

**ENQUIRY *RE*. MOTION FOR RAISING
A DISCUSSION ON THE STRIKE OF
INTERNS AND HOUSE SURGEONS
IN NEW DELHI**

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, I had given notice for raising discussion under Rule 176 on the situation which has arisen as a result of the strike of the interns and house physicians and so on in New Delhi and the attitude of the Government in regard to that matter. Under the new rule there is a provision that a matter of urgent public importance could be discussed in the House for a short duration, say, about 2 hours. In the fitness of things, when such a development has taken place, a serious situation has arisen in the very capital itself, and when Parliament is in session, we hope to be seized of the matter in a more direct way. We should participate in the discussion and give our suggestion in finding a solution to the problem.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have received the notice and I will keep in touch with the Government and let you know when . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Tomorrow you will kindly tell us.

MR. CHAIRMAN: _____ it will be possible to have a discussion which will be helpful in finding a solution.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

THE ANTI-CORRUPTION LAWS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1964

SECRETARY: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha:

"In accordance with the provisions of Rules 96 of the Rule;; of

Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of the Anti-Corruption Laws (Amendment) Bill, 1964, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 20th November, 1964."

Sir, I lay a copy of the Bill on the Table.

**MOTION *RE* REPORT OF THE UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION—
*Continued.***

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now we take up further discussion on the Report of the University Grants Commission. Shri Govindan Nair had finished his speech. I have a long list of speakers and I hope the speakers will try to limit their remarks to, say, 15 minutes. That would make it possible to go through the list. Mr. Sapru.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the University Grants Commission has presented to us a valuable report. It gives us a picture of what this institution has been doing for the advancement of education in this country. The Education Minister, Mr. Chagla, referred to the question of University education being made a Concurrent subject. Now, after some study of the question, I myself have come to the conclusion that it is desirable in the interest of higher education that University education should be a Concurrent subject. The difficulty, however, is that vested interests have grown round the present system. The States have come to regard higher education as a vested interest. We have been having education as a subject under their control, for quite some time and now they are unwilling to part with what they think is a power that they possess. Nevertheless, we shall not be able to carry out the essential reforms, which

[Shri P. N. Sapru,] we want to see carried out, without education being made a Central subject.

Some time back, the Supreme Court gave a judgment in the Gujarat University case which is of great constitutional importance. They were interpreting Entry 66 of List I of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution, and in so doing they came to the conclusion that a duty has been cast upon the Central Government of ensuring the maintenance of standards in institutions for higher education, or intervention in cases where there is a switch-over from the English to the regional language as a medium of instruction. We have endeavoured in the report, that we have submitted to Mr. Chagla, to point out what the constitutional implications of that judgment are. But what I would like to say is that by making education a Central subject we shall not be depriving the States of the day-to-day administration of the universities; we shall not be depriving the universities of any autonomy that they enjoy. In fact, the autonomy that they enjoy will become more real if they have to deal with an educated Minister at the Centre. I say this because a very, very distinguished Indian, who had the privilege of knowing things, told us that he wanted education to be a Union subject. He does not like concurrency because that leads to diarchy, and he does not like education to be a State subject because he wants education to be in the hands of educated men. And in so far as State Ministers are concerned, they are not educated, he maintains.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI (Gujarat): Are they uneducated?

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Some of them are illiterate. These were his words. I do not subscribe to that view. He means that some of them are illiterate. That is what I mean by "in the hands of uneducated". (*Interruptions*) Yes, he described it like that. I can give the name of this distinguished gentle-

man who made that statement. I do not say that. This was his view. I do think, however, that if education is made a Concurrent subject, the Union Government will be in a greater position than it is at present to give a lead to higher education and research in this country. Undoubtedly, under the existing Constitution also there is a great deal that can be done if you increase the funds at the disposal of the University Grants Commission. The University Grants Commission has now to deal with 57 Universities.

SOME HON. MEMBERS; Sixty-one.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Sixty-one, if you include the institutions deemed to be universities also. The sum at its disposal for distribution among these 61 universities is Rs. 37 crores. That, as the Chairman of the U.G.C., would say, is a petty sum. You want to increase considerably your expenditure on education. In fact—and I think I am not betraying any secret when I say that—his view was that the sum should be near Rs. 370 crores if India is to have a proper system of higher education. It is necessary for us to insist that we should have a proper system of higher education because our position in the modern world will depend upon the research that our universities are able to carry out, upon the contribution that our universities are able to make to the sum-total of human thought and endeavour. One research may enrich a community beyond measure. You cannot calculate the value of research in terms of pound, shilling and pence. There is a lot of wastage in research and we should not get impatient if there is some delay on the part of a research worker in coming to a definite decision in regard to a research that he is carrying out, for what we want is quality in research.

The other thing that I wanted to say was that the problem of university education, as I see it, is the problem of the affiliated colleges. Most of our young men—of course, some of them go to university centres like

Delhi, Allahabad, Aligarh and Banaras —have their education in affiliated colleges. I had an opportunity as a member of the "U.P. Universities Commission to see something of these affiliated colleges. I must say that I was shocked at the state of affairs in these affiliated colleges. You could hardly call some of the teacher; in these affiliated colleges educated. I came across teachers of English who could hardly express themselves in English and they were supposed to be doing post-graduate work. It is in the Agra University. I am not defaming that University. I think in the Agra University it is an easy thing for anyone to get a Ph.D. You get a third class in your M.A., then spend a couple of years, write a thesis on the sugar industry in Gorakhpur and you will get a Ph.D. in the Agra University. That is the standard of the Ph.D. in that University. That is not typical only of the Agra University. I think this can be said of some other Universities also. Therefore you want to improve the quality of teachers in the affiliated colleges. Undoubtedly the new pay scales in our universities have done much to give satisfaction to the teachers in the universities which have accepted those pay scales. Those pay scales were amended by the U.G.C, but you want to do something for the affiliated colleges also and the difficulty is that the affiliated colleges are not able to get the proper type of teachers and if they get the proper type of teachers, they prefer university appointments as soon as they are able to get university appointments. Therefore something must be done for these affiliated colleges. You cannot have, in this country, only one type of university. You cannot have in this country the unitary or federal type of universities. You have to have different types of universities in this country. The affiliating universities have to do a lot of work and it is to these affiliating universities that you should turn your attention. We should try to improve the quality of teaching in our affiliated colleges. The difficulty with the U.G.C, is that it does not deal with the affiliated colleges directly

except perhaps in the case of certain institutions. You want grants to be made to these affiliated colleges to improve their standards. Also I think it is necessary, in the interests of higher education that there should be some control over the management of these affiliated colleges. I found that on the managing committees or governing bodies of these affiliated colleges you have petty shopkeepers or members of the banking community whom we call educated only by courtesy and the Principal is probably the only educated man in the managing committee and he is powerless to resist the pressures on him from these uneducated or semi-educated members of the managing committee. You therefore want to improve the tone of these managing institutions.

I would also like to say one or two things about discipline in our universities. The Indian student is blamed for being an indisciplined person. I have had some experience of the student world and I have come across nothing but courtesy at their hands. I know that a friend of mine who was the Chairman of the Allahabad University Committee—Mr. Justice Mootham—told me that he had found some admirable qualities in Indian students. He said: 'I am asked to visit so many institutions, so many colleges and I find nothing but courtesy at the hands of those whom I have the privilege of meeting among the students'. He also said: 'Why is it therefore that there is indiscipline in these institutions?' That is a question which we need to answer. The fact of the matter is that you and I will become indisciplined if we have to live in the surroundings in which most of our young men have to live. There are not many proper hostels for them although there are a few hostels. Many of them live in the towns five, six or seven miles away. They can hardly get a proper meal and they have no contact with their teachers. The pupil-teacher ratio is very high. I think from 15 per cent, it has since gone up to about 17 per cent.

.PROF. M. B. UAL. (Uttar Fraaesn;: 16.3.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: So, it is impossible for teachers to be in touch with their students. As a matter of fact, some teachers do not take their work seriously. They are not interested in their students because they have their own problems to busy themselves with. Now, this is the condition in which our students have to carry on. Some students have never known discipline in their homes and we were at one time a colonial country and we have not yet been able to get over our colonial complex. You find student unrest in Turkey. You find student unrest in Cyprus. You find student unrest even in Japan. And people do not begin to abuse the teachers or abuse the students because there is this unrest in those countries. I think we need to understand the younger generation. The outlook of the younger generation is not exactly our outlook. We need to understand the frustrations from which they suffer, the hardships from which they suffer. You cannot have an intellectual atmosphere in these surroundings and what you want today is to build up an intellectual atmosphere in your institutions. I think the University Grants Commission appreciates this aspect of the problem but it is not able to do as much as it would have liked to, because of lack of funds.

May I say another thing? We have a full-time Chairman of the University Grants Commission. Of course, he is a very very eminent man, a man of the very high character, and I would like to pay my humble tribute to the ability of Dr. Kothari. But we want to have in the University Grants Commission some more whole-time men. We want to have three or four whole-time *men* in the University Grants Commission, and I do not exactly like this system of appointing Vice-Chancellors of State Universities to the University Grants Commission. I make no reflection upon the present members of the Uni-

versity Grants Commission, for whom I have the highest respect. But I think it is fundamentally wrong to place a person in a position where he has to have double loyalties. He has to think of the interests of his university and he has to think of the interests of other universities also. It is not wise to place persons in that position. Therefore, I think, it is necessary to consider from a fresh angle the constitution of the University Grants Commission.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What you are saying has been so very interesting that I forgot to ring the bell at the right time. But you can proceed.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Mr. Chairman, I would like then to wind up though I have much more to say on this question. I have been interested in this question and a lot can be said. But I would like to wind up by saying that it is important for you to recruit your best men to the universities. The position today is that we are getting second class graduates of Indian universities as our teachers in the universities. Why is that so? More importance is attached to the I.A.S, or the I.F.S. than to service in the educational line. It is a very big distinction in Britain to be a Master of Trinity. I found the other day that the name of Mr. R. A. Butler, who should have been the Prime Minister but who was not made Prime Minister because of the intrigues of Mr. Macmillan, was being mentioned as a possible Master of Trinity at Cambridge. Well, Prime Ministers of England consider it a privilege to keep themselves in touch with the Masters of their college or the Rectors of their college. Here, the college teacher or the university teacher has no status. You want to give to your High Court Judges a big status. You want to give to your Supreme Court Judges a big status. You want to give to your Secretaries a big status. I do not say that they should not be given a big status but, I think, the man who has diverted his attention to the creation of new knowledge deserves greater

respect than your judicial or administrative officers. It has been the tradition of this country to show reverence to the *guru*, and this tradition has been common to all the communities in this country. But today our teachers are not respected to the extent that they should have been'. I was, therefore, very happy to find the other day that the Education Minister had invited a teachers' convention and that at that convention some certificates were awarded to deserving teachers. I want the teacher to be a respected member of the community. I want him to be respected and loved by the community. Sir Earnest Barker in his book "Age and Youth" says that; he used to look upon his students as projections of himself. I would like to know how many teachers in our universities look upon their students as projections of themselves. There is a certain amount of jealousy on their part so far as talent is concerned. I can show this by quoting from memory what a writer in "The Spectator" said a few years back on the case of the late Dr. Joseph. He said there is no doubt that Mr. Nehru is keen on scientific development in this country. There is no doubt that India has a number of scientists, though the number of outstanding ones is very few. There is no doubt that there is talent in Indian universities for science. There is no doubt that there are some good laboratories and libraries in India on science subjects. Then he asks, why is it and how is it that the scientific output in India is poor? As Mr. Nehru has never applied his mind to this aspect of the question, I will give him the answer. The fact is that the Heads of these Faculties and the Heads of these Departments are jealous of talent. They do not want their pupils to outshine them. Speaking with some knowledge of conditions in the universities in my State, I would say that there is a great deal of truth in what this writer in "The Spectator" has said. We want, therefore, to impress upon our teachers that it is their duty to take a lively interest in their pupils

and to found schools of thought which

will help their students to develop into leaders of thought in the community of tomorrow.

Thank you very much for the time you have given me.

PROF. M. B. LAL: Sir, the country has reason to be grateful to the University Grants Commission for its contribution to the advancement of higher education in this country, it would have been surely much better if similar University Grants Commissions had been established by all State Governments.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Not at all

PROF. M. B. LAL: If they had been granted the freedom that is given to the University Grants Commission by the Central authority and if there had been close co-ordination and co-operation between the University Grants Commissions of the various States and the University Grants Commission set up by the Central Government, the cause of education would have made better progress.

All those who are connected with university education are proud of Dr. Kothari, the Chairman of the University Grants Commission. He is well known for his nobility, sincerity and devotion and many of us would hope him to inspire teachers and students of various universities.

The Report under consideration can surely claim to be a fairly good account of the achievements and failures of this country in the sphere of university education. The Commission laments the high percentage of failures and regards the considerable wastage involved in this as a central problem. It is reported that 50 per cent, of those that appear at the matriculation examination are able to be successful and only 50 per cent, of those that pass that examination join the university course. The Commission would have been well advised to let us know how many of those that appear at the first degree course are able to secure that degree. If

[Prof. M. B. Lal.] mistake not, in most of the universities, not more than 50 per cent, of those that appear at the first degree examination are able to be successful. This problem surely deserves considerable attention.

The Commission says that the low percentage of students' success reflects, apart from other things, inadequate facilities for instruction and development in relation to the goals of higher education. The Commission hopes that with improved teaching, better library and laboratory facilities and good textbooks and their easier accessibility to students, it should be possible to reduce this high rate of failures. Undoubtedly, the University Grants Commission is trying to do something in all these directions. But with regret, we must admit that the impact of these efforts has not been sufficiently good. It is pointed out by the University Grants Commission itself that the majority of our universities are of the affiliating type and approximately 80 to 85 per cent, of the total number of university students in the country are enrolled in affiliated colleges. My friend and teacher, Dr. Sapru had already pointed out to this House the miserable conditions of affiliated colleges, though I very much doubt whether the proportion of the uneducated in the managing committees of the affiliated colleges is as high as it was said to be by Dr. Sapru. All the same, their condition continues to be very deplorable. They do not have sufficient laboratory and library facilities. The status of their teaching staff is low because the salaries, that are provided to teachers of the affiliated colleges, are very low. The University Grants Commission, I think, was not able to prescribe or recommend for teachers of the affiliated colleges that grade which the Commission had prescribed and recommended for teachers of the university departments. I feel that there is not much to justify this disparity. The most regrettable feature is that even the

recommendations of the University Grants Commission with regard to the pay scale of teachers of the affiliated colleges are not implemented by a great many State Governments and the University Grants Commission is constrained to remark that on account of the existing disparity between the salary scales in University Departments and those in affiliated colleges, it often becomes difficult for colleges to recruit and retain qualified staff. I have no doubt in my mind that unless the standard of the affiliated colleges is improved it will not be possible for you to produce good graduates and it will not be possible for you even to promote good post-graduate and research studies.

Sir, I feel that the university teachers have reason to be grateful to the University Grants Commission for the pay scale recommended by the Commission for them. But all the same, I feel that the appointment of Instructors at salaries lower than those prescribed for Lecturers is not proper. I know in many Universities in the past this caused considerable difficulties and I would not be surprised if the introduction of this procedure led many Universities to appoint less qualified persons on less pay or even qualified persons on less pay which they may do, due to unemployment among educated people.

Sir, Dr. Sapru invited our attention to the high teacher-student ratio. Before the Second World War, one to ten was regarded as the proper ratio between the teacher and the students. After the Second World War, in many countries the ratio has been further reduced. As pointed out by the University Grants Commission in its Report, the present ratio in the United Kingdom is one to nine. In one of its Reports the University Grants Commission had pointed out that in some countries the ratio is as low as one to eight. On the other hand, in India the ratio between the teacher and the students

instead of being reduced is becoming higher and higher every year. As is pointed out in the Report, the ratio was 1 to 15.5 in 1961-62 and it was 1 to 16.3 in 1962-63. The Education Minister invited our attention to the fact that we are not getting qualified persons for appointment as University professors. That may be a fact but I feel that in this country there is no dearth of qualified persons to function as Lecturers or as Readers and . . .

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY (West Bengal): There is.

PROF. M. B. LAL: I do not think the position is such that we cannot find suitable Lecturers for the various posts. And if we are unable to find even Lecturers for appointments that means our educational system is not functioning properly. Now, I feel, this question deserves careful attention. It is no use repeating the same thing again and again in the University Grants Commission Reports. If the Report of the University Grants Commission has any meaning, has any utility for the country, then the recommendations of the Commission must be taken into serious consideration by the Governments concerned.

