

[Shri Banka Behary Das]

House that the Supreme Court judgment concerning that affairs should be scrutinised and some guidelines should be given to every State . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are making a speech.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: Otherwise, I am afraid the communal elements will take advantage of the situation.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Government should make a statement.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It has been taken notice of by the Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It does not take notice of anything. You know it, Madam.

**MOTION RE REPORTS OF THE  
UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION  
FOR THE YEAR 1965-66 AND  
1966-67—Contd.**

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Krishan Kant, you have taken ten minutes. You may have a little more time. Three hours have been allotted and there are many speakers . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): A whole day has been allotted.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Anyway, we shall carry on with one hour lunch break and at 4.30 the Minister will be called to reply.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, Madam . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let us not waste more time. Mr. Krishan Kant.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana): Madam, yesterday I was dealing with the question of standards. I know that the University Grants Commission has started some Centres of Advanced

Study and Summer Institutes. As far as the Centres of Advanced Study are concerned, it is a very good innovation, but as regards the Summer Institutes I am afraid the whole purpose for which they were started is not being fulfilled. Many of the teachers who go there come back and tell me that it has become a routine affair. Good teachers, efficient teachers do not go there and they do not participate in that. This is one of the complaints which I have received. The difficulty with us is we have a new idea, we have a good idea, but after some time it becomes a routine affair and the freshness and inspiration with which the idea started does not continue. It does not fulfil the objects with which we started it. The malady in our affairs is because our standards are going down. There is unrest among students. The main reason is the academic atmosphere in the country has not been well developed. I know that the University Grants Commission has launched many things and has also recommended that the discipline of students should be improved and so many other things should be done. They have recommended the appointment of deans of student welfare, provision of reading seats, provision of teachers' rooms, etc. I am afraid, in spite of all that may be provided—more money may be provided and it should be provided—the problem will not be solved. The unrest is not mitigated. The inner conflict among the students will not end. (*Interruptions*) Madam, Mr. Mani is there engaged with the hon. Minister. Please come to your seat.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): You and Mr. Mani do not go together at all.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): He does not like Mr. Mani.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Madam Deputy Chairman, I was coming to the state of affairs. Our examination system has also become a routine affair. Copying has become a national habit. You must have heard so many reports about how people carry on copying without any invigilation. Even if all

the money and all the facilities are provided, the main thing is the academic atmosphere which needs to be created in this country. We know what is happening in foreign countries, in France, in England, in Germany and in the USA. They have got more money. That is true. They have got better facilities. There the student unrest is different, though it may look one. The unrest in India is in a different category. It is in a different atmosphere. There are two main things which a student in a college or school wants. He faces two challenges. One is the challenge of a good career afterwards and the other is the challenge of idealism, new ideas to build up a new society. These two challenges always face him, they always goad him, they inspire him to go forward. But what do we find in this country? The challenge for a good career the desire to work is not there, because of the economic situation in the country, because of what is happening in this country, because of the way in which democracy and other things function in this country. As regards ideals, I think it has been the biggest failure of the parties, whether it be the Congress party or the Opposition parties. We have not been able to bring this idealism before our younger generation, which will goad our students. What do we find even today? Students would like to go to an amphitheatre, to go to a place where film stars are there, where playgrounds are there, but they would not like to go to a place where the national leaders are there.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Because the national leaders are no more their heroes.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Madam, I would like to refer to what Lord Robbins has said, which applies equally to our country: "The political leaders are not a particularly distinguished lot. In recent years they have been utterly second rate." That is one thing which has really come up, for which all of us are really responsible. But what happens? Some of the Ministers in the States, either Education Ministers or other Ministers, have not

even gone up to the university campus. How can they inspire the students with their ideals? (*Interruption.*) I say this is one of the most important things.

SHRI P. C. MITRA (Bihar): There was less disturbance of students in Punjab.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: I think Mr. Mitra perhaps wants an uneducated man to be a Minister. I do not know what you want, what you are driving at. The main question here is that a proper academic atmosphere needs to be created. What is required is that we should have a Vice-Chancellor who really inspires the students. But the difficulty is that the Vice-Chancellors have to face elections. There are elections to the Syndicate, to the Senate. The whole process of election has so vitiated the atmosphere that first class people do not like to come forward. What we find after independence is that Vice-Chancellors are appointed on political considerations or other considerations. Many of the D. P. Is. become Vice-Chancellors. They are merely administrators. They do not inspire the students. Herein the malady lies. The whole process of election in the universities must be stopped. That is one basic thing which needs to be done.

Secondly, there is the problem of discontent among the students. There is a gap between the generation which rules this country and the rising generation. There are two reasons for that. One is they feel that their rulers are quite distinct from them. Secondly, the industrial and technological revolution now taking place in this country has created this gap. The older generation which was born and bred in the age of classics, as you may say, cannot understand, visualise and feel the inner urges, the inner responses of the new generation that is coming up. Science and technology have brought new material changes. Along with that they have brought new changes in values, new social values and new values based on science and technology. Those old values have gone. These young students of today are not

[Shri M. M. Dharia.] prepared to keep their faith on the older values. Those values were based on spiritual faith and other things. The present generation belonging to this age of science and technology is not prepared to have those values. So, this gap which has come up in the two generations needs to be bridged. How is that to be bridged? I think in this connection we have to go back to what Lord Robbins has said. We must admit that we have failed in our leadership. The only thing is we must make these institutions such places in which excellence has got precedence over mere majority. In democracy what do we find? Mediocrity is coming up.

The President of a union must be a person who gets excellent results in the university examinations. If that person is made the president of the union, it means excellence will have precedence, that it will become the ideal of the students. It has happened in Oxford and Cambridge, probably in some of the universities in Patna and some other places. In the same way the union should consist of best men in Political Science, Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Zoology, and so on, so that the union becomes a group of people who are found to be excellent in the university, and then they will become the ideals of the university students. The best sportsmen should be there.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now you wind up. You have taken 20 minutes.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: If this innovation comes, I think this itself will create a new atmosphere. It is not that a person who will spend money will win the election in the union. It is not that a person who can create more noise will win the election, but it is a person who is excellent in education. We must have respect for excellence which we used to have. This is one suggestion which I would like the hon. Minister to consider and get implemented at the earliest possible time in all the universities. Secondly, such unions will be very careful about the type of teachers that are selected. They will be vigilant. They want to

create excellence in the university. They want to be vigilant about the teachers selected. I have got to make one suggestion. The teachers who do good work, who publish papers, should be given special prizes, special increments, special inducement so that they can do that work well. That is how good type of teachers will come.

The other suggestion I would like to give is there should be an interchange of professors from one university to another. The interchange has stopped and barriers are created. It is necessary that teachers of one university should go to another university.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: The last suggestion I will make is regarding involvement of students in the preparation of syllabus and in the management of universities. They should feel that they are participants, that they are one with the university. It is they who have to face the problems. It is time that we in India take a lesson and have a proper participation of students in the functioning of the universities, in the functioning of education, because it is they themselves who have to build up their own future and a new social order.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, it is with a sense of responsibility and heavy heart that I am participating in this debate today. It is true that this country has an Education Minister who is himself an educationist who is well versed with the problem more than we the ordinary Members in this House. Even then, having regard to the reports of the University Grants Commission and having regard to the situation that exists in our country today, I feel that we have been lacking and we are the cause of the present unrest that we find particularly among the youth and among the students of this country. It is true that the students of the world, the younger generation in the world, are on revolt. It is equally true that in this country today we also find that

in various university campuses, in various colleges all over the country the students are mobilising and for minor reasons there are disturbances which are of a very serious character. Madam, why does it all happen? Is it not a fact that the time has come in this country when all of us, without any partisan leaning whatsoever, should dispassionately consider this problem? I feel, Madam, that the younger generation and particularly the students today feel that their future is absolutely insecure, that it does not at all hold any guarantee whatsoever. When they find that 10 lakhs of educated graduates are loitering in the streets for employment, when they find that 80,000 engineers—last year it was 40,000; but since June onwards it is 80,000—remain unemployed in this country, when they find that 20 lakhs of students appear for Matriculation or S.L.C. or equivalent examination in this country out of whom at the most 10 lakhs of students pass—it is not that much also; and out of those who pass, even from this report it is clear that at the most 2,20,000 or 2,30,000 are admitted in colleges or technical institutions. And one to two lakhs are lying idle in their own houses throwing away their efficiency, all their talents. Out of the 20 lakhs, 16 lakhs of students are those who have either passed or reached that stage of matriculation and who are in the age group of 15 to 17. They are just thrown into the valley of frustration. May I warn the hon. Education Minister that within the five years to come, he will find one crore of youngsters who are either educated up to the Matric or who are matriculates having no future, having been thrown into the valley of frustration. How can you expect any quiet or calm from our youngsters when they have no bright future? What else can the Government expect in this country except the present violent disturbances that are occurring here and there? It is a most volcanic situation. If we do Jiot act, if we do not immediately take proper decisions and act, I have a fear that the whole democratic set-up of this country will be in danger, I have a fear that the whole society "will be held to ransom.

On the background of this whole situation, when I read these Reports, I find that even in the Reports there is the confession of the University Grants Commission that the standard in this country is fast going down. It is true that in this country we have made a lot of provision after independence for education. The number of students in 1950 was to the tune of 2i crores in schools and colleges; it reached nearly five crores in 1960. And today there are more than seven crores of students in schools and colleges and other institutions. This number is larger than the population of France or England. So, I do not mean that the problem is not serious, I do not mean that the ways are also simple. It is not my suggestion. But at the same time, how can we forget the seriousness of the situation? And in that context, if we look at this Report, we find that in 1966-67, the number of students in colleges and universities was 19,49,012. It increased by 2,20,239 in relation to the previous years. If we refer to the staff, what is the situation? In the year 1964-65, the number of the staff was 63,483. In 1966-67 it was 78,351. If we refer to the staff-student ratio, what do we find? It is most disconcerting. In the year 1960-61 the : ratio was 1 to 15.3—for one member of the staff the student ratio was 15.3. In 1961-62, it was 1 to 15.5. And in 1966-67, it is 1 to 18. So in 1960-61 the staff to student ratio was 1 to 15.3; it has gone up to 1 to 18 in 1966-67. It is absolutely against the recommendations made by the Education Commission of which the hon. Minister himself was a member.

Similarly, if we refer to hostel accommodation, the percentage of students in hostels was 19 in the year 1964-65. Today, this percentage has gone down. It is 17.6 in 1966-67. Had the recent Report been in our hands, we would have seen a further deterioration in this country.

Is it not a fact that the Education Minister recommended to the Government that 6 per cent of our national income should be invested for educational purposes? What happened to that? Our national income is to the

[Shri M. M. Dharia.]

tune of Rs. 20,000 crores. Even according to their modest estimates when the Education Minister requires 1,200 crores of rupees, from these Reports we find that they are not getting even Rs. 600 crores. If we are not prepared to take into consideration the fate of our education, what is going to happen?

In this context, may I refer to some of the suggestions made by the Kothari Commission? While speaking about our national objectives—paragraph 1.20— they say—

"In our opinion, therefore, no reform is more important or more urgent than to transform education, to endeavour to relate it to life, needs and aspirations of the people and thereby make it a powerful instrument of social, economic and cultural transformation necessary for the realization of our national goals. This can be done if education.

—is related to productivity;"

May I know from the hon. Minister to what extent it is related to productivity?

Then they say—

"This can be done if education

—strengthens social and national integration; consolidates democracy as a form of government and helps the country to adopt it as a way of life;

—hastens the process of modernization; and

—strives to build character by cultivating social, moral and spiritual values.

All these aspects are inter-related and in the complex process of social change, we cannot achieve even one without striving for all."

These were the national objectives that were then suggested and recommended by the Education Commission. It was under the Chairmanship of Dr. Kothari and Dr. Sen was also a member of this Commission which has produced a valuable Report.

Then, speaking about the objectives of universities, what do they say? We are concerned with the University Grants Commission. They say—and I am referring to paragraph 11.02 on pages 274 and 275—

"In broad terms, the functions of the universities in the modern world may be said to be:

—to seek and cultivate new knowledge, to engage vigorously and fearlessly in the pursuit of truth, and to interpret old knowledge and beliefs in the light of new needs and discoveries;

—to provide the right kind of leadership in all walks of life, to identify gifted youth and help them develop their potential to the full by cultivating physical fitness, developing the powers of the mind and cultivating right interests, attitudes and moral and intellectual values;

—to provide society with competent men and women trained in agriculture, arts, medicine, science and technology and various other professions, who will also be cultivated individuals, imbued with a sense of social purpose;

—to strive to promote equality and social justice and to reduce social and cultural differences through diffusion of education; and

—to foster in the teachers and students, and through them in society generally, the attitudes and values needed for developing the 'good life' in individuals and society."

So, in the context of these recommendations, when I look at these Reports, I find that they are frustrating, very discouraging. And in the present phase it is not possible for us to meet the great challenge of the youngsters and the students. And from that point of view, may I know from the hon. Minister what he and his Government intend to do in this respect? I am sorry, the poor Plan has been

given a holiday. I do not know how long it will be on holiday. "Approach to the Fourth Five Year Plan" was just laid on the Table of the House. And it is really very shocking that under 'Social Services'—at some page, page 25—only one or one and a half pages are devoted to education. It does not make any reference whatsoever to these valuable suggestions made by the Kothari Commission. What is this? If the Government is going to say that there are no resources in this country, I would like to say today that the resources are there but that the Government is not prepared to take firm action. What about the black money of Rs. 3,000 crores? Is it not possible for us to mobilise that money? Out of the import and export business you can get Rs. 200 or Rs. 250 crores. So far as gold is concerned, if these students and youngsters are motivated to the extent that they are convinced that if hidden gold is brought in the use of the country and the society, even allowing a woman to have ten tolas with her, I have no doubt that gold worth Rs. seven thousand crores or more could be found by the Government and the whole foreign loans could be immediately given away by the country. This is the potential of this country. Is the Government prepared to take that decision? The Government is not prepared to take any decision. On the contrary, what do you see in the suggestions made by our own Ministers regarding the investment of foreign capital here? I can understand that we may require foreign capital for modern technology. Is it not a sign of slavery? Every one of them goes round with a begging bowl. Why should we create that atmosphere in the country? We are not prepared to mobilise resources.

Madam, through you, I would like to warn this Government that it is not political parties who are ultimately going to deliver the goods. The University Grants Commission has rightly said that these political parties should desist from mobilising students for their political ends. And if we want

the political parties to desist, at the same time it is the duty of the Government to see that students are not made the victims of these political parties. There is a feeling in the minds of the students, which has got to be removed, that their future, after all, is not at all secure, that their career will not be secure unless they revolt. If that is the attitude of the Government, it is no use blaming the political parties, it is no use blaming the students. For that the Government should blame itself particularly at a time when we have an educationist as our Education Minister which never happened in the past.

Madam, I have gone through all these reports and I have come to the conclusion that during the last twenty years since independence we have failed in having a national policy on education. If we at all want to have better standards of education, if we want to mobilise this trend of the youngsters for attaining our social objectives in the country, for creating better circumstances and opportunities in the country, I feel a national policy on education is the urgent need and the guidelines are given here in the Education Commission's report. There is no need for appointing fresh committees in this country. We have enough good and valuable reports. The question is whether the Government is seriously thinking of implementing the recommendations about the Fourth Plan needs. Madam, I make the demand: let the hon. Education Minister insist in the Cabinet that the Fourth Plan should have as one of its recommendations that 6 per cent, of our national income should be spent education in this country.

Madam, look at the several aspects of our education today. What are these examinations today? These reports are there before you. The students are just being massacred. They appear for their examinations annually. It is these annual examinations which decide their fate. Why? Why should every-day reports and weekly reports not be taken into consideration? Russia, France and other countries have proved that that is the proper way of educating students. Why

[Shri M. M. Dharia.]

should students be the sufferers? They are the victims for our sins. Are you not prepared to rectify our own sins? That is my question to the Government today.

Madam, what was our performance at the Mexico "Olympics? Why do you not try to find out the potential in the country? If a proper programme is formulated by the Education Ministry and if some funds are made available. I have no doubt in my mind that within the next four to five years this country can go to the Olympics and face it with confidence and bag at least ten gold medals. France has shown that. You know how France suffered a setback at the Olympics and secured only one gold medal but this time they have secured ten gold medals. If it is possible for those countries to find this potential, why should it not be possible for us to find similar potential here? But we are not prepared to do that. Those who are good at sports, those who are fine in physique they are not at all considered. Therefore, the whole approach shall have to be changed.

Madam, I feel that basic issues shall have to be solved with radical action. Are you prepared for such a radical action?

Madam, we always speak of revolution. We say every day that democratic socialism is a success in this country. But if democratic socialism is to be a success it cannot be successful with futile slogans. This vast gul between the performances and these speeches shall have to be bridged. But how are we going to do it? That is the problem, and from that point of view may I urge upon the hon. Education Minister, if you do that this House will be with you. You raise this point in the Cabinet and we will be with you. I will go a step further and say this. When the hon. Education Minister came here as the Education Minister he said that he is here to serve the country and the moment he finds that it is not possible for him to serve the country he will be out of the Cabinet. I feel the time has come when he should go to that length. The whole

House will see to it that his cause is supported. Madam, I make this suggestion because I am really pained at the plight of our youngsters, and I feel that this voice must be raised in this House. This is the proper forum and it is in this context that having regard to all these reports, however discouraging and frustrating the past policies, he should come out with a new national policy on education followed by performance. I hope he will do it.

