences which we do not very much appreciate but nevertheless, they are associated with the adults. The student community has reached a stage of adulthood which we did not reach when we were students. Therefore I do think that the question of student participation cannot be only confined to student welfare activities. It should also be taken to the larger field of academic activities. The only real problem is in the choice of student representatives for such purposes, great care has to be taken to see that politics does not come in. Great care has to be taken to see that the best talent among the students, the best voice among the students from the academic point of view is brought into focus so that we get the fullest benefit of student participation in the academic management of the universities. I am

hoping—I do not know. Prof. Nurul Hasan is a member of the Committee and he may be, when he takes part in the debate, telling us something about it. I do not know if the first report which is going to be made available, will be dealing with this question or not. I hope it is, in which case it will be most helpful to us because there is a lot of anxiety in the country, there is a lot of pressure being brought on me as to what is the Government doing about student participation and I am anxious to see that some action is taken in the matter as early as possible.

Hon. Members were informed during the discussion of the Budget that my Ministry was placing a special allocation of Rs. 3 crores at the disposal of the UGC for student welfare programmes. I am glad to say that the details of the programme have since been formulated by the UGC in consultation with my Ministry and steps are being taken to undertake the implementation of these programmes. Apart from this, the UGC has continued assistance for the student welfare programmes initiated by them in previous years. I may inform the House that a major item of this programme we have for student welfare is the setting up of text-book libraries in student clusters, not merely in the colleges or universities but wherever there are large clusters of students staying in residential localities, we want to set up text-book libraries, not necessarily departmentally. Supposing some voluntary organisations have set up a text-book library and want some assistance for expanding it, they also will be eligible for the purpose of this programme but we want to see that text-books are made available in places wherever there is a student community so that they can work during the evenings, during the holidays and also after-dinner time if they feel like it, because I know for a fact that text books are in short supply so far as the student community is concerned. Vast numbers of students in this country are not in a position to buy the text books they require especially in the fields of science and technological subjects—where each text book might be costing anywhere from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100.

I hope hon. Members will agree with me that within the resources available the Commission has done commendable

work in the field of higher education under the distinguished, humanistic, liberal and farseeing chairmanship of Prof. Kothari. He has taken significant steps for the promotion and coordination of university education in the country.

I would like to add one or two more sentences, Mr. Deputy Chairman, before I sit down. As the House is aware, we have passed the University Grants Commission (Amendment) Bill, that has also been passed by the Lok Sabha and the Act will be brought into force very shortly. It has taken some time because we have to make some full-time appointments, as you know, of members and it has to be processed through Finance, terms and conditions of service and all that kind of thing have to be settled, and that process is now being finalised. We are also trying to select a kind of personnel which will give a new look to the University Grants Commission because you know the Commission will have no Vice-Chancellors on it. I want to get some younger people on the University Grants Commission so that the Commission will get a younger look than the kind of look it has had during the last few years of its existence. That takes some time but I hope before the end of this month we will be in a position to announce the personnel of the newly constituted University Grants Commission.

AN HON. MEMBER : We hope age will not be the only consideration.

PROF. V.K.R.V. RAO : My hon. friend says he hopes age will not be the only consideration. I must agree with him because I am not a young man and yet I have been designated Minister for Youth Services.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : You must see that the Chairman is there.

PROF. V.K.R.V. RAO : Well, his term of office continues till August 31 and what will happen afterwards is a question which we have taken up, because I want some continuity at least for some period of time in the working of the University Grants Commission.

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I do not wish to say anything more at this stage. There are many problems which are agitating the minds of Members. I do not want to give a talk on the youth problem, youth unrest and so on. I am sure these problems will be raised in the course of the debate and I shall have another opportunity to make a speech at the end of the general discussion. With these words, Sir, I beg to move—

“That the Annual Report of the University Grants Commission for the year 1968-69, laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on May 13, 1970, be taken into consideration.”

The question was proposed.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I want to say only a few words. I am glad that this most important function of the State, that is, education, has been entrusted to a devoted person like Dr. Rao, who has an inclination for it. Whatever he has narrated just now has inspired me. I felt for the first time the Government of India seems to have woken up to the problems they are facing. Only one or two suggestions I would like to give to Dr. Rao for his consideration and these I have been pressing for a long time. I do not want to make any long speech but one of my suggestions is that this service, which is essentially States service, must be recognised as Government service because the most important function of the State is to bring up the generation and educate it. Therefore I would emphasize that Government service rules must apply to all professors and teachers engaged in the Department of Education; otherwise politics will get in and the teachers will lead or mislead the students one way or the other.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): Do you want police verification also for them?

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: This House should rise above politics on this point so that all political parties may devote their attention towards better education and for that reason I would suggest that Government service rules must apply to all teachers. The benefits

also must go to the teachers. Government service rules, privileges, disciplinary rules, etc. must apply to them.

Another point I would make is that I have known cases where colleges and institutions are getting aid. In some cases the aid is 80 to 85 per cent of the total expenditure. In colleges privately managed by a managing committee, only 5 per cent of the expenditure is borne by the managing committee. The rest is received as grant. And there are some institutions which just manage to cover up even that 5% by obtaining it from the pay of the teachers of which there are many and for which no receipt is given to them. Therefore, their expenditure goes high. Some colleges have become a sort of business for people to run. I would, therefore, suggest that instead of giving the aid of 85 or 90 per cent to such colleges or schools it would be much better if those colleges and schools are taken over. Every educational institution must belong to the State, must be governed by the State. That is something which will be a matter of pride for all. I do not want to make many comments. I am not myself quite well educated and, therefore, I cannot comment on the system. But only one thing I will say as a representative of the people. I feel that education is a matter which requires greater attention than any other department.

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I take this opportunity to make some submissions on the cause, course and crisis of university education. In doing so, Sir, I have got very many attractions on the subject and more particularly, the chief attraction for me today is, as has been very ably and aptly mentioned by my revered leader, Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, that the Government of India has got in the Education Ministry a Minister of sublime scholarship and he has given to the Education Ministry a rare academic sublimity which has lifted the university education from the morass to which it has fallen some time past. I am particularly happy that the University Grants Commission Report has given very many thoughtful considerations to some of the burning problems of higher education and, if I can say so, without any disparagement, the University Grants Commission Report is a

book of revelation giving many facets of the principles and the plan of university education.

Sir, we are amazed at the enormous growth and strides of university education as has been referred to by the hon. Education Minister. We have nearly 700 lakhs of students, about 20 lakhs of teachers and the annual rate of growth of 13 per cent in the enrolment of students is very much higher. It may be that we have to take that as a sign of national upsurge, as a marked upheaval, as an educational renaissance in a country which is otherwise very much retarded. I am particularly pleased that the lower sections of our society are becoming very increasingly aware of the prestigious advantages of higher education and the role that higher education is going to purposefully play in our national economy and life. But I am very much worried about the crisis that faces university education. Our country has faced, is facing and perhaps will face in times to come very many crises. I am not worried about any crisis that may face our country but if there is a crisis in education I am rather tempted to feel that it is a crisis of crisis, and unless we are able, as a big nation, to appraise the great crisis that is now facing the university education we will be in a completely catastrophic position, unable to retrieve our students. I am particularly pleased to state that so far as university education in recent times is concerned, it has given a new tone, turn and twist for the better and to that extent the cause and course of university education has become meaningful. I may state that today university education in our country stands at the crossroads of destiny not knowing which direction to turn. Every direction is dark and deep. The great scholarship and, if I may say so, the evangelical zeal of our hon. Education Minister, Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, and his dynamism, I hope and trust, will impart a rare momentum to the cause of the upliftment of university education.

I may first take the question of what is the cause of education, particularly university education. It has been told even from very early times that the cause of university education in a country must be to sublimate the young generation from lower standards of intellectual perception in order that they may try to

play a significant and dominant role in the affairs of their country and in the progress of the people. Now, if we consider that as the cause of education, we should not forget our veneration for the past, we should not ignore the struggles of the present and we should not be blind to the vision of the future. In other words, the cause of education must be the interpretation of the past, must be a preparation for the struggles of the present and must be a pointer to the direction in the future. If that cause of education is kept in mind, I am sure that many of the problems that we face in regard to university education can find a solution.

May I then speak about what is the content of education? What makes up university education? Three factors, in my respectful submission, make the content and contentment of university education. One is the question of teaching. The other is the method, manner and measure of study. The third, and perhaps not very much taken notice of, is the social relevancy of university education. Now, Sir, if we examine these three contents of university education, I think we will be in a better position to appreciate some of the conclusions of the University Grants Commission. With reference to teaching I am sure that the recommendations of the University Grants Commission in its very elegant Report must be given effect to, for example, the qualitative sublimation of the standard of teaching, the refreshing content of the equipment of teachers and several other factors that ennoble the teachers in their respective roles among the students. I am tempted to lay some emphasis on this question because I was myself a part-time professor for some years and I may tell you from personal experience that a teacher becomes really venerable if the student comes to know that he knows something better than the student.

If the recommendations of the University Grants Commission, particularly with regard to refresher courses, with regard to what they call seminars and the other gatherings that have been contemplated by the University Grants Commission, are implemented, I am fairly satisfied that the qualitative sublimation of teaching will reach high and higher standards, so that the very important content of education can be very well secured.

Now, Sir, the second aspect is study. The University Grants Commission has

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made some attempt in regard to the examination of the relevancy of the present syllabi taught to the student. There should be some rationalisation in the drawing up of the syllabi for the various courses. The student today wants not one particular type of study. He wants diversification of the various branches of study and I am sure that the content of study will certainly be improved in order to meet the diversified tendencies and tastes of the modern student.

The third aspect of university education is the social relevancy and I may say that university education must be so fashioned and framed that it will lend itself to social absorption after the degree is obtained. Now there is a gap between academic distinction and social need. It will be our endeavour, it will be the nation's endeavour, to make up this gap between academic distinction on the one hand and social absorption on the other. May I then, with your leave, take up the matter of consideration of several of the problems that confront our university education?

The first formidable problem, and it is a proverbial problem, for all good things is the want of finance, and our hon. Education Minister was not very much wailing, though I am sure he is wailing in his heart, that the inadequate provision of Rs. 3 crores would only touch the fringe of the problem of the entire university education. I wish and I will plead with the Government with all the emphasis at my command that they must be a little more liberal in regard to grants for the Education Ministry, for what is given to education is not given in waste. The question of curriculum is another important aspect. I had several contacts with the students of modern colleges and they complained to me that the interpretation of some of the perennial sources of knowledge like history, like literature, like languages, like science and like philosophy must be given a new orientation and the lack of that new method of interpretation of some of the classic sources of knowledge requires a very rapid revision of the curriculum of the university education.

On the question of the emoluments of the teachers, my esteemed leader, Mr. Tyagi, very well said that he wanted that the living standard of the teachers

and the emoluments of the teachers must be raised. It is a great tragedy, if not a considerable irony, that a teacher who has taught the students, who could only come up to a certain standard, earns much less than the students themselves. I want that in our country the teacher with all his academic distinctions gets on a par with his other compatriots in other departments of life. Therefore, the question of emoluments is not merely a trade union aspect among the teachers. I plead for the teacher's role. I plead for the teacher's standard. I plead for the raising of the teacher's standard of living. What is it that they are having today? It is not even a standard of living. It is not even a living standard for themselves. Therefore, the problem of the question of emoluments of the teachers of the universities must receive very active and animated consideration from the University Grants Commission and also from the Government, and I have every hope and trust that with Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao at the head of the Ministry this appeal of mine will certainly find a resounding echo. The sooner the better.

Then there is the question, and a very vexed question at that, and that is the problem of the student welfare and consequent indiscipline among the students. I have no patience with those persons particularly in high life who say that students have become a degenerate and a very diabolic section of our society. I know the students' mind. I have moved with them shoulder to shoulder. I have taken their meals. I have slept in their dormitories. I have walked with them in their path. I find that the student today is living in a tormented society with a truncated idea, with mutilated notions, in a diabolic surrounding. Therefore, the student must undoubtedly represent the chaos in our society and in our moral values. Therefore, the whole student discipline or indiscipline as it is called must be viewed from a parental attitude and from the point of view of the students themselves. In this context I am very much pleased with the recommendation of the University Grants Commission and the endorsement of the hon. Minister thereon that in all matters of consultative administration of the colleges or of the university standards, the association of students will go a long way in trying to tone up their discipline. On this occasion may I appeal to my students in this

country that theirs is study and whatever may come must be subordinated to this transcendental idea of study and study only and their course.

Then there is the problem of what I may call governmental interference in regard to university education. I have never been in the Government and I am not sure whether I will ever be in my life, but to the extent to which I know the working of university education the greatest hurdle, the greatest tragedy is the frequent Government interference. Sir, the hon. Minister for Education of a State comes and goes and the education policy also comes and goes with him. Every time an Education Minister is changed, the policy and the pattern and the purpose and the plan and the programme of education gets itself altered. When I asked one Director of Public Instruction why he had not issued the order that the Education Minister had issued, he said, "Sir, wait for some time more. I will get another order the next day." And if this is the uncertainty, if this is the chaos, I am afraid, the best way to save university education is to save it from governmental interference.

Then there is the problem of university education, and that is the medium of instruction to which the hon. Education Minister has not made any handsome reference. I know it is rather a difficult terrain where to make any observations. But one thing I am bound to bring to the notice of this House. As the leaders of thought and action of this great country said, the medium of instruction must be for the purpose of education. If it is merely for the purpose of medium of instruction, I am afraid we will neither have the medium nor the instruction. Therefore, the problem of medium of instruction has to be considered at a higher level and from a purely education point of view. And I am sure that this problem of medium of instruction today which is running riot is because of political conditions and political fancy. I want to cry a halt to this degeneration in university education.

These are some of the problems of university education and I do not want to make the hon. Minister of Education very much despaired by giving a further list of problems. But I will only add, for the purpose of illustrating my theme, that today university education is passing

through a tremendous crisis and it is in a tumultuous transition where great values are at stake. The University Grants Commission in its Report has envisaged certain reforms and I fully endorse the line of reform which the University Grants Commission has thought fit to adumbrate in that Report. For example, the reform of teaching is very refreshing and I am sure that the whole question of these reforms will be considered in the context of how university education has to be sublimated.