Sir, it is said in the Report that the Government of U.P. refuses to introduce the Three-year Degree Course on administrative, educational and financial grounds. May we know from the Education Minister what administrative and educational grounds are advanced by the J. P. Government against the introduction of the Three-year Degree Course? I know there are financial difficulties but I wish to know what educational and administrative difficulties they have.

The Government, I think, will be well advised to increase the total span of school and college education, as recommended by the Vice-Chancellors Conference. I completely agree with the Conference that a

ten-year school course plus a regular Intermediate course plus a Three-year Degree Course had certain distinct advantages as the two-year Intermediate course could be devoted to a proper preparation for University education. In my opinion, the one-year preparatory course has been a dismal failure. It is not possible for you to re-orient a matriculate in a year for University education. I am definitely of the opinion that if we do not re-introduce the two-year Intermediate course, it will be better to integrate the one-year pre-University course with the Higher Secondary course. Let there be a three-year Higher Secondary course and a Three-year Degree Course. I personally would prefer the recommendation of the Vice-Chancellors Conference in this matter.

The recommendation of the Vice-Chancellors Conference regarding collaboration between Universities, National Laboratories and other research institutions also deserves much more attention than has so far been paid to it. I feel, even today there is not adequate coordination between these institutions.

The University Grants Commission has welcomed certain recommendations of the Committee on Emotional Integration. May we know what steps have so far been taken to implement these recommendations? To my mind, much has not been done in this particular direction and I feel that much deserves to be done in this matter.

The Commission observes that while many Universities have altered the structure of under-graduate education by introducing the Three-year Degree Course, comparatively little has been done to improve the course of studies. Now, that is rather a serious matter. It needs considerable attention. The University Grants Commission feels that the reorientation of the general education course would lead to the improvement of the Three-year Degree Course of education. While there is need for the reorientation of the

[Prof. M. B. Lal.] general education course, greater attention needs to be paid to the reorientation of the entire Three-year Degree course.

Sir, some time ago, Parliament was told that under the chairmanship of Dr. Kothari a Committee was appointed to prepare a model University Bill. May we know what are the recommendations of Dr. Kothari's Committee? Are we to believe that the Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill, which is now before us for consideration, is based on the model presented by Dr. Kothari? I do not think so.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION (SHRI M. C. CHAGLA) : The Committee has not reported yet.

PROF. M. B. LAL: It is to be regretted.

There are inadequate hostel facilities which are causing considerable difficulties. According to the Report, in the year 1962-63, the number of students residing in hostels increased by 18,035. The number of students increased by 17,286 in the year 1962-63. Thus, there is hardly any improvement in the situation during the year 1962-63. The Commission itself has bemoaned the lack of proper housing facilities for the teaching staff.' As an old teacher of a University, I may say that this lack of housing accommodation is causing considerable difficulty to teachers and is standing in the way of close contact between students and teachers.

Sir, in the end, with the permission of the Chair, I wish to invite the attention of this House and, through the Chair, of the Education Minister to two other problems. One of them is the question of unemployment. There is considerable unemployment among the educated. According to the mid-term appraisal of the Planning Commission, unemployment is rising rapidly, more rapidly so far as the educated are concerned. Within two or three years the reported in-

crease is near about 35 per cent. That deserves careful attention. I have with me a paper circulated by mining students. It relates a very diplorable state of affairs. I personally feel that there is no planning so far as our education is concerned. Our students are prepared to study any subject which they are asked to study, but there is no planning in the matter. We have a system of planned economy, but there is no co-ordination in the planning of education and in the planning of our economic development. We are producing miners more than what we need and we are not educating students in subjects in which we require good personnel. A distinguished professor, who is present here and who is connected with University life at present, feels that there are 'many departments for which it is difficult to recruit good teachers, good lecturers also. This deserves careful attention. I feel there should be proper planning of education. From this point of view also . . . *(Time bell rings.)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am afraid I must say that you have taken nearly half an hour.

PROF. M. B. LAL: Only one subject and I shall finish. It is very important.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I dare say it is. I have before me a list of twenty-two names.

PROF. M. B. LAL: I would take less time. Lastly, I would invite the attention of the Education Minister to the question of discipline. I feel that the University Grants Commission should have paid some attention to the question of discipline of students. I have great regard for the Education Minister's ability and impartiality, but I must say that his observations with regard to discipline of students were rather superficial. I would request the Education Minister to have a very objective study, as a Judge, of the causes that led to indiscipline and find out a solution to the problem. Anyhow, I would request the students of the Orissa University to stop their strike and engage themselves in

-studies, so that they may not lose a year and thereby the nation may not lose the opportunity of utilising their energies for good work. I would, at this same time, request the Education Minister to study the problem of university indiscipline and take up the case of Orissa for the study. If he will do so, the country will be benefited because I am perfectly sure that he will apply a really judicial mind, he will be able to find out the real causes of the indiscipline of students and will be able to place before the country a real solution of the problem.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: How can we expect students to behave, when our legislators and Ministers do not?

PROF. M. B. LAL: Quite, quite.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: Mr. Chairman, I rise to speak on this subject with some hesitation, because I do not claim to be either an educationist or an expert on education, as our Education Minister is and some other friends here are. I would like to place before the House my reaction to higher education as a layman. In the first place, I went through the latest report. I read the report with interest. It is instructive, for which Dr. Kohari and his colleagues deserve our highest compliments. When we got independence, higher education was in a state of disorder. The University Grants Commission as its duty is trying to systematise, to canalise education on some sort of uniform basis, so that the various Universities which are cropping up like mushrooms from year to year may have some standard. I do agree with the hon. Education Minister that expansion has taken place in higher education beyond one's expectations. By the year 1963-64, the students number has nearly trebled and the time has come when the University Grants Commission as well as the Education Ministry, as the hon. Minister of Education has stated very clearly and lucidly, must try for the consolidation of the gains which we have al-

ready achieved, through the efforts of the University Grants Commission. As I said, universities and colleges are cropping up like mushrooms from year to year. If you read through the Report, you will find that on every page there is *same* reference to the quality of education. I do not know whether the quality has suffered because of the large number of students entering universities and colleges for which they may not be fitted. Therefore, the time has come when instead of expanding still further, some steps must be taken to consolidate the gains which we have already achieved during the last fifteen years. How can that be done?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am sorry to interrupt you. I think you will have to finish your speech after the recess. The House stands adjourned till 2.30 in the afternoon.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at half past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) in the Chair.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, when we rose for lunch, I was saying that the right policy now would be to consolidate the expansion that had taken place, and I believe the hon. Education Minister also has said this in his opening address. How can that be done? As it happens in all the universities in the world, unsuitable candidates for university education are not admitted to the universities, and some screening, considerable screening, takes place at the school leaving or matriculation examinations. But a negative approach would not do. Those young men would have to be provided with some other education, and that education by its very nature, particularly when we are industrialising our country, has to be vocational and technical education.

[Shri Khandubhai K. Desai.] We are already spending Rs. 37 crores per year for university education. During the last few years the University Grants Commission has tried to place before all the universities and affiliate colleges various schemes which will go a long way in consolidating university education. Particularly, I welcome the latest scheme of what is called the hobby centres. Even the students should not have an academic obsession, but they must know how to use their hands and feet also. That was lacking earlier. They have provided that, and I think it must be expanded further, and whatever money may be saved for it for the future years in the expansion of the university education may be well spent, looking at the limited resources at the disposal of the nation, for the vocational and other trainings. I personally believe that the present indiscipline among the students is mainly due to the admission to the universities of indifferent students, students who in the normal course would not have been found fit for taking University education, and even in the first year or the second year of the course so many students fail or are left out, and the money that has been unnecessarily spent by the State as well as the parents would then be saved. Therefore, I welcome the Education Minister's idea that something of that sort would have to be thought of by the Government.

Sir, I would like to take this opportunity of congratulating the Commission on according recognition to the Gujarat Vidyapith which has been recommended in the present Report, but since then it has been recognised as a university. The Gujarat Vidyapith had been started by Gandhiji in October 1920 and through various chequered careers it is even now in existence. It has got a special type of education where the academic qualifications and academic studies are equally associated with the use of hands and feet of the students, and

they are busy from morning till evening. Sir, it has also lately been permitted to open post-graduate classes in Adibhasi training, Hindi training and rural economics. Before long the three faculties will function at the university.

Now I want to touch an important subject at the end of "my speech, and that is the most tangled and controversial issue regarding the language. As a layman, I would like to place before the House how I react to the ever-changing emphasis on the language. We, in this country, have been accustomed since independence to hear from the highest quarters that the regional language should be given primary importance and after that Hindi should be given the importance which it deserves as the link language of this country. The Radha-krishnan Commission has recommended the regional language as the medium of instruction at all levels, including university. But I was surprised when I heard our Education Minister mildly recommending that he would prefer English as the medium of instruction at the university level. Now, what is this? After seventeen years . . .

SHRI M. C. CHAGLIA: All that I said was—I only repeated, what the Vice-Chancellors' Conference, the National Integration Commission and the University Grants Commission have said—that before we switch over from English to the regional language we should be careful and cautious and do not do it till we are quite ready for the change, till the language is ready as the medium. That is what I have been saying the whole year that I have been in the Education Ministry.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: That is all right, but it has its corollary also. Unless you get into the water, you cannot swim. The reason which the Education Minister has advanced is that we have no textbooks either in the regional languages or in Hindi. With this attitude and approach in mind, such textbooks are never going to come out.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: We are preparing them.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: We have seen that for seventeen years no text-books have been prepared. Anyway, now let us see how we are faced with various difficulties in regard to the various languages.

DR. GOPAL SINGH (Nominated): Who should print them in the regional languages, the Central Government or the universities?

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: The University Grants Commission, the Indian Government and the State Governments, they must deliberately and with conviction make up their minds to prepare these text-books. But when split-minds are created by the highest people in the land regarding the link language, there is no encouragement either to the regional languages or the Hindi language.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): It is facing facts.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: I am also facing facts. Now, we are not to look at this question from a subjective point of view, it has to be looked at from an objective point of view. What is going to happen in this country with regard to the languages within the next ten or fifteen years? It is because of the static mentality of the present generation which knows—of course, barring our Education Minister—half English, half vernacular, half Sanskrit, half Hindi. It is we who are at the root of the whole trouble. Let the decision be taken. Educational experts say that the learning of all the three languages by a child with proficiency is not possible or desirable. You want to give importance and prominence to the regional language or the mother-tongue, secondly to Hindi which is going to be the link language in this country whether one likes it or not, and the latest resolution that we have passed is that English for the time being shall continue as an associate language, as a secondary language for the purpose of some practical purpose,

■as somebody puts it. If wishes were horses, the average children—I am not talking of brilliant students, first-class first, but I am talking of the average children who are no less than 60 millions, who are likely to take to education at the end of the Third Five Year Plan—these children of this great land cannot learn three languages proficiently without detriment to one or the other. But, I think it is suicidal in the year 1964 to think of imposing a foreign language which is not going to be the link language for all time to come in this country. Otherwise, what will happen is . . .

DR. GOPAL SINGH: How is English a foreign language?

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: Please do not interrupt.

DR. GOPAL SINGH: It has been included in the Constitution -as one of the main languages of India.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: What will happen is that the future generation will *not* know adequately their mother-tongue, they will not know Hindi adequately, they will not know English adequately. The next generation of students will not know any of these languages. Therefore, I am plainly of the view, whatever you may say, that the time has now come for us to decide once for all that the regional language or the mother tongue shall be the medium of instruction at all levels. Hindi should, deliberately and with conviction, be given strength enough to serve its purpose as a link language, and English shall remain for the elite few, which language, as he has rightly said, will be a window for the outside world. But their numbers will be few and far between.

Now, I had the occasion in Ahmedabad only a month back to hear two dignitaries, the Prime Minister and the Education Minister. As I listened, I was confused as to whom to follow. Let the Ministers at the Central level and the Ministers at the State level speak the same language as far

[Shri Khandubhai K. Desai.] as the language question is concerned. It is all a question of emphasis. I am not against English. But it has its own place, but not a place superior either to Hindi or the regional language. That is the problem before the country. In my view, we have wasted seventeen years. Are we going to waste the future generations for this? This is what I would like to place before the Government very humbly: let the Prime Minister, let Education Minister and let all the other Ministers in the States speak the same language while they *me* speaking about this much-tangled and unnecessarily controversial issue of language in the universities. It is all a question of emphasis— where you put the emphasis, whether the emphasis is on English or whether the emphasis is on the regional language or, if I may say so, whether it is on Hindi.

That is all I have got to say.

SHRI JOSEPH MATHEN (Kerala): But the controversy is still there.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: It is they who have to solve it, all speaking with one voice.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, in considering the Report of the University Grants Commission, we would do well to remind ourselves of the functions imposed upon it by the Act of 1956 which brought it into existence. The objects, according to the Act of 1956, were the promotion and co-ordination of university education and secondly, the determination and maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in universities. Now, let us see how the University Grants Commission has served these objects.

First of all, in regard to numbers, no doubt the number of universities has increased to 55 and of affiliated colleges to 129, and the number of students enrolled has risen to one and a half millions. And there was a

sort of complacent contradiction in the Report of the University Grants Commission, a contradiction endorsed by the Minister of Education in his speech, namely that the need for more universities in the country cannot be gainsaid and then they say that the quality of our universities has not improved. Now, is the number of universities going to be increased inevitably or is it to be governed by the needs of the country, the cultural, the economic and even the political and administrative needs of the country? It is these needs that must determine the number of universities. There is no inevitability in the growth of universities.

Now, how is the quality being secured? The teacher-student ratio is still 1 : 16. With this ratio how can there be any efficient instruction in any college? How can there be tutorial instruction when a teacher has to take care of 16 students? And mind you, the number of teachers includes teachers and demonstrators who are not at all qualified by their experience or by their learning, to be in tutorial charge of students.

Again, the numbers are increasing because the admission of students to universities is so easy. The standards of the Secondary School Leaving Certificate are so very low. As more than one Member has pointed out, there are students in our university colleges who are not fit to be there. The universities do not conduct entrance examination of their own and maintain high standards of admission. And as if this were not enough, as if the numbers in our normal colleges were not enough, evening colleges are being started. The University Grants Commission has lent its support to the starting of these evening colleges as if the number of unemployed and unemployed graduates were not enough with our normal colleges.

There is no vocational guidance at all. Of course, the University Grants Commission reiterates the advisability of having vocational guidance in our

colleges. But it is not in the colleges that we want vocational guidance. It is at an earlier stage, at the middle school stage, at the High School stage, where the aptitudes of students can be watched, where their taste can be studied, where their competence can be evaluated whether they are fit for university education. There should be a Careers' Master in every school. If the University Grants Commission wants the vocational guidance to be really efficient, they should provide for the maintenance of a Careers' Master in schools whose whole and sole object would be to study the aptitudes or taste or the intellectual abilities of the students and find out whether they are fit for university education or whether they could not be siphoned off to technical schools and institutes.

Much has been talked about indiscipline among university students. 'Student indiscipline does not stand by itself. It is part of the general indiscipline of the country, indiscipline in social life, indiscipline in family life, indiscipline in political life, indiscipline in ministerial life. It is this kind of indiscipline that favours the atmosphere of indiscipline in which our students flourish. Then again, moral discipline is part of general discipline. Mental discipline must precede any kind of behaviour discipline.

Courses of study could be easy. Note-taking and note-taking is a chronic feature of our student life. Cramming is the method of instruction. And if you have this kind of mental indiscipline, how can you expect any kind of general discipline among students?

There is, again, another feature of university life which ought to expand and which ought to be encouraged. Firstly, slummy conditions prevail, of the University Grants Commission, only one-tenth of the students live in hostels. Only 20 per cent, of teachers are provided with residence near the universities. In most of the hostels slummy conditions prevail. Most of the hostel rooms are single

S82 RS—5.

rooms; two or three students are packed into a room which can accommodate only one student.

Hobby workshops have been recommended by the University Grants Commission. Whatever be these hobby workshops, there should also be provision for manual hobbies, and not merely facilities for painting and dance. Then, we should have regular manual workshops specially attached to science laboratories where every student would be forced to go and subject himself to manual labour, that is, being able to handle tools, machines, small machines, carpentry tools and so on. It is this kind of workshops that we want in our universities. And they should start these in our middle schools, in our secondary schools. Every middle school, every high school should have a workshop attached to it so that one hour every week may be spent by our students so that their hands could be trained and they could get an aptitude for manual work and industrial pursuits.