**डॉ० भाई महावीर (दिल्ली) :** महोदया, यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन की रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने है और उनके आंकड़ों को देखकर, जो चित्र आज हमारे देश में शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में दिखाई देता है, वह शायद पूरी तौर पर हमारी आंखों के सामने नहीं आता। थोड़ीसी देश की स्थिति, की ओर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है और हमें दिखाई देगा कि दूर कहीं गए बिना, आज दिल्ली के अंदर जो शिक्षा की स्थिति है, जो कालेजों की व्यवस्था है, जो विद्यार्थियों की मनोवृत्ति उस मनोवृत्ति को संभालने के लिये हमारी कितनी असमर्थता है, हम लाचार होकर देखते रहते हैं कि देश की नयी पीढ़ी, देश के उगते हुए तरुण और देश के शिक्षित नवयुवक किधर और कहाँ जा रहे हैं। अभी दो दिन पहले जो घटना दिल्ली के एक कालेज के अंदर हुई, जहाँ पर विद्यार्थियों का कुछ झगड़ा हुआ, बस के कर्मचारियों के साथ और उस झगड़े के बाद विद्यार्थियों ने जो कुछ किया और उसमें बस कर्मचारियों ने शायद कुछ विद्यार्थियों को ले जा कर पीटा और उसके प्रतिकार स्वरूप, उसका बदला लेने के लिये, विद्यार्थियों ने एक जीप को जला दिया, एक बस को डकेल कर नाले में फेंक दिया और इस संबंध में समाचारपत्रों में जो विवरण आया उससे मालूम हुआ कि उस कालेज के प्रिन्सिपल ने—he looked at helplessly—वह लाचार होकर उस सारे तमाशे को देखता रहा। जब यह तमाशा ही होता, यदि इसमें मनोरंजन की बात होती, तो हम सब लोग भी इसके अंदर शामिल होकर तालियाँ बजाने में कुछ आनन्द

अनुभव कर सकते थे, लेकिन यह केवल तमाशा नहीं है, यह घटना तो शिक्षा का उपहास है, शिक्षा की विडंबना है और हमारे देश में शिक्षा के नाम पर जो खर्च हो रहा है वह कितने शलत तरीके से खर्च हो रहा है और खर्च करने के बाद जो हम शिक्षा को ठीक दिशा नहीं दे पा रहे हैं, इसके ऊपर एक ऐसी कमेन्ट्री है, इसके ऊपर ऐसी टिप्पणी है, जिस टिप्पणी की ओर यदि हम आंखें बंद रखेंगे तो आने वाली पीढ़ियां आज के नियंत्रकों को, आज की शिक्षा को सुधारने के लिये जिनके ऊपर शिक्षा को चलाने की जिम्मेवारी है, उनको दोषी ठहरायेंगी और अपराधी ठहरायेंगी कि देश की पीढ़ी को शलत रास्ते में जाने से रोकने के लिये उन्होंने कुछ नहीं किया।

मुझे शिक्षा मंत्री के प्रति बहुत आदर है। मैं जानता हूँ, शायद उनके आने से भारत के शिक्षा मंत्रालय को पहली बार एक शिक्षा शास्त्री शिक्षा मंत्री के रूप में मिला। इससे पहले जो सज्जन थे, चाहे इस पदवी पर वह कितने ही योग्य रहे हों, किन्तु वह शिक्षा शास्त्री नहीं थे और उनके विषय में अधिक कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं। लेकिन आज एक शिक्षा शास्त्री को शिक्षा मंत्री के पद पर आने के पश्चात् भी क्या शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में सुधार हुआ है, क्या देश के विश्वविद्यालयों के अंदर एक ऐसा वायुमंडल बना है कि हम कह सकें कि देश के नवयुवक देश के निर्माण की शिक्षा लेकर, संस्कार लेकर, उठ रहे हैं? दिखाई यह देता है कि हमारे विद्यार्थी आंदोलन पहले शुरू कर देते हैं और उसका लक्ष्य बाद में ढूँढते हैं और यदि कोई लक्ष्य नहीं मिला तो यही सही कि सिनेमा के टिकट हमें सस्ते दिये जायें, कन्सेशन रेट पर हमको सिनेमा के टिकट दिये जायें। यदि कुछ नहीं मिला तो जो रास्ते में मिले उसको तोड़ कर, शीशों को तोड़ कर, बसों में आग लगा कर, किसी को यहाँ ढकेल कर, किसी को वहाँ ढकेल कर या जो शिक्षा के आचार्य हैं उनको अपमानित कर के अपने दिल की भंडास को ठंडा करना चाहते हैं। मुझे पूछना है : क्या यह दिल की भंडास अनुभव करने में

हमारी सरकार असमर्थ है! यू०जी०सी० क अधिकारीगण इतने योग्य होते हुए भी इसकी तरफ ध्यान देते हैं या नहीं, और यदि देते हैं तो क्या वह उस नब्ज को देखकर पहचान सकते हैं या नहीं कि उसका हल किस तरफ है? शायद न उन्होंने देखा है न पहचाना और यदि पहचाना है तो उसको हल करने की जरूरत नहीं समझी, या उनके अंदर समझ नहीं है . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can continue at 2 o'clock. The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Mahavir.

डॉ० भाई महवीर : माननीया, मैं निवेदन कर रहा था कि शिक्षा की स्थिति आज हमारे देश में संतोषजनक नहीं है, यह कहना बहुत ही उसको घटाकर बताना होगा और यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह स्थिति विस्फोटक है और सब जगह अनेक ढंग से, अनेक दिशा में इस विस्फोटक का न केवल लक्षण बल्कि उसके अंकुर सामने आ रहे हैं और लोग आनेवाली गड़बड़ और भयंकर क्रान्ति की बातें किस प्रकार से करते हैं, यदि हम इस बारे में थोड़ा सोचें, तो हमें दिखाई देगा कि यू०जी०सी० की रिपोर्ट और उसके आंकड़े केवल यह बतलाते हैं कि कितने कालेज खुले, कितनी यूनीवर्सिटियां नई बन गईं, कितने ग्रेज्युएट्स प्रोड्यूस किये गये। इस प्रकार की जो भाषा है, शब्दावली है, वह ठीक वैसी है कि हम ग्रेज्युएट्स प्रोड्यूस करते हैं, ट्रांजिस्टर प्रोड्यूस करते हैं या सीलिंग फैंस प्रोड्यूस करते हैं वैसे ही ग्रेज्युएट्स प्रोड्यूस कर रहे हैं और मार्केटिंग का काम हमारी यूनीवर्सिटीज कर रही हैं। क्या यू०जी०सी० का कार्य यह है कि यूनीवर्सिटीज खड़ी करते जाय, उन यूनीवर्सिटीज को बाद में सम्भालना एक मुसीबत बनती जाय, वहाँ पर उप कुलपति तक हमको न मिल सके, एक एक यूनीवर्सिटी



[डा० भाई महावीर]

हमारे गले की मुसीबत बनती जाय और फिर उसके बाद हम विद्यार्थियों को दोष दें कि वे अशान्ति पैदा करते हैं, वे उपद्रव पैदा करते हैं ? आज विद्यार्थियों में अनरेस्ट है, यूथ अनरेस्ट है, स्टूडेंट अनरेस्ट है। इस तरह की सारी बातें हैं और क्या इन सारी बातों के लिए यू० जी०सी० का कोई उत्तरदायित्व नहीं है ; यदि उत्तरदायित्व है, तो मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि उस उत्तरदायित्व को निभाने के लिए या उसे पूरी तरह से चरितार्थ करने के लिए और अपने अस्तित्व और औचित्य को सिद्ध करने के लिए यू०जी०सी० की ओर से क्या किया जा रहा है। जहां तक मुझे दिखाई देता है हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार की शिक्षा के बारे में सारी नीति कुछ ऐसी ही है कि आज भी हम उन समस्याओं को मुलज्जा नहीं पा रहे हैं और शायद आगे भी समर्थ होने की आशा नहीं रखते हैं।

हमारे पूर्व वक्ता श्री धारिया तीसरी योजना के आंकड़े बतला रहे थे। मुझे सारे आंकड़े देखने का अवसर नहीं मिल सका। लेकिन मैं एक मोटी बात कहूंगा कि तीसरी योजना के लिए 900 करोड़ रुपया दिया गया था और चौथी योजना में शिक्षा के लिए 1100 करोड़ रुपया दिया जा सका है। परन्तु अब 1100 करोड़ रुपये से संतुष्ट न होते हुए भी मिनिसट्री ने प्रस्ताव किया है जहां तक मुझ याद है—कि शिक्षा के लिए 1300 करोड़ रुपया दिया जाए आने वाली योजना में। परन्तु यह 1300 करोड़ रुपये की राशि घटते घटते यहां तक पहुंच गई है कि शिक्षा मंत्री जी का कहना है कि हमें 300 करोड़ रुपय में ही फिर से वापस पहुंचना पड़ेगा। वल्कि यह 900 करोड़ रुपये की राशि घटकर के 700 करोड़ रुपया हमारी चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना में शिक्षा के लिए रह जायेगी। यदि यह बात सच है तो जिस तरह से हमारी आवादी बढ़ रही है, उस अनुपात से तीसरी योजना में प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के लिए शिक्षा के ऊपर खर्च होने वाली राशि तीसरी योजना की अपेक्षा चौथी योजना में बहुत कम होगी। इस राशि

को हमारा प्लानिंग कमीशन कम करने की कोशिश कर रहा है। हमारे प्लानिंग कमीशन के अनुसार केवल तीन ही प्रोजेक्टिव काम हैं जिनके लिए प्रायोरिटी दी जायेगी। वे तीन काम हैं, इरिगेशन, इन्डस्ट्री और फैमिली प्लानिंग। फैमिली प्लानिंग के लिए सब से बड़ी प्रायोरिटी दी गई है अगर इंडस्ट्री और और इरिगेशन को छोड़ दिया जाय। हमारे श्री चन्द्रशेखर महोदय की यह देन मालूम देती है। सरकार की नीति बनाने वालों को शायद फैमिली प्लानिंग के सिवाय, इन दो विषयों को छोड़कर कोई प्रोजेक्टिव काम दिखलाई नहीं देता है यानी शिक्षा एक अन प्रोजेक्टिव, अनुत्पादक कार्य है। अनुत्पादक कार्य के ऊपर किसी प्रकार से अधिक खर्च करने की गुंजायश हमारी सरकार में दिखलाई नहीं देती है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री, क्या हमारा विश्वविद्यालय आयोग, इस बारे में सहमत है कि शिक्षा के ऊपर खर्च की राशि उत्पादक नहीं है, अन प्रोजेक्टिव है। यदि ऐसा है तो फिर आप शिक्षा की उपेक्षा करते जाइये और शिक्षाके मामले में ध्यान न देते जाइये। जो कुछ आप उत्पादन करेंगे, कारखाने खड़े करेंगे, जो पावर प्लान्ट लगायेंगे, उन सब को तोड़-फोड़ करने वाली बुद्धि इन विद्यार्थियों में आती जायेगी या फिर पथभ्रष्टता की ओर ले जाने वाली होगी और पूरे के पूरे इन सारे उत्पादन कार्यों को मिट्टी में मिलाती जायेगी। इस तरह से हम एक हाथ से बनायेंगे और दूसरे हाथ से तबाह करेंगे और फिर उस तबाही को रोक नहीं सकेंगे।

शिक्षा को अनुत्पादक समझना एक ऐसा विकृत दृष्टिकोण है, ऐसा गलत दृष्टिकोण है जिस को ठीक नहीं ठहराया जा सकता है। यह ठीक है कि यदि आज हम किसी सीमाओं में ज्यादा खर्च नहीं कर सकते हैं, तो हम इस चीज को मान सकते हैं, लेकिन इसको अनुत्पादक कार्य समझना उचित मालूम नहीं देता है। मैं समझता हूं कि सबसे बड़ी उत्पादक कार्य की जो बात हो सकती है वह अच्छे मनुष्य तैयार करना और

मनुष्य में ऐसा ज्ञान पैदा करना जिसे वह देश के निर्माण के कार्य में लगा सके। उनके अन्दर इतना चरित्र, इतना संयम और इतना अनुशासन देना है कि वे उसके द्वारा देश के भविष्य को उज्ज्वल बनाने का कार्य कर सकें। परन्तु आज यह दिखलाई दे रहा है कि इस ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। इसका परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि जो समस्या है वह उस से उभरती जाती रही है। हम इन समस्याओं का इलाज संक्षिप्त रूप से, आसानी से, ईजी और शार्टकट मैथड्स के द्वारा करने की कोशिश करते हैं। कुछ विश्वविद्यालयों में यह दिखलाई देता है और हम देखते हैं कि जिनकी तरफ से सब से ज्यादा शोर मचता है, जो सब से बड़ी उनके बारे में गाली देते हैं उनको वहाँ भेज दिया जाता है। हमें बारबार कहा जाता है कि जो राजनीतिज्ञ हैं, जो राजनीतिवाले हैं, वे विश्वविद्यालय में दखल न दें। लेकिन हमारी सरकार राजनीतिवालों को विश्वविद्यालय की एग्जीक्यूटिव बोर्ड में नामिनेट करती है। तो मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि यह वहाँ पर शान्ति लाने के लिए कदम है। अगर वहाँ पर अशान्ति है तो वह क्यों बनी हुई है, इस बात की चिन्ता इसमें दिखलाई नहीं देती है।

हम श्री राजनारायण जी को जानते हैं और उनका जो योगदान है उसको भली प्रकार से समझते हैं। उनको काशी विश्वविद्यालय की एग्जीक्यूटिव कौंसिल में रखा गया है। अगर वहाँ विश्वविद्यालय में शान्ति स्थापित करने का यह मार्ग है और जिस प्रकार की वहाँ पर शान्ति होगी, उसके बारे में मैं समझता हूँ कि हमको गलतफहमी नहीं होनी चाहिये। [Interruptions] अगर ऐसा होगा तो जो नियुक्त करने वाले हैं वे सोचें कि किन लोगों को नियुक्त करने में विश्वविद्यालय में ठीक से शान्ति स्थापित होगी। मुझे श्री राजनारायण जी से कोई गिला नहीं है। वे अपने स्वभाव से, अपने गुणों से, और अपने कर्मों से, जैसा उनको ठीक दिखलाई देता है, वह कार्य करते हैं। यहाँ पर भी वे अपने कार्य करने के तरीके को कभी

छिपाते नहीं हैं। यदि हम उन लोगों के ऊपर यह जिम्मेदारी डालकर यह अपेक्षा करेंगे तो वह अपेक्षा कितनी मात्रा में पूर्ण होगी, यह सोचा जा सकता है।

मुझे एक बात और कहनी है। [Interruptions] दिल्ली के अन्दर जो शिक्षा का कार्य है, उसमें जो आज योजना आयोग है, जो प्लानिंग कमीशन है, उसके हिसाब से चौथी योजना में जितने कालेजों की जरूरत होगी—अभी तो 10 कालेज दिल्ली प्रशासन ने खोले हुए हैं—यदि पाँच वर्षों में दिल्ली की आवश्यकता को देखकर चला जायेगा तो कम से कम 10 और कालेज खोलने पड़ेंगे। इन कालेजों के खोलने के लिए, उनकी बिल्डिंग के लिए तथा सहायता के लिए 40 लाख रुपये की आवश्यकता होगी जो कि यू०जी०सी० देने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। मुझे आँकड़ों में कुछ गलती लग रही है। किन्तु मुझे कहना यह है कि लगभग 6 करोड़ रुपये इस के लिये आवश्यक होंगे कि जो कालेज बनाये जा रहे हैं उन को ठीक प्रकार के भवन दिये जायें और वह ठीक प्रकार से अपना कार्य कर सकें, लेकिन योजना में जो पैसा देने की बात है वह इस से कहीं कम है और दिल्ली में, केन्द्र में, जहाँ पर कि शिक्षा मंत्री बैठे हैं, प्रधान मंत्री बैठे हैं और सारी कैबिनेट विराजमान है, अगर उन की नाक के नीचे शिक्षा की व्यवस्था ठीक नहीं रह सकती तो देश के किस कोने में वह ठीक रहेगी यह मैं सोच नहीं सकता।

मेरा एक और निवेदन है। यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन और यूनिवर्सिटी आयोग ने, हम सब ने यह माना है कि जो कोठारी कमीशन ने रिपोर्ट दी है उस के अनुसार आचरण किया जाय, प्राथमरी शिक्षा में सुधार किया जाय, नेबरहुड स्कूल्स खोले जाय और स्कूलों में शिक्षा की पद्धति को सुधारा जाय। लेकिन यह सब होने के लिये जो खर्च चाहिये, जो धन चाहिये वह धन देने के लिये यदि सरकार तैयार नहीं तो फिर कोई भी शिक्षा का सुधार दिल्ली के अंदर कैसे होगा यह मैं सोच नहीं सकता। दिल्ली बहुत रफ्तार से बढ़ रही है। स्कूल के

[डॉ० भाई महावीर]