One word more, and I have done. I have the feeling that university education has got a great future in our country and I am sure that it will be not only a solution to many of our problems; I am also sure that it will be a salvation for our country.

I have a dream, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that the scholars of the North will go to the South; I have a dream that the teachers of the South will come to the North; I have a dream that the teachers will drink deep in the fountains of perennial learning; I have a dream that the students will sit at the feet of the master; I have a dream that democracy will be educated; I have a dream that education will be democratised. May I wish that this not merely be a dream of today, but also a theme of tomorrow? With these words, I have very great pleasure in associating myself wholeheartedly with the recommendations made in the Report of the University Grants Commission.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2.00 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty-nine minutes past twelve of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at two O'clock, [THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN), in the Chair.].

PROF. SAIYID NURUL HASAN (Nominated): Sir, I would like to join my other colleagues in paying a tribute to the University Grants Commission for another year of excellent service to the nation. Before I make my observations on the report of the Commission, I should like to clarify a point which the hon'ble Minister was kind enough to suggest that I should clarify, and this is with reference to the Committee on

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the Governance of Universities under the Chairmanship of Mr. Gajendragadkar. This Committee is submitting its Report in three parts. The first part deals with the Universities, the second part with colleges and the third part with the terms of and conditions of service of teachers.

The first part is almost ready and it will be submitted very soon. In this first part, a great deal of attention has been given to the question of student participation and associating them with decision-making at various levels. The other two parts will be submitted later. I only hope that when this report is received by the Government through the University Grants Commission, it will receive the earnest and sympathetic consideration at the hands of the Minister.

Sir, in regard to the work of the University Grants Commission, while it is quite right that we have paid a tribute to the Commission for the work that it has been doing, let us not forget that it is faced with the serious problem of inadequacy of funds. In my humble opinion, the greatest service which this House can render to the cause of higher education in the country is to give support to the demand which has been put forward on various occasions that more funds should be placed at the disposal of the University Grants Commission so that it can perform, even to a limited extent, the duty which it should perform in a developing society like ours. The Minister was good enough to say that out of the total allocation that was made for various universities for development in the five-year period, only 70 per cent was originally supposed to have been spent by them, and now the entire amount can be spent by the universities. But I hope the House noted the next phrase which the Minister was kind enough to use, that is to say, that for the addition of 30 per cent, three years have been added, which means that what the University Grants Commission had originally considered to be the barest minimum requirement of a university for five years is now going to be made available to the university for eight years. This is quite understandably going to cause serious difficulties for the universities.

Sir, there is the question of teaching load in the universities and colleges, and there is the question of research facilities. There is not enough scope for specialisation by teachers, not enough opportunity for promoting and developing inter-disciplinary studies. These and several other points have been emphasised by the Education Commission and by various bodies of experts and educationists. There is also the question of examination reform. To implement any one of these requires funds, and funds are not available. I have had the honour to serve on a number of visiting committees which the University Grants Commission has sent to the universities to assess their developmental needs and requirements.

I think it is a very fine feature of the working of the University Grants Commission that it works through committees of experts. Having gone on these committees I can personally vouch for the fact that even the barest minimum requirements of the universities cannot be provided for because the total amount at the disposal of the Commission is far too inadequate. Education has been expanding and it must expand. But the per capita expenditure on higher education has been going down, and if seen in terms of the rising prices it would be observed that it has gone down considerably. The result is that we want to provide education cheap. We are talking of providing amenities and welfare programmes for the students. The idea is laudable and I must congratulate the Education Minister for emphasising this point. Quite rightly he has said that at least a sum of Rs. 3 crores should be spent for these additional welfare services. But I am not so certain whether this amount of Rs. 3 crores is being additionally provided or it is going to be taken out of the amount that is already there. I can quite understand the difficulty of the Education Minister. I hope that he once said of organising an agitation—he does in fact organise an agitation and I hope that this House will give him its wholehearted support in such an agitation...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : I hope you do not mean *gherao*.

PROF. SAIYID NURUL HASAN : Even that may be desirable.

Sir, the honourable Member, Shri Mahavir Tyagi, made a reference to private colleges. I think that this is one of the most important problems which is facing higher education today. There are a large number of private colleges in the country. In fact the overwhelming majority of colleges are privately managed. Very few of them are contributing any financial grants for running all these colleges. In most cases the colleges are being financed out of Government grants and student fees. The result is whereas the total amount which is supposed to be spent is not in fact spent because the matching contribution is never actually available. It is only there on paper. We think that a great deal of money is actually being spent. But in fact the expenditure on higher education is even less than what the figures show. Furthermore, in these privately managed colleges there is a great deal of interference and substandard conditions. I hope that the Government of India and the State Governments would realise their responsibilities and would give support to the universities to establish more and more colleges themselves because in view of certain judicial pronouncements of late I think that it may be very very difficult for any university to insist on the maintenance of high standards or to ensure that the conditions of service of teachers are satisfactory.

I would like specially to make a reference to science education. I feel that the funds available for science education are far too inadequate. I am a little surprised—I hope the honourable Minister will clarify this point—that out of the very meagre sum placed at the disposal of his Ministry, I understand that some of it has been taken out and placed at the disposal of the National Council on Science Education. If this National Council for Science Education had been concerned primarily with the schools, I could have understood the point. But I am told that it is dealing with university education also when university education is and should remain the responsibility of the University Grants Commission.

I should also request him to clarify the nature of relationship between the National Council of Science Education and the National Science Foundation of the United States.

Apart from the question of grants,

the University Grants Commission had taken an excellent step in setting up review committees for the various subjects. I am afraid the follow-up action on the review committees leaves much to be desired.

In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the Minister to the need for careful planning for the next five year period. From now the planning must start to cope with the need for expansion of subjects, new syllabuses and courses to cope with the increase in numbers—numbers must be increased—and also to make available the educational resources for national development. There must be closer contacts between universities, industry, agriculture and other walks of life and constructive activities. This would help remove the ivory tower atmosphere of some of the educational institutions and would also make expertise available to the country. We must therefore, start planning from now on taking all these factors into consideration and then making an estimate of the funds required so that the hon. Minister is able to wage his fight for more funds on the basis of better facts and more intensively worked out data.

I would also like to refer to the question of examination reform once again. Examination reform can be undertaken upto a limit even without the additional funds. The Education Commission had stressed the importance of this and in its report there is an important section dealing with examination reform. Unfortunately, the universities have not applied their mind to this question and I hope that the Commission will use all its powers of persuasion—it is a very persuasive organisation. I can assure you, in so far as universities are concerned—to see that the examination reform work is taken in hand in right earnest.

Lastly, I would like to make a reference to one important aspect of the University Grants Commission's activity. Under the Act, it is empowered to give advice to the State Governments. Unfortunately, the State governments have not taken advantage of this power of the University Grants Commission. I earnestly appeal through you to the State governments to give their consideration to this aspects so that when they are fixing the grants of the State universities, especially block grants, or

[Prof. Saiyid Nurul Hasan]

when they are deciding to reorganise a university or to bring in legislation for the universities in their States, they make it a convention to consult the University Grants Commission and obtain its advice. I would not like to take more time of the House. In conclusion, I repeat what I said full support to the proposal that more funds should be placed at the disposal of the University Grants Commission.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Mr. Bipinpal Das.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, as a matter of fact, there is a lot of things to be discussed about the educational system as a whole of this country. But, today I have to confine myself only to this Report and particularly to the field of higher education. The rate of growth of higher education in this country has been phenomenal. Before independence, there were 20 universities and when the UGC came into existence, there were 35 universities and by the end of 1968, the number has gone up to 76 universities, besides ten institutions deemed to be universities. The number of college-going and university students was 9,28,622 in 1958-59 and that has gone up by the end of 1968 to 24,73,264. From this it can be seen what a stupendous task it was for the University Grants Commission to take care of in the field of higher education. By and large, I must say, the UGC has done a very good job. I must express my thanks and gratitude to the Chairman of the Commission, the Secretaries of the Commission and other officers who have not only done a very good job, but have done it in a academic spirit—I have personal experience about it—unlike some of the bureaucrats which we come across in the Ministries of the Government.

Now, Sir, one point that has been pointed out by Prof. Hasan is the fact that the University Grants Commission, in spite of the big and gigantic task that it has to tackle, has been unable to do justice to the whole cause because of shortage of funds. This is a point which must be emphasised in this House so that the Government and the

Planning Commission may find ways and means to provide more funds at the hands of the University Grants Commission. Having said this, I would like to point out certain things.

It is admitted by all that the prosperity of this country and the efforts of this nation to become a modern nation largely depend upon the expansion of science education. But, what is the achievement so far? In 1966-67, the total number of arts, science and commerce colleges were 1915. That has gone up to 2,219 in 1968-69. But, what about engineering and technology? There is no increase at all. In Agriculture it has come down from 54 to 53. What about veterinary science? From 20 to 21. My point is that there is no progress made at all in the field of education in technology, engineering, agricultural science, etc. and this is not a very good comment on the progress that we have made in the matter of expanding educational needs.

Now, Sir, I would also like to point out that proportionately speaking, the enrolment of students in the science courses and technological courses has also gone down. In 1966-67, the percentage of student in the arts faculty was 40.3. It has gone up in two years' time to 42.7. But in science, it has gone down from 33.6 to 32.4, in engineering and technology, from 4.9 to 4.1; in medicine, from 4 to 3.7; and in agriculture from 2.7 to 2.1. In all courses of science and technology, the enrolment has gone down, proportionately speaking, and this is not very good for a country like ours.

Now, what about the teaching staff and its ratio with the students? In the arts faculty, the percentage of teachers in 1968-69, according to this Report, was 49.2; but in science it was 31.1, whereas the number of students is 32.4% of the total.

Particularly in pure science faculty, the teaching staff ratio compared to the number of students has not been satisfactory at all. Regarding staff at the universities, I find from the report that the ratio of professors and readers of the Universities is less than one-fourth of the total staff in the universities. Unless this ratio is raised; I do not think the standard of education in

the universities can rise. So far as colleges are concerned, the percentage of senior teachers compared to the whole staff is only 13.2. It is a very sad commentary on the state of affairs to-day.

A large number of universities have come up. It has been found—the report has hinted—that there are certain cases where universities have been established without the approval of the UGC. In some cases the University Grants Commission has not been consulted at all. In some cases they have established universities against the opinion of the UGC. This is a serious matter because this concerns the question of quality and standard, not only a question of money to be spent in building up new universities. I would suggest to the UGC and the hon. Minister that the UGC should make a rule that no university will be granted financial assistance unless the establishment of the university has the prior concurrence or approval of the UGC. Otherwise with the meager finances at their disposal it will be impossible to build up standards if people go on establishing universities without the concurrence and approval of the UGC. Now there is a demand for more post-graduate education. It is a legitimate demand. But the solution seems to be this. Let us have more university centres for post-graduate education and not straight-away go and establish universities. This is the solution. This will ultimately amount to very little amount of expenditure.

The UGC has proposed various schemes for development of libraries, laboratories, hostels, staff quarters, etc. They have done very good work. They have schemes for improvement of the quality of teachers by holding seminars, symposia and summer institutes. But I would also suggest to the UGC to pay a little more attention to the affiliated college. Not enough has been done for the development of the standard or quality of the colleges, comparatively speaking. Let me give an instance. Take the demand for hostels which is very great. This is very important from the point of view of educational standard also. In 1966-67 Rs. 52.2 lakhs were spent for hostels in the universities. For colleges Rs. 29.90 lakhs were spent. In 1967-68 Rs. 58.39 lakhs for the universities

and only 10.58 lakhs were spent for the colleges. In 1968-69 Rs. 72.95 lakhs were spent for the universities as against Rs. 23.85 lakhs for the colleges. The demand for hostels in the colleges is tremendous. The other demands for welfare measures are also there. But it has been found that adequate justice has not been done towards the needs of the affiliated colleges.

Another point that has been raised is the relation between the University and the affiliated colleges and I am glad that the UGC has of late paid sufficient attention to this question. I have seen some of the circulars, some instructions, some suggestions. But one thing is there. In some places even the non-government colleges are absolutely are controlled by the Government. The terms and conditions of service of teachers and so on and so forth are decided by the Government. I want to raise a question here. In those places, for instance in my own State, the Government has got one set of rules, the University has got another set of rules and they come into conflict sometimes and the result is that the principal is in trouble, the Governing Body is in trouble and the teachers suffer. So, I would like the Education Minister to clarify a point of principle. What should be the principle? Who should control the colleges? They say that the administrative side, the financial side will be controlled by the Government and the academic side will be controlled by the University. This is non-sense in my opinion. You cannot compartmentalise like that into administrative side and academic side. They are inter-related. My opinion is—and this I say after long experience—that the affiliated colleges must be under the control of the University and University alone. The University alone should be empowered to make rules, lay down terms and conditions for appointments and so on and so forth. And I think that will build up a very healthy atmosphere in the colleges. That will also help in eliminating the so-called extra politics that enter sometimes into the management of the colleges.

Now, Sir, finally I would like to draw the attention of the UGC through the Education Minister to three basic questions. First is the syllabus. In my view, compared to other developed countries in the world generally speaking the syllabus of the different subjects

[Shri Bipinpal Das]

taught in the universities of this country, barring few exceptions, perhaps are still very low, very backward, very out-dated. Not enough has been done to raise the standard of the syllabus up to the standard of other developed countries. Then about courses. Two years ago I had been to Lancaster University, one of the new Universities in U.K. It is six years old just now but when I went there it was only four years old. There they have a system called flexibility of courses. That means a student who is admitted into the first year class if he offers mathematics, physics and chemistry, it is not necessary for him that he should stick to these three subjects up to the end. He may, if he finds mathematics difficult, after the first year give it up and he can take up, say, geography or botany. An economics student, if he finds it difficult may give it up and take, say, history. For one full year this option is given to the students and I have found from my experience that the first year boys are not competent enough, mature enough, to select their courses correctly. Therefore some flexibility should be allowed so that ultimately the student can develop according to his own genius naturally and in a spontaneous way.