With regard to research, no doubt, the University Grants Commission is making grants and allowances. But is there any evaluation of this research? According to an article by a Fellow of the Royal Society, which appeared in the "Times of India" today, these researches are not worth considering because most of these are on subjects that have been dealt with by scientists in other countries, or on out of date subjects.

There should be more money spent on research and care should be taken that real research is carried on. I wonder if any portion of this research endowment comes from industrialists? Has any attempt been made by universities to approach industrialists for endowment for research in science and technology? Are the Vice-Chancellors of our universities in touch with the industrialists? They should go to them and persuade them to make endowments for research. Look at the large amount of research endowments provided by industrial firms in England and the United States of

[Shri M. Kuthnaswamy.] America. The Government might also do something to allow tax allowance for industrialists who make endowments in research. And we must also remember that modern research, specially in the nuclear sciences, is research done by teams, and not by individuals, with costly equipment. Teams of research workers concentrate their attention and their energies and their intellect upon the pursuit of some little object of research. It is these things that should be taken note of by the University Grants Commission.

New studies also should be provided for. Modern industrial development requires that business management should be studied at our universities. Our industries, whether in the private sector or in the public sector, require trained managers. We are lacking managerial talent in this country. Also, social sciences require a place among our research studies.

Teachers' training, again, requires attention at the hands of the University Grants Commission. I spoke already on the large numbers of unemployed graduates. I think the average output of graduates in this country must be somewhere about 50,000. There are 50 Universities, and, at least, on an average a thousand graduates are produced by every university. It would be a good thing if these graduates could be attracted to teaching. It is so in other countries. There graduates mostly go into education. But in our country even science graduates become clerks in Government offices. All the money spent on them is wasted. Their science education is thrown away. If these unemployed graduates were attracted to primary schools as teachers being offered salaries at the rate of at least Rs. 100 per mensem, with rent-free accommodation and offered other facilities, if the secondary school teachers were given a salary of Rs. 200 to start with, I think a number of unemployed graduates will be attracted into the teaching

profession. So teachers' p.M. draining colleges and institutes must be attached not only as independent colleges maintained by the Government but as attached to universities.

I must put in a plea for humanities as against sciences. Now all the talk is about science and technology. But how can any country flourish and how can any country have any sense of morality or intellectual values if the humanities are not given a proper place in the course of studies? The U.G.C. should see to it that humanities are encouraged by Public Service Commissions. The humanities subjects should be given as many marks as science subjects are so that the students may be encouraged to take humanities subjects at the university level. I think the U.G.C. should also take upon itself the duty of scrutinising the courses of study, the syllabus of the universities to see whether they are calculated to produce the kind of students that the country wants. Not that I want the U.G.C. to interfere with the autonomy of the Universities but they can make suggestions, they can publish the effects of their suggestions, whether they are taken up or not. Large amounts of money were granted to universities that celebrated their centenaries 3 or 4 years ago. Has the U.G.C. made any evaluation of the kind of things upon which these universities spent that money? At least one crore of rupees was granted to each of these centenary-celebrating universities. What have they done with this one crore of rupees? Most of it—75 per cent.—has been spent on buildings and only about 25 per cent, has been spent upon endowments for studies, endowment for scholarships and endowments for teachers and research.

Lastly, I come to the question of the organisation of the U.G.C. itself. It seems to have been already bitten by the bug of bureaucracy. The cost of administration is about Rs. 13 lakhs out of Rs. 10 crores. No doubt, as compared to the total grants distri-

buted by the Commission, Rs. 13 lakhs might seem to be a small sum but do you want Rs. 13 lakhs for running a small office as that of the U.G.C, ought to be? It is composed of only about half a dozen members. Do they want Rs. 13 lakhs to spend on their office? I believe something is spent on local offices. There is a local office at the Madras University. Last year, when I made a charge that the local office need not have been established in the University building, I was told by Prof. Wadia—I am sorry to s'e that he is not here today—that th s local office was established for the convenience of the Madras University, implying that the cost of this local office was met by the Madras University. On further enquiry, I found tliat the cost is met by the U.G.C. The U.G.C, has occupied 2 or 3 rooms in the Madras University building and its cost is met out of the funds of the U.G.C. Why should there be a local office of the U.G.C, at the University? They say that it is for the convenience of the universities. Has tne correspondence between the universities and the U.G.C, grown to such an extent that you have to have a local office at each of these universities?

Then, I would suggest—I suggested it last year and I do not suppose it has been adopted—the portfolio system in the U.G.C. There should be one member allotted to finance—there is one I suppose. There should be one member allotted to the courses of study, teaching, methods of learning. One member should be allotted to hostels so that he could gc round the hostels and see what is the state of these hostels, whether these hostels contributed to the social life of the students, to the decent social life among students, whether they contributed to the maintenance of discipline among the students.

Then I come, lastly, to the panacea of the Government in the U.S.A. makes the States, the Minister of Education for all our university people in the States, adopt particular ' policies troubles, namely, placing university education with regard to education. on the Concurrent List. This is against the whole spirit of our Constitution. Our Constitution is a federal Constitution i

and there are certain subjects which come home to the business and bosom's of citizens which are State subjects. In every federal system, education is a State subject. Because the suggestions of the U.G.C, are not adopted by this or that university, in order tb introduce, as the Minister says, a uniform standard of education, he wants university education to be brought to the Concurrent List s» that the Centre may dictate one single uniform policy to all our universities; this is against the whole spirit ol education, against the whole spirit of university education especially. The essence of education lies in experiment. Each State should be allowed to experiment in its educational system so that other States may learn from its errors and may learn from its successes also.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): They must have once common language . . .

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Today it is education, tomorrow it will be agriculture, the day after tomorrow it will be industries, that will have to be made a Concurrent subject. There is also this advantage of having education as a State subject. The mistakes of one State in regard to education will be confined to that State whereas if one Minister at the Centre makes a mistake, it will spread all over the country. So, there is wisdom in decentralising our mistakes and there is danger in centralising our mistakes. Especially in regard to education, it would be a dangerous thing.

Lastly, I will deal with the fear that all my suggestions might lead to interference with the autonomy of the universities. As I said at the outset, the U.G.C, and the Ministry of Education need not interfere with the autonomy of the universities. They may make suggestions and through the instrument they have of grants and subsidies, they can make the universities dance to their tunes. That is how the Federal

lonri ivi. KUirmaswamy.j They have large grants and subsidies to make to the State Governments and the State Universities and they see to it that those grants are spent on the specific objects for which they are granted. Having this powerful ins-h-ument in their hands, the possibility of granting subsidies to universi-and local Governments and with-iing those subsidies and grants, why should the Minister think of taking education in the Concurrent List? It is another instance of Central Ministers' occupational disease which is grabbing of jurisdiction. My remedy against any interference by the U.G.C, or the refusal of universities to accept the suggestions of the U.G.C, is to publish detailed reports of how the universities have taken their suggestions. Publicity is the greatest defence of democracy. Publicity in our judicial trials secives the efficiency of our trials. Let the U.G.C, publish detailed reports of what action the universities take upon their suggestions. "Publicly and be damned" was the reply of a famous General—the Duke of Wellington when certain charges were made nst him. "Publish and be damn. -1" wa, another reply given by Lloyd Oeorge when -he was accused C' certain defects in the administration of the War. I would say to. the U.G.C. "Publish and save our universities."

कुमारो मी बिने बल्लन राई पटेल (गुजरात) : श्री वायस चेयरमैन, मैं कुछ अपने विचार रखना चाहती हूँ। इस बहस में हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री ने कहा कि हमारी शिक्षा का स्तर नीचा गया है, बात सही है, परन्तु क्यों नीचे गया है? हमारी प्राथमिक शिक्षा इतने वेग से बढ़ रही है कि एक वर्ग में नहीं बल्कि स्कूल में जहाँ 60-70 बच्चे रहते हैं—पहला वर्ग हो, दूसरा वर्ग हो, तीसरा वर्ग हो कोई भी स्टैंडर्ड हो—इतने सब के लिए एक शिक्षक रहे तो किस तरह से हमारा स्तर ठीक रहेगा। नीचा ही रहेगा और इसका कारण यह है कि जितने वेग से हमारी प्राथमिक शिक्षा बढ़ रही है उतने हमारे पास शिक्षक नहीं हैं और जो शिक्षक हैं उन शिक्षकों

को भी पूरी तालीम जितनी चाहिए उतनी मिलती नहीं है—ऐसा जब तक रहेगा तब तक हमारा स्तर नीचा रहेगा इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। परन्तु उसको बढ़ाने के लिए आप कहें कि इंग्लिश सिखाने से स्तर बढ़ेगा, यह तो मैं बिल्कुल मानती नहीं।

यूनीवर्सिटियों में, कालेजों में जाने के लिए इतनी भाड़ क्यों होती है? कारण कि आज हम देखते हैं कि किसी भी जगह किसी को नौकरी चाहिए तो डिग्री बिना वह मिलती नहीं है, कितना भी होशियार लड़का हो अगर उसे कालेज को, यूनिवर्सिटी की डिग्री न मिली हो, उसके पास उसका सर्टीफिकेट न हो, उसके पास बिल्ला न हो तो उसको नौकरी नहीं मिलती है। तो जब तक हमारा यह मानस है तब तक कालेजों में लड़के बढ़ते ही रहेंगे। आप कहते हैं कि यूनिवर्सिटी या बड़नी नहीं चाहियें। मैं भी मानती हूँ कि यूनीवर्सिटियाँ बड़नी नहीं चाहियें, परन्तु एक एक यूनीवर्सिटी के पास आज कितने कालेज देखने के लिए हैं, इनमें लड़कों की संख्या कितनी है, यह समस्या किस तरह से हल होगी? हर साल हम पढ़ते हैं कि हर साल जो पेपर है, उसे कोई जान लेता है, बना लेता है और उनमें से प्रत्येक लड़कों को मिल जाते हैं और बड़ी बड़ी यूनीवर्सिटियाँ आपस में, एक प्रान्त में, और दूसरे प्रान्त में होड़ करती हैं कि हमारे यहाँ के कितने लड़के फर्स्ट क्लास हैं—कीन इंजीनियरिंग में या दूसरे विषयों में—और इस तरह से अगर इस प्रकार की होड़ होगी तो हमारे लड़के ज्यादा अच्छी तरह से पढ़ेंगे नहीं ऐसा मेरा मानना है। हम देखते हैं कि आजकल प्रोफेसर्स भी कहते हैं कि खाली गाइड्स पढ़ो, हमारे नोट्स पढ़ो। लड़के भी यही चाहते हैं। अगर पूरी किताब पढ़ी न जाय तो उनका ज्ञान उतना गहरा किस तरह से होगा जितना कि आप चाहते हैं।

आप कहते हैं कि धीरे चलना चाहिये, हल्के चलना चाहिए, गो स्लो होना चाहिए। हमको 17 साल हो गए और कहाँ तक गो स्लो होगा और इसकी व्याख्या क्या है यह हमारी समझ में नहीं आता। मेरा अनुभव है, मैं गुजरात विद्यापीठ में पढ़ी हूँ, जब गुजरात

विद्यापीठ शुरू हुई तब तो गुजराती किताबें थीं नहीं, पुस्तकें तो गुजराती में थीं नहीं, परन्तु हमको सिखाया गुजराती में बिना पुस्तक के और हमको जो सिखाया उस पर से वहाँ प्रथम लाजिक की पुस्तक गुजराती में बनी और फिर एकानामिनस की बनी और वह छपा और उसने दूसरे लोगों को लाभ हुआ। अगर ऐसा ही कहें कि गुजराती में, मातृभाषा में, हिन्दी में जब तक पुस्तक न बने तब तक इंग्लिश में ही सिखाना चाहिए तो इस तरह से यह मामला बची हल नहीं होगा।

आपने प्रोफेसर की बात कही। कई प्रोफेसरों ने मुझ से बात की थी कि हम अंग्रेजी में सिखाते हैं तो हम मानते हैं कि हमने बहुत अच्छा पढ़ाया और लड़के भी मानते हैं कि प्रोफेसर साहब बहुत अच्छा बोले, लेकिन वह उसे अच्छी तरह समझते नहीं और जब गुजराती में पढ़ाते हैं तब अच्छी तरह समझ लेते हैं। मतलब यह कि मातृभाषा में पढ़ाया जाता है तो लड़के उसे ग्रहण कर सकते हैं। क्या आप ऐसा हाल चाहते हैं जैसे कि आप गुजरात विद्यापीठ में दो चार वाक्य गुजराती में बोले और कहा कि गुजराती में अपने विचार ठीक से नहीं बता सकता हूँ मुझे अंग्रेजी में बोलने दो, क्या यही हाल सब के लिए चाहते हो? मुझे एक रिटायर्ड आफिसर की बहन कई साल पहले बम्बई में मिली थी, वह घूम रही थी मैरिन ड्राइव पर। उन्होंने कहा कि मेरा लड़का परदेश में गया है और वह इंग्लिश में लिखता है, मैं इंग्लिश जानती नहीं इसलिए मुझे कुछ समझ में नहीं आता, पिता उसके बताते हैं तो मुझे पता चलता है। क्या यह हाल आप चाहते हैं? फिर, हमारे लड़के यहाँ से जर्मनी जाते हैं और और देशों में जाते हैं, वहाँ की भाषा सीख कर नहीं जाते हैं परन्तु वहाँ उनकी पढ़ाई बराबर चलती है और वे अच्छी तरह से पास हो कर आते हैं। तो क्या आप यह मानते हो कि इंग्लिश पढ़े नहीं तो हमारा विकास ही नहीं होगा और हमारी शिक्षा ही अच्छी नहीं होगी? हमारे एक मशहूर साइंटिस्ट ने एक बार कहा

था कि वास्तव में साइंस को अच्छी तरह से अपनी भाषा में सिखाया जाता है, उनके लिए अंग्रेजी की कोई जरूरत नहीं है।

हमारी मातृभाषा के प्रकाशन को उत्तेजन देने के लिए, हिन्दी के प्रकाशन को उत्तेजन देने के लिए, प्रोत्साहन देने के लिए क्या किया हमारी सरकार ने, यह मैं जानना चाहती हूँ। आप को मालूम है कि गुजरात यूनिवर्सिटी ने दो हजार से ढाई हजार पुस्तकें अलग-अलग विषयों में तैयार की हैं और प्रकट की हैं और मैं जानती हूँ कि सागर यूनिवर्सिटी ने भी हिन्दी में कई पुस्तकें तैयार की हैं और कई विषयों पर तैयार की हैं। और यूनिवर्सिटियों का मुझे पता नहीं है। इनका तो मुझे पता है इसलिए मैं आपसे कहती हूँ। मेरा तो यह मानना है कि इसे सरकार को काफी उत्तेजन देना चाहिए, प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिए। मातृभाषा में और हिन्दी में पुस्तकें प्रकट हों इसके लिए आर्थिक प्रोत्साहन भी देना चाहिए। पुस्तकें कम संख्या में होंगी तो मंहगी होंगी, यह मैं मानती हूँ परन्तु अगर मंहगी है तो उसमें आप मदद करें और जब तक अनेक प्रकार से आप सहायता नहीं करेंगे तब तक यह चीज ही नहीं सकेगी कि हमारी मातृभाषा में, और हिन्दी भाषा में हमारी शिक्षा बढ़े।

आप कहते हैं कि इसे आप कानकरेट लिस्ट में लाना चाहते हो—क्या होगा इससे? जो हाल हमने 17 साल में सेंटर में शिक्षा का देखा वह सब जगह करना चाहते हो। बड़े दुःख की बात है कि काफी संतोषजनक रीति से शिक्षा के बारे में सेंटर ने किया ही नहीं—इसको हमें कबूल करना चाहिए। मैं मानती हूँ कि स्टेट सबजेक्ट होने से इतना भी जो प्रयत्न हुआ है—कई जगह हिन्दी में, कई जगह गुजराती में और दूसरी भाषाओं में जो प्रगति हुई है—अगर सेंटर के पास ही केवल यह होता तो यह प्रगति न होती। और मैं मानती हूँ कि यह जो हमारी रीत है, यह जो तरीका है कि अलग-अलग मिनिस्टर सेंटर के अलग-अलग प्रभाग से इस बारे में बोलते हैं इससे कुछ हमारे काम को धक्का पहुँचता है। हमारी एक एक

[कुमारी मनी बेन बल्लभभाई पटेल]
नीति हो और उस पक्की नीति पर हमें जाना चाहिए और इस बारे में एक राय से, एक स्वर से सब को बोलना चाहिए।