अंदर टेंट्स के सिवाय और कोई व्यवस्था नहीं थी, लेकिन दिल्ली प्रशासन के प्रयास से तम्ब लगा कर जहां बच्चे पढ़ते थे बारिश में तपते हुए, धूप में सड़ते हुए, उन टेंटों को हटा कर वहां पर बिल्डिंग्स बनाने का कार्य हो रहा है, लेकिन जो स्कूल खोले जायेंगे या जिन स्कूलों का सुधार किया जायगा उन के लिये खर्चा चाहिये और आज चौथी योजना का जो प्रारूप बन रहा है उस में दिखायी देता है कि यह खर्चा करने के लिये हमारी सरकार कोई व्यवस्था करने को तैयार नहीं है क्योंकि यह अन-प्रोजेक्टिव एक्सपेंडिचर उस को दिखायी देता है।

मुझे एक अन्य निवेदन करना है कि हमारे शिक्षा मंत्रालय और यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन को सोचना चाहिये कि यदि हम शिक्षा को राजनीति से सचमुच अलिप्त रखना चाहते हैं तो उस के लिये क्या नीति हो। यहां पर भागवत झा आज़ाद साहब नहीं हैं। मैं कहना चाहता था कि उनकी उपस्थिति में कि मुझे यह मालूम हुआ है कि दिल्ली के अंदर जो कालेज हैं उन में राजनीति के प्रभावों से लिप्त रह कर, राजनीति को ध्यान में रख कर कार्य किया जाता है। शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय यहां पर हैं। मुझे उन से पूछना है कि देशबन्धु कालेज को दिल्ली एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को सौंपने का फैसला किया गया था या नहीं। यदि किया गया था तो डेढ़ साल पहले किये गये फैसले को आज तक कार्यान्वित क्यों नहीं किया गया? शिक्षा मंत्री के हस्ताक्षर होने के बाद, शिक्षा मंत्रालय के सचिव के हस्ताक्षर होने के बाद कौन सी चीज है जिस के कारण उस देशबन्धु कालेज को दिल्ली एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के हवाले नहीं किया गया? जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है, वहां पर जो प्रसिपल हैं उन्होंने जा कर आज़ाद साहब को इस के लिये तैयार किया कि मुझे हटाया जा रहा है क्योंकि यहां पर जनसंघ का प्रशासन है और वह हमारे खिलाफ हैं। इसलिये मुझे हटाने के लिये यह सारा षड्यंत्र है। मुझे को आप किसी न किसी तरह से बनाये रखिये। किसी न किसी बात को आधार बना कर बनाये

रखिये। कोई ठोस कारण हो तो हम समझने को तैयार हैं, लेकिन अगर समझते नहीं, समझने वाली बात नहीं और यह सच है कि वाइस-चांसलर उन को एक्सटेंशन देने के हक में नहीं थे, शिक्षा मंत्रालय उन को एक्सटेंशन देने के हक में नहीं था और यूनिवर्सिटी के अधिकारियों में से एक ने कहा था कि यदि उन को एक्सटेंशन दिया गया तो वह इस्तीफा दे देंगे, इतना होने पर भी केवल इस बात को जानने के कारण कि राजनीति में कौन सा तार कहां से खींचना है, उन्होंने जो प्रभाव डाला उस का परिणाम है कि उन को एक्सटेंशन मिला। इसीलिये देशबन्धु कालेज को दिल्ली प्रशासन के सुपुर्द करने का निर्णय काफी देर का होने के कारण भी वह कालेज दिल्ली प्रशासन को नहीं सौंपा गया।

यदि हम इस तरह से राजनीति को अपने कामों में आने देंगे तो मैं नहीं जानता कि राजनीति कितना बिगाड़ नहीं करेगी। यूनिवर्सिटी और दिल्ली की शिक्षा को राजनीति से अलग रखने के लिये मैं अपने मंत्रालय से और खास कर मैं निवेदन करूंगा शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय से कि भागवत झा आज़ाद साहब को थोड़ा सा गाइड कीजिये उन्हें समझाइये कि वे किस तरह से राजनीति के प्रभावों को अपने कार्यक्षेत्र से दूर रखें। फिर स्पोर्ट्स काउन्सिल यहां पर बनायी गयी, यहां पर नये स्टेडियम की कमेटी है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि शिक्षा मंत्री जी से कि शिक्षा मंत्रालय के अधिकारियों को क्या दिल्ली में कोई योग्य व्यक्ति दिखाई नहीं दिया जिस को सदस्य के रूप में वहां रखा जाता। बाहर के लोगों को उस में लाया गया। इस के पीछे राजनीतिक पक्षपात और पूर्वाग्रह नहीं है तो और क्या है। यह मैं जानना चाहता हूं।

मेरा निवेदन है कि जो यू० जी० सी० की रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने आयी उस के आने के पश्चात् हम उस को देख लेंगे, उस पर कुछ भाषण हो जायेंगे, कुछ आलोचना हो जायगी और आलोचना के जवाब में जिस को प्लेटीयूड्स कहते हैं वह मोटी मोटी बातें कह दी जायंगी। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि पिछले वर्ष, इस वर्ष के पिछले

महीनों में, जब स्कूलों में एडमीशन के, प्रवेश के दिन थे और दिल्ली के अंदर हाहाकार मचा हुआ था कि जो विद्यार्थी फर्स्ट क्लास से पास हुए थे उन को भी अपनी पसंद के कोर्सज नहीं मिल रहे, दाखिला नहीं मिल रहा था तो मैं ने माननीय त्रिगुण सेनजी से भी निवेदन किया था कि आप इस प्रसंग को फिर न आने दीजिये जो हर साल आग लगने पर कुंवा खोदने वाली स्थिति उत्पन्न करता है। वह स्थिति आप न आने दीजिये, लेकिन वह सब होने के बाद जब मैं ने सुझाव दिया कि आप दिल्ली के अंदर कुछ अवकाश प्राप्त उपकुलपति हैं, कुछ शिक्षा शास्त्री हैं, जिन को आप इस काम के योग्य समझ सकते हैं उन को आप यह काम दीजिये कि वह फैसला करें कि दिल्ली की आगे 5 या 10 साल की शिक्षा की आवश्यकतायें क्या हैं, कितने स्कूल होने चाहिये, कैसे कालेज हों और क्या व्यवस्था हो, तो उस संबंध में कुछ नहीं हुआ। इस बारे में कोई प्रयत्न नहीं होता और साल का आधा हिस्सा फिर बीत चुका है और फिर आप देखेंगे कि फिर यहां कॉलिंग अटेंशन नोटिस आयेंगे, कभी प्रस्ताव आयेंगे और हम देखेंगे कि दिल्ली के अंदर फिर शोर मचेगा कि जो उचित प्रकार के कोर्सज हैं वे विद्यार्थियों को नहीं मिल रहे हैं और उन को दाखिला नहीं मिल रहा है। परिणाम यह होगा कि सारे जमाने में हम यू०जी०सी० को चलते हुए देखते हैं, यूनिवर्सिटियों को बढ़ते हुए देखते हैं, नये कालेज स्थापित होते देखते हैं और नये नये ग्रेजुएट्स उपस्थित होते देखते हैं लेकिन शिक्षा की स्थिति, देश की समस्यायें और देश की क्षितिज पर आज की तरुण पीढ़ी की निराशा के कारण, जो होता है, जो भ्रम में है, जो बुद्धि-भ्रम उनमें छाया हुआ है और उस के कारण जो गड़बड़ मची हुई है उस का कोई कोई हल न यू० जी० सी० करता दिखायी देता है और न शिक्षा मंत्रालय। मैं ने शुरू में कहा था और मेरा निवेदन है कि अभी दो दिन पहले एक घटना हुई कि एक कालेज के कुछ लड़कों का झगड़ा था, उन्होंने एक जीप को आग लगा दी, एक बस को गड़बड़े में ढकेल दिया।

आज यह सब प्रतीक के रूप में दिखाई देता है यह बस को गड़बड़े में ढकेला नहीं जा रहा, बल्कि यह देश की प्रगति की जो आशा है, जो गति-शीलता है उस को गड़बड़ में ढकेला जा रहा है। ये प्रिंसिपल वहां के खड़े हो कर लाचारी से नहीं देखते हैं, हमारे शिक्षा विभाग के अधिकारी और यू०जी०सी० के प्रमुख जो लोग हैं वे लाचार हैं, विवश हो कर देखते हैं और मुझे ऐसा दिखाई देता है कि इन सब में से जो निकलेगा वह यह है कि हम अपने ही हाथों से अपने देश की आशाओं को भट्ठी में जला देंगे और सर्वताश का दृश्य अपने सामने उपस्थित कर लेंगे। इस लिये मेरा निवेदन है कि यू०जी०सी० के अधिकारी, शिक्षा मंत्रालय और शिक्षा मंत्री जी कृपया जायें और स्थिति को सुधारने लिये जो उचित कदम है, प्रभावी कदम है उस को उठायें। इस में से राजनीति को अलग करें और जो कार्य शिक्षा के हित के लिये है उस को शिक्षा को शोभा देने वाले ढंग से ही करें। धन्यवाद।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: May I request the Members that they must keep their limit to fifteen minutes? Otherwise, we shall not be able to call all the names that I have here with me.

श्री बी० एन० मंडल (बिहार) : डिप्टी चेयरमैन महोदया, अभी यूनीवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन की दो रिपोर्ट हम लोगों के सामने हैं। जो हाल की रिपोर्ट होनी चाहिये वह हम लोगों के सामने अब तक नहीं आयी है। इन रिपोर्ट्स पर कुछ कहने के पहले मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आज देश में शिक्षा की जो स्थिति है, जिन लोगों को शिक्षा मिलती है और जो लोग शिक्षा देते हैं और जो लोग शिक्षा देने का इंतजाम करते हैं, उन की स्थिति ऐसी आ गयी है कि हम को फिर से इस विषय पर विचार करने की जरूरत है। यह एक ऐसा विषय है जिस का संबंध सिर्फ इसी देश से नहीं है बल्कि आज समूचे संसार में, आज की युवक पीढ़ी में, एक आन्दोलन उठ खड़ा हुआ है और वह आन्दोलन इस बात को जाहिर करता है कि पुराने जमाने

[श्री बी० एन० मंडल]

से जो समाज का विकास हुआ है वह विकास उस दायरे में आ गया है जिस से लोग अब हतोत्साहित होना शुरू हो गये हैं और यही कारण है कि आज समूचे संसार का युवक इस बात को चाहता है कि एक नये समाज की रचना हो जिस में समता हो। इस ढंग का वह समाज चाहता है और चूंकि इस ढंग का, समता का समाज न आज हिन्दुस्तान में बन पा रहा है और न संसार के दूसरे भागों में, इसी कारण हिन्दुस्तान में हर जगह और संसार में कई भागों में इस तरह के आन्दोलन हो रहे हैं। इस लिये इन सारी बातों पर आज विचार करने की जरूरत है अगर शिक्षा को हम इस देश में आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो।

जहां तक इस देश का सवाल है, इस देश में हम लोगों ने जो राज्य कायम किया है वह जनतंत्रीय है। इस का एक संविधान है। संविधान में कहा गया है कि इस देश में सेक्युलरिज्म यानी ऐहिकता लायी जायगी। आज इस बात की जरूरत है कि इस देश में काम करने वाली जो पार्टियां हैं उन को भी इस बात की चिन्ता होनी चाहिये कि भारत के संविधान के मुताबिक जो ऐहिकता, जो सेक्युलरिज्म यहां आना चाहिये क्या उन पार्टियों के जरिये वह सेक्युलरिज्म लाने की कोशिश होती है या उस को मारने की कोशिश होती है। इस बात पर भी विचार होना चाहिये।

अभी राजनारायण जी का नाम लिया गया। लेकिन मैं इस बात को जानता हूं कि राजनारायण जी जो कुछ कर रहे हैं वह देश के हित में कर रहे हैं, वह देश के सेक्युलरिज्म के लिये कर रहे हैं, देश की एकता के लिये कर रहे हैं और देश में जो इंटीग्रेशन कौंसिल है और उसका जो मकसद है उसको पूरा करने के लिये कर रहे हैं। उसी बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी में आज यह हो रहा है कि कुछ पार्टियों द्वारा वहां पर साम्प्रदायिकता की आग को इतना भड़काया जाता है कि उसकी वजह से वहां स्थिति बहुत खराब हो गई है और जो वहां के

शिक्षा के अधिकारी हैं उन अधिकारियों पर भी उनकी छाप पड़ गई है और उनकी तरफ से पक्षपात होता है। यही कारण है कि बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी में इस तरह की गड़बड़ी होती है और गड़बड़ी के होने के बाद क्या उसपर विचार करने की जरूरत है या नहीं है और जो हमारी मंशा है, इस देश की मंशा है और इस देश के संविधान की मंशा है उस मंशा के मुताबिक उस गड़बड़ी को हल करने की बात करनी चाहिये या नहीं करनी चाहिये। पहले भी जब यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन की रिपोर्ट पर बहस हुई थी तो उस समय भी हमने कहा था कि बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी के अन्दर जो जन संघ का आफिस है . . .

डा० भाई महाबोर : जन संघ का नहीं है, संघ का है।

श्री बी० एन० मंडल : दोनों को एक ही चीज हम मानते हैं। आर०एस०एस० और जन संघ, इन दोनों को हम एक ही मानते हैं। इसलिये जब तक वहां पर आर०एस०एस० का आफिस है या जन संघ का आफिस है तब तक आप यह समझें कि वहां पर शांति बनी रहेगी ऐसी बात नहीं हो सकती है।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : आर० एस० एस० अलग है और जनसंघ अलग है। एक सामाजिक संस्था है और दूसरी राजनैतिक संस्था है।

श्री बी० एन० मंडल : इसलिये हम शिक्षा मंत्रालय का ध्यान इस ओर खींचना चाहते हैं। कहा जाता है कि मालवीय जी चाहते थे इस चीज को। मालवीय जी चाहते थे या नहीं चाहते थे, हिन्दुस्तान कि स्वतंत्र होने के बाद, हिन्दुस्तान का संविधान बनने के बाद, संविधान की जो मंशा है उस मंशा मुताबिक ही काम होगा। अगर बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी के अन्दर उस तरह का ऐंटमास्फीयर नहीं रखा जाता है जैसा ऐंटमास्फीयर हिन्दुस्तान

के संविधान के मुताबिक रखना चाहिये तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह गलत बात होगी और जो हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री हैं या जो यू०जी०सी० है उसको इस तरफ ध्यान देकर वहाँ पर ऐसा एंट्रामास्कीयर रेस्टोर करना चाहिये जिस से वहाँ पर जो साम्प्रदायिकता का वातावरण है वह खत्म हो सके।

दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि आज जो परीक्षाएँ कालेजों में होती हैं उनके सम्बन्ध में मैं नहीं समझता कि आज परीक्षाएँ लेना हिन्दुस्तान में जरूरी रह गया है। आज कालेजों के अन्दर जहाँ परीक्षार्थी अपनी परीक्षाएँ देते हैं उनको हज़ारों आदमी चारों तरफ से घेर लेते हैं, एग्जामिनेशन रूम के अन्दर चोरी होती है, प्रोफेसरों के ज़रिये चोरी करवाई जाती है, लड़के चोरी करते हैं, गाजियन बाहर से चिट्ठे भेजते हैं और इन सारी बातों को देखने वाला आज कोई नहीं है। यू०जी०सी० के सामने ये बातें आ रही हैं या नहीं आ रही हैं, यह मैं नहीं कह सकता, लेकिन अगर नहीं आ रही हैं तो मैं इसको यू०जी०सी० की अयोग्यता समझूँगा। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि देश में अच्छी शिक्षा को पनपाने के लिये अच्छा वातावरण कालेजों के अन्दर कायम होना चाहिये। इस सम्बन्ध में चाहे प्रोफेसरों का दोष हो, चाहे लड़कों का दोष हो, चाहे उनके गाजियन्स का दोष हो, सारी बातों को सामने रख कर इस समस्या को हल करने का कौन सा उपाय हो सकता है उस उपाय पर शिक्षा मंत्री को ध्यान देना चाहिये।

मैं पे स्केल के बारे में भी कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। आज इस देश की जो स्थिति है उस स्थिति में जिस ढंग से पे स्केल्स बढ़ रहे हैं, पे स्केल्स का बढ़ना मैं बुरा नहीं समझता हूँ, लेकिन पे स्केल्स के बढ़ने से लोगों के ऊपर उसका भार पड़ता है और लोगों को ही टैक्स के रूप में वह खपया देना पड़ता है। इसलिये मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ पर लोगों की तकलीफ को दूर करने के लिये, शिक्षकों की तकलीफ को दूर करने के लिये उनका वेतन बढ़ाया जाय, वहाँ पर उनका

वेतन इस ढंग से बढ़ाया जाय कि जो बड़े से बड़े आदमी इस देश में हैं वैसे लोगों के मान में उन लोगों का वेतन बढ़ाया जाना चाहिये। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि आज सारे देश में जितने भी गवर्नमेंट में काम करने वाले लोग हैं उन सारे लोगों के वेतन पर विचार होना चाहिये और देश की स्थिति के मुताबिक बेशी से बेशी कितना वेतनमान होना चाहिये और कम से कम कितना वेतनमान होना चाहिये इसके लिये एक निश्चित रकम तय हो जानी चाहिये। ऐसा न होने से उसका नतीजा यह होता है कि जहाँ सरकार पर प्रेशर पड़ सकता है वहाँ प्रेशर पड़ जाता है और कुछ लोगों का वेतनमान बढ़ जाता है, लेकिन उसका भार फिर जनता को उठाना पड़ता है जिस भार को उठाने के लिये जनता सशक्त नहीं है ऐसा मैं महसूस करता हूँ। इसलिये इस ओर भी सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिये और इस ओर ध्यान देना सिर्फ शिक्षा मंत्री का काम नहीं है बल्कि सम्पूची गवर्नमेंट का काम है कि वह इन बातों पर ध्यान दे।