Then, Sir, I would refer to the teaching method and examination reforms. Now, Sir, Prof. Rao, Dr. Joshi and other colleagues from the Universities will excuse me. A professor has been defined like this. Those who can, do; those who cannot, teach and those who can neither do nor teach, profess. I do not know how far this is applicable but with the little experience that I have I find that this is not entirely wrong.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI
(Nominated) : They profess to teach.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : I do not know what they profess, but they profess.

Now, what about teaching methods? Teaching also has been defined by one learned professor some time back. It has been said that modern teaching in our universities and colleges is nothing but the transferring of notes from the notebook of the teacher to the notebook

of the student without the same passing through the head of either. This was said by a learned man, but I do not want to name him. So, the method of teaching today in our universities and colleges is in a very bad shape. It has become mechanical, it has become impersonal. It has no human relationship with the student. There is no intercourse between the mind of the teacher and the mind of the student. The teacher comes to a class and lectures to a class. He hardly teaches the students. There is no intercourse at all. There is no human contact. It is going on a large scale as if it is a large-scale factory. This has to be changed. This has to be radically changed if we want to improve the standard of teaching in our universities and colleges. Today it is dull and uninspiring. Most of the teachers fail to provoke the students to ask questions, to seek clarifications. Most of the lecturers fail to provoke a student to go to the library, to do research work. Most of the lecturers fail to inspire the student. Therefore, something must be done radically in this matter. I hope I have said sufficiently on this matter to draw the attention of the UGC through the Education Minister.

Now, my last point relates to examination reform. What is the present-day examination? Examination system and the method of teaching are interconnected. What is this examination? The existing system of examination tests not what a student knows but what he does not know; not his intelligence but his cleverness, not his ability to digest and assimilate but his capacity to commit to memory and then vomit in the examination hall. The stereotyped carbon-copy form of questions have made it unnecessary either for the teacher or for the student to go through the whole course, to have a comprehensive and intelligent grasp of the whole subject. A student may not even see his text-book, let alone consulting the library. He can successfully go through his examination by taking resort to shortcuts, 'made-easy's' and questions and answers. The worst side of it is that he can merrily while away his time during the whole session and prepare his answers to selected stock questions only at the time of the examination. The present examination

system is a farce which is leading us nowhere. Again, may I refer to the Lancaster University? They have developed a new system which consists of four parts, viz., (i) continuous internal assessment, (ii) laboratory work for science and project reports in arts on a given assignment, (iii) a *viva-voce* test and (iv) a written test. A student in the second year class and third year class will be given a task. In the case of arts, it is a project report and in the case of science it is a practical report. He must prepare the report himself by consulting the library, consulting his teachers and by his own effort. I do not say that this is the ideal, but something has to be done if we want to raise the standard of education by reforming our examination system.

One word, if you will permit me. The point was referred to by Dr. Rao. If I do not say a word about it I will be doing injustice to my speech and that is about the students' participation in the university administration. It is a very important thing and we must give very serious consideration to it. As Prof. Hasan said, some kind of report is almost ready and it will come before us for consideration. I do not know if I am too late in making a suggestion. In my opinion, it will not be desirable to make students members of the University Court or Executive Council or Academic Council or the Faculties. I need not explain it. They will not be mature enough. They will not be able to do justice to the task that they will be asked to do. At the same time, I insist and I emphasise that students must be associated with the administration of the university at various levels. I went to see the students union at the Strathclyde University of Glasgow. I have seen many unions in U. K. and this is one of the purposes for which I went there.

I was impressed by the organisation of students' union of Strathclyde and also by the system they have developed by which the students are associated with the administration at various levels. I need not describe the whole system, there is no time for it. I only draw the attention of the Education Minister to this system by which students' participation has been achieved in the Strathclyde University of Glasgow. I asked the President of the union: "Are you satisfied?" He said: "We are damn satisfied". So are the other

office-bearers. But there also some students demand that they must be members of the Senate, the Academic Council, the Executive Council, and so on. But the majority has decided that they do not want to be members of these bodies. There is student participation in the administration at various levels, at horizontal as well as vertical level. They are on various consultative Committees. That has satisfied the students. I think that is a very ideal system, and that may be considered before we try to introduce a new system of participation of students in our university administration. I am wholeheartedly for it, but to make them straightway members of these bodies would not be proper. It will not do justice either to the students or to the university or to the tasks that they will be faced to discharge.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, a recent encounter with university students has given me the key to the observations that I am about to make on the University Grants Commission Report for 1968-69. It was a meeting organised under the auspices of the YMCA bringing a number of representative university students, graduates and present university students, into contact with members of the public. There were two Members of Parliament, parents and teachers there in order to find out what was passing through the minds of the present generation of students. The students were asked to expound their views upon their problems. Student after student rose and denounced the system of education which they had received. The opening speech was made by a student who spoke in English, and with a fluency which I could not help envying myself, decrying the system of university education that he had received denouncing the western values which his education had given him, in a sense condemning the whole system of education he had received. I wondered whether he realised the contradiction that he, one of the finest products of English education, should go to the length of denouncing the university education that he had received. Student after student spoke on the frustration which they experienced at the end of their university education. They asked: "What have we been educated for? Where is the occupational employment in which I could make use of the university education

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy]

that I have received?" One question that I asked was why on earth they took to university education when they knew that it led to nothing, that it led to the adoption of values in which they did not believe. Why did they go to the trouble and expense of undergoing this system of education? One student said that that was the atmosphere in which they had been brought up at home, in society, that a B.A. degree was a very desirable thing, that employers would give preference to B.As., graduates. One girl student went to the extent of saying that it would improve their marriage prospects if they acquired a B.A. degree. The older generation paid no attention to university degrees or graduates. They paid heed to other desirable qualifications. But that is the feeling of the present generation of students, a feeling of frustration, of lack of opportunities for employment, for gainful occupation. So, one of the first things that I would expect the University Grants Commission to do is to estimate the employment potential of these university graduates. Our university education is in the planning age and I need not give this advice to the Planners who plan for everything and anything, about the results that they desire to achieve. But is there any planning in our university education? Has the University Grants Commission estimated the employment potential of these university graduates and restricted the number of admissions to the university colleges in line relation to that university, to that employment potential? This is one of the first tasks which the University Grants Commission in India should set its mind to.

In this connection, may I say that the University Grants Commission would do well to insist upon some place being found in schools which train for university education, which are a prelude to university education, to provide some means of vocational guidance, so that the students and parents may be guided as to the system of education, as to the type of education, which the intellectual quality of the pupils, which the aptitudes of the pupils, which the needs of the country would require? Every school in England has what is called a 'Career Masters', a whole-time teacher whose business is to study the mind of every

child, the taste of every child, the aptitude of every child, the intellectual qualifications of each child, and advise the parents of the child as to the further education that it ought to receive. Our system of education is unplanned, has a wild growth, and that is why we are suffering from all the ills which we have been suffering from.

And then in regard to the other works of the University Grants Commission, I do not think there is any special mention of the experience of the University Grants Commission in regard to the correspondence course which was described by one of the predecessors as being an avenue to knowledge, as if correspondence courses in university education are the only avenues to knowledge. Great men like Mahatma Gandhi and Winston Churchill who were noted for their knowledge never went through a university. A university education is not at all necessary for acquiring knowledge. Provided you are literate and you have a desire to acquire knowledge, you can add to your knowledge and you acquire it. Correspondence courses are not necessary to add to the number of graduates unemployed and unemployable. A great substitute for these correspondence courses is the evening class. Organise the university colleges in the evenings when the rooms are free and give teaching in useful subjects, in commercial subjects, in mechanical subjects, in technical training which will fit the students for gainful occupations. London is famous for its mechanical institutes, for its evening classes, which do not train for university education at all. They train for gainful occupations. Men like Herbert Morrison who became a great Labour Minister started life with only elementary education. But through the evening classes, through private studies, he was able to acquire the education which made him a successful English Minister. It is on these lines that the University Grants Commission should direct its attention. Then with regard to the remedies for the evils that have been pointed out in this House from time to time, unless the ratio of teacher to students increases you cannot have the teacher devoting that individual attention, that care, that concern that will make the life of students happy and contented while they are in college. The teacher-student ratio today is 1:20 or even 50. Therefore, the number of teachers ought to be increased.

With regard to hostels, year after year I have pointed out that these hostels have become slummy quarters. A room intended for one student is taken by three or four students. There are no common messes. Some hostels have no common rooms at all where the students can meet together in social life, entertain each other at tea and indulge in social conversation. I was surprised to learn recently from a member of the United Kingdom High Commission that the London School of Economics, where she was trained some years ago, does not now have a common room in which students could meet each other, where students can have social callings, learning each other's ways, meeting teachers in social life and so on.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : But there were rooms there. I do not know what is the position now.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : Explaining about the unrest in the London School of Economics, she said that now the students just trooped into lecture rooms and then trooped away to their homes.

In the hostels there is no proper supervision over students by the teachers. The teachers' quarters should be near the students' quarters. What is the use of a residential system where the students live in one quarter of the town and the teachers live in another quarter of the town? The students and teachers must live close to each other. At least half a dozen teachers should live near the hostel.

With regard to students' Unions they are now run as students' trade unions, meant more for agitation rather than as students' clubs. In England and elsewhere there are clubs which provide for social life of students. There are restaurants and there are tea rooms. There is also a debating room and also a library. Unless the University Grants Commission is seized with such reforms, I do not think they will be fulfilling any really useful permanent purpose, purpose which has a lasting effect.

Students' welfare has been referred to in the Report. One welfare that the Education Minister gave definition to was the provision of text-books for students. We are living in strange

times where students have to be provided with text-books. In our time each student had to buy his text-books and the libraries were provided with only general books. In our times students were encouraged to read books beyond the subjects of their examination to increase their general knowledge. Now the love of reading has gone down considerably not only amongst the students but amongst the elders. I believe the Parliament Library meant for 800 Members is used only by 80 Members.

Then, Sir, with regard to the vexed question of participation of students in the administration of Universities, I agree with the Member from Assam that no purpose would be served by the inclusion of representatives of students in the Senates, the Academic Councils and the Syndicates. After all, they will be one or two, the majority will be their elders, and every time they will be outvoted. And after this outvoting, there will be further exasperation. What I would recommend, from my experience as Principal of the Law College, is to provide a representative council of the students elected by the student body itself and placing all the grievances in regard to their life, in regard to their hostel accommodation, in regard to their examination, in regard to their syllabuses, in regard to the teaching and in regard to the teachers, before this representative council which should make suggestions from time to time to the university bodies. As a representative council, they would have greater weight because the university authorities would know that this representative council has the whole body of students behind it, whereas a student representative in the Syndicate, in the Academic Council or in the Senate will be outvoted time after time by the elders and the sense of frustration will still remain.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : The teachers' character roll may also be entered by them.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : Lastly, with regard to the organisation of the Commission, I am glad that one of the reforms suggested is that serving Vice-Chancellors should be excluded because otherwise the independence and impartiality of the University Grants Commission would be suspect. But why should these representatives of

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy]

the Government be on the University Grants Commission? Why should members of the Secretariat or the bureaucracy be on the University Grants Commission? The place of Secretaries and bureaucrats is in the Secretariat. They ought to be there in order to view the suggestions of the University Grants Commission. They will act as a wet blanket at the meetings of the U.G.C. The Finance Secretary will say "There is no money available. You need not talk about this business at all". The Education Secretary will say "The Education Department will not tolerate this. So this subject may also be excluded." So, a further reform that I would suggest is that these members of the Secretariat or the bureaucracy should be excluded from the University Grants Commission. They are not to be found in the English University Grants Commission. The University Grants Commission there is composed purely of representatives of universities and colleges, men noted for their educational eminence and great educational qualifications.

With these reforms, I think the University Grants Commission will be serving its purpose to a much greater degree and with much greater efficiency than it has done so far.

DR. DEBIPRASAD CHATTO-
PADHYAYA (West Bengal) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset we must extend our gratitude for the fine work that is being done by the U.G.C. On the occasion of discussing the Report of the U.G.C. for the year 1968-69, I would like to make certain observations. First, I would take up the very important problem of imbalance in the field of education. Strictly speaking, the imbalance in the field of education does not entirely come under the purview of the U.G.C., because the U.G.C., as it is constituted, is mainly concerned with university education and the imbalance that we are witnessing now in the field of education relates to primary, secondary and collegiate education, all three layers taken together. What is to be noted is that there are two sorts of imbalances. I call them horizontal imbalance and vertical imbalance in the field of education. By vertical imbalance in the field of education I mean the pyramid of education comprising the three layers,

primary, secondary and collegiate, is not rationally structured. By this I mean we have not given primary importance to primary education which we ought to have given not only as a matter of principle but as part of our promise enshrined in the Constitution. And by neglecting that we have not only neglected a very important problem or aspect of education, but we have also neglected and thereby partly jeopardized the infrastructure of our national democracy. Without an educated public opinion at the base of democracy for its support its superstructure becomes shaky, and it has become shaky I think. And by horizontal imbalance I mean in the same layer of education, namely, in the collegiate education there is imbalance. We have given less money, we have allocated less resources, to science and technology, and we have allocated more resources, much more than the national demands warrant, to the field of humanities and social sciences. Coming as I do from the field of humanities I have no hesitation in saying that the resources that we have allocated to this field are not justified; I mean they are not justified having in view the limited resources at the disposal of the Government or through the Government at the hands of the U.G.C. So I think attention should be given to this aspect. And in this connection I would like to repeat what I have already said on other occasions that the criterion for eligibility for admission of students to university education or to collegiate education in our country is unique. Its equal is no where to be found, neither in the socialist countries nor in the capitalist countries. In our country whoever gets through the Higher Secondary or the School Final is deemed eligible for collegiate education. It is a very surprising thing indeed. It is doubly surprising when you know that most of the resources for financing collegiate education, particularly university education, come from the public exchequer. The poor people of the country who had no benefit of even primary education, who cannot send their children to primary education even now, are giving the money to the Government in the form of taxes and that is ploughed into the collegiate education. And for what purpose? Mainly for the humanities for which there is not much demand. Having in view the national economy, the requirements for the growth of the national economy, we need more technicians, more engineers,

but not more just BAs and MAs whom we have been getting for the last few years. Even about engineers we have some problem. But that is a different problem. I would say that before we allow so many students to come to universities and colleges we should think whether it is in the best interests of the nation, whether it is consistent with the national traditions of our academic life. So these wo imbalances should be attended to. In this connection I would like to say that something could be done if we have, as we have been thinking of having, the correspondence courses. In an extended form we can think of opening a radio university and at a later stage a television university. If we allow so many students in the college who are not otherwise eligible by academic standards, they are being accepted because of political pressure and thereby we are forcing the government to make more investments and there will be more students and more administrative problems. If we have some radio universities or extended correspondence courses, we can save money in the form of establishment and we can also give a sort of education which can be made available to many more people who may be really interested in education. I am sorry to say that many students who come to qualify now-a-days are not mainly interested in education. The money of the nation could be saved if we think in terms of radio and television universities. I am happy to learn that our imaginative Education Minister has already been thinking in that line and I am sure he will be doing something in this respect.

