

Saturday, 28th August, 1943

COUNCIL OF STATE DEBATES

(OFFICIAL REPORT)

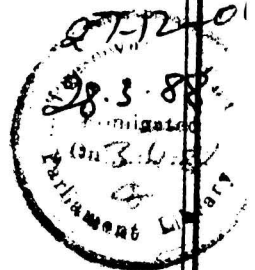
VOLUME II, 1943

(2nd to 31st August, 1943)

FOURTEENTH SESSION

OF THE

FOURTH COUNCIL OF STATE, 1943



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COUNCIL OF STATE

Saturday, 28th August, 1943.

The Council met in the Council Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, the Honourable the Chairman (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss) in the Chair.

MEMBERS SWORN :

The Honourable Mr. John Dawson Tyson (Education, Health and Lands Secretary).

The Honourable Mr. Abbas Ashraf Said (Nominated Official).

SHORT NOTICE QUESTION AND ANSWER.

CIRCULATION OF DELHI UNIVERSITY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

144. THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM :— Was the Delhi University Bill circulated, if so, to whom ? Was any opinion thereon received, if so, from whom and when ? Was the opinion, if any, sent to members of the Central Legislature, if so, when ? If not, why not ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH : The Bill was sent to the authorities of Delhi University for opinion. The opinions of the Executive Council and Academic Council sitting together and of the Court of the University were forwarded to Government by the Registrar of the University on the 13th May, 1943. Copies of the opinions of these three bodies were circulated to members of the Legislative Assembly when consideration of the Bill was taken up during the session just closed. Copies have now been circulated to members of the Council of State.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : When was the Bill sent to the Delhi University Court and the Executive Council for opinion ? Was it sent after proposals had been formulated in the shape of a Bill or was the Executive Council and the Court consulted at an earlier stage, that is to say, before the introduction of the Bill in the Legislative Assembly ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH : It was sent after the Bill had been drafted and introduced.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : In view of the fact that the recommendation of Sir Maurice Gwyer is that it should be the chief link between the cultural world of India and the cultural world of other countries, why was not the Bill sent to the Provincial Universities and other educationists for opinion ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH : That contingency will arise when the University is established according to this Bill.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Why has not the opinion of the Vice-Chancellor been taken on this subject.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH : He was an officer of the University and we were well aware of his views.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Are they against the recommendations of the Executive Council and the Court ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH : They are generally in favour of the proposals in the Bill.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Do we take it that he had a hand in framing the Bill ?

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss) : How does that arise ?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH : That does not arise.

DELHI UNIVERSITY (AMENDMENT) BILL—*contd.*

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN (The Honourable Sir David Devadoss) : How long will you take ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU (United Provinces Southern : Non-Muhammadian) : I will try to cut it short. I will not give you a definite time, but I shall not be very long. I shall try to cut it—

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN : Is it a lawyer's ten minutes ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : I happen to be a lawyer, and therefore my word may not be trusted if I say I will finish in ten minutes ! But I shall try to cut it short as far as possible. I realise that there are other speakers who must also speak and we have to finish as early as possible.

Sir, when we broke up yesterday, I was dealing with the question of the constitution of the Delhi University Court and I was instituting a comparison between the constitution of the Delhi University Court and the Allahabad University Court and my main endeavour was to point out that the constitution of the Allahabad University Court was more liberal. I will just indicate in what directions I regard the constitution of the Allahabad University Court as more liberal. In the Allahabad University the Chancellor can appoint 15 members of whom not more than five may be appointed to secure the representation of minorities not otherwise adequately represented. Now, Sir, here we find that the number of persons to be appointed by the Chancellor will be 25 of whom 18 must at least be representatives of minority interests. I am not going into the question at the moment of minority representation. I have made by submissions. I think you have conceded to communalism, though you have not conceded to communalism through election which I prefer to nomination.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH : Conceded to partnership.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : There are electoral devices short of communal representation whereby minority representation could be secured. Therefore, you have taken advantage of this minority business further to officialise the Bill. That was the point that I had in mind and that is why I referred to the Allahabad University.