आखिर में मुझे होस्टलों के बारे में एक बात करनी है। आजकल होस्टलों में क्या है? उसको लड़के चलाते हैं या प्राक्टर्स चलाते हैं या और जो उसको देखने वाले होते हैं वह चलाते हैं, लेकिन जो लड़के पढ़ने आते हैं उनके बेचारे मां बाप को कितनी मुसीबतों से खर्चा भेजना पड़ता है और अगर घर में वह रोटी खाते होंगे तो होस्टल में उनको परोंठा चाहिए, दो भाजी चाहिए और मिर्च भी चाहिए—परन्तु इसका खर्चा कितना आता है और इसको जो चलाते हैं वह अपना खर्चा भी उसी में से निकालते हैं। तो इस प्रकार के होस्टल्स हैं। इसमें से हमारे लड़के अच्छे किस तरह से निकलेंगे? मैं मानती हूँ कि होस्टलों के बारे में कुछ सोचना चाहिए कि होस्टलों में दाखिल होते ही लड़के साहब न बन जायें। हमारे लड़के जब स्कूल में पढ़ते हैं तब बाजार से कुछ खरीद लाने को कहो तो ला सकते हैं, लेकिन होस्टल में जाते ही अगर उनसे उनके मां बाप कहते हैं कि तरकारी खरीद लाओ तो उन्हें लगता है कि यह मेरा काम नहीं है। उन्हें स्त्रीबन्ध कपड़े चाहिए, सूट चाहिए, पैट चाहिए और जब स्कूल में पढ़ते हैं तब यह चीजें न हों तो भी काम चलेगा। तो यह सब हमारे लिए सोचने की बात है कि गरीब मां-बाप के बच्चे पढ़ते हों तो वह पढ़ सकें, उनके ऊपर बोझा, उनके ऊपर खर्चा किस तरह से कम हो यह भी सोचना चाहिए। मैं तो यह मानती हूँ कि जिस तरह से स्कूल में यूनिफार्म होती है उसी तरह से कालेज में भी एक प्रकार की यूनिफार्म होनी चाहिए और वह यूनिफार्म ऐसी होनी चाहिए जिससे कि उसका खर्चा बढ़े नहीं और एक लड़का कालेज में आए तो उसका रंग-रंग एक अलग प्रकार का हो, कुछ ऊंचा हो ऐसा ब्याल नहीं होना चाहिए। एक बात मैं और भी कहना चाहती हूँ कि गुजरात विद्यापीठ को मान्यता

देकर आपने बहुत अच्छी बात की। परन्तु इसमें इस तरह का भेदभाव नहीं रखना चाहिये कि आगरा में जो हिन्दी शिक्षक हैं उनको जो कुछ स्टाइपेन्ड या स्कालरशिप आप देते हैं वह 70 या 75 रु० देते हैं और विद्यापीठ में जो पढ़ाते हैं उनको 40 या 50 रु० देते हैं। तो क्या आगरा से अहमदाबाद का जीवन सस्ता है ऐसा आप मानते हैं? इस तरह से गुजरात विद्यापीठ के लिये ऐसा भेदभाव नहीं रखना चाहिये और जो उसकी एक विशिष्टता है उस विशिष्टता को निकालने की कोशिश नहीं करनी चाहिये क्योंकि मान्यता देने से पहले जो एक कमेटी बनी थी उसने काफी कोशिश की कि यह निकाल दो, यह करो, एमिनिटीज को ऐसा करो, लेकिन यह सब माना नहीं गया और गुजरात विद्यापीठ को चलाने वाली जो गवर्निंग बाडी थी उसने साफ कहा कि मान्यता देना हो तो दो नहीं तो रहने दो, हमारी जो विशिष्टता है उस विशिष्टता को हम खोना नहीं चाहते। हमारा यकीन है कि यह गांधी जी की यूनीवर्सिटी है और शुरू से इसकी जो विशिष्टता रही है उसको किसी तरह से मिटाने की कोशिश नहीं होनी चाहिये और अन्य यूनिवर्सिटियों के साथ ग्रांट्स देने में या स्टाइपेन्ड्स देने में या स्कालरशिप देने में जो बर्ताव होता है उसी प्रकार का बर्ताव उसके साथ भी होना चाहिये। मैं आपको बताना चाहती हूँ कि गुजरात यूनीवर्सिटी भी कबूल करती है कि उसकी शिक्षा से विद्यापीठ की शिक्षा कम नहीं है क्योंकि उनका एस०एस० सी० की परीक्षा का जो स्तर है उससे विद्यापीठ का स्टेन्डर्ड बहुत ज्यादा है, इसको वह खुद कबूल करते हैं।

एक बार मैं फिर कहती हूँ कि मातृभाषा और हिन्दी भाषा के बारे में जो हम दो उसूलों की बात करते हैं तो यह बात जल्दी से जल्दी मिट जानी चाहिये और हमारे देश में शीघ्रता से हमारी मातृभाषा और हिन्दी भाषा को जो प्रतिष्ठित स्थान मिलना चाहिये वह मिल जायेगा, यह आशा करती हूँ। अंग्रेजी के

प्रति मेरा कोई तिरस्कार नहीं है, मैं अंग्रेजी जानती हूँ लेकिन मैंने आग्रह रखा है कि संसद् में हिन्दी में ही बोलूंगी, चाहे जैसी भी मेरी टूटी फूटी हिन्दी हो । धन्यवाद ।

PROF. B. N. PRASAD (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, we are very thankful to the University Grants Commission for having put in our hands this comprehensive Report. We are impressed with the general topics like the development of higher education and research, improvement of teaching and research in universities, teaching standards etc., etc. It has generally given financial assistance to very many institutions for very many objects. The presentation of the Report has been made still brighter by the eloquent and powerful advocacy of the hon. Minister of Education. He has presented the Report in such a manner that normally we all shall feel convinced that good deal of work in various fields has been achieved by the University Grants Commission. But having spent over forty years in universities and being intimate with the various aspects of university education, I may be allowed to analyse and examine the details as given in the Report.

Our chief purpose here is to examine how far the University Grants Commission has succeeded in achieving the aims and objects for which it was established and for which purpose the Central Government with the approval of Parliament has been making to it liberal grants. To focus attention regarding the ultimate aim of the University Grants Commission, I may read out its functions as defined in the Act. It reads like this:

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

Throughout the Act and even in the Report under consideration, we find special emphasis laid on the improving of the standards of teaching and research and the maintaining of highest standards in the recruitment of the teaching staff and on the starting of new universities only when the availability of competent and devoted teachers and adequate financial resources become assured. But with all these claims about the activities and professions of the University Grants Commission, people in general entertain apprehensions that the standards are not on the rise. On the other hand some feel that they are going down. In fact, some go to the extent of saying that deterioration has set in. That being the feeling of the people, let us examine the relevant causes and factors which are responsible for the non-achievement of the objectives and ideals of the University Grants Commission in an appreciable measure.

There may be many factors like the unwholesome activities of the so-called teacher-politicians in universities, the improper interference into the universities' affairs by some Government and political dignitaries, the unsuitable selection of some of the Vice-Chancellors etc., etc. But just now let us take up only those factors which are under the direct purview and control of the University Grants Commission.

I first come to the so-called mushroom growth of universities. The Report says that up to March 1963, the University Grants Commission has got in existence as many as 55 universities and a fast rising number of institutions 'deemed to be universities'. I understand from the speech of the hon. Minister of Education that by this time the number of universities has gone up to 61. But what are the academic conditions prevailing in most of these universities? Universities are not made by bricks and mortar. They, in their true sense, are made by men and books. There is a large number of universities in our country in which the highest posts are

[Prof. B. N. Prasad.] Professors and Readers—and very many other posts are remaining vacant ever since the time of the starting of these universities. There are now six universities in Madhya Pradesh, but in none of these universities is there at present a professor for a basic subject like mathematics. More or less similar things can be said about other important subjects in the universities of other States. How is it that the University Grants Commission has sanctioned and is continuing to sanction the establishing of so many new universities which are utterly devoid of men and books in spite of the statement made on the very first page of this Report, namely, that "The establishment of a new university can be considered only in terms of the availability of competent and devoted teachers and adequate financial resources"? Looking at the state of affairs prevailing in very many universities for years and years, it is crystal clear that the University Grants Commission has not been able to act according to its statements. I do not know the internal details which led to the sanction and the establishment of such destitute universities. Surely, in case there was unhealthy pressure from any quarter, the University Grants Commission should have resisted such pressures and should not have acted against its own principles. It is high time that the University Grants Commission should get a competent survey made with regard to the posts, especially the higher posts, remaining unfilled for a long time in the various universities and then get the needful done for filling up these posts. Unless it is done, the University Grants Commission cannot put forward the claim that it is effecting improvement in raising the standard of education. The fact is that most of the universities which have been established during recent years with the gracious help of the University Grants Commission are in such a rotten condition that we feel even ashamed to call them universities.

On page 3 of the Report there is given a State-wise distribution of universities. From this, we note that there are only two universities in Madras, 9 in U.P., 7 in West Bengal and 6 in Bihar. This comparison of numbers of universities is enough to dispel the belief that the quality of education is in any way related to the number of universities.

The University Grants Commission should go slow in establishing new universities and should act strictly according to the statement it has made.

We find now that there are certain institutions which have been termed: in the Report of the University Grants Commission as 'deemed to be universities'. Not content with multiplying, only universities, the University Grants Commission is going fast to steadily increase the number of mis-'cellaneous types of institutions which under section 3 of the Act are 'deemed to be universities'. The association of the word "university" in this manner compromises even the prestige and dignity of the term "university" in our country. I think by the adoption of such a procedure the University Grants Commission will be exposing itself to unhealthy pressures from various quarters. It should better stop this altogether or, at any rate, minimise it as much as possible.

We might take up the topic of recruitment of teachers. I come now to a very vital aspect, namely, the recruitment of teachers in universities and colleges. On page 24, the Report says:

"... we have advised the universities to observe the highest standards in the recruitment of teaching staff."

But has the University Grants Commission taken care to see that this healthy advice is followed in practice? There are overwhelmingly large number of such appointments made as to show beyond doubt that the University Grants Commission has not taken:

care to see that this most important requisite for a university is actually-assured in practice. I can cite plenty of cases to prove my point but, in view of the shortage of time, I would put before the hon. House only one case to show the way in which the recruitment of even the highest teaching staff is being made in universities these days. It is well known that in order to recruit a Professor, Reader or a Lecturer in a university, a Selection Committee is constituted which includes as experts a few very eminent senior scholars who have established a scholarly reputation by having done original work of a high order in the subject concerned. The final selection of the candidate naturally depends mostly upon his academic evaluation by these experts. Recently, a few Professors in certain subjects were appointed in some of the universities in my own State of Uttar Pradesh, but the Selection Committee which was constituted had as experts, not eminent senior scholars in the subject, but some High Court Judges who are not endowed at all with any reputation for those subjects. The funnier thing is that one particular High Court Judge was appointed as expert for the appointment of Professors in several subjects. Will the hon. Minister of Education please reconcile the statement in the Report of the University Grants Commission when plain High Court Judges are being appointed as experts even for the appointment of Professors in universities.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN (Uttar Pradesh): Was it a State University or a Central University?

PROF. B. N. PRASAD: State University.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: Then he does not come in the picture.

PROF. B. N. PRASAD: May I take the liberty of offering to the hon. Minister of Education a suggestion with regard to the appointment of teaching staff in universities? The

University Grants Commission in consultation with senior experienced persons should frame a broad-based set of rules on the lines or statutes and ordinances which *inter alia* should lay down the minimum qualification for the recruitment to posts of various grades. Taking every care that basically the autonomy of universities is fully preserved, it must be seen by the University Grants Commission that the standard rules and regulations adopted by the various universities in making appointments of teaching staff are compatible with the broad-based rules framed by it. Such a procedure will prevent the appointment of unsuitable teachers, improve the standard of efficiency of the teaching staff and will bring about a sort of uniformity in the academic standards of the teaching staff of the various universities set up and financed by the University Grants Commission. The University Grants Commission can easily initiate this procedure under Rule 26'(e) and (g) of the Act.

I come to a more vital part of the topic. Even if our procedure for recruiting the teaching staff be of the right type, how shall we meet the present utter dearth of really capable and efficient teachers. I am afraid that the University Grants Commission has so far entirely neglected this most important aspect. While it is customary for a young man, who enters any other type of service or profession, to undergo a rigorous training to enable him to do his job efficiently, it is rather strange that, in India, universities are the only places where young men and women immediately after passing the Masters Degree examination are employed at once with their ill-digested knowledge to teach even the post-graduate classes. In India where there is a large number of institutions for training teachers for primary and secondary schools, unlike some advanced Western countries there is hardly any institution which could train teachers for the university stage. It is absolutely necessary that this crucial deficiency is soon made up-

[Prof. B. N. Prasad.] Since I have already discussed at length this matter with the hon. Minister of Education and he has readily agreed with my suggestion regarding this matter, I need not take time to go into further details.

The hon. Minister of Education has enumerated a number of schemes, plans and steps which the University Grants Commission has adopted, as mentioned in the Report, to expand and consolidate higher education in our country. He has mentioned seminars, summer schools, centres for advanced studies, reviewing committees, national scholarships, junior and senior research fellowships, utilisation of the services of retired teachers, etc., etc. My observation is that they are good so far as they go and we would express appreciation of the University Grants Commission for launching upon such schemes. But when I come to examine their implementation and estimate the amount of actual good effected with the expenses involved, I have to pause. I would have liked to go into the details of the working of these schemes but I am afraid, I would not be allowed sufficient time for this. I would therefore content myself with saying that in the implementation of these schemes every care should be taken to see that the maximum possible benefit is accrued out of the expenses involved.

I may, however, touch upon one particular scheme, namely the utilisation of the services of retired teachers. Long ago, it was the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research which had initiated a scheme for assisting outstanding retired science researchers to continue their researches even after superannuation. It was indeed a very laudable scheme to stimulate and support research in the country. A few years back, the University Grants Commission decided to copy it. But in their scheme they included both researchers and non-researchers. During the period of the Report under consideration, they gave the benefit of this assistance to 45

teachers in the whole of India including researcher and non-researcher teachers. While it is comparatively easy to evaluate the outstanding character or otherwise of the research work of a teacher, it is extremely difficult to select, say, about 20 or 25 non-researcher teachers from the whole of India who can be definitely judged to be the most outstanding teachers in the country. Naturally there is much scope for personal and subjective factors in making such selections and I may say that I have heard expressions of dissatisfaction over some such selections. Thinking therefore, that the money would be better utilised and the chances of dissatisfaction decreased if this scheme could be confined only to retired research teachers. I request the hon. Minister of Education to give consideration to this suggestion. (*Time bell rings.*) Two minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : There are many speakers, Professor.

PROF. B. N. PRASAD: Just two minutes. It is gratifying to note that the UGC has been instrumental in improving the grades and salaries of university teachers and the majority of universities have adopted this revised scale of pay. Unfortunately, there are still quite a large number of universities which have not yet introduced this improved grade, I hope it will be possible for the UGC to see that these universities also adopt this grade of pay.

The hon. Minister of Education has enumerated a number of causes for the falling standard of education and for the prevailing indiscipline among students. Naturally, there is not one but a number of important inter-linked factors for this. The primary factor which, from my experience for forty years of all the phases of university life, I shall ascribe to generally is the growing deterioration in the academic preparation and equipment of teachers, especially fresh teachers. Let the students be given what is due to them, both by way

of teaching and otherwise, and I think much of the so-called indiscipline will completely be eliminated.

I should like to end my speech by making a general suggestion that the UGC, with its limited resources, should not undertake too many schemes and projects and put its finger in everything. It should concentrate more on consolidation and right implementation of the comparatively more important and selective items and thereby secure the maximum possible be lent and return out of the public funds assigned to it.

With these observations and suggestions and with my great appreciation of the hard work which the very able Chairman of the UGC and his staff have done to discharge such onerous responsibilities, I submit that the Report may be adopted.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated): Sir, I would like to add my voice to that of other Members of the House, who have complimented the University Grants Commission on the good work they have done. I hope that their good work will be sustained and that their hands will be strengthened by all that we do in Parliament. I would also like to congratulate the Minister on his firm and frank re-assertion of this broad language policy of the Government. The University Grants Commission itself has given considerable thought to the question of language at the University stage and I feel that we should have a very clear and practical way of dealing with the language question. I would like to repeat here a few things which the Education Minister stated for the purpose of clarifying this broad language policy of the Government. I find that in the course of his speech, he has stated these things:—

"... it will take some time before the regional languages are ready to take over as the medium of instruction. That has been the consistent policy of Government

... The policy is this: go slow; prepare yourself; do not switch over in a hurry to the regional language ..."