Secondly, having in view not only the student unrest, but the educational requirements of the new generations of the students, I would think that the curricular courses of university education should be reoriented and should be attuned with the main stream of national democratic politics. I do not find any reason why the Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung, for example, will not be offered to the students. Last year, I know that some of my friends of Calcutta university in the academic council have been thinking on these lines. Instead of reading that red book wherein there are some contextless quotations of Mao Tse-tung, if text books like *On Contradictions* could be offered to the students, they will not get confused. If they are to read the other book, instead

of getting enlightened, they will only get more confused. *On Contradictions* is a serious book which can be offered to the students. Similarly, they can be offered books on revolution by Lenin. If students are offered these books in the best, healthy academic tradition, they will not read some misquoted or out-of context quotations of Mao Tse-tung and they need not go to dark rooms at mid-night to read them. I think students should be given food for thought; whether the food is imported either from Russia or China, I do not mind. This, I think, is in the best interests of academic education.

I do not believe in indoctrinisation. I believe in national orientation of education. I know this is a very vague thing. It is for learned people like Prof. Rao to concretise this vague idea. May be, the theme is vague, but it is extremely important. Every nation in its educational system and in preparing its curriculum and syllabus bears in mind its national orientation and national outlook. The difference is well known between Indian history written by European scholars or English scholars and history written by ourselves. That is what I mean by orientation. When English people say that 1947 is the year of their withdrawal from India, we will associate it with the year of our gaining freedom. That is the difference. In our educational system, there should be national orientation. I do not believe in indoctrination. Our students must know their heritage. In the courses of humanities and social sciences, there is ample room for introducing this national orientation without forcing the students to be indoctrinated.

Now about university administration and the scope for student participation: It is an oft-debated point and I feel inclined to agree with Prof. Rao rather than with Prof. Ruthnaswamy or Shri Bipinpal Das. Prof. Rao has made it absolutely clear that he does not propose to have the students in the matter of selection of the teachers or in some such matter. But, I do not know why students will not be allowed to be in the university administration. In that way, without popularising or vulgarising democracy. I think what concerns students should be consented to by the students and I do not apprehend that there will always be a difference and the students will be

[Dr. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya]

out-voted as apprehended by Prof. Ruthnaswamy. I do not think so. Because the generation gap is one of the reasons, I may say, the main reason, it makes us feel so in issues to be decided by voting. I think there are many sensible students, reasonable students, who will think much more ahead than what their senior colleagues or teachers would be thinking in these matters or issues. So, I feel the students should be given scope and given scope and opportunity, I believe they will justify their inclusion in the important decision making bodies and the decisions affecting them should be, partially at least, influenced by them. I have no hesitation in saying that even in the last seventeen years when I left the university, the students I find now-a-days, the best students of today, are much better than the best students of our days and I have no hesitation in saying that. And, they are much more balanced, at least a section of them.

Now, looking at the overall university problem, sometimes we feel that if they are allowed to participate, they will create havoc. But I think many of the problems or even crises on the campus are smaller than the problems outside the campus. How far the people within the campus are responsible for it, I am not quite sure. I think this is a big problem. The origin of the problem is not in the campus. So, the people on the campus should be held responsible only secondarily and not primarily. The origin of the problems in the main is extra-campus.

Sir, about examination reforms, I would not repeat the point very beautifully made out by Mr. Bipinpal Das. I believe there should be continuous examinations. In some parts of the country, there is no examination—I do not mean the examination system—just an examination is threatened to be reduced to a farce, if not a mockery, because of large-scale unfair means. So, something should be done. Now the students are very much afraid of examinations, may be for political reasons; but that can be discounted. But there are other students who are afraid of examinations, not for political reasons or cultural reasons or revolutionary reasons, but just for the reason that they are not prepared for the examinations. They are not prepared either by

teachers or because of the malfunctioning or disfunctioning of the system. So, I think that if there is some sort of arrangement for conducting continuous examination, then the students will not be afraid of sitting for an examination, only one decisive examination at the end of the year.

Now, my another point is about encouraging the students to have a national outlook, for fostering national integration. Students from different parts of the world and different parts of India should be encouraged to visit other parts of India, particularly the union leaders, the youth leaders, and in this context, the Ministry might think of setting up of youth hostels as they are in Europe, youth hostels wherein the students of the different parts of India could be housed and could be provided with food and lodging for the time being at a cheaper rate.

That would help the students of the different parts of the country to have a national, broader outlook and in some respects the political angularities might be sobered, might be educated in a right way.

SHRI UMASHANKER JOSHI :
Let me, at the outset, congratulate the Chairman, Members and Officers of the UGC in presenting a report which gives a very desirable description of higher education in India.

Education as a whole could be compared to a tree. Primary education takes the place of roots. The roots derive sustenance from the soil. Perhaps primary education begins with birth and could be traced to pre-natal days. Secondary education can be likened to the trunk of the tree. Higher education is the luxuriant foliage, the flowers and the fruits in the shape of various diplomas, degrees, gold-medals and internationally-known scholarships. The students of botany would tell us that even the foliage, the branches with their blossoms and fruits take sustenance from the atmosphere and the sun-shine and reach it down below to the roots that remain invisible. That is how the whole tree keeps on growing. To-day we are concerned with the rich foliage.

When we read the report and look at the academic landscape in our country, we find that much has happened

during the fruitful 17 years of the UGC. I do not think that the universities should not have proliferated. Any way, there would have been many institutions with the label of university, because in the first flush of democracy we were in a mood to start such institutions. A college, a University is a status symbol for that locality or region. But what puts something of a soul in a university is the opening and strengthening of post-graduate departments, that impart instruction and conduct research at the higher level. This is the sole work of the UGC. But for the UGC, we would not have the development of higher education at this level. Today, we have post-graduate departments in various branches of learning, at various centres of our country which is a sub-continent. We have quite a number of professors, readers and lecturers, demonstrators and research fellows. Buildings are coming up. Provision for teachers' housing and for students' hostels, centres for non-resident students, has been made. Libraries have been enriched. Laboratories have been provided with modern equipment. Provision for students' travel, teachers' visits to other universities, provision for help to the affiliated colleges—all this has been looked into. It is quite a pleasing landscape that we have in view when we read this document.

Having said this and adding that I would be second to none in my respect to the great professor who heads the UGC, I may try to discuss some other points. It appears that during the year under review the main things that have happened in the academic life of India have originated from the Education Department at the Centre. The first thing was the granting of financial aid—I should add it was not exactly from this year, it started a little earlier but we in Gujarat received it this year—for implementing UGC scales for the college teachers. This should have been accompanied with some provision for the orientation of new lecturers. This should have been one of the first activities of the UGC according to me. With the starting of the U.G.C. there were bound to be many more Universities and we should have thought of the personnel requirements, of and how we were going to man these Universities. That problem, unfortunately, was not looked into. But it is never too late, I am happy that last year when the Report for the year 1967-68 was

discussed, my esteemed friend, the Minister of Education, was pleased to refer to the initiative taken by the Shivaji University in this matter. We at the Gujarat University, too, feel agitated over this problem. Better scales for the teaching profession and orientation through teacher training programmes should go hand in hand. It is propitious that something is going to be done about this.

The second thing that Education Ministry did was planning for the text books in the various Indian languages. You know, Sir, a crore of rupees was set apart for every Indian language. This also should have been done much earlier.

The third thing that the Education Ministry did was the starting of the National Service Scheme. We woke up late in the day to realise that our educational system had little relevance to the life of the Indian society. But it is satisfying that though bilatedly, we have been able to launch this ambitious scheme of which it should be the duty of every educationist to make a success.

All these three things had, of course, the support of the UGC. The teachers' scales were actually called the UGC scales. They could have been implemented through the UGC as well. Perhaps, there is not adequate coordination between the UGC and the Central Government. It leaves room for greater coordination. The fourth thing that happened recently was the passing of the UGC Act which this hon. House was good enough to initiate six years ago. But, it took many years to get through. I do not know why.

This Act gives one good hope, that of making the teachers responsible for the whole organization of higher education in India. In this land of *gurus* the teacher today is a suspect. The present day examination system has made him more so. The sooner the system is scrapped the better. That there should be teachers rather than vice-chancellors on the UGC augurs well.

We also hear that arrangements for student participation in the decision-making activity of the various authorities of the universities, are under way. I think we should have no apprehensions in associating students with these august bodies of the universities. That

[Shri Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya] would benefit the students. We do not want that the students should prescribe the courses and that they should assess their own answer papers. But it is always good to know their thoughts about their own future and how they would like to be helped. I met a very brilliant student from the South a month ago and I sought advice from him. He was good enough to tell me that what he had learned during four years in college he could easily have acquired within one year. Why then, should he have been kept at college for four years on a meagre academic fare?

Sir, I do not want to criticise, but the Central Government, instead of stealing the show, should make the UGC a more culturally viable, academically viable body and reinforce its academic credentials. Again, the UGC has to deal with Central universities which take away quite a chunk of the funds—meagre as they are—placed at its disposal. The other universities, which are mainly affiliating, get comparatively very little. There are universities, which are, unfortunately, mere affiliating and examining agencies. Now, if they are to be brought above the water-line something more should be done. It is propitious that under the new Act one member, a full-time paid member, of the UGC will be in charge of the affiliated colleges and their problems.

The Act envisages that henceforth no new universities will come into existence without the previous approval of the UGC and the Central Government. UGC, yes. But why the Central Government? Government should rather keep away from any interference in the autonomous working of the UGC. Way back in 1956, we, in a literary conference, were told by no less a person than the then Lord Privy Seal, Robert Butler, while commending us some of the best institutions in his country, to see the working of the University Grants Committee. He said that England wanted to help the universities financially, but it wanted to do so without interfering in their internal administration.

So, they created the UGC, which, he said, was 'a State within a State.' I think the autonomy of the UGC, a State, within a State should be very jealously guarded.

Some years ago we looked upon educational advancement in our country as a silent revolution that was gathering momentum slowly but steadily, but now we are rather sadder and perhaps wiser. We find that some of the universities are grinding to a standstill. What has happened? We have spent millions and millions of rupees on higher education, but where have we arrived? Somehow or other the goods are anything but delivered.

The Youth is in a ferment all over the world. So also in India. The year 1968-69, for which this Report is presented, witnessed in summer the upsurge and revolt by the students of the Sorbonne University in Paris. The young are spearheading a new movement in the life of mankind. Perhaps they feel alienated, isolated, frustrated. In the affluent society they are bored by the consumer-society. They say that death by boredom is no better than death by starvation. In the developing countries they ask for more and still more goods, but behind the goods that are made available by an advancing technology the mind of the youth is groping for some good, the good of man. The youth wants to assure that the goods, it uses, do not stink of social injustice. When you have some goods with you, you do not want to be reminded that a vast majority is deprived of those essential things which a human being needs in order to keep alive. There is a new upsurge, a new ethos emerging in the life of the youth the world over. Perhaps Naxalism may be one of the rather perverse manifestations. The age-group of Naxalites, according to a weekly from Calcutta, is 15-21. If our educational system does not provide the means of livelihood and does not even give any intellectual satisfaction, there is bound to be frustration. One break-through could be giving vocational training at the secondary level. As was suggested by my predecessors, the Universities can conduct evening classes and provide for correspondence courses for a vast majority of those who want general education for citizenship and make the other serious students work as full-time students.

The link between a university degree, which is described as a passport without a visa, and a Government job or a semi-Government job, should be snapped.

There should be departmental examinations. One has only to walk into some of the foreign banks in this city and enquire what academic qualifications the managers possess. They do not possibly possess high academic qualifications. They do not hold high degrees. They have passed through the training which is very essential for discharging such jobs. I should suggest that instead of restricting the number of entrants to the universities—it would be undemocratic to deny any one these opportunities—we should offer alternative avenues. All this calls for a thorough re-patterning of our educational system.

The universities above all need academic leadership. This is the important function of the U.G.C., and I have my apprehensions that in this perhaps it has been found wanting. The universities are to be developed as centres of creativity, sources of innovation and principal agents of social change. They should function as listening posts for new ideas, ideas which are about to be born. Have we been able, during these long years through which the University Grants Commission has worked to build up such centres? The older universities are in a none too good shape, and one university that was built up in this metropolitan city, a university over which the Education Minister once presided is in a bad shape and under the nose of the Ministry and the U.G.C. is working under great strain.

Sir, if I say these things, it is with a sense of guilt. As one heading a university I sometimes feel: Am I merely running the show? Am I presiding over an institution which throws the young men and women of the country to the wolves? If we do not tackle the problem of the educated unemployed, if we do not re-pattern in good time the whole educational system, higher secondary onwards, perhaps a tidal wave of frustration may overtake us. It is because of this that I humbly suggest that we may have a Review Committee that may have a second look at the higher educational activities in our country and help us by an attempt which should be like even lifting ourselves by the boot-strap from the quagmire in which we find ourselves.