तीन वर्ष के डिग्री कोर्स के बारे में जो राधाकृष्णन् कमीशन बना था उसने भी रिकमेंड किया था और जो कोठारी कमीशन कायम हुआ था उसने भी रिकमेंड किया था और आज वही सिलसिला सब कालेजों में चल रहा है। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि इस से ज्यादा अन-साइंटिफिक कोई दूसरा इन्तज़ाम नहीं हो सकता है। पहले अंग्रेज़ों के ज़माने में जब हम लोग पढ़ते थे तो पहले मैट्रिक की परीक्षा होती थी और उसके बाद कालेज और युनिवर्सिटी की स्टज आती थी और दो दो वर्ष के क्लास हुआ करते थे। आज तीन वर्ष का डिग्री कोर्स हो गया है और उसके पहले हायर सैकेंड्री रहता है। मैट्रिक में बोर्ड का एग्जामिनेशन देना पड़ता है। फिर उसके बाद हायर सैकेंड्री का युनिवर्सिटी या बोर्ड का एग्जामिनेशन देना पड़ता है या प्रि-युनिवर्सिटी का युनिवर्सिटी एग्जामिनेशन देना पड़ता है और फिर उसके बाद बी०ए० का एग्जामिनेशन देना पड़ता है। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि साल ब साल युनिवर्सिटी या

[श्री बी० एन० भंडल]

बोर्ड का एक्जामिनेशन होने से साल भर में जितनी पढ़ाई होनी चाहिये उतनी पढ़ाई हो नहीं पाती है और एक्जामिनेशन आ जाता है। फिर अधूरी पढ़ाई किये हुये जब लड़के इम्तहान देने जाते हैं तो फिर वहाँ धड़ले से चोरी चलती है और वे किसी न किसी तरह से पास हो जाते हैं।

आज जितनी शिक्षा संस्थाएँ हैं उनमें यह भी देखने में आता है कि जो लड़के अच्छे रहते हैं वे परीक्षाओं में उतने अच्छे नहीं रहते हैं। जो कालेजों में पढ़ाने वाले प्रोफेसर बगैर रहते हैं वे जाति की वजह से या किसी दूसरी वजह से जो अच्छे लड़के होते हैं उनको एक्जामिनेशन में दबा कर रखते हैं और जो उनके फेवरिट लड़के होते हैं उनको एक्जामिनेशन में वे बढ़ा कर नम्बर देते हैं और इस तरह आगे के लिये उनका कैरियर बनाने की कोशिश की जाती है। यह भी एक बीमारी आज कालेजों में देखी गई है और इस पर भी मैं शिक्षा मंत्री का ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ।

जहाँ तक यू०जी०सी० की तरफ से ग्रांट दी जाती है उसमें बहुत से कालेजों की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। जैसे एक कालेज हम लोगों का मधेपुरा में है। वहाँ की जनता की दी हुई रकम से वह कालेज बना है। जिस टाइम वह कालेज बन रहा था उस समय वह कालेज किसी तरह से छोटे छोटे मकान बना कर के, खपरैल के मकान बना कर के उसमें स्टाट किया गया था। आज उसमें हजार से বেশी लड़कों की संख्या हो गई है और उसका रिजल्ट भी बहुत अच्छा होता है, लेकिन उसके लिये जो मकान की व्यवस्था चाहिये वह मकान की व्यवस्था नहीं हो पा रही है। इसलिये मैं शिक्षा मंत्री का ध्यान इस ओर खींचना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ पर मकानों की कमी है और लड़कों को ठीक तरह से बैठने का स्थान नहीं मिलता है, वहाँ पर भी उसकी व्यवस्था युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन को करनी चाहिये।

SHRI KESAVAN (THAZHAVA) (Kerala): Madam, the Government that has remained in power for the last 20 years has failed to establish a national policy in education. Before independence the English people wanted clerks, teachers and policemen to help them in their Administration. For that purpose they introduced a particular system of education and established schools and colleges. But even after independence we are continuing that system of education. We are producing thousands of graduates in this country every year for whom we are not in a position to provide employment. That is the position now. Everybody knows that Kerala is a small State but there are nearly 150 colleges there. Any student in Kerala can go to a college from his own house. In Kerala there are nearly 10,000 schools of which about 5,000 are high schools. We are producing nearly a lakh of SSLC certificate holders every year and nearly 40,000 graduates and engineers. The vacancies that may arise in the State is nearly 8000. How can these SSLC certificate holders and degree holders be provided in these 8000 vacancies? A good portion of these vacancies is of peons and police constables for which a high qualification than SSLC is not required. So nearly a lakh of educated and qualified people become unemployed and the educated unemployment is growing every year. We must therefore evolve a policy by which we can assess the number of graduates and engineers that may be required every year and on that basis limit the number of colleges and also limit the number of admissions. I would therefore appeal to the Minister that education must be brought under the Concurrent List. One of the ex-Chief Ministers of my State, who is a Congressman, who also happens to be the Manager of some 13 colleges and certain high schools, said that if education is taken over by the Centre, the administration of the State will only be that of a *Panchayat*. There is reason for that. In Kerala, even before independence, when Travancore-Cochin was under the Rajas, Christian missionaries came and established educational institu-

tions—high schools and colleges—and they were conducting them on a charitable basis. Of course there are some among them who do it even now on that basis, but after independence many schools and colleges are established and conducted by the Managers not on a charitable basis but for taking bribes. We have to pay for admission in a school some bribe. The Minister must take note of this. I say it with authority, as one who is in the know of these facts personally. For admission in a college, however big the Manager may be, he will receive a bribe but I do not think he takes this amount as donation to the institution. No receipt is given. This amount does not go into the accounts of the institution. The various communal organisations are conducting several of these colleges. For admission they take bribe. For the Pre-university course they have fixed Rs. 500, for B.A. Rs. 750, for B.Sc. (Chemistry, Zoology and other subjects) up to Rs. 2000, for M.Sc. (Chemistry) Rs. 5,000 and so also for other subjects. For appointment as a lecturer in a college till last year it was Rs. 5000 and now it has been raised to Rs. 7500. If you calculate all these amounts, it may be possible for one to establish a factory. This has become a very profitable industry in Kerala. It is not done for the betterment of the country at large. Of course there are some Christian institutions conducted by some priests who do not take bribes but they may admit more Christian students but they do not take bribes but in the other institutions they take bribes. According to the recommendations of the UGC, the lecturers, professors and other staff get enhanced pay. For that 80 per cent, of the enhanced pay is given by the Centre and 20 per cent by the State Government but I ask whether the Central Government which pay the amount ensure whether a portion of this goes for the benefit of the colleges. Do they go through the accounts of these colleges? If they do and if the accounts are audited, they will find that these colleges are run at a great profit. I say this authoritatively, I know it personally, that the 5—52R.S./68

institutions run honestly by certain Christians, who publish balance-sheets, make profits but the accounts of the institutions run by the Managers who take bribes will show only losses. They keep two accounts, one for showing to the authorities and another for their own benefit. So first of all you find out what is the amount of fee they collect—for games, laboratories, etc. If all these facts are taken into consideration you will find that fabulous sums are received by them. In the Government colleges the fee is far less than the fee the Managers take from the students. They are running these institutions only for taking more and more bribes. These are run by organisations owned by certain communities but the executives of those organisations have nothing to do with the bribes. The bribes are taken by the Managers and they are not used for the benefit of the institutions. When they appoint lecturers they take bribes. Every year they will give notice to some of the lecturers. One Manager managing 13 colleges, at the beginning of this year, issued termination notice to 37 lecturers who were on probation in the colleges alleging that they are inefficient. These 37 lecturers became inefficient all of a sudden. Some of them have been there for 3 years. Why have they been given notice? Till last year the fee for taking them into appointment was Rs. 5000 and this year it has been raised to Rs. 7500. So with the intention of getting more if they wanted to continue this has been done. This sort of educational institutions are not doing any good to the State or to the people. During election time, in 1965, one Manager who was the Chief Minister of Kerala, stood as a candidate in one constituency. And he also stood as a candidate in 1967 for election to Parliament, to the Lok Sabha. And during these two elections I have been to the constituencies and seen a number of students, lecturers and professors going from house to house to canvass votes for that manager. In fact, that has not helped him; the people were not enamoured of these students and these lecturers and professors, who began to enter every house very



[Shri Kesavan (Thazhava).] now and then even during untimely hours. Voters became disgusted with all this and voted against him, and so he was defeated. So these colleges are being run for the political purposes of these managers also; that is a fact, and so what I have to say is that, when we give them money, when the Government give large amounts of money to pay the enhanced salaries to the teachers and professors, Government must send their own auditors to audit the accounts. If there is any loss, there should be no objection to make good the loss, and if there is no loss, no amount should be given. And then, if any manager conducting a private college takes bribes, it has to be nationalised, taken over by the Government and conducted by the Government. Now, a University Bill is being discussed in the Kerala Assembly. The managers are against it, because there are certain provisions in it to take over an institution in case the manager takes a bribe from a person seeking a teaching job and gives notice to an existing lecturer without giving any specific reason just to get rid of him and to give the job to another. Also, if they are not in a position to satisfactorily conduct an institution, there is a provision to take over that institution. So the managers have threatened the Kerala Government and said that in case they pass this Bill, they would close all these institutions.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is up.

SHRI KESAVAN (THAZHAVA): The Congress also is supporting these managers there; it is a fact. So my submission is this. There must be a national policy in education. We must set a plan indicating how many graduates we want every year, how many doctors and how many engineers and how many teachers we want every year, and we must not establish—more institutions than are enough to meet our requirements every year, and if possible—I think it is possible—nationalise all the educational institutions. We must infuse socialist ideas in the younger students and we must implement the socialist ideas we have

set before ourselves and before the country. But we have failed. Everywhere we find unrest among the students and it is because they see no future for them. I find hundreds of Kerala students who are degree-holders wandering here in the streets of Delhi; it is not possible for them to get jobs.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is up.

SHRI KESAVAN (THAZHAVA): So my submission is that you must adopt a national policy and, if possible, bring this education under the Union List—I have no objection. If possible, nationalise all the schools.

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, we must thank the hon. Education Minister for giving this House and Members the opportunity to discuss a subject like higher education. Of course such a discussion, as was pointed out yesterday, should be a regular discussion every year whenever the reports are presented.

Higher education, Madam, is a subject of development which affects our nation very much, because it brings out a new generation with new ideas and makes them the future citizens of this country. Therefore I am in entire agreement with the hon. friend there that the Government should not treat education as an unproductive subject and make cuts even in the minimum budgets that have been presented by the Education Minister.

Madam, if you look into the reports of the University Grants Commission, you will find that higher education has made tremendous progress. It has expanded and expanded well in several directions, and in this particular task the University Grants Commission has certainly tried to give as much attention as it can. Of course, with expansion there is no doubt that there is bound to be a little deterioration so far as the standards are concerned; it is most natural. But that does not mean that there should not be any more expansion. At the same time we must try to see that the standards of

education are also maintained. Today there is no doubt that the standards are going down, even in the colleges and even in some universities, but the constant effort of the University Grants Commission must be to see that the standards are maintained. So I do not agree with one of the Members here who had said that the University Grants Commission has not done anything so far as the standard of higher education is concerned; I am not in agreement with that view. I feel that the University Grants Commission has made sufficient efforts. It had tried to go into different questions of development of colleges, development of universities, and tried to help the colleges and universities through grants also. But the reasons are different according to me.

If we try to analyse the Tables given throughout these reports that the hon. Minister has presented, we will find that the rate of growth has been enormous so far as higher education is concerned. I have tried to take out certain figures. I may be wrong in certain respects; I might not be as perfect as I should have been, but I just glanced through the different statements and I find that the rate of growth of higher education has been enormous, particularly during the last two years. If you try to go into certain details, you will find that there have been two or three universities which have come up during one year, over the last decade. During the last two years six universities have been coming up every year six universities. And still there is demand for universities from different States. Then if you try and find the rate at which colleges have come into being over the last decade, the number of colleges which have come up in this country has been about 140 colleges a year, but during the last two years the number has been 177 colleges a year.

Similarly, if you look into the enrolment of students in the different institutions, both in the colleges and in the university departments, you will find that the rate over the last decade

of enrolment of students in these institutions has been less than one lakh per year, whereas during the last two years the rate has been 2.2 lakhs per year. So these figures amply show that the growth rate has been increasing, that the tempo is increasing, that the speed with which higher education has been growing has been increasing, and therefore it is most natural that the University Grants Commission is faced with a tremendous and stupendous task, to which it must devote all its attention. At the same time, if you look to another feature of his education, you will find that during this decade the enrolment in the arts faculty has gone down, whereas in the science faculties of the universities and colleges the enrolment has gone up. I will quote certain figures, Madam. In 1961 the enrolment of students in the arts faculties has been 44.3 per cent of the total enrolment, whereas in the science faculties other than professional the enrolment has been 40.2 per cent., whereas in 1967 the arts faculty the enrolment has been 40.9 per cent, and in the faculty of science other than professional it has been 45.5 per cent. So my point in making out these figures is that the enrolment in the science faculties is increasing whereas in the arts faculties it is going down, and to which also the University Grants Commission must pay its attention.

Besides this there are two other features; if you go through the reports you will find two other features, due to which it is very difficult for the University Grants Commission to tackle the question of standards. And the one feature is that 71 per cent of the colleges which are there in this country, out of about 2800 colleges, are under private management and of these colleges 44.8 per cent of them have an enrolment below 300. These are the two very important points to which the standard of higher education is going down according to me because whatever may be the good or bad features of private management still because of the lack of resources—collection from donations is becoming less nowadays and people are not com-

[Shri S. K. Vaishampayan.] ing forward with the same contributions which they used to make some ten or fifteen years before—it is becoming difficult for the private managements to cope with the developing expenditure of higher education. And as I said as many as about 45 per cent of the private management colleges have enrolment below 300. They are substandard colleges which have always to struggle for their existence.

Then a number of these colleges and institutions are coming up in rural and semi-urban areas and I think this has got its own effect. I think the proportion is about 50 to 60 per cent. Fifty to sixty per cent of colleges and universities are coming up in the rural and semi-urban areas. It is as a result of all these factors, namely, enormous growth in the expansion, the high rate of growth that is here so far as enrolment is concerned, higher enrolment in science faculties rather than in arts faculties, large number of colleges being under private Management, about 45 per cent of these colleges having an enrolment of less than 300 students, that higher education is affected and I think the U.G.C. must take note of these trends that are there in the growth and development of higher education and see what it can *do* so far as these different trends are concerned.

Madam, going *over* to another point I would like to submit here that so far as the spread of higher education is concerned it is now even between north and south. About 40 to 42 universities are in the north whereas about 30 or so are in the south. Therefore it is becoming difficult for the University Grants Commission to manage all of them from its headquarters in Delhi. So my suggestion in this respect is that the U.G.C. must have one more headquarters somewhere in the south, say, in Bombay or Hyderabad because it is necessary that we should keep a close watch on the developments in these higher educational institutions and unless an expert body like the U.G.C. watches them from close quarters it is difficult for the U.G.C. to form its own ideas about the progress that is being made or the

defects that have set in in the different institutions and either to help or not to help particular institutions. So my suggestion in this regard is that there should be one more seat of the U.G.C. somewhere in the south.

As regards the expansion that is taking place and the different trends that are there I submit that the U.G.C. must prepare a master plan for the development of higher education in the country during the next ten or fifteen years. Without that the U.G.C. should not proceed further in its work because if that is not done there may be a cluster of institutions coming up in a particular area, more universities in one State rather than in the other, and it will be something like an unplanned development. A stage has come to plan it and if one has to plan in the U.G.C. must consider very seriously to have a master plan for higher education for the country as a whole for the next few years wherein it can try to forecast the development.

Coming to another suggestion I would like to submit for the consideration of the University Grants Commission as well as the Education Minister that the U.G.C. at present has certain priorities in giving grants, for buildings, for libraries, like that. It has a certain order of priorities according to which grants are given. In a similar way they must have some priorities for institutions which are in the rural or semi-urban areas because they are the institutions which now need help from a body like the U.G.C. If that is not done then our education will be rather weak so far as these rural and semi-urban areas are concerned. Therefore my submission to the Minister of Education is that at least 70 per cent of the grants which will be released by the University Grants Commission should be earmarked for the rural or semi-urban institutions, whether they are colleges or whether they are universities.

I come next to the question of administration of universities. No doubt the universities today are autonomous and this autonomy should be maintain-

ed in the interests of academic freedom that every university should have and in the interests of standards that every university should develop but at the same time what has happened as a result of this autonomy so far as these universities are concerned, so far as their administration is concerned, it has become a static thing. It has become a little bit stagnant and there is no inflow of new ideas and there is no possibility of getting other talents into the administration as such. Some kind of a politics within the universities is growing because of this static nature of their administration. Therefore my proposal would be that the University Grants Commission should start taking more interest in the administration of these universities. I do not know whether such a power is there under the present Act or not but it is the duty of the University Grants Commission, and I think it is the responsibility of the University Grants Commission, to see that the affairs in the different universities are conducted properly. With the many reports that we get about the discontent there, with the type of allegations that are being made, with the kind of favouritism that is being shown in different universities, it is something really very unfortunate that in the sphere of higher education there should be so much of favouritism, so much of narrow-mindedness. All this is, according to me, because of the static nature of the administration that is there which has enabled the development of some kind of favouritism, some kind of regionalism, some kind of narrowmindedness. So I want that the University Grants Commission that is my submission—should look more into the administration of the universities in order to avoid all these evils and to see that the administration is carried on properly. Give them direction, give them guidelines which they should be made to follow. I know my own university in which administration has opposed certain demands made by the authorities from the academic point of view because they do not want the interests of the academic people to go far ahead than their own. It is against

this background that the U.G.C. must give some guidelines so far as the administration is concerned.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must now wind up.