Further, he has said:

"I want to say one thing. To me national unity is paramount, it is sacred, and I am not going to submit to any language pressure which will militate against or undermine national unity."

And further he said:

"when I speak of a link language, I do so because I want a language in India which will be the bond between the different people of this country. It will be a link between Universities, between States, between the different Bars, between the different courts of law, between scholars and academicians."

Further he had said:—

"I have been saying, 'do not lower the standard of English'. If a language should be taught at all, it should be taught well."

Sir, I do hope that these free, frank and firm statements on the language policy of the Government will be repeated and reiterated because, I think, this policy is very vital for the interests of the nation. I feel that when we were making the Constitution of India, we did make some mistakes, and the experience of the last seventeen years has shown that some of those mistakes need to be corrected. One of the mistakes I think which we made under pressure of time—I remember the conditions under which discussions used to take place in those days—is not to make education a Union subject. It is a big demand, but I think it was a mistake not to have made it a Union subject. I do not think it is a practical proposition today to make it a Union subject. That is why we are falling back upon the compromise to make it a Concurrent subject. I say that education should have been made a Union subject and it is vital that it should be

[Shri Jairamdas Daulatram.] a Concurrent subject because education is not merely a matter of giving knowledge to the new generation. It is not a matter of merely raising the capacity of the individuals of the nation to 'make a decent living. It is not even intended to raise the cultural level of the individual. In a country like India given by differences, with our unfortunate past history, with so many languages in the country, with many races which are commingling to make the Indian nation, with so many religions flourishing in this country, I think education should be considered as a matter of nation building, national reconstruction, an integrating instrument which holds the nation together. I know of places in this country where, in view of decentralisation which was suggested by some friends, the local leaders of the region are raised, in the small textbooks meant for children, almost to the level of national heroes. They know almost nothing about the national heroes. The same is done in a variety of other forms which I do not want to elaborate because there is lack of time. If education is not utilised from the very fundamental, basic stage to build up a strong national feeling in the growing generation, we are in for very great trouble. I suspect—I may be wrong, but I suspect—that behind the insistence on the regional language taking this and that place in this or that sphere, is not merely the educational advantage that flows from it, but there is a certain amount of what I may call the provincial feeling, the regional feeling—the strong regional feeling which is growing in this country. We find the nation passing through the strains and stresses of this new feeling coming up. We find it encroaching on various economic and cultural spheres. I do not say that it is not also realised that the nation should hold together. It is realised, but we must take those steps which enable us to make the nation hold together, and I am one of those who feel that from the primary stage not only the mother tongue but whatever we decide or have decided to be the national language, should

also be taught. This is all subject to the various States agreeing to it. This is all subject to a decision by the majority and also consent of the minority. I believe that it is not easy to replace a language, which some look upon as a foreign language, unless another language—I do not want to call it link language because the word "link" is a very inadequate adjective—is there which is a strong, unifying, uniting, integrating medium of communication between various people and various parts of this country. I therefore believe that three languages should be taught at the earliest possible stage of a student's life: the mother tongue or the regional language or both where the mother tongue is different from the regional language, the national language and as early as possible the English language; and the early stage for the English language at least for another generation—maybe two—is the first year of the middle stage, that is when the boy is somewhere about 9 to 10 and is able to appreciate the distinction between his own language, the national language and a foreign language. I believe it was strong national feeling which inspired¹ Gandhiji, to continue the "Harijan" in the English form. It was open to him to take a precipitate step and at a very early stage of the movement discard the English medium and take the Hindi medium. But he maintained the English medium because, as a practical idealist, he realised that the situation in India was such that English had to be a means of communication between people of different parts of this country, I believe that had he lived and had he decided to continue to give his message to this country, he would have maintained one of his weeklies in the English language. At least for a generation, if not more, there is no getting away from the fact that English has to be the medium at a certain high level.

I do not know really whither we are going. We are told that it is in the interests of national integration that professors must move from one university to another. Well, after

five or ten years I believe professors will have no command over the language of the other State which would be a regional language. If the students of the other States are not familiar with some kind of common language—and fairly familiar, very familiar—I do not see how this scheme can function. We are told it is in national interests that students should migrate from one university to another for certain periods. How is that possible if for the next 15, 20 or 30 years we have not got a medium through which we can understand lectures. I think it is a wholly impracticable problem to move fast as some friends would wish. "Go, slow" in my opinion, is a golden slogan both in the interest of education and in the interest of national integration. I believe that it will be a tragedy if men like C. V. Raman are available in one part of the country and are not just available to the rest of the nation. We must, for a considerable time, until Hindi is able to take the place of the present, integrating, unifying, unifying language, go slow, and I feel that those friends who, unconsciously moved more by certain sub-national conditions, than educational conditions, are pressing for a quicker pace are not doing good to the country. I do not want to charge me with anything but that is their unconscious feeling.

I will conclude with one more sentence. We talk of Hindi but that Hindi should be a Hindi which can be a medium of expression for all elements of culture which compose India. We have laid down in our Constitution that Hindi must be a medium for all who belong to this country, a country of composite culture. Therefore, that Hindi itself is going to replace English must be of that composite character, and it is only when we have developed a Hindi of that composite character which is understood all over the country that it can effectively replace English. Therefore, I do believe that Government is going, in the interests

of the nation, in the interests of integrated functioning of this country, to maintain a means of communication which is understood by all, and especially at the higher level. I do not say that the masses must not get education. Masses can get education, school education, university education, but simultaneously our command over and use of the integrating language, whichever it is at the time, must be adequate for the purpose of feeling as one nation.

Miss MARY NAIDU (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I congratulate the University Grants Commission for its attempts to improve higher education. I also congratulate our Education Minister for the trouble and the interest he is taking to put right this educated and the teacher. But the problem is so great that I am afraid all the attempts made by both the University Grants Commission and by the Education Minister have become like a drop in the ocean. A well educated, disciplined nation can solve all its problems in a balanced method. But are we giving that education to our children? Can we call the education that we are now giving to our children, really education? It is true we have realised after independence that large numbers of our people are illiterate. So we have improved our education by opening more schools, by making adults as well as children literate. That is all I say. We are teaching them to read and write, but that is not called education.

I am really grateful to the University Grants Commission for the attempts they are making to make the lot of a few Professors and Lecturers a little better by increasing their salaries. That is also causing a little inconvenience and I would say discontent because only a few are benefited and not all; only those few members may be contented but the majority of them are not contented. Unless the teacher at all levels is contented, education will not improve. Unless the teacher is contented

[Miss Mary Naidu] through and through, you cannot have discipline in the country.

Sir, discipline, if I may bring 4 P.M. it to your notice, starts in

the class room; not at the level of the university, but at the level of the baby class. You have got the same old class rooms built during the British Government days. Those class rooms, which were meant for only 35 children, are now crowded with 65 and 70 children in each. And the old forty minutes' time given, to the teacher is being spent in just shouting at the poor children, giving them the books and taking the books back, but not in imparting any knowledge. It is not possible for the teacher to impart any knowledge. And how do these poor children in these class rooms spend their times? They push each other; they quarrel with each other; they do anything and everything but have no time to listen to the teacher because they are not comfortable in the class room. The teacher is harassed with a huge amount of syllabus which is beyond the capacity of the children of that age. And what is education, Sir? How can this be called education? And that goes on from the baby class up to the high school and goes into the university. So, the indiscipline started in the baby class is growing and growing, and it finds its outlet when it comes to the older children level. I know—I am not blaming the Government, it is doing its utmost. We have to educate our children. Schools have grown in large numbers but they are not able to accommodate them. But why not we open our eyes and have some shift system; let half the number of children go in the morning and the other in the noon. As some Mendis said, let there be an end to the spoon-feeding business.

The teacher is not able to impart any knowledge to the children. What he or she does is to give them some notes, ask them to go home and cram. That is not education at all. But what else can the teacher do? She J

has no time to do anything else. All that she can do is only to give them notes, ask them to go home and study, give them some points and tell them to get them by heart. Our aims are very high; we say that first class should be the aim in all the institutions. How do they become first class boys? We do not care to consider that. This cry, for everything we want only first class, is making way not only for indiscipline but also corruption in educational institutions. At examination times, the rich people go to any extent to get that first class for their boys and thus get them into technical institutes and universities. We will have to put an end to this.

What I wanted to bring to your notice is that the colleges are also approaching the level of elementary classes. I have visited the Osmania University colleges. The poor lecturers have to work for 22 periods. Working without any tutors and facing a crowd of students is no method of imparting college education. Did we all study like that in colleges? What was the condition of the colleges when we studied? Why should we not give our children the same kind of treatment, if not better? Our Education Minister has said in his speech, "One of the best methods of education is to bring about a close contact between the teacher and the taught." Yes, that is the very best method. But how is that to be had in these days? Is the teacher ever able to contact her pupils? Is she able to know the names of all the 60 or 70 children in a crowded room? No, Sir. I do not call this 'education'. And that is the root of all indiscipline. And the teacher, on her part, has to prepare the lessons two hours before the school hours and correct over seventy books that night before she comes to school again the next day. Her lot is worse than the lot of a labourer. The labourer works with his hands, while the poor teacher works with her brain and has no time even for sleep. She has no chance to bestow love and care on

the children. Individual attention is what the child needs and is she able to give that individual attention in that crowded class room? Is it possible? The teachers' conditions are such that the best of people do not go into the teaching profession. All those, who are in the profession already, only think of ways and means of getting out of it. Why? It is because nobody seems to understand their difficulties. They say that the teacher is the corner-stone of the educational arch, and that he or she must be given everything. But in practice it is quite different. So they have no mind to concentrate on that noble job and the duties they have to perform. There is no time for the teacher to call a child separately and ask what his difficulties are. It is impossible to do anything with seventy children facing her.

Sir, I said that I visited the university college. The Lecturers were busy correcting spelling errors and construction of sentences in the P.U.C. and B.A. classes. They said that there were no tutors. When are they to impart to those college students the high ideals of those eminent authors, which they are supposed to do? There is no time for them. The number of school-going children has increased, their class rooms are not sufficient. Hence the teacher-pupil contact is not possible.

I am not here to criticise anybody but something must be done in order to make our children's education a real education. There must be teacher-pupil contact. There should not be more than 35 or at the most 40 children in the class. Unless you do that, the parents are wasting their money, the children are wasting their time and the teachers are wasting their energy, and what we are producing is an indisciplined nation, nothing more than an indisciplined nation. There is no use in asking why those boys are behaving like that? Of course, the politicians* are

making use of the boys. What kind of boys are made use of by the politicians? Boys who are already in-disciplined. A disciplined boy will never become a victim. Once there was a strike in Hyderabad. And you know, when the students strike, they go to every other school and college and ask those students to come out. If they do not join, they pelt stones and break all the doors and windows. So, a certain mission school begged its boys to come out and join the strike. They close the windows and the doors and asked the boys to go out. The boys went very reluctantly and joined the strike, but escaped after a little while and returned to school. So, there are disciplined children also. Not everybody is inclined to go and join a strike and indulge in hooliganism. That is why people clamour for admitting their children in certain schools, even though in those schools the fees are very high. But education is for all children. The best kind of education must be made cheap and available for all the poor children. To do that, however difficult it may be, please do see that the teacher who is to instil the discipline into the children is given really a good time. Everybody knows what is the teacher's lot in life. Everybody speaks but what is being done to make their life a little better? Nothing is being done. Have they got security? No. In many aided schools, the teachers' services are not secure. Their whole life is built on insecurity.

It is said that the children's discipline will improve if we have got hostels. Even there, unless there is the teacher-pupil contact, their life cannot be improved. At all levels there must be the teacher-pupil contact for discipline to improve. In the hostels, sometimes it is even worse unless there is somebody to understand their problems, guide them and bring the poor and the rich together in a nice manner. Once in Madras, the authorities were told that some of the hostel girls from

[Miss Mary Naidu.] certain hostels were found in the corners of bus stands for immoral trafficking. It was shocking. You will not believe what it was that made them do it. They were living in hostels with rich students. The rich girls were having beautiful sarees and other amenities while these poor children who came from poor families could not compete with them. So they went about to earn money. Immediately parents were contacted and it was found that they were children of grass-cutters, ayyas and cooks. They did that not because they were bad, not because they wanted to be immoral but because they could not compete with the rich children. These things came to light only because there was teacher-pupil contact. Hence limited strength and teacher-taught contact is very necessary.

So, I say, Sir, this kind of mass education will not improve the conditions of our country. What is going on all over India now is only mass education. Parents are struggling to enable their children to get the best type of education. Sir, I entreat that if the country is to improve in any manner in all the fields, education must be the first consideration of the Government.

Now, I do not know how much money is going to be given in the Fourth Plan. But whatever emergency comes, whatever other difficulties come, the first thing that is cut is grants from the Education Department, I entreat that it should not be so. Increase the amount and improve the condition of the teachers and give them security.

Only one more word with your permission.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : Your time is up. But since it is your maiden speech, one minute more.

Miss MARY NAIDU: Coming to the language question, I am not

against any language. But as an educationist I know the capacities of the children of the present day. Let us not quarrel about the languages. Give the chance to the children to learn the regional language, Hindi and English from their babyhood and they will learn them. They will be the masters of all the three languages. Do not introduce them in middle classes. Let them start K.G. with regional languages, 1st class with Hindi and 2nd class with English. I have been a teacher. I know the children are tender but they are very clever. In this generation their capacity for learning has increased. In olden days, we used to put the children in the schools at five. In Hyderabad, they send the children to school at the age of 3 or even 2-112. By the time they are five years, they are in 1st class. I am not speaking something that I do not understand. I have handled children of that age. And you know by the time they are six or seven, they carry large-size books with them on history, geography and science. Instead of that, let them learn languages. And when they are grown, let them master arts and science. While learning those languages they can read suitable stories and learn about leaders. Let us insist on teaching them the three languages in their early years, but by the best trained teachers.

Cutting away from English will not bring us any gratitude from the future generations because it is an international language. Now, if our people are going to America, England and other countries it is because they know English. The world has become very small. It is so small that within a few hours we are in England or in America. So, why should we deprive our children of knowing an international language and going round the world.

Sir, I may be telling you a secret regarding Hindi and the South. But let me tell you that if there is a competitive examination, the South will

get the first prize. They will compete with the North any day. The only thing is that they do not want to be forced to learn Hindi, I am sure if there is an inter-State examination in Hindi, Madras, a State which opposes most, will stand first. So please give up that slogan, "You learn Hindi", as if we do not want to learn Hindi. Give us time and all will be well with India. We are learning Hindi but it will take a long time before the masses are able to master. But do not deprive the future generation of learning English, which is an international language, along with the regional language and Hindi. Thank you,

(SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madras): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the University Grants Commission Report placed on the Table before us gives the massive figures of grants having been made to a number of universities. It gives us the number of universities that have been started. And this thing would make one believe that the country has advanced tremendously in the educational field. But, at the same time, even the Minister of Education had to qualify his statement by admitting that unfortunately the standards of education have fallen everywhere. Now, what are the causes for this fall in the standard of education? Well, I do not want to go into all those aspects which have been touched very briefly and argued very ably by my friend. Prof. Ruthnaswamy. Having been an educationist himself all his life, he has been able to touch upon some of the important aspects of questions like the status of the teachers, the conditions under which they work. He also touched upon the panacea that is being bandied about, namely removing education from the State List and placing it in the Concurrent List. Now, the panacea that is now bandied about in the country is not going to achieve the purpose for which these things are now bandied about. I do not want to further

982 RS—6

dilate upon that. But it is agreed that it is not only a question of fall in standards of education but we are facing a practical crisis in our education.

Just now the previous speaker, a Congress woman, a Member of the Congress Party had described in very graphic terms what exactly was the condition of the primary schools of boys and girls. And what is it that is being imparted to them? It only shows the crisis in our education. Just now we are hearing about student troubles in Orissa. What do all these things show? There is no use just blaming the Opposition parties. The ruling Party will do better if for example, they enter into a searching of its own heart. After seventeen years of freedom, with a Government, we should have been able to impart better discipline, better sense of purpose to the student community. Today there is everywhere discontent. In the ultimate analysis, if you take education then the Universities are not free from factionalism. And this factionalism that is there, certainly you cannot place it at the feet of the Opposition parties. Much of the factionalism which exists in many of the administrative pursuits of these universities is due to the factionalism inside the ruling Party itself. Therefore, let us now face the fact that the country is facing a tremendous crisis in the field of education. And what is it due to? In the ultimate analysis, as I said, you will not be able to overcome this crisis ultimately unless the system of society you are building up in this country is also changed. After all, what are the values we are setting before the country? What are the values that are set before the common people of this country? Just now, Miss Naidu graphically described how it is that when a poor student finds that she is not able to imitate the better placed students in her own college, takes even to immoral methods. What is it due to? After

all, there are the values that we are

[Shri P. Ramamurti.] creating in our country, the value* created by the fact that we are building up a society where big monopolists are idols of the society. They are the people who are respected everywhere. The more money you have, the more you are respected. The money you might obtain by blackmarketing—it does not matter—but there is no objection to that. Therefore, under these conditions, when certain values are created in the society, naturally those values are also reflected in our educational system and the educational system cannot escape those values. The teachers are also subjected to those values. That is why you find there is a tremendous crisis in our educational system.