Two cheers I can give to the U. G. C., I am afraid not three. I do not

like to put the blame at the door of the U.G.C. or the student community or the teachers but the overall educational leadership in our country. Thank you.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I must congratulate the hon. Minister that he has brought this report for discussion for one year this time. I know he is very much interested in the upliftment of education in this country because he is himself devoted to education, and I am glad that this opportunity will allow us to speak not merely about the University Grants Commission but about education in general as well because in this House we could never discuss the functioning of the Ministry of Education.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You do during the President's Address and the Budget.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : That is diffused. So, if I make some remarks in general, I hope they will be properly understood. Mr. Vice-Chairman, first of all, I would like to draw your kind attention and the attention of the Minister of Education to the tragedy of education in India. Ever since Independence. The first President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, demanded the overhauling of the education system; Dr. Radhakrishnan wanted to do the same. And I do remember, once Dr. Zakir Husain told me, "I wish a team of MPs could go round the schools and colleges of Delhi and see how they are functioning and blow them over." These are the words used "Blow them over." This is the way Indian education is functioning. We have had two Education Commissions and the Secondary School Commission and their Reports are there. Even a few days back, the Chairman of the University Grants Commission himself wanted the education system in India to be overhauled, to be made up to date and modernised. I do not know who is going to change the education system of India. All the protagonists of education, all the political leaders, all the Education Ministers whether at the Centre or at the States have always said *ad nauseam* that the education system needs to be changed, but it is not changed. Is it not a tragedy of education in India? I hope, Sir, you will agree with

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me. Why is this tragedy in India? While speaking on the University Grants Commission's Report last time, I asked, "Is it not time that after 16 years of the existence of the UGC we must evaluate and assess whether we have really achieved the results which wanted to get from the functioning of the UGC, from the functioning of the present education system in our universities, colleges and schools?" I hope you will agree that we have not achieved them. Why is it so? I am not merely interested in rupees, annas and pies or in the new buildings that might have come up in the various campuses or the money allotted to the hostels or in the text-books and all that. I want to see the result. What is the result of the whole functioning of the education-system of India for the last 23 years of Independence? Frustration and unemployment on the one side and growth of Naxalism on the other. Is it not a tragedy of the education system in India? Is that the result even after 23 years of Independence with all the universities and colleges in the different parts of the country and after spending crores of rupees? Today my friend, Shri Ruthnaswamy and others, made some suggestions and said that all are tinkering with the problem. I want to see the end-result, not the unemployed students moving about in the streets and wanting to revolt. The more sensitive part of India, West Bengal, wants to revolt. Who are the Naxalites? They do not see any vision or vista of hope in India even after getting education for a number of years. Students of Calcutta university medical colleges and evening colleges want to become Naxalites today. They have no job to do. Why is it so? The Minister might say, it is not merely the result of education. I agree, it is not merely the result of education. But it is a fact—wherever you go, you are told that if you want to change the administration, or you want to reform the administration, or you want to reform Parliament, the education system must be changed? But who is to change it? Why is it not being changed? Has anybody made a study of it? Of course, there is a study in depth, the Kabir Committee's Report on student unrest. Where is it and where are its suggestions? Where have they gone? Whatever study you may make, the crux of the problem is that the situation in India is

volatile. The young men of India are restless. They want to revolt. I wish, they could revolt in a better way than the way of the Naxalites. I wish a cultural revolution could take place in India and some people could lead it. But they are misdirected.

There were two objects of education which we wanted to have after Independence. One is to produce trained manpower for economic growth and secondly to train our students coming out of the colleges with an *ethos* of science fit for the technological society that we were going to build up, in which society there will be no tension. One of the reasons why there is tension in the world is this. The development of science and industry has built up a new society. The human being has not developed a scientific temper. So, there is a tension between the old conservative thinking and the new developing modern society. We want these institutions for the growth of economy and for building up a scientific temper so that there is no tension in society. But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, in achieving both of them we have failed. There does not seem to be any co-ordination between economic planning, the general economic situation of the country, the economic thinking of the country and the education. There is no correlation. Has any correlation been done. In this Report of the U.G.C., on page 2 the Report, it is mentioned :

"including the increasing recognition of the important role of education in the national economy and the growing aspiration for the prestige and advantages of higher education."

The recognition is that scientists, technologists, Engineers and medical personnel are getting unemployed. Is this the result of co-ordination? Is this the result of what we wanted to achieve after 23 years of independence?

Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is estimated that in 1974-75 one lakh of Engineers will be unemployed in this country. What are we to do with this Report? The people of India are not worried how much money you give for education. They want results. If a college is built here and a hostel is built there, if a Principal is appointed in a college, the Chairman of the U.G.C., is a good man, the country, the history will not care for them. Have you tried to analyse why it is so? What is the remedy? The Universities are supposed

to give the academic, the moral and even the political leadership of the country. But what do we find? In the elections, whether it is the Delhi University or the Osmania University, the same tactics, the same strategy of spending money, of bribing, of abduction of candidates is taking place as takes place in political elections of parties in the country. I know how the whole political system is being polluted by corruption and other things.

The Universities should be the beacon light to give leadership to the country. But the difficulty is there is politics in the Universities, whether it is the appointment of Vice-Chancellors, the appointment of Principals or the appointment of professors. The Education Minister, who is an educationist himself, must be feeling pained on what is happening in the Universities. I know he is sincere. He has devoted his whole life-time into building an educational system. But has this been built up? How are Vice-Chancellors appointed? Retired Secretaries of Education and others who come up by manipulation and otherwise and not those who can inspire the students are appointed. Can you not have something of a Panel of Vice-Chancellors for the whole of the country, pane. of educationists who can inspire students and youngmen of the country? Do you not know how favouritism is being done? These very teachers who should have inspired the students, do not inspire. I wish the students should have gheraoed the Vice-Chancellors and the Principals for recruiting better teachers. They should not attend the class if the teacher is bad. They must revolt that they will not attend the class because a bad teacher has been recruited. I wish something like that could have been done. I wish Bengal could have given the lead in that respect.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (WEST BENGAL) : They are already giving lead.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : But not through violence. What did Gandhiji say? He said, "I want cultural revolution in this country."

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is my belief that if the situation in the country has to be remedied today, only the young men and the students can remedy it.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (MYSORE) : What sort of cultural revolution?

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Why are you afraid? Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what is the crux of the problem today? I have been to students. I have been to youngmen. They say there is vicious circle in this country of corrupt politician, corrupt administrator and corrupt businessman.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : You belong to the ruling party. So why not you change the system?

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : No political party can change it whether it is your party or my party or any other political party. All have become partners in this corruption. And this is true of the United Fronts too. While on this question I am not speaking as a party man.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : Can there be cultural revolution without first having a political revolution?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : You will have your turn.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Mr. Vice-Chairman, in this vicious circle what is the way out because the corrupt politician or the corrupt Minister anywhere has a vested interest in the corrupt administration. The administrator, the politician and all other vested interests have aligned themselves with the corrupt businessman. They all want to continue. And you find this vicious circle wherever you go. How is this vicious circle to be broken? The only sector in India which can change the economic system, the political system or the social system, is the youth and students, it has always been this sector in history. It is this section which has to come up and remove the cobwebs and break the vicious circle, because they can have vested interest in ideas only and hence have idealism for which they can make only sacrifice. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am sorry that even the new universities have not been able to throw up such people, because I do not find students agitating for good causes. They only

[Shri Krishan Kant]

agitate for postponement of examinations, for free cinema tickets or for reduction in the cost of tickets. I wish they had brought about a cultural revolution in this country. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have faith in the future of India. I know India's future is bright. These young men will come up and change the system. It is time that those who feel like Dr. Rao and some others, who feel the pinch of it, created an atmosphere where such forces could grow and create a new ethos, a new moral leadership, a new economic leadership, which is required to be brought about by the universities of to-day. This is the first point that I wanted to make.

Now, we do not seem to have developed faith in ourselves. Even now we are importing experts from outside. One of the very interesting examples is that of Mr. Gill Patrick of the Rockefeller Foundation being made a Professor of Indian Philosophy. He was an old man. Don't you find any Indian person to teach Indian Philosophy? This is an example of our slavish mentality that we still depend upon people from outside. I think we in India must realise that they send only third-rate people and that the first-rate people do not come. We should encourage our own people and evolve new experts, new academicians and so on. We must have faith in ourselves. Only then it can be done.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am saying all these things only to touch the basic problem of education and social transformation in this country. Unless this change is brought about, I do not think it is possible to remove the cobwebs and get out of the mess in which we find ourselves. These reports will not satisfy us or the students.

Now I will come to one or two points regarding the Delhi University. Mr. Deputy Chairman, there was a proposal to have technical and professional colleges in the Delhi University. It do not know why they are not having them. I feel Delhi University should be allowed to open colleges of its own. What are these private colleges doing? They spend 10 per cent and 90 per cent is given as grant by the Government. There is mismanagement and nobody can interfere because these are private colleges. So, I think Delhi University should be allowed to open

and run colleges of its own, so that there can be a better academic atmosphere.

Now, I would refer to the Punjab University. I have referred to this question many times in this House and said that after the division of Punjab, it was better that the Punjab University was made a Central University. Otherwise, there will arise the problem of language. You know what is happening in the Punjab University. Chandigarh is still in the Union territory and you can take a decision about it. If we do not take action now, I am afraid that this University which has built up a fine tradition will become a hot-bed of political intrigues. So, I am warning that something should be done in time. It should be made a Central University at the earliest possible moment.

Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, there is another problem. Have we developed Indian education? During our freedom struggle days, our leaders devoted much time to education, Lajpat Rai, Tilak, Gandhi and others. You will be astonished to know, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that the book on national education by Mao Tse-tung has been dedicated to M. K. Gandhi. He took the idea of productive education from Gandhiji's philosophy of basic education and tried to spread it in the communes in China. But here in India we have not been able to apply it. We have not been able to do anything about it. We have not been able to develop Indian education. We have only this mixed economy, mixed education, mixed everything. We take something from here, something from there. Can we not really develop Indian education suited to the conditions and genius of India and the needs of the country? That is the basic requirement that needs to be achieved. For that what is required is determination. I would refer you to a small incident which happened when our scientists delegation led by Dr. Kothari visited the Soviet Union and met members of their Planning Commission. The Chairman of their Planning Commission told Dr. Kothari, "Dr. Kothari, there are various methods. There are various schemes. There are various formulae of economic development. But the major and important thing is determination. If determination is there, formulae come, methods come, money is got, material is got. But the first thing that is required is determination." So I think

what we in this country need is determination to come to certain conclusions, determination to do certain things, not merely to come to Parliament and pass some Bills. There are some good suggestions given in this report of the U.G.C. I do not know what the honourable Minister is doing about them. The Commission has made a recommendation, a suggestion, that "a planned and coherent development of the whole system of higher education is necessary in view of the need for coordination and maintenance of standards." Then the Commission has also said, "There is close interrelation between different sectors of higher education, like medicine, agriculture, etc." Now, are we having something like a single organisation which could look after higher education so that there could be better coordination? Then they also said that all new universities should be opened after consulting the U.G.C. May I know what the Government of India is doing about all these suggestions? These are all very good suggestions which the UGC report has made. I would request the honourable Minister to see that something is done.

Lastly, I want to say one more thing. My friend, Mr. Chitta Basu, is also here. I will again refer to the problem of Bengal. Naxalites are growing there. Mr. Minister, I would like to know from the Government whether you have really tried to look into the problems of the students of the Calcutta University. I have learnt that the grants given by the UGC could not be utilised by the Calcutta University because the State Government does not give them the matching grants. Is it not time that the Government of India appointed a high-power committee to go into the volatile situation that is developing in Calcutta and solved the problem of the Calcutta University? And for this purpose if the Calcutta University has to be divided into two or three small universities, it should be done. My friend has said that what happened in Bengal today might happen in the whole of India tomorrow and this warning should be heeded and something should be done by the Government in that respect.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala) : I would have rather kept quiet but I thought that as a trade

unionist I should also come and speak something because I have found that the methods adopted by the trade unions are now being adopted by the students and teachers. Therefore, I should like to speak something about that. The methods that we have been adopting are now being adopted by professors. I am very happy that now things are coming to such a stage. It has been said that social changes have to be brought about by the masses of the people, by the organised workers. I am not with my friend who said university students and teachers cannot do it and they will not do it. No, some of them will do it. They must at least understand that. They must at least be prepared to understand that. They must join in the main stream. And they are just joining it. I am glad they are doing it. No amount of heroic sacrifices by a professor will improve his wages. No amount of suffering by the student accepting what the principal tells him will improve his conditions in the hostel. The student has to organise himself and fight for his rights. In this country every section must get organised, fight for its demands. They must come out. I shall be happy and I would request Prof. Rao to accept this, encourage them to do it, tell them to come and negotiate with you, come and negotiate with all those who are in authority, understand them. Once you do that, the crisis will be over. If, on the other hand, you threaten them the danger comes.....

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I never do it.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : I therefore, say there is absolutely nothing wrong in our young men getting organised and fighting for their demands.

4 P. M.

I was one of the bad students. I was one of those rebels in 1928. I never accepted my college principal's orders.

AN HON. MEMBER : Did you pass the examination?

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : I passed examinations. I created sufficient trouble. I was a Congressman even at that age in 1928. I did all

[Shri Balachandra Menon]

that, I continued that during my college days and I am continuing it even today. It is that inspiration that I got in my college days that keeps me on.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY :
You have not improved.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON :
I have improved and improved much better than most of you. I do honest work and get the workers organised for the social changes that must be there. I am not satisfied with things as they are. All the troubles that you see in the universities are only a small reflection of the trouble outside. Nothing more than that. Ours is a backward country trying to come up and a backward system of education is trying to come up. Naturally these reflections will be there. What else is it that we see on the university front? There is no use getting worried about it. Thing will be done. I will request Dr. Rao to devise means to spend some more money on education.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : You help me.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON :
We will help you. We will ask you to think in terms of an educational tax. Let there be maximum amount of money spent on education. There is nothing wrong in that. We are not going to allow university education to so many people because there are no avenues of employment for them. On one glorious morning we cannot create these avenues. Let social changes take place. Hrishyasringa once asked : What is the purpose of this? And the reply was : God knows whether He knows. This is my reply also. Your university cannot give the answer. Others have to give the answer. There are number of young men who will come and ask : "We have spent so much of our time. We will not allow society to remain as it is". Today what is happening? Even education has become a commodity. Schools are being run by black-marketers and by those who are rich. They appoint professors and lecturers receiving bribes of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 10,000/-. First of all, let the State run the colleges. If you cannot do that, let at least professors run the colleges. We will give

money. Let there be participation of professors and lecturers in running colleges. Let the other fellow be eliminated. Professors know more about education. In my place there is a college like that and there is a commitment by that town to see that it is kept up. I would suggest that there should be an educational cess or tax and those who get more than Rs. 500/- must spend Rs. 10/- for education. That is the first thing.