It may be said that the number of registered graduates in the case of Allahabad is certainly larger because Allahabad is an older and more established University. I do not know whether all the Punjab graduates residing in Delhi can join the Delhi University as registered graduates. Well in Lucknow I think they can. In Benares those of us—and I was myself educated partly at the Central Hindu College, Benares—and those of us who graduated from the Central Hindu College were allowed to join as registered graduates. That is one way of increasing the number of people eligible to be registered graduates. Now, Sir, the number of registered graduates in our University who can be elected to the Court is 30. Here the number has been fixed at 25. Whereas the number of nominated seats has been increased the number of elected seats remains exactly as it was when the Bill was originally introduced.

Then, Sir, we have in the Allahabad University—and I am taking the Allahabad University just as a model because I am most familiar with the constitution of the Allahabad University : I know the constitution of the Lucknow University and other universities in my province but I am not going into those constitutions—in the case of the Allahabad University, associations who contribute Rs. 25,000 and individuals who contribute Rs. 10,000 can nominate a member to the Court. Similarly associations or individuals who make an annual contribution of Rs. 5,000 can nominate a member to the Court as long as the contribution lasts.

Now, Sir, I find that no similar effort in reconstituting the Court has been made to provide for representation of this type. I know, Sir, that the Delhi University is a federal University and that the colleges also will need grants, that there is provision for representation in the Delhi University Act of the Governing Body of the colleges. It may be urged that the University does not want to enter into competition with the colleges. But, as a matter of fact, Sir, the University by appointing university teachers and professors and readers, by insisting upon co-operative teaching—and I think it is a good thing to have co-operative teaching—for example, I should like teaching for the pass course to be handed over to the colleges and that for the post-graduate and honours courses I would retain in the University. The University has entered into competition with the colleges. I think, Sir, if you want to make the University a really big University then you must approach the public in the right way. You must go and tell them, "Well, here is something that you can get if you donate to the University". If I feel that I shall have a representative in the University I shall necessarily say to myself, "Well, let me perpetuate my name"—it is a very natural feeling in an egotistical society—"Let me perpetuate my name by contributing something to the University" and

the benefit is that you get the association of public opinion, of philanthropists and so on. Now, Sir, here in the Delhi University I find that patrons can be appointed on the recommendation of the Executive Council by the Chancellor. I am thinking of the original Act. Now, Sir, why? Why should you not have an automatic rule which would enable an individual by giving or contributing something to the University to become a member of the Governing Body of the University? Therefore, Sir, if you look at the list of officials who are members of the Court you will find that they are, I think, less than the number of officials provided for in the Delhi University.

Then, Sir, I come to the Executive Council. In the Executive Council I find that two more members have been added to represent women. The Chancellor will nominate four, two of whom shall be women hereafter. I think, Sir, I can with honesty say that there is no greater advocate of the feminist cause than myself in this House. I believe in the absolute equality of sexes and I would like women to take a legitimate and adequate share in the public, educational, social and economic life of this country but if there is one thing that I have noticed about women's organisations it is this. When, for example, the Reforms Scheme was being discussed in England and before the Franchise Committee I think the representatives of women's organisations took the line that they did not want any special representation for themselves. In our province, women have been able to stand and stand successfully against very able candidates and win seats for themselves both in the Court of the University and in the Legislature of the province. I should certainly like women to be given representation but, assuming that it is necessary to give representation to women in the Executive Council, why must it be nominated representation? Why can you not have a clause that two of the seats in the graduates' constituency shall be reserved for women? If the number of women graduates in Delhi is very small, why cannot you ask the All-India Women's Conference or the Delhi Branch of the All-India Women's Conference to elect representatives to the Delhi University? I was glad to find, Sir, that on this question the view of the woman member of the other House is exactly more or less the same as mine. You have not even in regard to this matter the support of your own nominee of the special interests that she represents.