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN: I have only a few more observations to make. Now coming to the academic atmosphere in the universities I am sorry to say that the academic atmosphere in the universities is deteriorating and I am glad that the University Grants Commission in its Report has made a reference to it under the title of discipline and it has also tried to analyse why today there is so much of indipline among the students. I entirely agree with the view of the Education Commission that there are a variety of causes. Not only because of the atmosphere outside but also because of the party politics that is there, there is a sort of non-academic atmosphere that is growing inside the colleges and the universities. The teachers are not taking that interest that they should; they are not imparting knowledge as they should and it appears that the students are getting disinterested. They are not taking that interest which we used to take during our college days when we were in the universities.

3. P.M.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): That is what we thought when we were studying in our colleges.

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN: Anyway, even though the responsibilities for student indiscipline may be multilateral, as has been said by the Education Commission, still to the extent that teachers in colleges and universities are concerned and heads of those institutions are concerned, they must do their duty, academic duty. If they do their academic duty, try to teach the students well, try to inculcate in them a sort of thirst for knowledge, then, I think much of the student indiscipline will disappear. In the case of bulk of students it will go. They will not have a sense of frustration, which they are having today, I wish that the University Grants Com-

[Shri S. K. Vaishampayan.]

mission at least devotes itself to the task of seeing that the academic atmosphere grows, teachers become more devoted and they are more keen on studies rather than on other things. With these words, I congratulate the University Grants Commission for the work that it has done.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Madam Deputy Chairman, I associate myself with the feelings of the hon. Members which were expressed yesterday. The Report of the University Grants Commission should be discussed annually in this House or else it loses all its significance. I do not agree with those who say that Rajya Sabha loses its dignity by not having an occasion to discuss the UGC Report. Rajya Sabha is a sovereign body and it does not lose its dignity by anything. Even if we lose our hon. Education Minister, I do not think Rajya Sabha would lose its dignity—what to speak of the UGC Report. So, it is the duty of the University Grants Commission and the hon. Education Minister to place it on the Table of the House at the proper time and to sponsor a debate at the proper time, so that hon. Members in the House can deliberate on the matter and give their opinions, which would be of great use to the hon. Education Minister. If he values the opinions expressed by the different parties and their leaders on the floor of the House, then it is his duty, his responsibility to bring forward the motion in time and get the opinions of the different parties. If he does not, if he fails in his duty . .

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION (DR. TRIGUNA SEN): Agreed.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: . . . then the entire responsibility is his. Rajya Sabha does not lose anything, even an iota of prestige or dignity.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is prepared to accept it. He has said that.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: There is no other go. He has to accept it.

Now, while coming to the UGC Report itself, I would like to indicate to the hon. Education Minister, who is supposed to be a great leader of education . . .

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA (Assam): Why supposed? He is.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I suppose him to be. I do not express your opinion. I express my opinion. I suppose him to be. I do not take him to be. Since there are interruptions, I have to deal with them. The party to which he has the honour to belong was clamouring during the British Raj, during the pre-independence days, that the universities were only producing clerks. The pattern of education, in their opinion, was awful in this country and it was very unsuitable. Having got independence, I would ask the hon. Education Minister, who has, of course, inherited a lot of legacy prior to him, what he has done. He has inherited the legacy and he has willingly done so. Therefore, I ask him what he has done to change the pattern of education, which was so much criticised by his party during the pre-independence days, in the post-independence days.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): He is not responsible for the past.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: That is a different thing. Having taken on himself the responsibility, now he has to reply to my question. Once he gets into the position of Education Minister, he takes responsibility for the past also. Therefore, I hope he would explain to this House in what way he has changed the pattern of education, so that it is becoming purposeful. The vacuum has been created because by now the students who have got into universities are all post-independence students. Many of them were born after independence. Therefore, unless there is some purposeful vocational education in the country, they feel very much frustrated. Now, what is this Education Grants Commission meant for? Is it only a branch of a bank which distributes money? Is it meant for that or has it a greater

responsibility, a more comprehensive responsibility for the country for carving out a particular pattern of education which will change the mode of education, which will produce people who will be better citizens, who will fit into the society, who will change the society accordingly? Therefore, I would ask the hon. Education Minister whether he would give greater responsibilities to the UGC. Instead of making it a money-distributing body, it should set a new pattern, it should find out new ways, it should collect suggestions from the country or even from the entire world, on the different patterns of education given in different countries, which would give some purposeful direction to the student society as a whole. The students are frustrated. Everybody shouts about it from housetops. Ultimately what does it mean if the Prime Minister speaks in the same way as Members of the Opposition that there is student unrest? Who is responsible for it? Somebody has to take the responsibility. Everyone cannot absolve himself of the responsibility for student unrest. Who is ultimately responsible for it? Has the hon. Education Minister tried to find out why the student unrest in India is thriving so well? I am sorry...

SHRI PATIL PUTTAPPA (Mysore): It is there even in affluent countries.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Yes, in affluent countries, but the reasons are very different from the reasons here. The common factor in the affluent countries and in India is the student unrest. We have our own reasons for it and they have their own reasons for it. I hope you come from Mysore and you do not speak of affluent countries. I am talking of India. The gentleman from Mysore, if he feels that he belongs to the affluent society, he can go to America and stay there. I have no quarrel with him. He can go...

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa): Going to America is the prerogative of a few.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Going to America is the prerogative of Congressmen because I find that it is only Congressmen who are chosen to go and stay

in New York for the United Nations conference. I do not know how they qualify, but I find it is only those people who are favoured children of this Government are sent...

AN HON. MEMBER: What about you?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : I represented Parliament. I had the dignity to say that I represented Parliament. I did not get any patronage from the Government.

Now, coming back to our country and our affairs, I would like to know from the hon. Education Minister whether he has in the meantime, after he took over this responsibility, discussed this matter with the members of the UGC, as to why there has been so much of student unrest. If I refer to his report, then I am undone, because there is nothing in the report which can be discussed. About student unrest they say that they set up a sub-committee somewhere. They set up a sub-committee of which the hon. Education Minister was also a member and what steps have they suggested? The following steps may be taken urgently: appointment of deans of student welfare in universities and colleges, and so on. It is within the same pattern that they want to improve things. They have never ultimately tried to find out what is basically wrong with this pattern. And whatever vocational training is being given is also in the wrong method. I have always said that even if our students are wrong, it is a lopsided thing-everywhere. Nobody puts his brain into anything seriously...

SHRI A. D. MANI: If he has one left already.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: ... even after twenty-one years. Madam, the point is at one time we all of us started shouting from the Prime Minister downwards everybody started shouting, we want engineers, we want technical personnel. That went on as if it was an echo from the top to the bottom. Now they say we have more engineers than we can employ. Who is responsible for this? Why do

[Shri Lokanath Misra.]

you put in more students into that particular training if you could calculate in advance that after a certain number of years they would be more than the positions we have? If you cannot calculate it, what sort of plan are you taking up? What does it mean and why do you have these research scholars, these statisticians and so many other things, the names of which I cannot remember? Having all these things, if you cannot visualise ten years or five years after—which I can; I had been shouting from the beginning that there would be lopsided development in one of the sectors; if I could individually find out, what is your huge machinery that you call the Government is doing if it cannot find out and visualise things in advance?

Unfortunately enough, this frustration of the students is utilised by certain parties. In one of the recommendations that is contained here I find that the Sub-Committee wanted that the political parties should desist from utilising the students for their own purposes. I do not want to talk about the pre-independence days. The Congress takes the entire blame for utilising the students and making them politically-minded. During the pre-independence days it is the Congress which is entirely responsible for encouraging and enthusing the students into political activities. That apart, I do not take that up as the main issue, I have my own issues, but in the post-independence days very unfortunately there are some political parties that take advantage of the student unrest and frustration. My esteemed colleague, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, takes great pride in saying that even eight students' unions had already made a declaration that they would show black flags to Mr. McNamara. Mr. Rajnarain, the other esteemed colleague of mine, takes great pride in saying that, "I will get into the Banaras Hindu University with my student mass". This is how things used to happen and I used to differ from them very much.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Because

I do not want students to get into active politics and place you in higher positions at some disadvantage to themselves. You use them as your ladder to get into Parliament they get shot.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Is it because the hon. Member feels that students do not have much liking for the Swatantra Party that he has taken a dislike for the students' political activity? Does it not follow the rule that the grapes are sour?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Just an example of what happened at Nagercoil. The day before yesterday IOI students came and met me. They offered their services for our candidate. I said: we do not want students' help; we want them to go to the colleges and study.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Help for what?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: For election purposes.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: It was against Mr. Kamaraj.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In order to be a candidate for Nagercoil one has to be 30 years of age.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The point is . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You carry on.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Let him understand it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has understood it.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: The point is that students volunteered to support the Swatantra Party's representative. Mr. Mariswamy advised them to go back to study and not to waste their time in political activity.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I have the name?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: It will be sent to you. My time is running

out. I have a lot of things to say. I did not get perturbed when I saw my esteemed colleagues, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and Mr. Rajnarain, indulge in such activities, because I know they fish in troubled waters always and try to get the maximum out of it. I did not differ with them very much because I knew what they were basically, but I was really shocked when I saw that the ruling party in the Centre is trying to create difficulties elsewhere through these students, through appeal to the students. I know the students are wise enough not to be persuaded by people who are discredited in the Congress. For instance, Madam, in my State, Mr. Biju Patnaik, who is spending Rs. 1 lakh for a demonstration outside the Assembly Hall on the opening day of the Assembly on the 2nd of December, has issued now an appeal to the students. He wants to encourage student indiscipline because on its own the Congress cannot thrive. Therefore, they want to utilise the frustration among the students for their own purposes and to make the demonstration a success.

SHRI N. PATRA: I should like to tell him that the misdeeds of Swatantra Government lead to unrest.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: You will have your say. Kindly submit your name and have your say. Therefore, I decry on the floor of the House such an action from Mr. Biju Patnaik. He is a discredited man himself. He should not try now to take advantage of any other frustration anywhere in the society and push them into a violent demonstration. (*Interruption*). You will have your say. Do not become impatient for Mr. Biju Patnaik.

SHRI N. PATRA: I must also protest; for your misdeeds are responsible. Why do you accuse others unnecessarily.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: That is not the way to protest. Have your own time and have your say for fifteen minutes.

THB DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your fifteen minutes are over.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Two minutes more. I wanted to point out that if you had cared to look into the Appendices, Utkal university is one of the universities in Orissa, and to my utter surprise it is one of the universities that has got the least amount under all the headings. I do not know what the reasons are. Under the heading "Grants for Science Departments" in 1966-67 Utkal University has got Rs. 19,000 for equipment and Rs. 5000 for laboratory buildings and Rs. 13,500 for library books. For staff and maintenance, nothing absolutely. For centres of advanced study, absolutely nothing. But the highest amount that has been drawn by any other university is Rs. 5.25 lakhs. Under the heading Humanities and Social Sciences, Utkal university has only one entry here, under library books, that is Rs. 53,000. Nothing else. Other universities have got much more.

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA: You know the amount . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I do not know when you became the Deputy Education Minister. You are too far away from the Education Minister yet. You have to rise up in the ladder.

SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA : You should speak with reference to the context.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: For hostel and staff quarters, Utkal university got a very meagre amount. I would like the hon. Education Minister to kindly explain why this disparity is there.

I would like also to take this occasion of suggesting to him that there are two more universities in Orissa already, which were approved by the University Grants Commission, which have been recognised already. They are Sambalpur university and Berham-pur university. I would like the hon. Education Minister—because he has got the latest report in his hands from the University Grants Commission—that he will take the trouble of finding out how much has been grant-aid for the Sambalpur university and



[Shri Lokanath Misra.] Berhampur university which are new. Thank you.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, first of all, I want to bring to the notice of the House the provision about the Annual Reports because there seems to be some misunderstanding. The provision is—

"The Commission shall prepare once every year, in such form and in such time as may be prescribed, an Annual Report giving a true and full account of its activities during the previous year, and copies thereof shall be forwarded to the Central Government, and the Government shall cause the same to be laid before both Houses of Parliament."

Now, we have to understand clearly what are the functions of the UGC, the Minister and the Parliament *vis-avis* the consideration of these Reports. The function of the University Grants Commission is to prepare the Report and send it to the Ministry of Education so that the Ministry of Education may place it on the Table of the two Houses. And when the Minister has placed the Report of the University Grants Commission on the Table of the two Houses, his function as far as the discussion is concerned is over. Then comes the function of the House Members, the Government and the Business Advisory Committee and all that, to find time for the discussion of these Reports. In the present case, the Report of 1965-66 was placed on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on 31st March, 1967 and that of 1966-67 was placed on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 1st May, 1968. Therefore, if we could not consider the Report of 1965-66 for over two years, the blame cannot be put on the shoulders of the hon. Education Minister. Similarly, if we have not been able to consider the Report of 1966-67 since 1st May, 1968, again, the blame cannot be placed on his shoulders.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who should be blamed?

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: Now, my

grouse is a little different and my grouse is that the year ends on the 31st March of every year and the Reports have value if they are prepared and presented to the Houses of Parliament expeditiously. Therefore, what I would like is that the University Grants Commission sends the Report to the Ministry by the end of, say, 31st October each year and then it should be possible for the Ministry to place the Report in the winter session of Parliament each year, and if the Report is placed in the winter session of Parliament, it should be possible for Parliament to consider it in the winter session of Parliament so that before the year is out, we have done justice to the Report and if any suggestions have to be given to the University Grants Commission, they are given in time. And that will facilitate the working both of Parliament and the University Grants Commission. That is far as the placing of the Reports is concerned.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh): May I correct the hon. Member? He has stated that the work of the Education Minister is only to place the Report on the Table. But from the practice which this House has observed for many years, it is also the duty of the Education Minister to ask for its consideration, which must be done in order to enable this House to discuss it. It is true that the Members themselves have the right to ask for a Report to be considered. But apart from that, it is also the duty of the Education Minister which perhaps he did not do, or it is possible that he might have asked for it, and the time was not allotted.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA: Mr. Tankha is absolutely right. But here again if we see through the motions received, we will find that both for the Report for 1965-66 and for the Report for 1966-67 the motion was duly given by the Education Minister—for both the Reports—and therefore if we have not discussed them, let us face the facts, and say that the Rajya Sabha has not been able to find time for their discussion. And that was what

I hinted at yesterday that the Rajya Sabha has to seriously consider about the procedure of its own work. It is to decide once for all what time it wants to give to the various subjects, whether Calling Attention Notices are to be discussed for 1½ hours to 2 hours every day, whether all kinds of other matters are to be discussed at length or whether the House wants to be businesslike and apply its mind to what it is expected to do, that is, consider the various Reports and do justice to the legislative business. That is a different question which has to be tackled some time or the other.

Not only the University Grants Commission's Reports, we have not discussed; the situation, as far as the Union Public Service Commission Reports are concerned is still worse. We have not discussed them for years together—15th Report, 16th Report, 17th Report, 18th Report. And I am sorry to say that none has been discussed. And if a serious lapse has happened in the UPSC's working in 1964 or 1965, what will Parliament do when it discusses the Report in 1968? All these irregularities become *fait accompli*. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance, whether it is the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes or it is the UPSC Report or whether it is the UGC's Report, that they are discussed, that the Annual Reports of the public undertakings are discussed, as early as possible after they are laid on the Table of the two Houses.

Now, coming to the functions of the UGC, I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether the UGC is just a money-distributing-machine or it has to perform the function of maintaining standards in university education. That is the basic question which has to be tackled. May I know from the hon. Minister whether he has got the statistics as to how many universities since 1947 have been constituted, have come up, without prior consultation with the UGC? If these facts are looked into, it would be found that quite a large number of universities have come up without even a mention of their coming to the UGC. And after

the universities have been formed, it becomes the duty of the University Grants Commission to find the resources for these universities in the shape of maintenance grants and development grants as far as the Central universities are concerned and development grants as far as the other universities are concerned. Now, is it a position consistent with the working of the University Grants Commission as was envisaged when the University Grants Commission was formed? I would again like to ask the hon. Minister whether the provisions in the University Grants Commission Act, No. 12, No. 13 and No. 14, have been enforced by the University Grants Commission, as they should have been, whether there have been any cases where the University Grants Commission has acted under the powers given to it under clause 13 of the Act? And those powers, in my personal opinion, are very wide powers. And if the University Grants Commission had used those powers in time and expeditiously to check the financial expenditure of the various universities, I am sure that many of the things which are happening in the universities today would not have happened. And in this connection, I have a grouse against the Central Government also because the Central Government has also the power under the University Grants Commission Act to give it from time to time directions as it thinks necessary for maintaining the standards in the universities. Has it been done? Has the Education Minister been vigilant enough to issue directions and advice to the University Grants Commission as was needed? And if that has not been done who shares the responsibility for that? Probably it is because education in India, after independence, has not got that place of priority which it should have got. Education is one of the fundamental things which go to the formation of the character of the entire nation. Are we giving enough resources to the University Grants Commission? What does the Report say? It says at page 49 :—

"...the proportion of national income devoted to education in India

[Shri M. P. Bhargava.] is small in comparison with that in educationally advanced countries of the world. The absolute amount *per capita* spent by us on education is about one hundredth of that spent by a highly industrialised country like the USA. . . Japan and the USA and the USSR are spending considerably more than 6 per cent of the GNP on education, about twice as much as India."