Secondly, remove these private fellows who are making these educational institutions a drain. They should be eliminated. Then, more money will have to be spent on science subjects. It is getting reduced. That should be stopped. We are living in a modern world and we have to keep up with the progress that is taking place in other countries. We must spend more on science and research and there should be no reduction for that.

There must be sufficient contact between universities, industry and agriculture. Your students must be asked to go and see what is happening there. An engineering student must see at least some engineering workshops and know what is happening there. Today he knows nothing about that.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : It is being done now.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON :
It is not done everywhere and not to that extent. Technical education is different. He must go and see. That he will have to do. In the case of colleges, why not your laboratories be made use of to test the soil of the area? The peasant will benefit by that. You can collect Rs. 2/- for testing the soil. Do that so that your institution becomes a part of that area or your people feel that they have something in it. Let those laboratories test the soil of the agriculturist and let a small money be collected. You pay decently for the man who does the work. You can collect the money. We need not go fifty or sixty miles now to get the soil tested. Such small things can be done.

Now, about the participation of the students in administration of the university : I feel it is absolutely necessary. We are here. People are voting, people who are 21 years are voting, and people

who are 18 years old know how they should participate in the management of the universities. Only three years' difference is there. They will know how the school should be managed. They will be able to say how some of their professors are just fellows who are unfit for the job. I would say that marks can be given by the students. Why not you ask each class as to what the opinion of the students is about a professor or the way he teaches. They must be asked to do that. How do they teach him? Have they understood the subject? Is he just cramming up some book and just repeating it or is he able to help the students in understanding the subject. The student then will be able to say, "My own opinion about my professor is so and so". Secretly each boy can put his opinion in a box; he need not do that in a public place. Then let us know how the student reacts. I have always been saying that we should try to understand the reaction of the boys who are being taught by these professors as to how far they have been helped, how they rate their professors, etc. That is necessary. We have always been rating them. Now let us see how we value others' opinions. That is necessary. I am not one of those who feel that there should be continuous progress reports today. Do you know why? Most of them have their own favourites; they are brought up in a society which is corrupt which may even lead to favouritism. Then, bad examination system is there; people condemn. But the new thing will be favouritism and nothing else. So, you should have some other method. Unless there is some other method, you will not be able to know how the students come up. Now, I can threaten a teacher or bribe him. The situation is dangerous. We must realise that it is a corrupt society in which we live however much you can speak about the greatness of our country. It is an accepted fact that there is no country in the world, except some Islamic countries, which is as corrupt as our own. There may be some exceptions, one or two. But there is nothing so corrupt as ours. The students buy the paper themselves; the teacher gives him secretly himself. Everything is done. You think you can change such a corrupt society? No. But you can do one thing. Politicians are going to the teachers now. But you have failed them; all the politicians have failed the students. They just go and put some vague ideas and then they

go. Instead of that, boldly they should go and explain what their policy is. Then they will judge you also. Each party and each group will have to be studied from the way they have their programme and let them explain to the young men today. They are not able to do it; they are carried away. Let a clear discussion be arranged by all political parties and I feel that only such political parties which have some social objectives, which know how to take the country forward, will get some backing. Today you do not allow us to go there. The result is that they go back to revivalism, a dangerous thing. That is what is happening in the country. Unlike the students in the rest of the world, most of them have become revivalists and they go back to the parties which try to put the clock back. Allow the people to take the programme before the students who are above 18 and let them judge; the politician must be judged, the teacher must be judged, and the professors must be judged, by the students also. The management should be judged by the teachers. The students will be judged by the examination papers. That is why I say, let there be a new outlook on the whole thing. There should be this bold experiment of trusting the youngmen whose future you think you are trying to guide but which you are not. At least let a discussion start. We will know where we are. We are so many generations away from the present boys. It will be good if we know them. Together we will be able to solve some problems, they trying to help us because we are backward, we trying to help them because we have a little experience and together this problem can be solved. I therefore feel that the attitude that Prof. Rukhnaswamy has should not be accepted. I request therefore that the attitude which some of my friends have to the students unrest should not be accepted. It is dangerous. They will become more dangerous. After all in the great social change which is yet to come because we have not accomplished...

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : How is it that there is no dialogue?

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : It is because the professors are afraid of calling us. Why do not all the colleges invite the political parties and ask them to give their views—nothing more—about the various subjects which affect their State, the students and education?

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : And also answer questions.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON :
We must be asked to answer as we have been asking them to answer. If such a step is taken, I believe it will greatly help. That will be much better—We do not want mass meetings. If that happens, I am sure the frustration will not be there and we will be able to go together. I hope these suggestions of mine, some of them at least, would be accepted and we spend more money by getting money from the people. It is much better than trying to have more notes printed.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) :
उपसभापति महोदय, विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग के प्रतिवेदन पर आज हम विवाद कर रहे हैं। यह सौभाग्य की बात है कि हमको पहली बार एक शिक्षा शास्त्री के नाते एक शिक्षा मंत्री मिला है, लेकिन उपसभापति जी, जिस प्रकार का प्रतिवेदन हमको प्राप्त हुआ है, उसको देखने से मालूम होता है कि उसमें जिस प्रकार से आँकड़े दिये गये हैं कि हमारे विश्वविद्यालयों की संख्या बढ़ गई है, छात्रों की संख्या बढ़ गई है और सरकार की ओर से उनको जो दिये जाने वाला अनुदान है, उस अनुदान में भी काफी वृद्धि हो गई है। लेकिन स्वयं मंत्री जी के वक्तव्यों से और मंत्री जी स्थान-स्थान पर जो भीषण करते हैं, उससे यह मालूम होता है कि जो हमारी आजकल की शिक्षा नीति है वह ठीक नहीं है और मंत्री जी उस नीति से प्रसन्न नहीं हैं।

इस सदन के अन्दर जितने भी सदस्य बोले, एक दो सदस्यों को छोड़ कर जितने भी पूर्व-वक्ता थे, जिनमें अधिकांश शिक्षा शास्त्री थे, वे वर्तमान शिक्षा नीति से प्रसन्न नहीं हैं। आखिर कारण कौनसा है, जिसके कारण हम आज शिक्षा नीति में इस तरह की परिस्थिति पाते हैं? हमारे देश के अब तक जितने भी राष्ट्रपति हो चुके हैं, उन्होंने हमेशा यह सुझाव दिया कि हमारी शिक्षा नीति में परिवर्तन होना चाहिये और उनसे लेकर आज तक

जितने भी शिक्षा मंत्री हो चुके हैं, वे इस प्रकार का सुझाव तो जरूर देते हैं, लेकिन शिक्षा नीति में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं करते हैं।

उपसभापति महोदय, मुझे लगता है कि हमारा जो पहले दृष्टिकोण था, वही दृष्टिकोण आज भी बना हुआ है और उसमें कोई अन्तर नहीं आया है। जिस समय अंग्रेज यहां पर आये थे, तो उन्होंने हमारे देश में जो शिक्षा नीति जारी की थी, जिस शिक्षा नीति को लार्ड मैकाले ने शुरू की थी, उसके लिए कहा जाता है कि उन्होंने केवल यहां पर क्लर्क पैदा करने के लिए ही शिक्षा प्रणाली जारी की थी। लेकिन उसके बाद कांग्रेस दल, जिस के ऊपर शिक्षा नीति की जिम्मेदारी आई, उसने आखिर क्या पैदा किया? [उसने इस देश में हिंसावृत्ति, अनुशासनहीनता और बेकारों की एक फौज पैदा करने के अलावा कुछ नहीं किया। हमारे शिक्षा शास्त्रियों ने और हमारी शिक्षा नीति ने जितनी भी देश में शिक्षा सस्थाएँ हैं, उनके द्वारा कौन सी चीज देश के सामने दी? हम इस सम्बन्ध में विचार करें। आज एक शिक्षा शास्त्री, शिक्षा मंत्री के नाते बैठे हैं। हमारा देश विश्व-गुरु कहलाता था, लेकिन शिक्षा मंत्री बता दें कि इतना अनुदान देकर हमारे देश में एक भी ऐसे विश्वविद्यालय का निर्माण किया है, जहां आकर दुनिया भर के लोग वहां से सीख सकते हो। एक भी ऐसी संस्था इस देश में 20-22 साल की आजादी के बाद किसी भी क्षेत्र के अन्दर बना नहीं सके। उसका कारण क्या है? या तो हमारे मन के अन्दर भावना नहीं है। जहां तक भावना का सवाल है, मैंने स्वयं कहा, हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री स्वयं इस बात की आलोचना करते हैं कि परिवर्तन होना चाहिए, भावना तो जरूर है, लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि जड़ता है, कोई दृष्टिकोण नहीं है। आज न हमारे सामने, न समाज के सामने एक दृष्टिकोण है कि हम कौन से दृष्टिकोण के आधार पर समाज का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं। यह दृष्टिकोण जब

तक हमारे सामने नहीं होगा, चाहे हम कितनी ही यूनीवर्सिटीज़ खोलें, कुछ बनने वाला नहीं है। आज जो भी यूनीवर्सिटीज़ खुल रही हैं, उनके ऊपर वे नियंत्रण नहीं कर सकते।

मुझे शिक्षा मंत्री जी से सहानुभूति भी है। वे एक विधेयक सदन में लेकर आए थे, अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम यूनीवर्सिटी के सम्बन्ध में कुछ परिवर्तन कैसा चाहते हैं, उसको एक प्रजातन्त्री संस्था बनाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन आज उन पर दबाव पड़ रहा है, वहाँ पर विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं, वहाँ की जनता आन्दोलन कर रही है। शिक्षा मंत्री माय चाहते हैं कि मेरे हाथ से यह परिवर्तन हो उनके मुख से मैंने सुना है कि वे परिवर्तन करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन उनकी मजबूरी है। आज राजनीति जिस ढंग से हावी है, उसके कारण शिक्षा जगत के अन्दर जो परिवर्तन करना चाहते हैं, वे परिवर्तन शिक्षा मंत्री जी नहीं कर सकते। शिक्षा मंत्री जी राजनीतिज्ञ नहीं हैं और इसलिए उनकी शैक्षणिक दृष्टि से विचार करना चाहिए।

आज पंजाब का सवाल है। आयोग ने अपनी रिपोर्ट के एक चैप्टर में कहा है कि नई यूनीवर्सिटी खोलने के सम्बन्ध में कोई उसकी बात नहीं सुनता, प्रान्तीय सरकारें अपनी मर्जी से यूनीवर्सिटी खोल देती हैं और बाद में सरकार को मजबूर होकर उसको अनुदान देना पड़ता है। पंजाब के अन्दर हाई स्कूल तक विद्यार्थी हिन्दी में शिक्षा पाते हैं। पहले पंजाब में एक यूनीवर्सिटी थी, जो सारे पंजाब की डिमाण्ड को केंटर करती थी। उसके बाद पंजाबी यूनीवर्सिटी पटियाला में बनी, उसने शिक्षा का माध्यम पंजाबी बना दिया। फिर गुरु नानक यूनीवर्सिटी बनी। गुरु नानक का नाम सारे देश के लोगों के लिए श्रद्धा योग्य नाम है, लेकिन वहाँ पर आज उनके नाम के बाद विवाद उत्पन्न हो गया है, उस क्षेत्र के विद्यार्थी वहाँ के कालेजेज इस बात के लिए झगड़ रहे हैं, उनका कहना है कि हम इस यूनीवर्सिटी से सम्बन्ध नहीं रखना चाहते हैं, उस यूनीवर्सिटी के बनने के

बाद भविष्य में अनुदान देने के समय कालेजेज के सम्बन्ध में शिक्षा मंत्री जी इस बात की व्यवस्था अवश्य करवाएं कि जिस ढंग से वे पढ़ाना चाहे पढ़ा सकते हैं।

दिल्ली यूनीवर्सिटी के अन्दर उच्च शिक्षा हिन्दी के माध्यम से नहीं दी जा सकती। इस प्रकार की धटना हुई है कि दो विद्यार्थियों ने कहा कि हमको पोलिटिकल साइन्स में हिन्दी के माध्यम से परीक्षा देने की अनुमति दी जाय। उसके पहले विद्यार्थियों को मना कर दिया गया था, इन दो विद्यार्थियों की परीक्षा ले ली गई, उन्होंने परीक्षा दे दी, जब कापियाँ जांची गईं तो एक विद्यार्थी सफल हो गया और दूसरा विद्यार्थी असफल हो गया। अब यूनीवर्सिटी के सामने समस्या आ गई कि जो सफल विद्यार्थी है उसका क्या किया जाय, अगर इसको सफल घोषित कर दें तो पहले जो विद्यार्थी थे, जिन्होंने मांग की थी वे भी कहेंगे और दूसरे भविष्य में मांग करेंगे, इसलिए उन्होंने इस विद्यार्थी को भी असफल घोषित कर दिया। इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था हमारी यूनीवर्सिटी में चलती है। फिर हम कहां से प्रेरणा लेंगे? लोगों के सामने कौन सा आदर्श हमारे विश्वविद्यालय रखेंगे। मैं शिक्षा मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि यूनीवर्सिटी समस्याओं के सम्बन्ध में वे बिल्कुल शुद्ध शैक्षणिक दृष्टि से विचार करें। अंग्रेजी को कम्पलसरी किया जा सकता है, अनिवार्य किया जा सकता है, लेकिन हिन्दी में विद्यार्थी उच्च शिक्षा पंजाब के अन्दर प्राप्त करना चाहता है, तो उसको नहीं करने दिया जाता। यह ठीक है कि गुरु नानक देव के नाम से यूनीवर्सिटी बना दी जाय। लेकिन जब अजमेर के अन्दर सारे हिन्दुस्तान के आर्य समाज के लोगों ने कहा कि हम स्वामी दयानन्द जी के नाम से एक यूनीवर्सिटी बनाना चाहते हैं, तो विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग ने मना कर दिया। उन्होंने मना कर दिया। आखिर क्यों मना किया? वह तो कहते हैं कि हम स्वयं पैसा