I do not want to touch on other aspects of the question. I want only to raise the question of language. I would like to deal a little more on this question of language, it is stated that in order to see that the standards of our education in our colleges are bettered or improved upon, the standard of English has got to be improved. Very good. I am not today opposed to the continuation of English for a pretty long time. It may have to continue for a long time. That is a different matter but let us now realise why it is that we are today in this condition. I am looking at this problem not merely from the point of view of education but I am looking at this question from the point of view of the democratic development of our country. Has the Education Minister, or the Education authorities, thought about this simple question that up to the time a student joins the college, his entire education is in his mother-tongue or regional language and the moment he enters the university, then he has to learn all the subjects in English? How is it possible for him to master the subjects? Does he not suffer tremendous difficulties as a result of that? Then, what is the remedy? Is the remedy one of switching over to the English language even from the

early stage? What that help UST Should the entire medium of instruction in the High Schools and the lower classes be in English? Is that going to help us?

Now, I want to point out that this is not the way in which the country is going to advance. After all long before independence, there was that controversy whether our language* are capable of imparting education, imparting instruction in all the subjects including the science subjects. At that time the national movement said: 'Yes, it must be done.' After seventeen years of independence, we are yet to make that experiment. We are yet to switch over to our national language. Now, fundamentally—I want to point out this—unless in all the universities we are able to switch over to the regional languages so that the common people understand and receive the subjects in the language which they understand properly and they do not have to waste their time first of all even to receive instruction in some subjects—now, first of all, they have to waste their time in mastering another language—there can be no development of either education nor can there be any development of the languages themselves, because it is now stated that the languages must first develop to such an extent that all these different subjects or instructions in the subject* can be imparted in those languages I would like to ask, which is the language in the world that developed on this basis? No language, developed on the basis of artificial insemination. Languages developed—
 j ed—the English language developed
 [not because of Shakespeare. The English language developed not because of the great literators that the English language has produced but.. on the other hand, these great litera-
 i tors were themselves the product of the English people or the British people and the British people were able to develop their language precisely because their education was in their own language, precisely because
 (the Administration was in their own

language. They learnt their history, their economics, and all the subjects and they conversed with each other in that particular language. That is how the genius of a nation, the genius of a people will develop and their language will always flower. Similarly, I do not think that any of our Indian people, whether they are Hindustanis or Gujaratis or Tamilians or Andhras, are lacking in genius. Today they will not be able to develop their language to any extent. Their languages will also flower if opportunities are allowed for the development and how will those opportunities come to them? Those opportunities come to them only when the entire administration, when the law courts, when the language of administration and the law courts, the language of education, the language of politics, the language of economics, the language of social intercourse, when everything is in their own language. This is how a language develops.

Now, we have a topsy-turvy system. You want to develop a language without these things. Then you say, 'Once this develops, then we will have it.' Now the result is a tremendous amount of controversy develops in this country. What is the controversy? The result is, without doing this elementary thing, we want to bring Hindi, because after all we have now broken away from the shackles of foreign domination and therefore it is not necessary for us first of all to see that Hindi must become a link language or whatever it might be. Now, I would like to point out that we are not able to do that. There is a tremendous agitation and naturally there is a tremendous agitation. The way in which we are going about will certainly lead to the strengthening of centrifugal forces in our country. Those forces will get strengthening day by day and all the panacea that you are now proposing is not going to help to arrest the growth of these centrifugal forces but, on the other hand, I am afraid

the growth of these centrifugal forces will get accentuated. That is how we are proceeding. Therefore, the most elementary and the first thing to do is this. I am looking at it from a different point of view. Today for example, the language of our courts is mostly foreign. How does a poor peasant who has got a case in a court understand what is being argued? The louder the lawyer shouts, probably he will think that the lawyer was arguing his case properly. After all, if the laws of the country are made for the common people, if education is for the common people, unless these things are there in a language which he can understand, how can democratic development in this country take place at all? Then all this talk of democracy will be ultimately confined only to a few educated people. That way democratic development cannot go . . .

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA (Madhya Pradesh):
Only English knowing people.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: Apart from that, how can industrial development, for example, take place in the country? If the Soviet Union, within about 40 years of its achieving the socialist revolution, had been able to develop so much in advance, it is fundamentally because of the fact, that the base there is a very wide reservoir of 17 or 18 crores of people; since they were taught in their own language all the subjects, all the scientific subjects and the science and scientific knowledge spread among the common people. So a reservoir of about 18 crores is there. It is out of that reservoir that hundreds and thousands and thousands of scientists are born; but the way in which we are attempting to do it, we are today stopping that reservoir. It is not that we have a reservoir of 450 million people of this country but, on the other hand, a few thousand university educated people that would be our reservoir and with that reservoir how can this country advance technically? How can this country advance

[Shri P. Ramamurti.]

technologically? How can this country advance in the educational field? AU this talk of our industrial development will become nothing. Therefore, it has become absolutely essential that we switch over first and foremost, before thinking of Hindi or any other language to switch over, to the regional languages. Then the languages will develop. Maybe for 2 or 3 years standards might fall. May be for 2 years or 3 years education also will suffer but out of those things, people will learn new words. After all, the English language developed by getting words from all the languages. Similarly, the language of our country will also get words from all those different languages on the basis of pragmatic understanding. For example, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram referred to the Constitution and the way in which Hindi language is being sought to be developed, but may I point out that our Constitution itself says—there is specific provision in the Constitution which says—that Hindi language should be developed mostly by borrowing words with Sanskrit as the base? There is a provision in the Constitution. I was flabbergasted when I saw it. The Sanskrit language I know. I have the language, I learnt the language and I know also the number of beatings that I received from my grandfather when I tried to learn that language. So, that is not the point. The point is, if this is the artificial way in which you are trying to develop even Hindi, not realising that the language develops on account of conjoint efforts of millions and millions of people who come into certain contacts with the different sections of the people and then take words from them, instead of that, if an artificial attempt is made to develop any particular language, instead of the natural development with all its effervescence, the language gets stunted. Even today we are finding ourselves in the position that Hindi, in all those States where Hindi is the dominant language, even though Hindi is given the special status of becoming the sole language at the Centre, in spite

of that, Hindi has not been developed even in those States. This is the unfortunate position in which we are even today. Therefore, Sir, from all these points of view, I would like to say: "In the meantime develop these languages, not by artificial means, but by the process of evolution". After all, if a man has got to swim, you do not teach him swimming by theoretical lessons. You do not teach a man swimming by saying: "First of all you must know this, that and the other", No, not that way. Even in the first instance, the man has got to get into the water if at all he wants to learn swimming. But here we are trying to teach the people in a theoretical way. We are trying to make the people swim without their getting into the water.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: But the water is only one foot deep.

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI: I do not think that our languages are just one foot deep. Take the Tamil language, for example. I know it is as deep as an ocean. Take also Hindi, for example. I know the Hindi language, and the Hindi language is not just one foot deep. After all, I know also that the Hindi language developed only during the last 200 or 300 years. I know that the Bengali language developed only during the last 100 years or so. For all this we know that the genius of the people was responsible. Likewise I know that the genius of the Hindustani people will make them develop the Hindi language if they want to. Similarly the genius of the Tamil people will make them develop the Tamil language to cater to the modern scientific and technological terms. After all, let us realise that our Indian people have got a tremendous amount of genius. That is why I say that any attempt at this stage to impose Hindi on non-Hindi-speaking people will meet with resistance. It is already being done surreptitiously. I have heard it said that very recently the Publications Division of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry sent a circular round saying that unless

Hindustani words were used in matters of publication they will not get the grants. For example, it directs that 'police thana', the Hindi equivalent of 'police station', should take the place of the Tamil equivalent '*Kaval Nilayam*'. Likewise it directs that '*zila*' should take the place of the English equivalent 'district' or its Tamil equivalent. Now I say, in this manner, by compulsion, you should not force the people to learn the Hindi language. There will be a revolt against it. On the other hand, since the regional languages have come into their own, then the question of the link language will be treated by the people free from hostility, free from animosity. When they will settle down, then they will realise that this is a practical proposition. After all, the Central Government of a federal country cannot be carried on simultaneously in all the fourteen languages mentioned in the Constitution. The administration will have to be carried on in one language only. They would understand then that this is a practical proposition which has to be given effect to in the interests of the unification of the country, and I am absolutely certain that the very people who are today opposed to Hindi will, at that time, when they themselves feel that their languages have come into their own, realise that it is necessary for us to have that one language.

And it need not be the language for every man. For example, a boy reading in a Madras high school need not learn it. Only it becomes absolutely necessary for, say, administrative purposes and may be for certain other purposes also. Today take, for example, the Union Public Service Commission examinations. Today there is the equality of all the 14 languages. This is enshrined in our Constitution. It is stated in our Constitution that all these 14 languages are equal and sovereign. But where is that equality in practice today in the Union Public Service Commission examinations? If, for example, a Tamil student takes an examination of the Union Public ser-

vice Commission he has got willy-nilly to answer in English, whereas a Hindi student can answer in Hindi. Now, where is the equality of that language? Therefore all this talk of equality of all the languages enshrined in our Constitution are just all paper promises. They are not today translated into reality, and these languages were enshrined, I understand, for specific purposes. The authors of the Constitution quite rightly believed at that time that if India has got to stand united, then it can be united only on the basis of recognising the equality of all the various States that constitute this great country and recognising the culture and greatness of all the languages that constitute this great country. After having realised it and after having enshrined it, in practice if you go to deny that equality and on the other hand treat some language as a favourite which, probably after some time, is bound to become the sole link language of India by a process of the whole people's own realisation, if you try to impose it on non-Hindi-speaking people, then naturally people begin to feel that they are being treated as an inferior people, that their languages are being treated as inferior languages. Therefore, all these tendencies arise and I want to point out that something more of a fundamental thinking is necessary on the part of the Government of India.

To think that the problem of national integration could be solved by just taking over one subject from the State List and including it in the Concurrent List is not going to solve it. On the other hand, it is going to give rise to further fissiparous tendencies, because people will feel that even this 'Education' is being taken away from the State List. Therefore, it cannot be achieved by means of this kind of thing. A certain more fundamental thinking on the part of the Government of India is necessary. Before taking it on to the Central List, are we sure that the Central Government is of one mind in this regard? How many different thinkings are there?

Shri P. Ramamurti: There even on the question of language? I know that Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri thinks one way while Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, another Cabinet Minister, thinks differently. Therefore, that can never be the panacea.

Therefore, once again, Sir, I would request the Government of India as a whole—not the Home Minister or the Education Minister alone, because I know that the Education Minister cannot himself decide this whole question—I want some serious rethinking on the fundamentals of our language policy, on the fundamentals of our entire educational system, and it is only on that basis that we can really think of integrating the country. Otherwise all these centrifugal tendencies will get accentuated. This is the greatest danger that we are leading ourselves to, and for that danger nobody else will be responsible other than the Government of India and the Government of India's policies.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Shri Nafisul Hasan. I would request the speakers to confine themselves to ten minutes each please because there are still many speakers.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: Would I be the first to be hit by this, Sir?

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN (Maharashtra): Let us continue with this tomorrow also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Only the Minister will reply tomorrow.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: Let us have some hours tomorrow also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Not possible.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, at the very outset I would like to join the hon. Minister and other hon. Members in paying my humble tribute to Dr. Kothari and his colleagues in the University Grants Commission for the splendid work they have been doing all these years.

The Report which we have before us, though short, is concise and gives us information on the relevant points. To start with, Sir, I will deal with the constitutional position and the suggestion of the hon. Minister. He has already referred to the Sapru Committee's report in which the recommendation is that, subject to agreement by the States, higher education is to be made a Concurrent Subject. I know that the universities in the States are experiencing great difficulty in the matter of university education. First of all, their finances are limited. The finances at the Centre are comparatively more elastic. Apart from this, my feeling is that unless we take the responsibility for higher education at the Centre we will fail to inculcate in the students that cosmopolitan and really national outlook which should be the object of every sound education. The present position is that education, including university education, according to the entry in List II is a State subject. The Centre comes into the picture, as far as universities are concerned, only according to entry No. 66 of List I. This entry states:

"Co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions."

On the other hand, as far as the Central Universities are concerned, the Union Government is responsible for their maintenance. As far as the State Universities are concerned, it is the States which are responsible for the maintenance and the Union Government, through the University Grants Commission, comes in to help them only for development purposes because through that development we will be able to maintain and even improve standards of education under the present system.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: They have the arrangement of matching grants.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: I welcome the recommendation of the Sapru Committee, but I must point out that

as far as the standard of education is concerned, even at the university stage, it must depend on the standards at the secondary and also at the primary stages. If we overlook the standards at these stages, it will be idle to talk of improving the standards at the university stage.

There is a system of matching grants and, I think, I spoke against that system on an earlier occasion also. I am glad to find that the hon. Minister has said in his speech that the Government is considering to give up that system. I think that this system is opposed to our principles. We are committed to have a socialist system. But by adopting this system of notching grants, we are making the poor poorer and the rich richer. If a State by its circumstances has enough to spend on education, that State alone can take advantage of the grant from the Centre. But there are States which cannot afford to spend so much.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Uttar Pradesh.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: For instance Uttar Pradesh. I know of particular cases. The Allahabad University was unable to take the benefit given by the University Grants Commission because the State Government was unable to contribute its part. There have been many instances like that. Even recently, under some scheme from the Centre, the U.P. Government could not find the money and they could not take the benefit because of lack of finance, not that there was not the will to spend on education. They cannot afford it. Therefore, I am glad to note that in future it will not be there. But why put it off till the Fourth Plan. I am unable to understand. I am speaking of the matching grant system. It should be given up as soon as possible. I do not mean that the State should not make any contribution.

श्री विमलकुमार मजरावालजी जोरड़िया :
मध्य प्रदेश का भी यही हाल है।

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: I do not mean that the State should not make any contribution whatsoever. But having regard to the condition of the States, the States should be asked to make their contribution. There should be no rigid rule. I am sorry, Sir, I will have to take two or three more minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Only two more minutes.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: I will skip over the other points and . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): There are other speakers also. Otherwise, I would not press you.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: I will not deal with the question of the medium of instruction. I entirely agree with the hon. Minister and my hon. friend, Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, on that question.

Something has been said about student indiscipline. The reasons given by the hon. Minister I will not recount here. I will state one more reason which, in my opinion, is the real cause for this indiscipline, and that is, lack of contact between the teacher and the taught, and the feeling in the student that there is nobody to care for him, whether it be the teacher or even those in charge of the administration of the university. Once the student has a feeling that the university exists for him and for his benefit and everybody there, whether it be the teacher or those in charge of the administration, is interested in him and in his welfare, then I am positively certain that he will never think of doing anything which may be called indiscipline.

Sir, the hon. Minister said that there* is immense pressure for higher education in the universities. That is so. He has suggested the diversification at the secondary stage. I think that is a good proposal. But I feel that as long as we are going to lay emphasis on tha

[Shri Nafisul Hasan] •xpansion of primary and secondary . education, it will be idle to think that we can limit the number of students at the university stage. That is the only way. There should be openings at the secondary stage. Then alone can we limit the number oi students seeking admission to the universities. But what are the channels open to them now? There are not many. Have We created those channels? Therefore, we cannot think of limiting the number of students in the universities.

Moreover, it has been a matter of controversy for a number of years. It has been said by one school that we should admit only such students as would get benefit from the university education. There is another school which says, "No. There should be indiscriminate admission and anybody who comes must be admitted". I will put it in another way. Only such students are to be rejected and not to be admitted as cannot derive benefit from university education. There should be an affirmative finding that the particular student is of such a nature that it is useless and is a waste of money for him to join a university. Otherwise, give the benefit of doubt to the candidate. (*Time bell rings*). I will be just finishing, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIAKBAR ALI KHAN) : If the House approves, we may sit for half an hour more.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: Tomorrow we can continue.