I would appeal to the Government to see that as far as education is concerned enough funds are placed at the disposal of the Education Ministry, and by the Education Ministry to the U.G.C, so that the interest of education, especially of higher education, does not suffer.

Now I want to come to another aspect of education. I am one of those people who think that education should be unified and should be administered from one place, that is, the Education Ministry and not from various Ministries. What do we find today ? Agriculture is administered through the Ministry of Agriculture. Medicine is administered through the Ministry of Health, and about the grants given to these Ministries neither the Education Ministry nor the U.G.C, knows anything about it. Therefore, it becomes difficult for the U.G.C, to have a sense of priorities about the various educational needs. Therefore, I will urge on the Central Government to see that education in the various spheres is unified as quickly as possible without any further delay.

Madam, today it is the world of specialisation. I am not one of those who believe that there should be a single-faculty University. I am one of those who believe that University education basically has to be multi-faculty. But at the same time with specialisation going on in the various branches of science and higher art, it is absolutely necessary that specialisation is resorted to in various Universities. It is not possible within the resources, what to talk of India, even for the highest developed countries to provide the latest type of equipment,

I the latest type of amenities to every University for every subject. Even in post-graduate work I would prefer specialisation in Universities. Some Universities should be earmarked for education in physics, others should be earmarked for education in chemistry and so on. If we try to give the highest education in every University in a specialised farm, I am afraid we shall fail in our attempt and the result will be that the students would be passing out their degrees without ever handling any kind of latest modern equipment; that is not possible because the cost of some of the equipment is prohibitive. And if there are eight Universities in a State, as is the case in my own State, do you think all the eight Universities can give facilities for specialised training in every branch of science and art ? So why not resort to specialisation in special Universities ?

There is another point. There are Central Universities but, I am afraid, they are all located in the North. (*Time bell rings.*) I am taking three minutes more. There has been a demand for the establishment of Central Universities in the South. I had occasion to talk to authorities that control the various States in the South. They have sent some concrete proposals for the establishment of Central Universities to the Education Ministry. May I know what is happening to these proposals ? India is one, and unless we show by our own actions that we mean what we say, that India is one, we will not create that faith in the Central Government as it should be. Therefore, I urge upon the Education Ministry and the Central Government to take steps to establish a Central University somewhere in the South, may be Bangalore, may be Hyderabad, may be Madras or, may be, Trivandrum, any of the four places which can offer facilities. It should be done.

Madam, I had occasion to visit Bangalore very recently and I came across another request of theirs which has been long pending here somewhere in, if I may say so, the files of the

Education Ministry, that is, for the establishment of a Hindi University at Bangalore. They are very keen about it. If we mean development of Hindi and the regional languages, facilities will have to be given. Therefore, I will urge upon the Education Minister to go through his files, get that file about the establishment of a Hindi University in Bangalore, search out from his papers and attend to it as expeditiously as possible.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: He has it under his pillow. He does not have to search it out anywhere.

SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA : Since my time is over I will stop here though I had certain other points to make.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam Deputy Chairman, it is unfortunate that we did not have the chance to discuss these reports in time we have been asked to take up two reports in the course of one debate which means curtailment of the scope of the debate in point of view of time. In fact, we have to discuss two within the time allotted for one, and that is not fair to Members of Parliament. My friend, Mr. Mani, wants to speak. I hope he would be allowed to speak and it would not be said that because there is no time such independent Members as Mr. Mani would be precluded from speaking.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If he has to speak you have to be brief.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why? The Minister should sit longer and he should give time. Why should give my time ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The time has been allotted by the Business Advisory Committee.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Time u allotted but the Minister's speech ii not something which cannot com\* after five or six o'clock because i seems that we, Members, have t< wait for the pleasure of the Minister and we have to bow down to thei convenience. Anyhow, Madar

Deputy, Chairman, it will be admitted on all hands that our education is in a crisis, specially higher education in the colleges and the Universities. Everybody will admit that and nobody will say that there is no crisis. What we see all around is confusion and anarchy in education and in the organisation of our education, including the educational institutions. We have to examine very carefully as to why this confusion and crisis arose and how to remedy the situation. Unfortunately in this report of the University Grants Commission, there is no indication that the crisis is being properly tackled or met. I am not suggesting that the University Grants Commission should lay down the policy. It is the task of the Central Government to lay down a proper education policy in order that we can have a forward looking policy on education and overcome the shortcomings and defects and see that there does exist a measure of equilibrium in the system of our education and in the academic world. The Education Minister and his Government have singularly failed in this respect. This is not to reflect on the quality of Dr. Triguna Sen, the former Vice-Chancellor of more than one university—of the Banaras University and a leading personality of the Jadhavpur University. I would not cast any personal reflection on him. But as a member of the Government, he has to admit that he has not given, for reasons maybe out of his control, a proper account of himself as an effective Education Minister. The blame must rest with the Government on that score, because I know that in the situation in which he is functioning, it is impossible even for a man like him to evolve a proper approach, a proper policy which answers the demands of the situation. The entire academic climate to-day is full of uncertainty and, if I may say so, full of anxiety on the part of both the teachers and the students, and on the part of the public.

Madam Deputy Chairman. the student unrest is only a manifestation of the deeper crisis and it is no

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] use all the time trying to blame the students and say that the crisis is due to, or the situation is due to, either the interference of the political parties in the academic world or due to the growing indiscipline among the students. That would be a facile way of explaining a serious situation and such an approach would never enable us to arrive at the correct conclusions as to the assessment of the situation, much less to find the correct remedies for meeting it.

Madam Deputy Chairman, here we have got the report of the Education Commission—a voluminous report. I do not know to what extent the report is being given effect to or implemented by the Government. Anyhow many reasons have been given for the crisis in education or the student unrest, in that report. I am afraid even that report is not being properly considered by the Government, if we have to judge the Government by its actions that should follow from the serious study of the Kothari Commission Report.

Now, first of all, the crisis is due to the fact that this Central Government has no national education policy. What is paraded as national education policy is a bureaucratic document, well, a bogus policy, which is rejected by practically all forward-looking or progressive-minded teachers. It has made no impression among the teachers and the students. Whereas we need an education policy which will galvanise the entire scene, which will inspire the teachers and the students, which will set before them the correct perspective, which would put the students and the academic world on the right trial, this report is only a kind of elaboration of certain very commonplace inanities which go by the name of the so-called education policy. I had this report examined by a large number of college teachers in Calcutta and by and large, they have expressed their dissatisfaction with the so-called education policy of the Government of India, and I am sure Dr. Triguna Sen will understand if if

he cares to meet the teachers and find out from them what their reactions are.

First of all, education is becoming extremely costly and the poorer sections of the community are not in a position to-day to afford higher education because it is beyond their reach. The hostel charges are exorbitant and according to this report, only less than 18 per cent of the total college students had been provided accommodation in hostels, whereas, according to them, they would like to provide hostel facilities to the extent of 25 per cent. Even that has not been done. Textbooks are very expensive today and, what is more, they are not available to a large number of students. Library facilities are inadequate and so are laboratory facilities and other things. Now these are factors to be seriously reckoned with. The allocation that is made by the Central Government is inadequate and the State Governments are not in a position, because of financial difficulties, to find the wherewithal to finance proper education. Now naturally we would expect the Central Government to come before Parliament and ask for greater allocation and fight for it. I remember how Moulana Azad fought for a larger allocation in the First Five-Year Plan and "how after his death, the amount that was asked for was reduced by the planners and the Government. I do not know why Dr. Triguna Sen does not come out with a categorical statement before the Parliament and the country that the allocation that is given under the Education head is far too inadequate for financing the education in the country or fulfilling the elementary responsibilities of the Central Government in this sphere of education, granting that Education belongs to the States and is a State subject.

Madam Deputy Chairman, the problem of police in the university campuses has not yet been solved. We find that the police freely enters the university campuses, assaults the

students and does whatever it likes ; and we find that only sentiments are expressed by the Education Minister I would like to know whether the matter has been discussed in the Cabinet in order to put a stop to the scarilegious conduct of the police when it enters the university campus without the sanction of the Vice-Chancellor and often against his views in order to assault the students and the teachers. Only recently in Calcutta, the police entered the Calcutta University campus and assaulted the students, boys and girls, which has been objected to by the entire student and the teaching community. And we find that that aspect is not even gone into by these people here properly.

Madam Deputy Chairman, here I should like to bring to the notice of the House that communalism is spreading in universities. I have got papers with me which show that in the Delhi University communalism is spreading and I am told that a large training camp of the R.S.S. wing of the Jan Sangh was held at the Hansraj College. The R.S.S. is active in Banaras—we know it very well. It is spreading elsewhere and the Education Minister in order perhaps to protect the R.S.S. says that all political parties or "some political parties" are to be blamed. The issue is not political parties as such. The issue is whether communal activity should be tolerated in universities and in our education. Now nothing is being done even to stop that kind of thing, although the National Integration Council is committed to taking serious measures in order to curb communal propaganda in our universities, in our colleges and schools.

Now, I regret the manner in which our Education Minister has reacted to the developments in Banaras. If he thinks that by blaming the Communist Party and the Jan Sangh, or equating them, or mentioning the S.S.P, on the one hand and the Jan Sangh on the other and like that, he

can escape the responsibility, he is profoundly mistaken because the secular parties and forces are up against the communalism indulged in by no less a person than the Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University. Madam Deputy Chairman, so, these are the questions to be gone into.

Now, you will see how they managed the funds. I have got some specific things. You will remember, during last session of the Parliament I had drawn by a Calling Attention Notice the attention of the Minister to the irregularities, to the serious allegations against malpractices by the Vice-Chancellor of the Burdwan University, hi fact, to be exact, the calling attention notice was answered by the Minister here on the 29th August 1968 during the last session and he himself admitted that serious irregularities had taken place in the Burdwan University and that charges were made against the Vice-Chancellor. It was pointed out that a contract of 3 lakh 31 thousand was given to a contractor firm without the prior consent of the University Council or the University's competent authorities and various other irregularities were pointed out not from any unofficial report but from the audit report of the Accountant General of the Government of West Bengal. The audit report passed serious structures in regard to the accounts of the Burdwan University for the year 1965-66. This was what I brought to the notice of the House and on the basis of this we made certain seriou's observations and remarks and he admitted that these were there in the report. The honourable Minister gave us an assurance that he would look into this matter and enquire into these things. This is there in the proceedings of the House. I would like to know what he has done. Practically he has done nothing. He has done literally nothing. I have been in touch with the University in order to get more facts. Now, the hon. Minister and the House should consider whether these things are to be passed over so lightly as the Education Minister is trying to do. Dr. D. M. Sen happens

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] to be the Vice-Chancellor of the Burdwan University. He was the Education Secretary of the Government Of West Bengal for many years when Dr. Triguna Sen was connected with the Jadhypur University. He should know this gentleman better. After the debate in this House, I believe, the Government sent some direction, some note, to the Government of West Bengal and a meeting of the Burdwan University was held on the 25th September where all these questions were discussed. There again I have got serious allegations. Dr. D. M. Sen had tampered with the minutes of that particular meeting and two members of the Senate, Mr. Bhaduri and Mr. Tarapore have written to the Registrar protesting against this tampering of the minutes by Dr. D. M. Sen. They wrote a letter to the Registrar saying that the minutes had been tampered with, that certain decisions which had not been taken, had been shown as having been taken and certain decisions which had not been taken, had been distorted specially in regard to the malpractices and improper handling of funds and granting contracts and so on. Madam, I would ask the Education Minister as to what is the use of our bringing these to the notice of the House if they behave with such impug-nity.

Here again I should point out that the Vice-Chancellor took all possible underhand methods and placed misleading facts and reports and false statements before the Finance Committee and the Executive Committee of the University. In spite of all attempts by him to suppress the facts, the Executive Council, which is mostly composed of "yes-men", took the decisions and these decisions are in the minutes of the report. Ever, that will condemn him and he knows it very well. Three important members of the Senate, Dr. B. Dutta, Education Secretary of the Government of West Bengal, Shri J. N. Mallick, President, West Bengal Secondary Education and Dr. P. N. Bhaduri,

I took exception to the manner in which | the Vice-Chancellor brought the Arm of M/s H. C. B. S. Limited of Howrah in the University without calling for tenders and gave them the contract, i In the minutes of the meeting it is i recorded that—even the yes-men—they protested against it. In the minutes of the meeting held on the 25th September it is recorded that the contract should not have been given without the prior consent of the University authorities, proper authorities, and the minutes show that the contract was given through correspondence and there was an attempt explaining away as to why tenders were not invited. In reply to the audit report Dr. D. M. Sen wants to make out that somehow the contract must be placed with that firm; that firm is supposed to have been started by somebody in Sibpur college or whatever it is. He is personally connected with this kind of things. This gentleman, Mr. A. C. Roy, was the principal of the Sibpur Engineering College. Monies have been spent like that—3 lakh 31 thousand.

Madam Deputy Chairman, the University Grants Commission refers to monies being given for construction of low cost housing. According to this report, teachers' quarters constructed out of the State and the Central Governments' grants are to be treated as "condemned". That is how the funds are being wasted. The teachers housed in the lecturers' quarters are all dissatisfied and the buildings are not habitable. An enquiry will reveal that the low cost construction was done with inferior material and the money invested was totally lost. The readers' quarters have yet to be utilised. All the teachers are declining to move into such badly constructed quarters. I should like him to throw some light on the subject. The sum of 1 lakh 90 thousand spent on the staff quarters should be recovered from Dr. D. M. Sen who falsely represented that the plans and estimates of the low cost teachers' quarters were duly sanctioned by Dr. Kothari, Chairman of the University Grants Commission. Documents

in support of the statement could not be produced before the audit. Here you find Dr. Sen falsely represented that Dr. Kothari sanctioned this kind of thing when he had not sanctioned it in order to grab 1 lakh 90 thousand to be distributed by way of contract to his favourites.

Madam Deputy Chairman, Dr. D. M. Sen's second venture as Vice-Chancellor of the Burdwan University was the construction of the Experimental school building of the State Institute of Science Education by drawing the advance from the University funds. He made false representation that funds would be available for the purpose and directed the construction of the building according to the "plans and estimates" sanctioned by him although he had no authority from the Governing Body of the Institute Or from the State Government to undertake construction works without their prior sanction. The State Institute building has been lying unused and the unplanned construction was the product of a purposeful game entered into with the then principal. Mr. A. C. Roy, of the Bengal Engineering College, Sibpur. Somehow the contract must be placed with the firm owned by Mr. A. C. Roy (H.C.B.S. Limited). A major portion of the funds has been misappropriated by inferior type of construction work. Kindly listen to me. These reports are from the University papers. I have got them here. Therefore, please institute a proper enquiry into this D. M. Sen's affair. Dr. D. M. Sen, Madam Deputy Chairman, in West Bengal is called "Travelling Allowance Sen", "T. A. Sen", because he is always touring. When I was speaking here he was In Australia. He comes to Delhi very frequently to meet all the big shots here for nothing. He has the habit of touring and drawing travelling allowance all the time. Not only that, he is using cars for his private use. He is friendly, of course, with Dr. Dharma Vira which is why he has got away with that kind of things. There is a reference in the report of money being spent for providing a guest

house to the University college I have a story about it also here. . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have many of them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Yes, too many, too many. Falsely, Dr. D. M. Sen in the name of a guest residence into a private lodge for his friends and relatives. At the University's cost his friends and relatives are merrily using the same guest house. This is the guest house we are having in Burdwan. The furnishing costs of the Vice-Chancellor's quarter will reveal that public funds had been mis-spent. The Executive Council made critical comments about the so-called guest house. The University Grants Commission should find out this thing.

4 P.M.

Then, Madam, a reign of terror has been let loose by this unscrupulous Vice-Chancellor. He has in connivance with Shri S. M. Chatterji, Registrar of the University, built up a coterie of his own, and has built up a gang of goonda-type students to terrorise honest officials with assault, humiliation, waylaying, etc.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, please summarise it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am summarising, Madam. He is the man who is responsible for creating mess in the Kalyani University because he did things wrongly, when he was Education Secretary. Dr. D. M. Sen, who was the chief architect behind the misdeeds of Kalyani University in connivance with his brother Vice-Chancellor, Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, has been thoroughly exposed by the Enquiry Committee of Kalyani University.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: What are you reading from ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: From my notes prepared from a document of the University. I can lay it on the Table of the House. Therefore,



[Shri Bhupesh Gupta ] Madam, condemn this man who deserves to be condemned. But he is being patronised by this Government.

Madam, Deputy Chairman, what has happened with regard to the meeting of the 25th of September is very very shocking. (*Time bell rings.*) A decision was taken that after the Audit Report there should be an impartial enquiry into the allegations and irregularities, how the contract came to be given without calling for tenders, etc. Now after the meeting was over, Dr. D. M. Sen altered the minutes of the meeting and then he said he would himself enquire into it, *i.e.* the accused himself would be the person to investigate into it. It was then pointed out to him "You assured us that there would be an impartial enquiry and we understood it to be by a third party. How is it that the allegations against you would be enquired into by you ?"