[श्री जगदीशप्रसाद माथूर]

इकट्ठा करेंगे, हम अपने पैसे के आधार पर उमे बनायेंगे। उसके बाद आप जो बाकी सहायता देते हैं वह दें, लेकिन इस संबंध में मैं इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह एक शैक्षणिक विषय है और हमारे देश के अंदर, जैसा भाई कृष्णकान्त जी ने कहा, उन्होंने जिस प्रकार की वकालत की कि विद्यार्थियों को अयोग्य अध्यापकों का घेराव करना चाहिए, तो आखिर इन आयोग्य अध्यापकों की नियुक्ति कौन करता है? इनकी नियुक्ति करने वाले आप हैं, आपके मिनिस्टर्स हैं, जिनके इंटरफियरेंस के कारण ये सारी बातें होती हैं। हम इस तरह की बातें कहे इस सदन में बैठ कर कि यह हमारा दृष्टिकोण है, यह हमको शोभा नहीं देता। आज जो समस्या अनुशासनहीनता की शिक्षा मंत्री जी के सामने हैं, उसके कारण वे स्वयं परेशान हैं। देश के अंदर कोई महीना नहीं जाता कि जब कोई न कोई विश्वविद्यालय बन्द न हो जाय। आज समाचार मिला है कि राजस्थान विश्वविद्यालय बन्द है। विद्यार्थियों से होस्टल खाली करा कर उनको घर भिजवा दिया गया है। यह कोई बड़ी बात नहीं थी, यदि शिक्षा मंत्री जी ध्यान देते और वहां के उपकुलपति ध्यान देते और परस्पर वार्ता होती, तो वहां की बात सफल में आ सकती थी। कोई बहुत बड़ा सवाल उनका नहीं था, सामला सुलट सकता था, लेकिन सवाल है दृष्टिकोण का कि हम दृष्टिकोण निर्माण करना चाहते हैं या नहीं। गुरु और शिष्य की जो परंपरा है वह अपने देश की एक पुरानी परंपरा है और उम पर हमने सदा गर्व किया है, लेकिन उसके अंदर हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री जी खूब घिर रहे हैं। आज जो हमारे विश्वविद्यालय हैं, उनके छात्रों के अंदर जीवन के प्रति कोई भाव निर्माण हो, इस प्रकार का प्रयत्न न सरकार की ओर से हो सकता है और न उनके निजी प्रयत्न से हो सकता है। तो मैं सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि वह इस नाते विचार करें कि आज विद्यार्थियों के जीवन में, उनकी परीक्षा पद्धति में किसी बदलाव की

बात की जा सकती है या नहीं। परीक्षाओं में नकल होती है। इसकी कोई व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए। हर मार्च महीने में देखने को मिलता है कि कहीं किसी अध्यापक को छुरा मार दिया गया, कहीं किसी अध्यापक को पीटा गया, कहीं विद्यार्थी नकल करते पकड़े गए और इस कारण इस परीक्षा प्रणाली में कहीं भयंकर गड़बड़ी दिखायी देती है। तो उसमें भी सुधार होना चाहिए। शिक्षा मंत्री जी स्वयं उसमें सुधार करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन उसके लिए वे कोई कड़ा कदम उठाएँ, उसमें कोई आमूल-चूल परिवर्तन करें, कोई क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन करें, तभी यह समस्या हल हो सकती है। केवल स्पष्टा देने से या कोई रिपोर्ट देने से या यह कह देने से कि पहले 20 यूनिवर्सिटी जूथी और आज वे 76 हो गयी हैं, या ऐसे 10 इंस्टीट्यूशन हैं, जिनको हम रिकग्निशन दे रहे हैं, जहां ऐसे छात्र पढ़ाई करते हैं, इस सबसे काम नहीं चलेगा। हमको देखना चाहिए कि हमारा दृष्टिकोण क्या है। हमारे जो छात्र विश्वविद्यालय से निकलते हैं। वह क्या समाज का नेतृत्व करने के दृष्टिकोण में योग्य हैं या नहीं, इस दृष्टिकोण से हम उन छात्रों का निर्माण कर रहे हैं या नहीं और उनके द्वारा जो भविष्य में निर्माण होगा, वह किस प्रकार का होगा। इस नाते भी यदि शिक्षा मंत्री जी इन समस्या पर विचार करें तो अच्छा होगा और यही मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ।

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the UGC Report presented to this House for discussion today was described by the hon. Member, Mr. Chengalvaroyan, as a New Revelation. I think it reveals quite a lot of statistics, facts and figures, but it is like the Bikini. Like the Bikini the UGC Report reveals many things, but it conceals the most important things. A plethora of facts and figures have been presented. The quantitative growth of higher education has been very eloquently presented by the hon. Minister in his speech and also in the Report, but there is no substance in the whole Report in terms of the qualitative

improvement of higher education and the ability of the U.G.C. to perform the functions handed over to it. What is the relevance of the UGC in terms of the growth of our socio-economic structure, and in terms of bringing forth a new generation of citizens who are capable of handling new responsibilities? Education as a basis for the transformation of the social, economic and political system does not find any place in this Report of the UGC. It is not surprising that these substantive questions have been completely neglected in this Report. The elegant way in which the Professor in Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao presented the progress report conceals the fundamental question, viz., can this social, economic and political system solve the problem of educational reform? Can educational reform of any meaningful character be implemented so long as the present social and political system remains intact? So long as the capitalist policies of the Central Government continue intact, how can educational reform of a meaningful kind come about?

Today we find the entire youth of this country, the student community, in revolt. This revolt is essentially based on the rising spectre of unemployment in the country. Therefore, naturally the question is asked: Can this system in which we live really solve the fundamental problem of providing job opportunities for the new generation? If we cannot do that, how can any educational reform satisfy the new generation? The tragedy of the whole situation was recently reflected in the resignation of the Delhi University's Vice-Chancellor Dr. K. N. Raj. Dr. Raj's resignation very clearly brings forth the dilemma in the present system: to be or not to be. Can a Vice-Chancellor who wants to change the educational system continue as Vice-Chancellor against all the obscurantist policies pursued by the powers that be and with the restrictive hegemony of power held by the big business and communal groups which control our educational system? That I think is a fundamental question. I would request the hon. Minister to give a categorical answer to this question.

Today we find that most of our universities, not only traditional universities but also the so-called new universities, are in fact "Museums of Education" celebrating the centenary of their syllabus. These museums of education

really turn out an increasing army of unemployed, and one should not be surprised if the French Revolution of 1968 which started in Sorbonne University, repeats itself in some of the universities in India. The hypocrisy of the older generation and the catchy talk of educational reform will not enthuse the people any longer. Dr. Rao asked the question as to why there is no dialogue between the youth and the established power. It is precisely because the youth have no longer any faith in the efficacy of the system in which they live. They have absolutely no faith in the tall talk of our educational reformers for the last 23 years of our independence. They have seen how capitalist planning for 19 years has nullified even the job opportunities which were available when planning began. Unemployment increases at the end of every Plan. At this rate there can be no question of having any confidence in the older generation and the powers that be.

In the name of educational reform, in the name of changing the syllabus and modernising education, there is continuing American penetration in the Indian universities. Some time before we debated in this House the question of the U.S. Education Foundation and its penetration in our universities. Though the U.S. Education Foundation has withdrawn partially, we find American penetration through the backdoor. We find this happening right here in the Delhi University in a big way. If you analyse the total Fourth Plan budget of the Delhi University, it will be seen that a substantial proportion comes from American sources of finance. I understand that there is a proposal to set up an institute of international Economic Law in Bombay University financed by the Ford Foundation and also by the Tatas and other big business. If this American penetration continues, it will cut at the root of our attempt to create an educational system, indigenous to our culture and true to our traditions.

There is much talk of academic freedom. Today the hon. Member, Shri Mahavir Tyagi, was pleading for extending Government Service Rules to university teachers. I think it will be a tragedy if this attitude continues. Instead of giving more and more academic freedom, attempts are made to take away whatever little freedom our

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teachers today enjoy. There are institutions of higher research and training like the Indian Institute of Foreign Trade administratively controlled by the Government of India. These institutions have a system of police verification before even senior professors are appointed. If this is what Government Service Rules and Government control mean, then teachers would be completely under the thumb of the political leadership of the ruling class which will completely negate even the rudiments of academic freedom which exists today.

We find that a substantial proportion of higher education is controlled by the big business, speculators and moneylenders. The U.G.C. report refers to a study made by the U.G.C. after visiting affiliated colleges in Kerala. It is well known that most of the private colleges in Kerala continue with their old malpractices of getting capitation fees and extracting money in various forms in the name of donations for these private colleges. I would welcome the suggestion made by an hon. Member that all such institutions controlled by big business, speculators and people who have nothing to do with education should be handed over to the co-operatives of teachers and students. The University Act in Kerala has been struck down by the High Court. The Judiciary comes in the way of any meaningful reform even in education. I think it is high time that we really questioned the very fundamentals of our Constitution and our legal structure which come in the way of any meaningful transformation of our education system.

A lot of talk has been going on in this House and elsewhere on student reform. Dr. Rao, the hon. Minister, is a protagonist of this idea. I welcome the idea. But I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether any concrete action is being taken in this regard except setting up committees and making speeches and statements. The voice of the students must be heard. I agree with the hon. Minister. But are we prepared to hand over to the student community, particularly the organised student community, responsibility in academic matters and not merely questions of student welfare or running canteens and so on? These little reforms will not enthuse the students at all. The students must have

that right, as important participants in the process of education, to question the very syllabus, and every academic decision made by these museums of education.

Now, the problem of politics is being brought into the picture. Many hon. Members have suggested that if only politics could be avoided, we could have solved all student problems. I think this is a politician's moonshine. If anyone thinks that politics can be avoided from the university campus, I think they live in a fool's paradise. In fact, the politicians who advise the students not to indulge in politics are either fooling themselves or fooling others. In fact, politics is the very crux of the problem. Those students who are really active in politics, who are interested in politics in a meaningful manner are precisely the ones who can handle responsibilities in running the education system. I should say that the danger in our education system today is the predominance of students who are neutral to any ideology. The ideology of having no ideology really saps the whole vitality of our student community. If only the students could understand the running under-currents of the socio-economic and political processes, they would have been leaders in society and they would have taken the responsibility in a much more effective manner.

We have talked today in this House about text-books, about the lack of text-books, even about the high cost of the text-books. I would like to raise a fundamental question about the contents of the text-books. What type of text-books are today made available to the students? A large number of them are written and produced in America, Western Europe, the United Kingdom and so on. Syllabi in economics, history, sociology, political science etc. are flooded with borrowed ideas, originating from the text-books produced in western capitalist countries. Our university curriculum and syllabi are based not on the needs of our country but on borrowed ideas from other countries. I would like to ask this question: Is there any attempt to reform the university Syllabi based on India's needs? Though the Government professed socialism, no adequate place is given to the whole body of knowledge called 'Scientific Socialism and Marxism'. One-third of the world today is under the

supremacy of the ideology of Marxism and scientific socialism. Why is this body of world knowledge not adequately reflected in the syllabi of our Indian universities? I want to make a plea that Marxism, scientific socialism and socialist planning should be made very important parts of our university curriculum and syllabus and reflecting the realities of human predicament today. Unfortunately, even in the great Delhi University socialist planning does not figure as a prominent part even in teaching development economics. We have the Institut of Economic Growth, we have the Delhi School of Economics but they still teach the classical, ancient economics, and econometric models originating in the West. Why is it that our university reformers do not consider the need to have a full course on socialist planning, so that we learn from the experience of socialist countries, and adopt whatever is good for us and innovate what is new and necessary?

A lot of talk on examination reform has been going on. But no action has been taken. Here again, I would like to ask the hon. Minister to make a categorical statement of when and how the examination reform is being implemented.

Finally, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would refer to one or two points. We are faced with a serious problem of fragmented policies in the field of education. The University Grants Commission concerns itself primarily with disbursement of funds to the universities and colleges and very little in the matters of policy. Primary and high school education are controlled at different levels. This dichotomy between Primary and High School education on the one hand and University education on the other is a serious obstacle in the way of educational reform. Unless we can co-ordinate the whole system of education, primary, high school and University education, the entire talk of changing the educational system will be meaningless.

The Delhi School Teachers Organisation has been agitating for better pay scales, for better conditions of service and so on. Only yesterday they had a big procession in this capital but the great educational reformers do not seem particularly concerned about it.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : I met the delegation for two hours.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN : I am very grateful to you for that. Why is it that the gap between the income levels of the primary and high school teachers on the one hand and the college and the University teachers on the other has been increasing. It is all due to the fragmental policy of the Government. Disparity in income in the country has been growing during the last nineteen years due to the capitalist feudal policies of this Government. True to the spirit in which disparities have been growing in the different sectors of economy, disparities between the primary and High School teachers on the one hand and the University teachers on the other are increasing rather than decreasing. I would like to refer to the 22nd Report of the Committee of Petitions of the Rajya Sabha which has clearly made the recommendation that this gap should be reduced and the rightful demand of the Delhi teachers must be granted. I would suggest that the Education Minister should initiate a full discussion on this question particularly with reference to the 22nd Report of the Committee of Petitions.

Sir, I suggest that there is need for evolving a co-ordinating agency between the primary and higher education on the one hand and University education on the other.

I would also suggest as a concrete measure bridging the gap between the rural colleges and urban colleges. I think one should seriously consider whether it is possible to give special attention to the colleges located in the rural and semi-urban areas and to adopt separate criteria in the disbursement of funds by the U. G. C.