Well, Sir, then I shall come to the Academic Council. I notice in the Bill that non-teachers are to be appointed by the Chancellor, non-teachers, that is to say, who are experts in some branch of education. Now, Sir, in the Allahabad University, which owes its inception to the noble work of my late distinguished leader Sir C. Y. Chintamani, there is a provision that there should be in the Academic Council five elected representatives of the Court not connected with teaching. I was one of the five representatives on the Academic Council for a number of years, and I do not see any reason why the Court of the Delhi University should not be considered fit to send expert representatives, not connected with teaching, to the Academic Council. If the intention is that you must have adequate representation of minorities, surely that can be secured by other methods than that of nomination. There is the method of cumulative voting; there is the method of proportional representation. I do not, I say in a most definite manner, accept the view that the object is merely to provide representation for minorities.

Then, Sir, I find that five representatives are to be nominated by the Chancellor to the Academic Council for representing Islamic studies and culture. I am very glad that Islamic studies and culture are going to be represented in the Academic Council. I should have liked these representatives to be elected, here again, by some such method as I have suggested—reservation of seats, or cumulative voting, single transferable vote, or any other method of proportional representation. But apart from this objection, a very legitimate question that I want to ask is this. Why is there no provision for the representation of Hindu studies and Hindu culture? I am not antagonistic in the slightest degree to Urdu. I am a devoted member of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, but I equally wish well to the Anjuman-Taraqqi-i-Urdu. I do not understand this differentiation between Hindu and Islamic culture. If a particular type of culture is to be represented in the University, the other type of culture ought also to have representation in that body. I think an explanation is called for on this point. It is claimed that Government has not given way to communalism. I maintain that Government has given way to communalism. But

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it has not given way to communalism by the method of the open door. Between the sly method of introducing communalism and the method of the open door, I frankly say that I prefer the method of the open door.

Then I come to another question. When I studied the Delhi University Act in connection with the Bill which has been introduced here, I found that there was no provision in this Bill or in the original Act for a body which I think is useful from the point of view of the public. In the Allahabad University we have a body which we call the Committee of Reference. It consists of 15 elected representatives of the University Court. These representatives must not be members of the Executive Council. The function of this body is—I will not say to exercise supervision, because its powers are limited—to keep a watch over University expenditure in certain ways. I will tell you how. All recurring expenditure of over Rs. 3,000 and all non-recurring expenditure of over Rs. 10,000 has got to be accepted by the Committee of Reference. If there is a difference between the Committee of Reference and the Executive Council, then either the difference can be resolved by a joint sitting, or the matter can be referred to the Court. I will give you the exact position. I had noted the Statute down—

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN : Should you compare the two Acts word by word ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : That is one of the modern Acts, and I am instituting a comparison in order to show that there has been an effort at officialisation so far as the Delhi University is concerned.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN : For that purpose it is not necessary to compare the two Acts word by word.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Sir, I have dealt with the question of the powers of the Executive Council as regards affiliation and withdrawal of recognition, and I will not say anything more on it. I will leave the relevant section to be given by my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru—

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : No.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : I will give it at the third reading or some other stage.

I come now to the question of a whole-time Vice-Chancellor. Sir, I may frankly say that I am entirely and wholeheartedly with the Government in regard to this question. I think the work of a modern university, even though it be of a federal type, is of such a character that you need a whole-time Vice-Chancellor. In the Report of the Sadler Commission the Vice-Chancellor's functions were defined. Although they were dealing only with Calcutta, we know the Report had a wider import. This is what they say :—

“ He should be *ex-officio* a member of the Executive Council, and a member and Chairman of the Academic Council, and should be entitled to be present and to speak at any meeting of any constituted body of the University, but not to vote unless he is a member of the body concerned. In view of the importance and the exacting nature of the functions entrusted to him, it is essential that the Vice-Chancellor should be a salaried officer, and should devote his whole time to his work. Further, in view of the complexity of the task of organising and directing the University and of representing it in negotiations with Government and with various educational bodies, it is of the greatest importance that the Vice-Chancellor should be a man of high academic standing, distinguished record and ripe experience ”.