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up now. You have taken more time than the others.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have not taken more time. Anyway I am finishing it. Madam Deputy Chairman, I have brought these things to the notice of the Government again and again but nothing is being done. I demand the removal of Dr. D. M. Sen, a thoroughly corrupt man. Unfit to become even a teacher, he is made the Vice-Chancellor of the Burdwan University, thus wasting the Government funds. This thing is done to patronise friends and relatives. He is insulting and harassing the teachers and students : he has started a kind of goonda rule there in order to cover up his crimes. Madam Deputy Chairman, are we to run our universities as if the Mundhras are running them ? This is my question which I want him to answer. Why is the Education Minister not removing this person ? When the Audit Report of the Government of West Bengal has passed so many strictures against him. when all the Calcutta papers have written against him, when the teachers are demanding his removal,

he continues to be there. If he is helpless, let him say that he is helpless in this matter; then we shall see what can be done to strengthen his hands. But he cannot escape his responsibilities. (*Time bell rings.*)

Finally, before I sit down, I must say that he gave an assurance to us about it but nothing has been done. When I raised this question here, all the Members joined me on the basis of the Audit Report that something should be done. But nothing has so far been done and the man is carrying on as before, intimidating and terrorising the teachers and students. Therefore I say that the hon. Education Minister should really come down to earth a little. His Ministry does not seem to be competent at all, nor can it comprehend the problem. I am not blaming the UGC because it is not the function of that body to lay down policies; they have given us some valuable information and we can make use of that information, we can examine it and find out the drawbacks in the policies and son on. (*Time bell rings.*) It is the Education Ministry and the Government of India which are failing.

Finally, Madam, I would urge upon the Government of India and the Education Minister to call a proper conference ; some may be Members of Parliament and others educationists; they can discuss things with the representatives of the teachers and students threadbare in order to settle this problem and evolve a suitable policy. Madam, I suggest that Governors should not be Chancellors of the universities. Why Governors should be Chancellors of the universities, I cannot understand. Then it is most objectionable that when the teachers and students asked the Vice-Chancellor of the University not to attend the dinner of Mr. McNamara, he defied the opinion of the teachers and students and attend the dinner in a shameless manner. He thus provoked the students and teachers. (*Time bell rings.*) Madam, penetration of the American influence in the universities has become a serious menace. I would

like the hon. Minister to take up this matter with the Home Ministry and proper organisations of teachers and students to work out a policy as to how to fight such penetration of the American influence in the universities in our country.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That's all. Mr. Puttappa.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, if you allow a discussion, do not make it a farce. Madam Deputy Chairman, all the time you are saying "Sit down. sit down". But I say these things should be discussed fully in a single report. If every year the discussion takes place, I would not have to speak so much in one debate. You can very well understand my difficulty. You sometimes tell the Government also. Why don't you criticise the Government for it ? Why should the Government compel us to discuss two Reports at a time ? It is the duty of the Government to find time, not our duty.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Puttappa.

SHRI PATIL PUTTAPPA: Madam Deputy Chairman, in our country everybody, the illiterate, the ill-informed, the uninitiated and the unenlightened is an educational expert; he has got something or the other to say about education.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.]

It is a complex problem that requires a very wise handling, an imaginative and courageous direction. The travails of higher education, its perplexities and paradoxes all over the world are too obvious to any casual observer; India is no exception. But the situation here is all the more complicated because of the heavy superstructure we have built on the shaky foundations of an outmoded, ill-suited educational system. There is a yawning gulf between what we desire and what we are actually having. I am reminded of a famous line. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Vice-Chairman, if it is felt that I have taken somebody else's time, let me say that I have not taken anybody's time. We are entitled to half an hour. I have not taken more than that. I think Mr. Mani should be allowed to speak ; he should not be denied the right to speak on the ground that some of us have taken his time. From the Swatantra Party two Members have spoken, from the Jan Sangh two speakers, from our Party only one, the SSP is not speaking.

SHRI PATIL PUTTAPPA: I am reminded of a famous line of T. S. Eliot:

Between the idea  
And reality  
Between the motion  
And the act  
Falls the shadow.

The shadow endangers any real chance of preserving the spirit of the community. We have put too much in the bag of the community and it appears that the community is bursting at the seams. We have got to preserve this community and bring it to a meaningful direction. In our country there is so much talk going on about student unrest, and about tension. In a developing country there is hardly any sphere where such tensions are not found. It is very good to have tensions, but it also requires great courage to resolve them. It is a challenge that we are facing today. In our country we do not have a sound educational policy. Of course the Kothari Commission report is the last word on educational reforms but have we the courage to implement it ? Some time back I remember to have read that the Indian education has no foundation. That is a famous quotation of that celebrated educationist, Sir Ivor Jennings, who was sometimes Vice-Chancellor of the Colombo University. In his book 'The Commonwealth in Asia' Sir Ivor Jennings tells us that India has no educational foundation. He tells that if we go to the Indian villages, we find people living in thatched huts. In those villages, where people are living

[Shri PatU Puttappa]

in thatched huts, we find primary schools built with mud, and in those villages where primary schools are built with mud, we find high schools built with bricks and on these high schools built with bricks we find colleges built with concrete. So Indian education has no foundation. There is a large amount of truth in it. The primary, the secondary and higher education do not naturally dovetail into one another. They are a hotch-potch transplant put together. It might well be possible that the parent body might reject the issue. We have therefore to find a happy blend in all these types of education. Primarily we are now concerned with higher education. The U.G.C., no doubt, with its limited resources, has done a marvelous job but there remains much to be done. The number of universities is growing. I fear the time has come when we have to put a ceiling on the growth of the number of universities. Of course it is very difficult to reconcile conflicting interests. On the one hand we have increasing demand on higher education. On the other there is the question of maintaining quality. When there is quantitative expansion, naturally quality suffers. But the UGC cannot sit back and philosophise that everything would be all right in course of time. Unless somebody takes up the issue, things cannot improve for themselves. The UGC should not satisfy itself by giving grants. I am happy Shri Bhargava, during his speech, referred to the fact that the UGC has become a money-disbursing agency but I feel the task of the UGC is much higher than that. It has to see that better educational standards are maintained and excellences are maintained in our academies. In our Universities what we see to-day is, the lot of the teacher has been bettered considerably. Thanks to the farsighted policy of Dr. Deshmukh, the teacher community now enjoys a certain measure of security. Their economic condition has vastly been improved but to the same extent the standards in our academies have not been improved. In most of the universities we find that

teachers are more concerned with fattening their bank balances than about improving their academic standards. It is not uncommon to find teachers trying to inflate the results of their university. I am alarmed at the number of first classes that we are producing now. There was a time, half a century back, when first classes were very rare. Today the list of first classes outweighs the lists of second or third class students. Does this mean that the students are vastly improved or knowledgeable now than the students half a century back? I do not subscribe to that view. We have to improve their standards. There might be tensions in our universities because mostly these tensions are due to interference from outside, be they from politicians or the government but such interference must be resented. The universities at any cost must maintain their autonomy. While speaking on autonomy, I stoutly refute the contention of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta about police interference in the university campuses. University autonomy is one thing but irresponsibility is another. Irresponsibility cannot be allowed to influence our students to become vandals. The universities are not super States. They are part of the State. So, while the question of law and order arises, the police have to take such action. Suppose when a building is set on fire, if you say that unless a call comes from the university the police should not enter it, then there would not be anything left when they arrive on the scene. For maintaining law and order there should not be any compromise. The State has to exercise its powers and see that law and order is maintained. University autonomy does not mean that the teachers are sacrosanct or that they are not bound by any rules or regulations. Their task is greater than what is envisaged in the Kothari Commission report. They are to prepare the next generation. The teachers must try to give meaningful education to our students. In this task the UGC has to play a greater role. Not only should they disburse money but they should also try to see that every university maintains certain academic

standards and those minimal standards must be maintained at all costs. I have personal experience of some universities. I do not know whether the UGC has given any attention to this aspect of the thing. In the universities we care for the undergraduate colleges. Why should not the UGC in a similar way, care for maintaining excellences in the universities ? They should have periodical checks and see that standards are maintained in every faculty, whether it be Chemistry, Physics, Zoology, or any other field of Humanities. Such a step, I feel, would ensure better standards in universities.

The greatest problem that is bedevilling the Government and universities is the influx of students ; the number of students is alarming. In our country, to enter college has become a status symbol. Whether a particular boy is capable of taking college education or no seems to be no concern of the parents. They want their boy or girl to get a degree. So for them university education has become a status symbol.

It is very difficult for universities to maintain discipline. Discipline is a thing that is not solely the responsibility of the universities. It requires greater vigilance on the part of the parents and the society at large. Students do not require any exhortation but they are in need of better examples. (*Time bell rings.*)

I would take three minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. BHARGAVA) : Two minutes more.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Tell something about money; Mr. Morarji Desai is here. Ask for more money.

SHRI PATIL PUTTAPPA : When the Finance Minister is here the money would be forthcoming for educational plants. (*Interruptions.*) He would not be so niggardly in regard to money for education purposes. The University Grants Commission requires more money for the development of laboratories and libraries. I would like to tell the hon. Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister, and the Educa-

tion Minister that more money should be made available to build up the libraries in the universities, and also laboratories. With meagre funds we are getting fewer books and consequently research in our universities suffers and our knowledge is two years behind the times, and it takes two years, for any latest publication to reach India. We do not have the money to purchase the books immediately they are out. So more money should be made available to the universities.

I was referring to put a ceiling on the number of universities in the country. There are almost eighty universities now and they do not require further expansion. Before we build up other universities we must try to care for the existing universities. In many universities we find. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Mr. Puttappa, it is time to wind up.

SHRI PATIL PUTTAPPA : . . . that the authorities are not so receptive, as they ought to be. Consequently it has added to student unrest. The students feel that they are isolated and the teachers are not identifying themselves with the aspirations of the student community. So the students require to be guided properly. The students, while demanding greater attention to some of their pressing needs, should not agitate over the courses of their studies, should not agitate for the type of examination, should not agitate over what minimum percentage of marks in examinations they should have for passing. Also, they should not agitate over academic standards. It is the duty of the universities to maintain these.

While congratulating the University Grants Commission on the splendid job they have done, I would plead with them to implement the promise held out by the former Education Minister, Mr. M. C. Chagla, about establishing a Central university in Bangalore. While inaugurating that university we agreed with the then Education Minister in Mysore that the

[Shri Patil Puttappa] Centre would have all sympathy and it would see that the university is established in Bangalore before long. I would like the present Education Minister, Dr. Triguna Sen, to take this hint and see that the Central university is established in Bangalore so that the people in South India may feel that their demands are also being met by the Union Education Ministry.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : That will do, Mr. Puttappa.

SHRI PATIL PUTTAPPA : One word and I would be done with.

The way some of the Central Government universities are run in the north, namely, the Delhi University, the Banaras Hindu University and the Aligarh University, they are not models, I am very sorry to say, for other universities to emulate.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Still you want one.

SHRI PATIL PUTTAPPA : I want the Education Minister to see that they become models so that others could copy them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The model is Bangalore ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : That will do. Mr. Banka Behary Das.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Radhakrishnan Commission went into various aspects of higher education in our country. And then the Education Commission came, which went into the whole spectrum of education, beginning from the primary stage and going up to the post-graduate stage. But I am sorry to say that most of the recommendations of these two Commissions have been kept in cold storage, as a result of which, every now and then, when we discuss about the education policy, or the U.G.C. report, we are compelled to again go back to the recommendations of the same Commissions. Sir, in spite of many of these recommendations, which are absolutely necessary to be implemented in our country I think there are two obsta-

cles in our path. One obstacle is lack of resources. Of course we know that in our country the percentage that is spent for education is very low. According to the report of the Education Commission, in 1950-51 we were spending about 1.2 per cent, of the national product for education purposes, and in 1965-66 we were spending hardly 2.9 per cent. So with these meagre resources that we are spending for education, beginning from the primary stage and going up to the higher education stage, it is not possible to keep up such standards in our country which are absolutely desirable. But the greatest obstacle in the path is the lack of will to act. In spite of many of the fine recommendations of the Education Commission and the Radhakrishnan Commission, the universities and the University Grants Commission have failed to implement many of those aspects which they were expected to do. The standard in higher education is falling. The content and quality is absolutely inadequate, not only for the present needs but also for future requirements, and if you compare the quality of our education with that in other countries, then the gap that was existing in getting gradually wider. So these are a few aspects which the University Grants Commission should look into. But I am sorry to say, as the Education Commission in their report have stated, that most of the educationists in this country have been so used to this miserable state of affairs that there is no reaction in their minds, and they have failed to notice the poignancy that is evident everywhere. That is why, in spite of the fact that many prominent educationists are there in the U.G.C., and in some of the universities, and in spite of the fact that our Union Education Minister is such a prominent educationist, the inertia among the educationists in our country has developed to such an extent that there is absolutely no will to act, and there is no will even to implement many of the recommendations that have been laid down.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there are two aspects of higher education that the U.G.C. was expected to look after.

One was the standard of education in the field of higher education, and the second was the research aspect of education. After all, universities have no meaning if they only teach a few students and prepare them for some jobs in the Government or in the industries. Not only are they expected to give higher education of a very high order ; they are expected also to create an atmosphere in the universities, which should be research-impregnated. But I am sorry to say that up till now the expected high standard is not being kept up, and the aspect of research has been absolutely neglected, what to speak of creating a research-impregnated atmosphere in the universities ; in many of the universities we find that absolutely no research work is being done. For that purpose the Education Commission thought that because of lack of resources we should select about five or six major universities in our country so that they can serve as demonstration units for all the universities that are growing like mushrooms in our country but I am very sorry to say that up till now neither the Education Ministry nor the U.G.C. has been able to select five or six universities in the country where a high standard of higher education can be maintained and a research atmosphere can be created. Since the Education Ministry and the U.G.C. have failed to create such an atmosphere even in five or six major universities in the country I do not think in this way we can create an atmosphere in which a higher standard of quality can be maintained.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in this connection I am reminded of the famous book of John Gunther which was published about five or six years back about Soviet Russia. When he completed his book about Soviet Russia, the talk of sputnik was in the air at that time. He wrote the Introduction after the completion of the book and there in the Introduction he said that while the Soviet Union could send a sputnik into the air, America with all its resources and research programme could not send a sputnik into the air

up till now only because whereas in the Soviet Union education is science-oriented, in America education is absolutely general-minded and is not science-oriented. There he advises that in the present days when we want to compete with others, when we want to keep pace with others in the world we have to see that education is science-oriented. If that is true for America it is more true for India today but I am sorry to say that if you look into the curriculum in the country beginning from primary education to higher education we fail to see that type of urgency in our education. That is why the gap that was existing about 20 years back between the developing countries and the developed nations, between India and some of the developed countries of the west, instead of being bridged is gradually widening and here comes the duty and obligation on the part of the U.G.C. and the Education Ministry towards the nation and here again I have to say that unless the U.G.C. gives much more attention to the research aspect in education, unless the U.G.C. selects five or six universities in the country to make them demonstrative units so that other universities can follow them, so that an atmosphere of research can radiate from those demonstrative units, I think the U.G.C. will be failing in its duty.

Here, Mr. Vice-Chairman. I want to refer to the horrible aspects of the Central Universities because the Central Universities in the country begining from Aligarh to Banaras are working in such a manner that they have failed to be demonstrative universities. That is why the U.G.C. and the Education Ministry ought to select five or six Universities in the country where they can give more attention and maintain a higher standard of teaching and also maintain an atmosphere where research work can be done where, our scientists can get a proper atmosphere to develop research in the country. In this connection I am one with the opinion that we should not open the flood gates of our universities for all types of students but the difficulty is that unless

[Shri Banka Behary Das] our secondary education is diversified unless we create technical institutions in the country so that students of low calibre can be diverted to those institutions so that they can find a better living in this world, we cannot solve the problem of crowding in our universities. This is the difficulty that the Education Ministry has to solve and unless they create that atmosphere they will always be under the pressure of more and more students of low calibre crowding our universities. So I want to plead here and request the hon Minister, though resources is a problem in our country, unless this aspect is tackled we will always be getting pressure from all the States to establish more and more universities even though they do not conform to the minimum standard that the U.G.C. has laid down.

Here I also want to say something about the autonomy of the universities. I am very happy that whenever we discuss about it the Education Minister always talks about the autonomy of the universities and he wants to maintain it. We are very happy that he professes it here but I want to know from the hon. Minister whether the autonomy of the universities has been maintained in the different States. I know even now in our country there are many universities where the Chancellor is the Education Minister of the State. I know also two years back when we debated the Andhra affair the Andhra Government wanted to pass a law to have some power over the universities. That tendency is there. I want to know from the Minister whether the model Act that the University Grants Commission prepared and circulated has been accepted by the different States in the country because unless the autonomy of the universities is guaranteed in the statute also—and also in action I agree—I think interference in the university affairs will be there everywhere. That is why I want to know from the Minister when he replies whether that advice of the University Grants Commission has been accepted

by the States, not only mere acceptance but by action in the form of passing legislation in their own States.