श्री विप्लवहारा मन्नालालजी
चोरझिया : कल हो जायगा ।

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: I will be just finishing. I will not take more than a minute or two.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): Only one minute more.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: I shall skip most of the other points.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): YOU just mention them and go ahead.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: The hon Minister said something about our present system of examination and he is of the opinion that emphasis should be given to sessional work This is already being done at the Aligarh University. My two children are being educated there. I do not exactly remember the percentage, but probably 20 per cent or 25 per cent, of the marks are given for sessional work and the remaining are given for the annual examination.

SHRI P. N. SAFRU: It is a dangerous business.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: Quite right but ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): YOU take up your next, point.

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: I can IN its defects also. But the merit I se© in it is bound to inculcate the habit of regular study in the students.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Provided th* teacher is good.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : No, Mr. Sapru. You should not interrupt. What is your next point?

SHRI NAFISUL HASAN: I am grateful to you, Sir, and I thank you for the time you have given me. I haye to give up certain other points bo-cause of want of time.

SHRI D. THENGARI (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, since the hon. Minister of Education has to leave the House earlier, I will take m_v last point first. I support the amendment by Shri A. D. Mani and urge upon the hon. Minister that an impartial enquiry should be heM into the student disturbance* in Orissa. I also support the amend-I ments of Shri Vima! Kumar Chordia.

Regarding the medium of instruction, we have entered a vicious circle. The Indian languages are not competent to become the mediums of instruction because they suffer from certain disabilities and we know that those disabilities shall never be removed unless and until they are actually recognised as mediums of instruction. Therefore this is a vicious circle. No hen without an egg and no egg without a hen. This circle has to be broken; otherwise, there will be no end to the domination of English. We have no particular hatred for the English language. They say it is an international language; there are other international languages also. We aspire that our own Indian languages should become international languages as early as possible but, at the same time, while we may give the status of international languages not only to English but to German, French and other languages also, as medium of instruction English should be discarded and our national languages should be recognised. To my mind, all the languages spoken by Indians are national languages and Hindi is the State as well as the national language. Therefore, all the national languages should be recognised as mediums of instruction. I should like our hon. Minister of Education to enlighten us on one point, whether the advanced non-Anglo-Saxon countries have accepted English as medium of instruction and if not, whether they have suffered for want of English as medium of instruction.

Now, I congratulate the University Grants Commission because it has done a lot to improve the pay scales and service conditions of our teachers. Our teachers have been asked to suffer and sacrifice but this advice can be given to all sections of the population and why should teachers alone be asked to take a cross on their shoulders? I would point out one fact that though much has been done yet much remains to be done and their pay scales are not as attractive as

those obtaining or prevailing in business, administration or industry. Even the pay scales prescribed by the University Grants Commission are not implemented in some of the universities such as Madras, Baroda, Utkal, Jammu and Kashmir, Osmania and Andhra. Dearness allowance and medical facilities are denied to the teachers in three Central Universities of Delhi and Aligarh and the Banaras Hindu University. The associated colleges of the Allahabad University have denied their teaching staff the pay scales prescribed by the University Grants Commission. I know that there are technical niceties involved but I should like to request the University Grants Commission not to stand on technical niceties but to allow those teachers to profit from the pay scales granted by the Commission.

Again, in Delhi University when a college teacher is taken into the University he is denied his service benefits such as provident fund and leave facilities. That should not be the case. Further, in the colleges of the Delhi University it has been complained that the staff ratio is not properly maintained and the University Grants Commission should go into this matter. The leave rules should be liberalised in favour of young teachers. Then, evening classes for B.Com. and M.Com. should be conducted in Delhi. The University Grants Commission should maintain a panel of all-India qualified teachers so that different universities can draw from that panel according to their requirements. For qualifying teachers properly in-service training should also be organised. Apart from pay scales, there is the question of quarters for the teaching staff. This is an urgent question and it should be given the priority it deserves. All this would mean allocation of more funds. At the same time, unless these funds are allocated the teaching profession will not be as attractive as it should be.

[Shri D. Thengari.]

Then, according to the Report it seems that some of the important subjects, which deserve priority, are not drawing sufficient number of students; agriculture, for example. I will not dilate upon the importance of agriculture which is the biggest industry of India but the percentage of students taking up agriculture is: very poor, probably the lowest with the only exception of France so far as other civilised countries are concerned. The agriculture courses should be made more attractive and also cheaper. Then, the percentage of students taking up technical education is also very poor. We need more engineering colleges and technological institutions. In this connection, I would say one thing that the State engineering colleges should also be placed under the University Grants Commission. Engineers should be given more effective representation in the All India Council of Technical Education and the distinction between the higher and the lower courses, that is, the Degree and the Diploma courses, should be properly appreciated and both should not be placed under the same body.

Regarding grants, first of all I should like to suggest that the grants should be distributed only after proper scrutiny and without undue haste. At least for some specific objectives there should be total grants. All grants should not be matching grants. Again, the grants should be selective for more essential objectives; for hostels for instance and not for the University Film Council though the latter has its own utility. The grants from the University Grants Commission for increasing the salaries of teachers and for providing other amenities to them should be continued—and this is not fantastic—for at least a quarter of a century. I may remind the House that in the U.S.A., similar recurring expenses are provided for for about that period. Our universities should be granted autonomy. Even in England, the University Grants Committee was devised «

via media through which economic aid could be obtained without inviting direct departmental control. Our Vice Chancellors should not be official nominees. They should be duly elected but they should be elected from amongst the educationists.

There is much discussion about starting of fresh universities. It is true that power politics has entered here also. Actually education should be divorced from politics but here certain fresh universities are started because of power politics. Certain universities that have been approved are not started because of power politics. I am referring to Kanpur and Meerut. I may also suggest that for humanities wireless universities as suggested by Mr. Harold Wilson in England can be organised even in India.

As I said that the medium of instruction should be Indian languages, it becomes imperative that the translation work should be expedited—translation of scientific and technical terminology from foreign to our Indian languages. There should be one central agency for the preservation and utilisation of manuscripts. A translation service should be efficiently organised for translating select passages of literature from one Indian language into all other Indian languages. That would bring about national integration. For example, why should not the entire Thirukkural by Shri Thiruvalluvar be translated into all other Indian languages? Similarly, the southern languages should be made compulsory in the northern universities. Our libraries and laboratories require to be better equipped. In Oxford, for example, there are no less than three million books, while our Calcutta University Library has less than six lakhs. Laboratories also require expansion and better equipment

The UGC has realised the importance of hostel accommodation. I should also like to suggest that, also

England it is high time that we introduced the system of authorised houses and approved houses for students' lodging. (*Time bell rings*). With these words, I conclude.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Mr. Vice-Chairman, may I join the speakers who have participated in the debate and who have paid warm tributes to the work of the University Grants Commission? In the course of the few observations that I want to make on this Report, I should like to say that I am in full agreement with the statement made by the hon. Minister of Education that however anxious we might be to see that Hindi is the national language of the country, we cannot sever links with English for a long time to come. As one who knows something of the printing trade, I may say here that we do not have even the mechanical apparatus today at the disposal of the country for carrying out the work of translation of books to which the previous speaker, who made one of the most able and precise speeches in this House, referred in his speech. (I should like to say this that whatever might be the future of the English language, the hon. Minister of Education and the University Grants Commission should now try to find out what the impact of the three-language formula on university education is going to be. I am one of those who have held the view that if we are to promote national integration, the language of instruction in the universities must be the national language, that is, Hindi and, in the interim period, English and that there is no room for regional languages being the medium of instruction in the universities. "What is going to happen to the three-language formula is that in the next generation we will have students who neither understand English well nor Hindi well and who might be very proficient in the regional languages. If we are to promote national integration, it is our duty to see that in the universities, at some stage or other, Hindi is the medium of instruction-

tion and in the interim period English takes its place till Hindi attains that position when it could be introduced easily as a medium of instruction in the various universities.

SHRI M. BUTHNASWAMY: What authority has Mr. Mani to say that Hindi is the national language of India? It is the official language of India.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Whatever it is, Hindi will become the national language. We might say that it is the official language of the country today. As one whose mother tongue is not Hindi and who has tried to make some attempts to learn the Hindi language, I may say that I am looking forward to the day when Hindi will become not only the official but also the national language of the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN): It is one of the national languages.

SHRI A. D. MANI: It is the preeminent national language, Mr. Vice-Chairman. It is one of the national languages today.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: There is no question of pre-eminence.

SHRI A. D. MANI: After 1965 it will have not only the status of an official language but also that of the national language.

I am going to another point. We have been talking a lot about national integration. Recently rupee coins have been struck bearing the effigy of our beloved Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If you are to be true to his memory you must see that the policy of national integration is followed in the universities. I was shocked to find that the University Grants Commission refers to the Aligarh University as the Aligarh Muslim University and the Banaras University as the Banaras Hindu University.

SHRI f. N. SAPRU: The title is the Aligarh Muslim University Act, the Banaras Hindu University Act. How would you describe them otherwise?

SHRI A. D. MANI: You call them as the Central Aligarh University and the Central Banaras University, tt you are to promote national integration.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: For that the statute has to be changed.

SHRI A. D. MANI: We would like the Government in memory of our late Prime Minister, who stood for national integration, to bring for. ward an amending Bill calling them the Central University of Aligarh and the Central University of Banaras.

The report has made reference to the setting up of Chairs in ancient history and archaeology. I would rather like to see in the context of all the talk that is going on about national integration, for Chairs to be established in the Central Universities which will specialise in Indian cultures and Indian religions. There is not adequate knowledge about the various religions practised in this country. In order to promote a sense of tolerance, a Chair may be created for Indian cultures which would deal also with the question of Indian religious practices by people in the country.

I would also like the University Grants Commission to be given complete control over technical education. At this end, the All-India Council for Technical Education has a great measure of control of the funds that are placed at the disposal of the University Grants Commission. This is not a satisfactory position at all. If you want the working of the University Grants Commission to improve in quality, you must see that technical education is also placed entirely under the control of the University Grants Commission.

I would like to go on to two amendments tabled which I consider are important and to one of which the hon Minister of Education made a reference in his opening remarks on this Report. Amendment No. 10 deals with the demand that I have made, that the University Grants Commission should conduct a fresh inquiry into the student unrest and indiscipline in the country in view of the serious disturbances caused by students recently in Orissa. I do not want to go into the lamentable tal_e of student indis cipline in Orissa and the manner in which students invaded the Legislative Chambers, held a mock Parliament and tried to deride parliamentary institutions in the country. There are two a_ides to the question and I may draw the attention of the House to a journal published in Orissa culled "Scrutiny.", edited by Mr. Raj-kishore Patnaik. There is a reference in the article to the fact that Chief Ministers themselves had set a bad example to students. The question is asked, when one ex-Chief Minister assaults another ex-Minister at a party meeting, what kind of example would bt left on the students? The second allegation that he has made is that the Chief Minister got a candidate enrolled in a college in disregard of rules and regulations by misusing his position and power and openly tried to-justify such actions on the plea that the student was his candidate for the Presidentship of the Students' Union in the ensuing election. This is the statement that the Chief Minister made.

The inquiry that is being conducted now in Orissa is confined only to events after a particular date, Sep>-tember 26. If my memory is not wrong, it is the date which has b<nn fixed by the Government. The Government of Orissa is not prepared to go into the events preceding September 26. In view of the fact that the disturbances that are taking place In Orissa have assumed almost a national problem, the University Grants Com-mission, I th'nk, should conduct an inquiry, particularly into the Orisa*

disturbances, not that we want material to be given for conducting a free judicial inquiry into the conduct of Mr. Biren Mitra and Mr. Patnaik. We should like to have all the facts brought before the House in the form of an Inquiry conducted by the University Grants Commission. I would like to go on.

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa): How does that arise? It is a State subject.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR AJJ KHAN): No interruptions please.

SHRI A. D. MANI: I would like to mention here to the hon. Member, who is a newcomer to the House, that three or four years ago the University Grants Commission conducted an enquiry into students' unrest and indiscipline and came to the conclusion that politicians also played a little part in fomenting the disturbances. In view of what has happened, I do not think the University Grants Commission can stand aside and say: We are not concerned with what happened in Orissa. I would like it also to be made clear by the University Grants Commission to universities that if there is any marked defiance of discipline by students of a university, the university concerned would stand the risk of losing grants and aid from the University Grants Commission, if they cannot maintain discipline.

The second point is about textbooks. I do not know whether Members of the House read reports about an amazing text book on geography published in the State of Maharashtra. I have great respect for the efficiency of the State of Maharashtra. South Indians were described in a geography textbook as persons who drink *rasam*, who go about with bare feet.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: That book has already been withdrawn.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Why are you getting sensitive? It was prescribed as

a textbook. People of Bengal were described as persons who used mustard oil. This book, I must say in fairness to the Government of Maharashtra, was withdrawn as soon as their attention was drawn to it.

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: Why do you advertise it here when it has been already withdrawn?

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR AJJ KHAN): No interruptions please.

SHRI A. D. MANI: My amendment says:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the University Grants Commission should conduct an inquiry into the question of adequacy and suitability of text books published in the country with a view to ascertaining whether they are of such a character as will raise the standard of university education in the country."

The other point is that the Bihar Government is going to set up a Textbooks Corporation—to manufacture textbooks. Now, Sir, if these are the textbooks which are going to be read in schools and taught in schools, what will be the effect on university education? This does not strictly concern the University Grants Commission, the textbooks published for schools, but they should take into account that some of the textbooks are disgraceful in character. I know that what happened in Maharashtra is a very exceptional case and I want to assuage the feelings of my good friend by saying that the Maharashtra Government withdrew the textbooks, but then the University Grants Commission cannot absolve itself of its responsibility, and I suggest that the University Grants Commission should conduct an inquiry into the suitability of the textbooks published in the country.

SHRI M. C. SHAH (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the subject today is

[Shri M. C. Shah] so important and so interesting that it is very difficult to do justice to it within the time limit of ten minutes. However, for the convenience of Members you have prescribed the time limit and I shall try to abide by it.

The report of the University Grants Commission provides very interesting reading and it tells us what efforts have been made during 1962-63 to enlarge, to consolidate higher education, and to improve the quality of higher education also. The number of students in the universities has doubled with the last eight years and the number of universities also has gone up. But what is the result of this expansion? The result has been that there is a fall in the standard of education, indiscipline in the student world, unemployment among the educated youth. There is a shortage of competent and dedicated teachers in the universities! and there is inadequacy of financial resources. If we are not able to meet these problems and do our best to solve them I am afraid, we will be in a soup and the country and our youngsters will have to suffer. It is therefore very necessary that we must give an objective and very considered thought as to how these problems could be met. Two problems are there: whether we want to expand or whether we want to consolidate. I am afraid that for the time being it is very necessary for Government not to expand but to consolidate the quality of education and to see that it gives good results in proportion to the money spent on education. After fifteen years of Independence, it is of course very regrettable that we have not been able to evolve a policy on higher education which is acceptable to all parts of our country. In principle we have decided that the regional language shall be the medium of instruction for the primary, secondary and higher education. It has also been decided that Hindi shall be the national language, link language, and English will have the status of a third language.

But in spite of this policy decision, it is said that the regional language is yet not ready to do the work allotted to it and, therefore, we shall have to go slow. We shall have to wait for certain years and after the regional languages come up, then only they will be introduced as medium in higher education. I am afraid, Sir, this is a vicious circle. If we decide that the regional language shall be the medium of instruction up to higher education and if we think that for some years to come we should make efforts to make this regional language-rich enough to do its duty, I am afraid that at no time within the foreseeable future, we will be able to replace English by the regional language. As was rightly said, if one has to learn to swim, he cannot do it unless he throws himself into the water, and therefore I would request the Education Minister to decide once and for all in all seriousness, in all consciousness, that after a certain period the regional language shall be the medium of instruction; come what may, whatever be the difficulties we shall face them, but after a certain period, three or four or five years, after that period, the regional language shall play its proper part. We shall see that textbooks are ready, teachers are ready, and all the conditions necessary shall be complied with. But on the ground that we have not been able to fulfil these conditions to postpone the regional language to another date, will be doing a great harm to the country.

We have seen that in spite of all our efforts there is a general feeling that the standard of education has gone down. And why? I just read in yesterday's paper that the Chief Minister of Madras has declared that the administration should not switch over to Hindi unless non-Hindi people agree to it. One does not know, but there were some speeches wherein it was said that Hindi was given its due importance in southern States. If that were true, and I believe it is true, why then comes the slogan that Hindi should not be the language of art-

ministration unless non-Hindi irsars agree to it? 'In all humility, I would like to urge upon them that in the national interests it is very necessary that we shall have to adopt the regional languages up to the higher education and Hindi as the national language for our administrative purposes. It is very necessary that the Minister should consult the Education Ministers in the States also and, by a consensus of opinion, a definite date has to be fixed, if we are sincere, that the regional languages to be medium of instruction and the use of Hindi as the national language shall come into force by that date.