This is what they say about the Vice-Chancellor's functions. My own experience, if I may just draw upon it, of the two Universities of Benares and Allahabad has convinced me that it is impossible for the normal work of a Vice-Chancellor to be performed by public men or distinguished lawyers who can devote only a portion of their time to it. We are very fortunate in our Vice-Chancellor. The Allahabad University has fortunately got Pandit Amar Nath Jha, a man possessed of dynamic energy. The Vice-Chancellor has to work daily for about 12, 13 or 14 hours. I have known him working on days for 16 or 17 hours. I have known Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, Dr. Ganga Nath Jha and Pandit Amar Nath Jha working all these long hours. The Vice-Chancellor must keep himself in touch with the students. He must devote about a couple of hours every day to meet the students. He must look after all the office work and he has to preside over numerous meetings and committees. He has also got to do a great deal of secretariat work. It is not possible for any part-

time man to do all that work. The Delhi University has so far been fortunate in having the services of a very distinguished scholar for nothing. He has been giving his time for love of education. But you cannot depend upon getting a man who can devote his whole time to university education, who can make a passion of university education, for all time. Further, if I may say so, I have a little prejudice against non-educationists so far as educational questions are concerned. There are some men in the public life of this country who have an academic outlook. There was Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, there is my friend Dr. Hirday Nath Kunzru, who is an authority on education in our province. There is Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, partly drawn from public life and partly drawn from the educational field. There are some men of exceptional ability in public life who can take a broad academic view of questions of academic administration. But my experience of the High Court Judges who are often nominated as Vice-Chancellors has not been of a very happy character. Sir Shah Suleiman was an exceptional man. I am talking of the average type who finds himself nominated as Vice-Chancellor, *viz.*, retired members of the services in their dotage, ex or retired Ministers or Executive Councillors for whom some honorary work has got to be discovered because he has always spent his life in getting some Government job or other, a retired member of some service—

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN : Should you labour this point so much ?

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : I will not labour this point any further, Sir. I know I am treading on delicate ground. I say that I give my full and whole-hearted support to the proposal that the initiative in regard to the appointment of a whole-time Vice-Chancellor should rest both with the Chancellor and the Executive Council. I will give you my reason for it. I am rather apprehensive that there will be a feeling in some of the members of the Executive Council that they should not have a whole-time man to guide their destinies, and it may be that they may not look at the question from a whole-time point of view. I know, Sir, that in taking this line I am differing from an educationist of the eminence of Dr. P. N. Banerjee. But I do earnestly hope that when Sir Maurice Gwyer retires, Government will not delay a decision on this question and that the Delhi University will have a good whole-time Vice-Chancellor. But while I approve of the suggestion that you should have a whole-time Vice-Chancellor, I do not approve of the procedure that you have prescribed for selecting the Vice-Chancellor. It would be more correct to say that I partly approve of it. That would be more correct. I approve of the principle of an Appointments Board and I have hardly any criticism to offer so far as the construction of the Appointments Board is concerned. But the procedure, as I understand it, is this. The Appointments Board which will be partly selected by the Executive Council and partly selected by the Chancellor, will meet. It will submit three names to the Executive Council and the Executive Council will make recommendations to the Chancellor. I see no reason why the Executive Council should not have been made the electing body. There would have been three names before it. You could have introduced the system of cumulative voting ; you could have introduced the system of proportional representation ; you could have introduced some other such device for securing a fair election. The advantage of having a man elected by the Executive Council would have been this. He would have been able to work in harmony with the Executive Council. Why is it said that responsible government is a superior type of government to other forms of democratic government ? Where is the excellence of responsible government over the presidential system of government or over the Swiss federal system of government ? The excellence of responsible government consists in this that it enables the Executive and the Legislative organs of Government to work in close and harmonious co-operation. Therefore, Sir, the principle embodied in the Lucknow and Allahabad Universities of the Court or the Executive Council electing the Vice-Chancellor is quite all right. The principle embodied in the Lucknow University Act that the Vice-Chancellor should be elected subject to the confirmation of the Chancellor should have been accepted. Here again my quarrel with the Government is that they have attempted to officialise the University and officialisation, as I have said before, hampers academic freedom.