Here the Minister talks of interference by political parties in the affairs of the university. I agree there is a certain amount of interference. I also agree with many of the educationists of the country that the university campuses should be free from political conflicts. I also agree that the atmosphere in the university campuses should be maintained in such a way both by the students and by the teachers as well as by the Vice-Chancellors—whether it is Burdwan University or any other University—so that an atmosphere of sanctity prevails there. Then there will be no opportunity for others to interfere in their affairs. Though I do not want that political parties should intrude into the campuses of the universities in the shape of political action, I say they have every right to go there, educate them politically and create an atmosphere for political parties. I would concede that right and I say that right should be maintained and the Government has no right to interfere in that. Here I want to say that the interference is more from the Government side and the interference is more from other quarters also and I would request the hon. Minister to look into this aspect that in many of the universities, whether there is political interference or not, there is too much of interference from the Government and there has been demand by some of the State Governments to amend the University Act so that they can interfere more. Whenever they create some Chairs, wherever they give some grants to the universities they take some undertaking from the universities that the universities will function according to their wishes. All these problems are there and unless the U.G.C. is very strong about these things, unless the U.G.C.'s model Act is followed by every State and every University, I think there will be enough scope for interference from many other quarters also.

Now, I want to refer to one aspect only and that is the examination system in the universities. I know the various Commissions have said that the way we are conducting the examinations we are creating a condition in which we find that there is too much of slackness in teaching during session time and there is too much of strain during the examinations. If the U.G.C. wants to keep up higher standards of teaching I want to know from the Minister whether the U.G.C. have applied their mind to this aspect of the problem. Have they tried to see that there is no slackness during the session time? Have they tried to see that teaching is not too mechanical in the universities? I think that this aspect has not been properly dealt with by the U.G.C. up till now. I want to advise the U.G.C. through the Education Minister that unless the examination system is completely changed . . .

SHRI M. N. KAUL (Nominated) : Why not abolish it altogether?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: . . . unless the system of semesters is introduced, unless a system is devised whereby there will not be this slackness at one time and too much pressure at another time, I am afraid our goal of higher standard of teaching will remain a goal only and will never be achieved, within one minute I want to conclude. Teaching in the universities also has become mechanical as a result of which the relation between the teachers and students is not as happy as it should be. In some universities where the ratio between the teacher and the students is still small, happier relations could be maintained. Where a higher standard of teaching is there and the teaching is not mechanical, the teachers can individually get the same amount of respect from the students. I know that most of the student unrest in many other countries is not only because of affluence but because of the fact that their own students nowadays feel that they have become more mature and they have less to learn from their teachers, because the teachers in the universities

have not tried to keep themselves abreast with the changing circumstances, nor with the knowledge that has been inducted into the educational field. It is too mechanical. They completely depend upon textbooks which have been written one decade ago. Everyday science is advancing at such a rapid speed that some talented students learn much more than their teachers. If the atmosphere in the universities are not improved, if teachers also do not try to be abreast of times, then I think, the respect for the teachers is bound to be less. This is one of the reasons why the students feel frustrated. They feel they have less to do inside and more to do outside. With these words, I think that the U.G.C. consists of very important educationists of our country, but as I said earlier they have perhaps developed a certain amount of inertia because of which they have failed to appreciate the dimensions of the problem that has confronted us.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, education and health are the two important needs of any civilised society. Unfortunately in our country these are the two most neglected subjects. Everytime we discuss education, the Minister of Education comes forward with two stock replies for all the maladies of education in the country and I am sure Dr. Triguna Sen will repeat the performance. Firstly, they say that education is not a Union subject. It is not even in the Concurrent List. Secondary, one and all Education Ministers say: What can I do? The Finance Minister gives no fund for education, because the Finance Minister in this country is always callous to education. I am sure the Government is one and the Government cannot change the Constitution and bring 'education' in the Concurrent List. Just now the Government can certainly see to it that a proper amount of the national income is spent on education. The Central Government is the biggest distributor of wealth in this country. It gives money to various States and it can certainly see to it that the money earmarked for



[Shri Arjun Arora]

education and given to the States is used for that purpose. But the Central Government itself, the Education Ministry itself, is not on very sound footing. Speaker after speaker today has pointed out the pathetic state of affairs in the Central universities. When such is the position of universities under the direct charge of the Central Government, we can be sure that the Government will not be in a position to exercise a healthy influence on the States.

One big lapse of the Ministry of Education, as far as higher education is concerned, was pointed out by Mr. Akbar Ali Khan yesterday, viz., the failure to establish the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. I need not repeat the arguments in favour of that University which were advanced by Mr. Akbar Ali Khan. I only support his demand that early steps be taken to establish that University, which is late by at least two years. I am told that one of the reasons why the University is not established is the Government's inability to find a suitable Vice-Chancellor. Now the Education Minister himself was a very successful Vice-Chancellor. He can easily combine the two functions and I am sure Parliament, in the interests of economy, will make an exemption. So, the absence of a suitable Vice-Chancellor should not hold up the establishment of this University, particularly when we have a successful Vice-Chancellor presiding over the Ministry of Education.

One of the serious development in our University has recently come to light and that is the American penetration of Indian universities. The exposure of CIA in the year of Grace 1967 has revealed that CIA uses Indian universities as its cover. The extent of American penetration in our universities is such that in Delhi University for example Indian law—Indian criminal law and Indian civil law—is not taught by Indians. We do not know our own law. An American visiting professor is teaching Indian civil law.

SHRI M. N. KAUL : That must be in addition.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: This is the state of affairs today. The Soviet history in Delhi University is taught by an American-trained teacher, the Arab history is also taught by an American-trained teacher, perhaps because he could not go to Israel. Do we want to hand over our universities to the Americans for some money? This is the development in the Delhi University which is, unlike Burdwan, under the direct charge of Dr. Triguna Sen. This development in Delhi University has come about with the announcement of the five million dollar assistance by the Ford Foundation. Approval for this has been given by the Government of India to the Delhi University. By promising or dangling a purse of \$ 5 million the Americans have really cornered the Delhi University, and all the development of the Delhi University today is being planned not by the Ministry of Education, not by our compatriots, but by Americans, and the chief American adviser in the university planners is one Mr. Patricks. This Mr. Patricks has admitted that he once belonged to the C.I.A. But he says that he is so much in love with the Delhi University that for the sake of working for the development of the Delhi University and planning its ten-year development he has severed his connections with the C.I.A. Not even the most gullible fool will believe that Mr. Patricks has fallen so much in love with the Delhi University. In our own capital the only university of Delhi is being literally run not by the Vice-Chancellor but by this Mr. Patricks who, there is no doubt, still belongs to the C.I.A.

Last evening the Education Minister was on the air. He was meeting three leading journalists, and one of the reasons for the student unrest which he mentioned was rather alarming. He said there is student unrest and indiscipline because students have no future prospects. I want to know : why does his Government not create conditions in which students who go to universities will have rosy prospects? He particularly mentioned arts students in:

words which, as a student of arts and humanities, I found rather depressing, and I remember they came not from an educationist but from an engineer. They smacked of professional jealousy. Does Dr. Triguna Sen imagine a society in which humanities will not be taught ? Does he want to close down arts colleges ? What will be our civilisation if our students who study history, economics, political science or philosophy are told to go home ? I am sure, Mr. Vice-Chairman, much more has to be done about university education than is being done by the Education Ministry and the University Grants Commission.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : I have the names of four hon. Members before me yet. If the House is prepared to sit for about half an hour more, we shall give them ten minutes each.

AN HON. MEMBER : On Monday.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Let us carry on. Mr. Mani.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are considering these two belatedly submitted reports of the University Grants Commission in the background of the tragic disorders which had taken place in the Banaras and Allahabad universities. My hon. friend, Mr. Arora, referred to the broadcast talk of Dr. Triguna Sen. I would like to start my speech with an observation made by Dr. Triguna Sen regarding the defeat of the Indian Hockey Team at Mexico. He said it was the invasion of politicians in the field of sports which had led to the defeat. This is the opinion of a large number of persons, and Dr. Sen's solution for this is to activate the Sports Department of the Inter-University Board. Since this is a matter with which all of us are concerned, I hope that Dr. Sen will throw more light on it: when he replies to the debate.

I would like to go on to another observation in a different context. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Education Minister to some of

the statistics supplied by the University Grants Commission. While there has been a significant increase in the number of medical colleges, there are few dental colleges in the country at the present time ; there are only about eight dental colleges, and Members are aware that to get an appointment with a dentist in one of the Government hospitals is more difficult than to get an appointment with the Prime Minister in the Parliament House. It is extremely difficult to get an appointment with a dentist. I would like the University Grants Commission to give its attention to the need for starting more dental colleges in the country. Nobody has studied the subject so far and I am bringing it because dental care is getting more attention from the numerous families in the country, and at our age we have got to think of dental care, and I would like to suggest therefore that the University Grants Commission should give adequate grants for this.

DR. TRIGUNA SEN : For how long my hon. friend is discussing education ?

SHRI A. D. MANI: Because it comes under statistics. The statistics say that for dentistry—I am referring to the 1965-66 report—there are only eight colleges. In this context I am mentioning.

I would like to go on to some other points raised in the report. At present the University Grants Commission does not have control, as it had in the past, in respect of foreign exchange available to it. They have to secure the permission of the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Finance before dealing with their own foreign exchange reserves. This has been mentioned by the Commission in its report, and in the interests of educational autonomy I feel that the University Grants Commission must have access freely to its own foreign exchange reserves. It must be in a position to elicit funds from the various foreign Foundations which are willing to help education in the country. I do not agree and do not share the fears of my friend, Mr. Arora, who feels that this will lead

[Shri A. D. Mani]

to penetration of American capital in the field of Indian education. I feel, therefore, that the autonomy that the University Grants Commission had in respect of foreign exchange reserves should be restored.

Sir, a reference has been made in the debate to students' unrest, and Dr. Triguna Sen last night made a very astonishing suggestion to which a reference must be made on the floor of the House, because he does not speak so freely on the floor of the House as he speaks to newsmen. I must say it was a very good broadcast and we enjoyed it. What he said was that students should be nominated to the Academic Council. Somebody asked him the question, one of the newspapermen asked him whether they should be elected. He was quite clear on that point that they should be nominated or selected on the basis of their performance in their studies. This is a very interesting idea. But I would like to ask Dr. Sen whether it is not a fact that the students will get contaminated by university politics. Students are already in the vortex of politics. If they go into the university Court or Academic Council—some of the teachers are adept politicians better than those who come to Parliament—I ask him whether it will not introduce a dangerous element of interference in the field of education by getting students elected or nominated or selected to the Academic Council or Executive Council. I feel that students should be kept away from the management of universities. I believe in the very old-fashioned way of 'Gurukul' that we try to give a system of education which we think will serve the needs of the country, and there should be no introduction of students at any level of academic control in respect of education, and I do not share the hon. Minister's views that this might lead to an alleviation of student unrest.

5 P.M.

The University Grants Commission in its Report has referred to grants

given for students' homes. I believe some lakhs have already been given for the construction of students' homes. But here in this connection I would like to say that in spite of all that the University Grants Commission has done, student unrest has been growing in this country, and not lessening. This is a fact which the University Grants Commission would fully and readily acknowledge that there has been no effective solution to student unrest.

Sir, there has been a very revealing article in the Link Magazine two weeks ago to which I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister, where the writer deals with the student unrest in the Allahabad University. He points out that in the Allahabad University there are two camps, the religious camp and the secular camp. Also there is a third one, the camp of the erudite, the Barnett's Restaurant Group. Now, there are various levels and it is a very revealing study of the student unrest. And what it comes to is that many students who go to the colleges are without books, without adequate money, and this is . . .

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: You are reading the Link Magazine to a knowledgeable person like Dr. Triguna Sen?

DR. TRIGUNA SEN: I am not a subscriber.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: He is a knowledgeable person.

SHRI A. D. MANI: As one who has been a student just one or two years before the student unrest in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930, I feel that one of the ways in which we can try to alleviate student unrest is to have better teaching in the colleges. Surprisingly, there is much less student unrest in the missionary colleges run by Christians than in other colleges. This is a fact which is known all over the country. There must be some system of moral discipline in the colleges which our secular universities and secular institutions lack at the present time. And I hope that the hon. Minister for Education would try

to find out from the Christian missionaries how they are able to control the student situation in their colleges.

My friend, Mr. Banka Behary Das, made a reference to the overhaul of the examination system or to the review of the examination system. An article appeared in the *Statesman* about something done at the Calcutta University. It is a very short extract I am going to quote. The Calcutta University, for instance, has been experimenting with it—

"The students will apparently be given a printed form, on which they can record whether any of the questions contains misprints or cannot be answered within the time allotted; whether extra time will be allotted for filling up the form does not appear. They will also apparently be free to indicate to the university, by this means or otherwise, which of the questions are in their judgment "stiff", "ambiguous", "out of syllabus" or "above standard".

This has appeared in the *Statesman* of 7th July, 1967.

Sir, students do not believe in the examination system by and large, and the time has come for the Minister and the University Grants Commission to evolve a different system of education through a different system of testing the candidates' capacity. I would like to say here as a journalist that we tried to take a Professor of Political Science on our paper. We thought that he would enrich us by his writing. But he himself left us saying that he could not fit into the newspaper. He was not able to come up to our standards. We tried a Ph.D. We found him lacking. Somehow, when all these academicians, erudite men, are faced with practical problems, they have no solutions. They can narrate events. They can size up the background of a question but in giving solutions, their minds are not alert.

SHRI M. N. KAUL: Mps also.

SHRI A. D. MANI: My hon. friend, Mr. Kaul, says that it applies to MPs also. I quite agree with him. We are very good at narrating events, in sizing up situations but not in giving solutions. The University Grants Commission should set up a Committee to go into the examination system completely. I would like rather the students take the books to the examination hall and be given problems to answer instead of finding out whether they have got a very good memory and remember facts in the proper sequence. That is not necessary for the examiners to find out.

I thank you very much for giving me time in this protracted debate. I do not want to stand in the way of others having their right to speak.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TAL-WAR (Rajasthan) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, if any field has suffered after our independence, it is the field of education. We did not see whether the future citizens, the future generations, of India are trained and cared for—We have been so busy in administering our country—the problems were great, but education has been terribly neglected. I would like to congratulate the Union Education Minister for at least putting education on the map of India, before the Government and also before the people. He at least has suggested some national policy and also that 6 percent of the National income should be spent on education. How much he and his Government would be able to implement the good decision is another matter. At least, an effort should be made.

Sir, we are now passing through a very critical time; that is so in education also. Our universities have grown as somebody said, like mushrooms. They have grown very rapidly. Their number at the end of the Second Five Year Plan was 64, now it is 80. But there has been no increase in the staff proportionately. There is no scope for the students to play. There is no hostel care or care for providing amenities. It is really a matter of great shame for our big country that

[Dr. (Mrs.) Mangladevi Talwar]

in the international sports we have not even been able to secure one gold medal. It really indicates the deterioration in every sphere where our young people are concerned, and also . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Are you not content with the bronze medal ?

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR: Women are very much neglected in our country. Also, there is no mention separately in the Reports about women's higher education. Therefore, I would bring to the notice of the Union Education Minister and the House the need for expansion of higher education for women. I will just quote a little from page 313 of the Report of the Education Commission. It says—

"There is a prevailing view that it is no longer necessary to give special attention to women's education at the level of higher education since women are taking advantage of it in increasing numbers adequate to the needs of society. Shortages of educated women available for taking up positions of directional and organizational responsibilities in various professions and occupations, however, point to the need for special efforts to expand women's education at the college and university stage. The figures of comparative enrolment of men and women students at the higher education stage reveal that the proportion of women students to the total enrolment in Indian Universities was about 13 per cent in 1955-56, about 17 per cent in 1960-61 and about 21 per cent in 1965-66. Thus, in one decade the proportion has increased from 13 per cent to 21 per cent and at present the proportion of women students to men students is 1:4 while our population is really 50:50. This proportion is not in keeping with the changing needs of Indian society nor with

the needs of economic and social development. We feel that in view of these needs, the proportion of women students to the total enrolment at this stage should be increased to 33 per cent during the next ten years to meet the requirements for educated women in different fields."

There should be more colleges for women and there should be no restriction on the admission of women students to the co-educational colleges.

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Madras) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, on a point of order. Is there quorum in the House ? We are only 14.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : I am prepared to adjourn the House but then you will not have your chance to speak. It is for you to decide.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: I leave it to the Chair.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR : Sir, there are two special needs for women students. One, hostel accommodation should be adequate and should provide necessary amenities. Second, although the education of women has taken some importance in homes yet the parents cannot or do not want to spend on women's education. Their scholarships should increase in number. There is no doubt that there are many States, and Rajasthan is one of them, where college education is free from women up to B.A. But there are not adequate numbers of colleges for them. There should be separate colleges for women. Although separate colleges for women are not favoured in modern thought, yet considering the social and cultural background of the different States, it is necessary that separate women's colleges should be opened, not only for arts subjects but also in other fields like science and technology. There is great need for these special fields and women can work and they

do take part in large numbers. Medicine is one of them. We have not yet been able to provide lady doctors to many villages or rural areas because there is dearth of trained lady doctors. There is need of trained nurses. Similarly, in the social welfare and the education fields also they are coming forward in large numbers. Therefore, it is necessary to take into consideration the need of higher education for women. I would urge upon the Q-G.C. and the Union Education Minister to pay special attention to this section of the society. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : The question of quorum has been raised. I have no other alternative but to adjourn the House. The Minister will reply on Monday. The House stands adjourned till eleven tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fourteen minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 29th November, 1968.