I have seen that the universities that are now cropping up, are a replica of the others. The same subjects are taught. Arts, science, medicine, engineering—the same subjects are taught in the various universities. If I may state about my own State of Gujarat, the Gujarat Vidyapil has got its own special features. Otherwise, the Gujarat University, Anand University, Baroda University, the/ are all the replica of the same calibre, and we are having two more universities, Saurashtra University and Surat University. May I appeal in all humility, instead of the universities being a replica of one another:- why not the universities specialise in certain branches- of learning? I know that any student who passes from the M.I.T. in U.S.A. is considered to be an expert in chemical engineering and he will have no difficulty whatsoever in getting necessary work for him. I also know that in advanced countries the students and the colleges are informed by industrialists that any students passing the university examination are required for their employment. But what do we find here? Here unemployment of educated people is a very serious problem. We discussed the other day about the mining engineers and what did we find? Every year about 300 engineers are coming up and only 100 of them get a job. Will this not bring about indiscipline?

What else can we expect from this? If our youngsters are frustrated, what can be their reaction to values of life if they do not get proper jobs and proper work according to their ability? I will not take, as I said in the beginning, much time, I will abide by your time-limit.

I would request that it is high time now that we had a consistent policy. And I agree that Education should be made a Concurrent subject. Unless the Centre has some hand in dealing with the subject of Education in the States, I think the results will be very harmful. One State will go in one way, another State will go in another way, and the Centre will have no say whatsoever. As a matter of fact, they are finding it difficult. Now, unfortunately, the States are becoming stronger and stronger and they are not going to abide by the advice of the Centre. It is our history that India was strong enough only when the Centre was strong and whenever the Centre weakened, the country went down. So, it is very necessary that in the sphere of education also, there must be complete co-ordination between the States and the Centre. For that, it is essential that Education should be made a Concurrent subject so that the policy could be well laid down and efficiently carried out.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR AU KHAN): Shri Deokinandan Narayan. You have got ten minutes.

श्री देवीकानन्दन नारायण : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, यूनीवर्सिटी ग्राण्ट्स कमिशन ने अपने मर्यादित दायरे में जो बहुत अच्छा काम किया है उसके लिये बधाई का पात्र है। मैं उस ओर अपना वक्त नहीं देना चाहता। मुझे दुख तो इस बात का है कि हमारी शिक्षा की कोई नीति अब तक निर्धारित नहीं हो सकी, न शिक्षा के सामने कोई साफ उद्देश्य है। शिक्षा के विचारों में इतनी गड़बड़ी है कि

[श्री देवकी नन्दन नारायण]

इतनी गड़बड़ी शायद और किसी मामले में नहीं है। अभी हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री बम्बई गए थे। वहां विद्यार्थियों के सामने भाषण देते हुए उन्होंने यह कहा कि हमारी शिक्षा "एमलेस" है। यही बात पंडित जवाहरलाल जी भी कहते आए थे। शिक्षार्थी या शिक्षा शास्त्री सभी इस बात को दोहराते हैं। परन्तु आज तक हमारी शिक्षा की कोई नीति निर्धारित नहीं हुई, वही गड़बड़ चलती आ रही है। जिस तरह हमारे शिक्षा मन्त्री बदलते आये हैं उसी तरह से हमारी शिक्षा नीति भी बदलती आई है। जिस वक्त मौलाना आजाद थे उस वक्त रीजनल लैंग्वेज और हिन्दी उर्दू को प्राथमिकता दी गई। उसके बाद श्रीमाली जी आए, उन्होंने हिन्दी के ऊपर जोर दिया। अब हमारे माननीय चागला जी आए हैं। वे इंग्लिश को लेकर ही चारों तरफ दौड़ रहे हैं।

श्री प्रकाश नारायण सप्रु : यह बात सही नहीं है।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : यह सही है। जो मैं कह रहा हूं उसको सुनिएगा। कल ही चागला साहब बम्बई में थे। बम्बई में उन्होंने कहा :

"It would be suicidal to replace English till Hindi was in a position to replace it."

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: "Till Hindi was in a position".

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : अंग्रेज भी हमेशा यह कहते आए थे कि जब तक आप लायक नहीं बनेंगे आपको स्वतन्त्रता नहीं दी जा सकती। इसलिये उन्होंने कई बार यही कहा कि आपको आजादी इन्स्टालमेंट्स में दी जायेगी। वही इन्स्टालमेंट की भाषा हमारे शिक्षा मन्त्री भी आज कहने लग गए हैं। मुझे बड़ा दुःख होता है कि किस तरह से ऐसा कहा जा सकता है। यही नहीं, अहमदाबाद में हमारे शिक्षा मन्त्री ने कहा :

"But, for heaven's sake, do not introduce regional language as medium in universities in place of English or the link language".

इतना एम्फसिस वे अंग्रेजी के ऊपर दे रहे हैं कि मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि क्या हिन्दुस्तान में आगे चल कर अंग्रेजी ही रहने वाली है या यहां हिन्दुस्तान की जनता की भाषा रहने वाली है। महात्मा गांधी ने इस "मीडियम आफ इन्स्ट्रक्शन्स" के बारे में सन् १९४६ में जो कहा था वह मैं आपको पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूं।

"I am certain that the children of the nation, that receive instruction in a tongue other than their own, commit suicide. It robs them of their birth-right. A foreign medium means an undue strai* upon the youngsters, it robs them of all originality. It stunts their growth and isolates them from their home, I regard, therefore, such a tiling as a national tragedy . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Sma AXBAK ALI KHAN): Are you reading the translation or the original?

SHRI DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: No. no. I am reading the original.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Why did Mahatma Gandhi write in English?

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण : That also I tell you. वे इसलिए अंग्रेजी में लिखते थे कि आप जैसे बहुत से जो कि अंग्रेजी के खैरवाह थे, उनको देश भक्ति सिखलाने को जिस वक्त आजादी की लड़ाई में लाखों की तादाद में आन्दमी शामिल थे, उस समय सब अंग्रेजीदां आफिसेज की शोभा बढ़ा रहे थे और उनके लिये महात्मा गांधी को अंग्रेजी में लिखना पड़ता था। और मुझे दुःख है कि जिस वक्त श्री जैरामदास दौलतराम जी बोल रहे थे उस वक्त उन्होंने जो कहा वह ठीक नहीं था। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि हत्या होने से पहले कुछ वर्ष महात्मा गांधी अपने अखबार में अंग्रेजी

में लिखना छाड़ कर हिन्दी में लिखते थे, गुजराती में लिखते थे और उसका ट्रांसलेशन अंग्रेजी में होता था।

Shri P. N. SAPRU: May I just intervene to say that a most eminent physician who appeared before us said this in answer to a question which was put by a member of the Committee; "Eliminate English by all means if you hate it. But substitute for it French, German or Russian; no Indian language will do."

Shri DEOKINANDAN NARAYAN: I have got limited time. Further, Gandhiji said:

"The foreign medium has prevented¹ the growth of our vernaculars. If I had the powers of a despot, I would today stop the tuition of our boys and girls through foreign medium and require all the teachers and professors on pain of dismissal to introduce the change forthwith. I would not wait for the preparation of text-books. They will follow the change. It is an evil that needs a summary remedy".

तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि आज हमारे शिक्षा सम्बन्धी विचारों में बड़ी गड़बड़ी है। शिक्षा मन्त्री कुछ कहते हैं, शिक्षा शास्त्री कुछ और बात कहते हैं। और आप जानते हैं कि इस देश में भाषावार प्रान्त रचना हो चुकी है। हर एक प्रान्त की, राज्य की, भाषा में वहाँ का राज-कारोबार चलता है और अब तो करीब-करीब सब प्रदेशों ने यह निश्चित कर लिया है कि वहाँ का राज-काज वहाँ की भाषा में ही चलेगा। इतना ही नहीं, वहाँ की कोर्ट कचहरी का काम भी वहाँ की भाषा में चलेगा। इतना ही नहीं, बिल और ऐक्ट भी उसी प्रादेशिक भाषा में तैयार होंगे जो कि वहाँ की राजभाषा है। जब यह सब हो रहा है तब मैं अपने शिक्षा मन्त्री जो से जानना चाहूँगा कि जब हर एक प्रदेश अपने राज-काज का काम, कोर्ट कचहरी का काम, अपने कानून तक सब अपनी भाषा

में बनाना चाहता है तो क्यों नहीं वहाँ की यूनिवर्सिटी की भाषा रीजनल भाषा हो। अगर वहाँ की रीजनल भाषा न होगी तो मैं मैं उनसे यह जानना चाहूँगा कि वहाँ की सरकार को किस तरह अच्छे योज कर्मचारी, वहाँ की भाषा को खूब जानने वाले मिल सकते हैं?

इसके बाद मुझे यह कहना है कि आज आधे हिन्दुस्तान की भाषा हिन्दी है और हिन्दी भाषा-भाषी जो उत्तर भारत के प्रदेश हैं उन तमाम प्रदेशों ने यह निश्चित किया है कि अब आगे से हमारा राज-काज न सिर्फ हिन्दी में चलेगा बल्कि हमारे यहाँ जो बिल पेश होंगे वे भी हिन्दी में होंगे। तो मैं जानना चाहूँगा कि जब ये सब बातें प्रदेशों में हो रही हैं तब आप यूनिवर्सिटी में अंग्रेजी चलाने रहेंगे तो आप कहाँ होंगे और आपके राज्य और प्रदेश कहाँ होंगे?

दूसरी बात, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश ने सोशलिज्म, समाजवाद का नारा अपनाया है और इसको अपना निकट उद्देश्य बताया है तो फिर यूनिवर्सिटी में जो शिक्षा दी जाती है वह इस उद्देश्य की कहाँ तक पूर्ति करती है? हमारी संस्कृति प्राचीन है, बड़ी-चढ़ी है—इसका आविष्कार किस यूनिवर्सिटी से कितना मिलता है? हमारी आकांक्षाएँ हैं हमारी आवश्यकताएँ हैं—इनकी पूर्ति कहाँ तक आज की यूनिवर्सिटी शिक्षा से हो रही है? यूनिवर्सिटी से बाहर निकलने वाला विद्यार्थी सिर्फ नौकरी के लिये तरसता है, नौकरी के पीछे दौड़ता है और अनइम्प्लायमेंट बढ़ता ही जा रहा है और जहाँ दो की जरूरत है वहाँ पाँच सौ दौड़ते हैं। भविष्य उसका अन्धकार-मय होता है, वह फस्ट्रेशन लेकर आता है। आज विद्यार्थियों में जो इन्डिस्प्लिन है उसका भी एक कारण यही है। उनको भविष्य साफ नज़र नहीं आता। उन्हें कोई विश्वास दिलाने वाला नज़र नहीं आता। और फिर जब अपने चारों तरफ देश की ओर देखते हैं तो कोई विश्वास पैदा नहीं होता। इस हालत

[श्री देवकी नन्दन नारायण]
मैं वह बेचारा क्या करे ? इस तरह से विद्यार्थी निराश हो जाता है और निराशा बढ़ने से ही इन्डिसिप्लिन पैदा होती है।

एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ और यह यह है कि हमारी यूनीवर्सिटी ग्राण्ट्स कमिशन पैसे का बंटवारा बहुत अच्छा करती है परन्तु हमारे शिक्षार्थी जो यूनीवर्सिटी से निकलते हैं उनके सामने आदश क्या होगा, बेल्यूज क्या होंगे और वह क्या बेल्यूज लेकर बाहर जा रहे हैं। इस बात को और बहुत ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है और साथ ही साथ उनके आरोग्य, उनकी हेल्थ की ओर भी ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता। अभी कुछ दिन हुए यू० एन० कौंसिल आफ इण्डियन यूथ ने सारी यूनीवर्सिटीज के विद्यार्थियों का एक सर्वे लिया था और उन्होंने एक रिपोर्ट पेश की है, जिसमें उन्होंने लिखा है कि यूनिवर्सिटीज के विद्यार्थियों का स्वास्थ्य बहुत गिरा हुआ है और वे कई रोगों के शिकार बने हुए हैं। उन्होंने इसका कारण यह बतलाया है कि विद्यार्थी ज्यादातर अण्डर नरिसमेंट पाते हैं और यह चीज पावर्टी की वजह से है। क्या यूनीवर्सिटी ग्राण्ट्स कमिशन ने कभी यह बात सोची कि जो विद्यार्थी, जो नवयुवक कल हमारे देश का नेता होने वाला है उसकी हेल्थ क्यों गिरती जा रही है ? वह नवयुवक जो कल हमारे देश का राज-काज चलाने वाला है, जो हमारे देश का भविष्य है, क्या हमने उसके स्वास्थ्य के बारे में भी कभी सोचा ? आज हम डिफेंस की बात करते हैं, तो क्या इस तरह के कमजोर बच्चे हमारे देश की रक्षा कर सकेंगे ? इसलिए मैं यूनिवर्सिटी ग्राण्ट्स कमिशन से यह जानना चाहूंगा कि उसने इस बात की ओर कहां तक ध्यान दिया है कि हमारे बच्चे अण्डर नरिसमेंट पाते हैं ? यू० एन० कौंसिल आफ इण्डियन यूथ ने यहां तक कहा है कि वरुंदवान यूनिवर्सिटी के जो विद्यार्थी हैं, उनकी हालत उनका स्वास्थ्य सबसे ज्यादा गिरा हुआ है। उन्होंने और भी यूनिवर्सिटीजों

के नाम बतलाये हैं जहां के विद्यार्थियों का स्वास्थ्य गिरा हुआ है। इसलिए यूनिवर्सिटी ग्राण्ट्स कमिशन को इस बात की ओर सबसे पहले ध्यान देना चाहिये। उनका ध्यान प्रोफेसरों की तनख्वाह की ओर ही नहीं जाना चाहिये, उनकी आर्थिक हालत सुधारी जानी चाहिये, अगर उनको आर्थिक चिन्ता सताती होगी तो वे विद्यार्थियों को अच्छी तरह शिक्षा नहीं दे सकेंगे जो कि हमारे देश के लिए अच्छी बात नहीं होगी। परन्तु साथ ही साथ चिन्ता इस बात की होती है कि जहां यूनिवर्सिटीजों में बढ़ावे की कई बातें होती हैं, वहां पर आज हमें यह देखना चाहिये कि विद्यार्थियों को कितने आदर्शों की शिक्षा दी जा रही है। आजकल यूनिवर्सिटीजों से जो विद्यार्थी निकलते हैं वे अधिकतर सिर्फ नौकरी के लिए ही होते हैं, वे कोई और काम नहीं कर सकते हैं। हमारे यहां २५ हजार एग्रीकल्चर ग्रेजुएट बतलाये जाते हैं, तो मैं अपने मिनिस्टर साहब से पूछना चाहूंगा कि इन एग्रीकल्चर ग्रेजुएट्स में से कितने प्रत्यक्ष खेती करते हैं, नाट ईवन श्री परसेन्ट, दो तीन प्रतिशत खेती करते हैं और बाकी जो हैं वे सब नौकरी करते हैं। हमारी यूनिवर्सिटीज से जो विद्यार्थी निकलते हैं, उनके सामने सिवाय नौकरी के और कोई आदर्श नहीं है, कोई उद्देश्य नहीं है। और जो आज पढ़ रहे हैं उनके सामने भी कोई आकांक्षा सिवाय नौकरी के नहीं है। इसलिए इन सब बातों की ओर यूनिवर्सिटी ग्राण्ट्स कमिशन को ध्यान देना चाहिये, जिससे इस देश की ऊंचाई बड़े और देश की प्रतिष्ठा बड़े। पहले हमारे यहां सारी दुनिया के लोग पढ़ने के लिये आते थे लेकिन आज हालत यह है कि यहां से हमारे विद्यार्थी पढ़ने के लिए इंग्लैण्ड और अमरीका जाते हैं जो कि बहुत गौरव की बात नहीं है। क्या हमारे यहां शिक्षा शास्त्रियों की कमी है, विद्वानों की कमी है ? परन्तु आज उल्टी गंगा बह रही है, यहां आज मातृभाषा की कदर नहीं है, हमारी प्रान्तीय भाषाओं की कदर नहीं है और अंग्रेजी की ही कदर है। इस सम्बन्ध में महात्मा जी ने यह कहा था :

"It is becoming a nation of imitators".

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN) : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty-five minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 24th November, 1964.