The Faculties are, I find, far too few. I do not understand, for example, why the Lady Hardinge Medical College, which is governed by a Governing Body, and which is affiliated to the Punjab University, though it is an all-India institution—we cannot

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have so much objection to its being affiliated to Delhi as to the Punjab University because Delhi is neutral ground—has not been affiliated to the Delhi University and why it has not been made the nucleus of a big medical faculty. I had very much to say about the way in which medicine is taught in this country but I would not go into that question now. I hope, Sir, that the Delhi University will have a good Medical Faculty.

Then I understand that you are going to have a Polytechnic Institute. Why should you not have a Faculty of Technology? Why are you not instituting a Faculty of Commerce? These are subjects which our young men ought to learn. Why are you not starting a Faculty of Agriculture? You have got an institute here for post-graduate work. The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh wants us to develop an agricultural bias. But there is no agricultural bias in the Bill before us.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH : We are doing all that.

THE HONOURABLE MR. P. N. SAPRU : Why are you not starting a Faculty of Engineering, mechanical, civil and electrical? These are lines on which you should develop. You have got very ambitious aims in view. You want Delhi to become an All-India institution. It is a very ambitious thing and it affects the rights and privileges of provincial universities. You want to come into conflict with provincial universities. I think you should concentrate not on making Delhi an All-India University but an efficient University. London has never replaced Oxford and Cambridge—London is the metropolis of the British Empire. I am not aware of a university at Canberra and if Canberra were to claim that it should have a university superior to Sydney and Melbourne, there would be any amount of controversy between the Federal and State Governments. Therefore, do not talk of making this into an All-India institution. Try to make it an efficient University and if you make it a good University you will have done your job.

Now, Sir, I come to a very important question from my point of view. I have been studying educational thought in England in this war period and one thing that I notice is that there is a movement among the working classes for recognition of their right to equality of opportunity so far as education is concerned. Oxford and Cambridge, other British universities, have been criticised on the ground that they are meant only for the privileged few. There is, as we know, in Oxford and Cambridge a generous system of scholarship. Even Conservative British opinion is against this tendency to restrict the benefits of higher education to the privileged few. I think it is not sufficiently realised that education in this country has become a very expensive affair. You must enable the lower middle classes and the working classes in this country to achieve that equality of opportunity which is fundamental for the progress of a modern community. I should have therefore thought that there would be some indication forthcoming that simultaneously with these reforms of higher secondary education and university education, there would be a generous system of scholarships by the State—and the State will, of course, approach private individuals also who have made money out of the war—for the poorer classes of this country. I should not lower my tests. I do not stand for inefficiency in education. But I do not believe that university education should be the privilege of the maharaja or a big talukdar. I think our best boys are drawn from the villages and I should like, therefore, this question and I shall probably be raising it in the next session of the Council of State—this question of so organising our education as to make it within the reach of everyone at least up to the secondary stage taken up by the Government of India.

Then, Sir, I find that there is no representation of Labour provided for in the Bill. If there is any class of persons which deserves representation, it is Labour. I need not say anything about block grants and the Grants Committee. I will not tire the House with the experiences of the Allahabad University in regard to this matter. The system of block grants has again been revived in Allahabad. I was glad to find that Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad had a great deal to say about it in the other place and I shall not tire the House by repeating what he had to say. My own view is that there should be a Grants Committee on which educationists should be adequately represented. We should not be left to the tender mercies of the Finance Department.

Then, Sir, I come to a very important point. I was sorry that allegations were made by my friend Mr. Hossain Imam against the appointing authorities of Indian