We find that the imbalances in the educational standards in rural and urban areas, not only in University education but also in High School and primary education are increasing. With reference to a question I had put in the Rajya Sabha in November, 1970 the hon. Minister of State in the Ministry of Education and Youth Services stated that :—

“according to the Delhi Administration the standard of education in the schools situated in the rural areas

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is comparatively low in relation to the schools situated in the urban areas."

There is shortage of qualified teachers in the schools run by the Delhi Administration. Unless this situation can be corrected in the shortest possible time, I think the volcano of unrest will erupt rather than subside.

The hon. Minister has talked about providing a new look to the U. G. C. I would like to put a pointed question to the hon'ble Minister. Does he apply this concept of "new look" only in terms of the age of U. G. C. members or is it with reference to the social awareness of the members and their socialist commitments?

If Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, true to his talk and professions of socialism, really means business I would like to ask him whether he intends to ensure that the U. G. C. is reconstituted with people who have social awareness and who believe in the socialist transformation of the society. The volcano on which the Government of India, Prof. Rao included, and the U. G. C. are sitting with cheerful indifference will erupt.

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO: Not indifference.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: And unless the problem of unemployment, the problem of social discontent can be solved this system will not remain for long. The revolt of students, the revolt of the youth will increase rather than decrease. And we on this side will be on the side of revolt of the students and youth and the revolt against the capitalist feudal class rule of the ruling Congress we will be on the side of the revolt against the Central Government so long as they pursue their corrupt policies. The need of the hour is to evolve an educational policy which will help socialist transformation in India.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I must express my gratitude to the Minister as well as the University Grants Commission for all that they are doing so earnestly for education. But I have stood up for a very limited and, if I may say so, a very selfish purpose. When Bihar and Orissa were separated from Bengal, we came

to have the Patna University. No less a person than Dr. Sachidanand Sinha, who presided over the inauguration of the Constituent Assembly, had been its Vice-Chancellor and men like Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Srikrishan Sinha and Shri Anugraha Narain Sinha had been associated with this great university. Afterwards there were no other universities in Bihar and it covered the entire State of Orissa and Bihar. When Orissa became separate, it covered the entire State of Bihar. Now we have the Bihar University in Muzaffarpur. We have the Bhagalpur University and we have the Ranchi University. Now thanks to the generous grant of the Government of India, we are going to have on the 3rd of December, the birthday of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Dr. Rajendra Prasad Agricultural University. Besides, we have a Sanskrit University in Dharbanga and I am told it is going to blossom into a Mythila University. But my theme to-day is the Patna University with all its glory and with all its achievements during so many decades. I am constrained to admit—I am sure the hon. Minister knows it and the University Grants Commission knows it—that for the last three years, it is in doldrums, it is rather collapsing. It is a matter of sorrow for me to say so, but it is a fact. Our Minister must have gone to the Nalanda University which has been excavated and seen its past glory even in its ruins. The Patna University is alive. But the way it is deteriorating, I have no doubt that very soon it will be a replica of the Nalanda University. Sir, I shall refer to the relevant portion of the Constitution and also the University Grants Commission Act and I would beg of the hon. Minister and through him the University Grants Commission to do us a favour. Entry No. 63 of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution says:—

"The institutions known at the commencement of this Constitution as the Benaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University and the Delhi University, and any other institution . . ."

I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to this,

" . . . declared by Parliament by law to be an institution of national importance".

So, it is within the competence of the Minister and the Parliament to declare the Patna University as an institution of

national importance, if we want to stop it from ruin. The Patna University has a science college. Its laboratory is one of the best that any science college in the country has. The Patna college has humanities. Its professors are outstanding. They can compare well with professors of any university in this country. Then, we have the B. N. College. We have the Magadh Mahila College. We have a training college where training is given for B. Ed.s and M.Ed.s. We have also an engineering college. So these are the few institutions. But they are old ones. They were running very well. But now unfortunately the senate, the syndicate, the teachers and the students and above all, the politicians, and the inefficiency of those who are running the university—I would not name them—all combined together are responsible for its progressive ruination. So I said I am standing for a selfish purpose. I shall feel grateful if the University Grants Commission could send a team there—I wish Dr. Kothari himself could go there—to see whether that institution is not worth being made into a Central university. I would like our learned professor, our Minister to know for himself whether that university does not deserve to be a Central university.

The other point which I want to say is this. Some of our friends have said about the curriculum of the university. They have said that one-third of the world is communist but the teaching of Marx and his thoughts have not found a place in the university curriculum. Though it is a little bit of an autobiography, forty years ago after joining the salt campaign and going to jail, I joined M.A. (Political Science) in the Banaras Hindu University and that great man, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia, was the Vice-Chancellor. The subject of my thesis was the Soviet system and democracy, forty years ago. So how can anyone blame the university that a particular system of thought, be it Marxism, be it democracy, be it anything, was shut out? Personally I feel this is a wrong charge and it is untenable.

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu): First of all, I congratulate the honourable Minister of Education and the Chairman of the University Grants Commission for having brought before this House this UGC Report for 1968-69 though after a lapse of 1½ years. I

have always been demanding the various Ministries and Departments that whatever reports are meant to be brought before the House should be brought before the House at least within two or three months after the period to which they pertain if they are to bear any valid results. What is the use of discussing things after two or three years? These reports would rather be considered as something of a backlog.

I am very happy that we have eminent people on the UGC. But I do not understand why there should be eight or nine people on the UGC while they have also to attend to other duties. Perhaps the Chairman, Dr. Kothari, is the only full-time member. If there is any good work to be done, it can be done only by a full-time member. We should not mind paying him more salary if we have to. But there should be no temporary or part-time or honorary people on the UGC. Such people can never do justice to the tasks entrusted to them.

Anyhow, in 1947 there were barely 27 universities. Now we have 76 universities. Some of the so-called universities have got only the strength of 99 or 100 students. Can they be called universities? They are worse than primary schools because the strength is so much only. These have been given university status just to please the whims and fancies of certain political magnets and other influential and rich people. In fact they do not deserve even to get the status of high-schools. Some rural colleges were started sometime back. Why should they have the status of a university? Before new colleges or universities are required to be started, first they have to get the approval of the University Grants Commission. That is what is stated in this report. But some universities have been started despite the clear ruling of the Commission that it should not be done. Why should not be done. Why should the government or the Commission give money to them at all? I did not want to say these things here. But I feel that there are some staff members of the Commission who will hear what I say in the light of my practical experience of nearly 45 years.

The teachers in the various universities do not get a uniform scale of pay. If they are not paid the pay-scales approved by the commission, why should

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there be a university or a college? The salary scales of some of the professors or lectures and tutors are far below than the salaries which they deserve to be paid by virtue of their first class qualifications. For a job carrying Rs. 150 or Rs. 200 some of the government departments prescribe a Ph. D. or M. A. or M.Sc., all first class. But some of our wonderful Vice Chancellors are only third class graduates. Why should the hon. Minister or the Chairman of the Commission give grants to such universities? Unless one is qualified in three or four faculties, he should not be appointed as a Vice-Chancellor.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : Then there will be no Vice-Chancellors.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : We do not want third class Vice-Chancellors. They should not be qualified just in one faculty because if I am a M.Sc. what do I know about economics? What do I know about medicine? What do I know about engineering? Therefore, a Vice-Chancellor should hold first class degrees in three or four faculties. The hon. Minister may say that the Commission is a statutory body or an autonomous body. Since the Government gives the grants, since the UGC gives the grants, they are responsible to the government and to the UGC and the colleges and the universities that get grants from the Commission are to abide by the decisions and the directions of the UGC. You know, it is very surprising and my heart begins to rend when I see that some of the instructions of the Education Ministry to give representation to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the faculties of higher learning have not been implemented. Even in spite of the court ruling, some of the universities do not give even the 16% reservation. Of course, I have been wanting to talk to the hon. Minister. After all, if any university cannot honour the instructions given by the Government, why do you give grant? Stop the grant. Supposing a servant or an employee does not obey the instructions of his seniors, leave alone the heads of departments, you take him to task, you take disciplinary action.

Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, there is one university or college, which on the day of admission demands

Rs. 10,000 for admission of a medical student, on the day of the admission. It demands this Rs. 10,000 on the day of the admission which a person will have to pay for five years. What action are you going to take? How can poor people be admitted into these institutions? How will they attract students? I do not like to mention the name. Many poor boys do not get admission. It is only people who can give money can get admission. You know, Sir, in certain selection committees some members have been demanding Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 15,000. This is the type of people who get into the selection committees for college and university admissions, professional institutions, etc. But you do not have any member of the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe in any of these committees or boards so much so that the interests of the Scheduled Castes are practically nothing. Will the hon. Minister assure me that he will give instructions to all the Vice-Chancellors through the University Grants Commission that in every selection body for admission to professional courses, there should be a Scheduled Caste member—even if they are two—and one-third should be from the Scheduled Castes? Sir, you know, there was a reply from the Minister saying that universities are autonomous bodies and for giving representation it has not been a policy to give representation if they are not getting government aid. Whoever get recognition from the government or subsidy or aid should abide by the constitutional provision or else they do not deserve to exist.

Sir, I can speak for the students, I can speak for the teachers. From my forty years of experience in the teaching line, from the lowest to the highest, I can say that the headmaster or the head of the institution should have a firm hand in tackling the discipline issue. If any institution cannot maintain discipline, it does not deserve to exist. It would rather do great disservice. Some private parties have been wanting to start colleges of their own. I do not think that discipline or efficiency of instruction in private colleges can anyway be inferior. So, you must encourage private entrepreneurship also in this, but not people who would like to mint money, to business out of education. Some of my friends, Prof. Hasan and Shri Bipinpal Das, made certain points and I am thankful

to them for their points. People say that we do not have sufficient 5 P.M. funds. If you have no funds, why do you encourage so many universities? The cost of educating one man in every faculty should be studied. Has the Minister studied it? Can he give it on the floor of the House as to what is the cost of educating a person for BA, BSc., Engineering or Medicine? It is his duty and that of the UGC to study or else at least we should have some research on this. I have been telling the Government for a very long time that if they are not able to give seat to all the people who apply and who have got first or second division, why not allow everybody to appear as a private candidate? Australia and UK are doing it. We have been doing it all these years. What is the wisdom of the modern people now? So I have been writing to the Ministry for 10 years now and also to every Central University. Even the Delhi University allows only people in the Delhi area. It is a central area and there cannot be discrimination. I wanted to get the concurrence of the Government to start a Central University in the South. Four universities are only in the north and there is none in the South. I have been requesting the Minister to see that a Central University is started in the South wherefrom people from all-over India could appear privately for various degrees and diplomas at the highest level. I wanted to appear for B. L. No college now allows it. Many universities were allowing. I wanted to appear not to earn but to help the people and to open the eyes of the people by working as an honorary advocate and to help my wife who is also doing honorarily.

Then some of the schools of social work like the Tata Institute of Social Work have been given the status of a university but the Madras School of Social Work, of which I am a product, of which I was the first President of the Students' Union, is not given even recognition or affiliation. There are people like that. We do not want such people here. I know you are a teacher, you have been a teacher. . .

PROF. V. K. R. V. RAO : Who is refusing?

SHRI G. A. APPAN : I am sure the U. G. C. will give the Madras School of Social Work the status of a university if the Tata Institute of Social Work can have it. Even last year there was a

diploma course in social work started in Madurai. That has got affiliation but the Madras School of Social Work which was started in 1952 has not got it. They are finding it very difficult. I will place the papers before the Minister. It is ridiculous that some people are trying to create difficulties because they would not put a salami to some of these fellows.

Mr. Deputy Chairman Sir, so far as teachers are concerned I entirely endorse the ideas of some of my colleagues that colleges and universities should be started by teachers and professors. That will be the best thing. Then there will be no indiscipline, no indifference in teaching and all those things. And I would request all students to inculcate a spirit, like Dr. Rao, of not being satisfied with matriculation, with intermediate or B. A. but like Dr. Ambedkar, like Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar to go on till they get doctorate. Now, I do not want to enter into politics here but even in my days we had the students' unions but then our students' unions were working for certain things, to get the first in sports, to get the first in debating, to get the first in scouting and so on. It was in that way we were developing the talents in the students' unions in those days. I have told you how I started my life. From the very beginning I have picked up boys from the gutters, from the jungles and now they are college lecturers; I can tell you that. So I want every student who is in the pre-university stage not to be satisfied till he gets his doctorate.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now, please resume your seat. That will do.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : One more thing. Last year itself, my friend, Mr. Ganeshi Lal, requested the hon. Minister that information should be given about the enrolment of Scheduled Castes in the various colleges and faculties. When he said that last year the hon. Minister would have said yes; he could not have said no but even this year it does not find a place here. I say no Report should be accepted by the Minister unless he finds all such information about enrolment, about the amounts spent on various accounts etc. relating to Scheduled Castes. They should also show how many people started in the courses and what was the

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result and so on. We are investing so much money to educate people and if we do not look into these things it is like putting capital somewhere without knowing what the return is.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You should conclude now.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : So I would request the hon. Minister to give me an assurance on the floor of the House that he will ask the Central University to allow people to appear for P.U.C., B.A., M.A., BSc., MSc., B.L., M.L. and all these things as private candidates. And you can even raise the pass percentage; instead of having 33 per cent as the minimum for a pass you can have even 40 per cent. What you want is efficiency and I am all for efficiency. But, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, today there is a difference between Madras and the North Indian Universities. These the boys spend 17 years for education up to the university level whereas here in the North Indian Universities it is only 16 years. Now you prescribe age limits for various types

of competitive examinations and for service and we are at a disadvantage because of this. Again in some of the Universities in the North there are only two classes, the first and the second class while in some of our Universities there are three classes and the Universities which have three classes are at a great disadvantage. I request the hon. Minister that either all of them should have three classes or all of them should have two classes but not like this.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Only one class.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : No, no, I think there should be two classes. Sir, these are my humble suggestions and I would request the hon. Minister to consider them and do the needful.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at ten minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 19th November, 1970.