universities. With two of these universities—one of them is a denominational and you may call the other a State university—I am intimately connected and I have alternatively served on the Selection Board of the Allahabad University in Commerce and in Law for a number of years. My friend Mr. Hossain Imam may take it from me—I am speaking as a man of honour and I say this with a full sense of responsibility—he may take it from me that we get unfortunately, to our infinite regret, hardly any Muslim applications worth even considering in Science or Commerce subjects. I do not know what the reason for that is. It is for him to induce the boys of his community to take up these subjects. I will give you a reason. I come into touch with a large number of Muslim students. I am very fond of them; they are very well behaved, they are intelligent, they are industrious, they are very good sportsmen. But the Muslim community has unfortunately been spoon-fed for a long time by the British Government and the mentality is this: "We have got a certain proportion reserved for us in services. We need not bother very much about getting educational efficiency. We will take the easiest way to a pass. We will take Persian, Urdu and English Literature and we will get through". That is the mentality which dominates unfortunately many Muslim students and I should like this mentality to be attacked by leaders of the Muslim community. Believe me, I am speaking as a friend of my Muslim students. I want them to flourish just as I want Hindu students to flourish. It is therefore wrong to attack the Selection Committees on the grounds on which Mr. Hossain Imam has done. If you examine the records, the applications that Selection Committees get—and we have Muslim representatives in the Selection Committees—you will find that the applications in a large number of cases of Muslims in Science subjects are not very discussable. In our University we have got very eminent men in Science, Professor Krishnan, a Fellow of the Royal Society. We have got Dr. Bawa Kartar Singh, who is an Sc. D. of Cambridge—a rather rare degree as Sir Ramunni Menon will tell Mr. Hossain Imam. Are we to tell Professor Krishnan that we shall allow our research to be done by an aspirant for a university job whose only claim is that he is a Muslim? Is it his contention that we shall allow post-graduate teaching to be done by him? The Honourable Mr. Hossain Imam said that in Allahabad in the Faculty of Science there is not a single Muslim. In point of fact he was not absolutely accurate. There is one Muslim at least in the Allahabad University. I think the Honourable Mr. Tyson said in the other House that if you want weight you must pull weight and this is what I would say to my Muslim friends.

Sir, I have covered the ground which I had intended to—not perhaps the entire ground—but I have covered most of the ground I had intended to. Let me summarise now.

Sir, so far as the reorganisation of secondary education and higher education on the lines recommended by the Bill is concerned I am in agreement with the Bill. I find, Sir, that there is a tendency in the Bill to over-officialise the University. With that tendency I am in entire disagreement. The Bill, in my opinion, however, is educationally sound in its basic conception and therefore, Sir, I think I can, speaking for myself, and for the Party also, say that we shall not be a party to any attack on the Bill. We cannot vote against the Consideration Motion. I support the Bill.

* THE HONOURABLE SAIYED MOHAMED PADSHAH SAHIB BAHADUR (Madras : Muhammadan): Sir, the claim has been put forward on behalf of the Government that this Bill is designed to bring about a University which will not only amply and efficiently cater for the educational needs of this province but which will, in fact, be a model university, a model to copy and follow. Sir, this is indeed quite a legitimate and laudable ambition and we who come from other provinces do not grudge in giving our help to the Government in its object, but before we give our support to them it is but natural that we should satisfy ourselves as to the efficiency of the scheme which is proposed to bring about this result. We have to satisfy ourselves as to whether this stupendous undertaking is attempted to be launched in circumstances and under auspices which are really good and favourable.

Sir, as regards the three-year course I may at once state that I am in favour of it. This three-year course though in itself it might be a very desirable reform cannot be expected to bring about that change in the educational system of the country which the present and future needs of India require. Sir, as to the way

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in which this three-year course has been introduced or is being introduced in the Delhi University, I would make comment a little later but at this stage the point that I wish to emphasise is that this is not the only direction in which reform is called for in the educational system. The whole system of education in the country, as you know, Sir, has become out of date. There is need for change in the whole educational system, need for drastic change, need for change not only in the university stage but also in the secondary and even in the primary stage. Sir, therefore, the Government in trying to introduce this reform, to begin this process of reformation at the university stage, is doing a thing which is topsy turvy. It is trying to build from the top. It will be conceded, Sir, that we cannot strengthen or enlarge a superstructure leaving the foundation on which it is based to continue to be weak and rotten. As you know, Sir, it is not this kind of patchwork that is necessary to reform the educational system of the country but what really is required is a thorough examination, a thorough investigation and overhaul of the whole educational policy in the country. Those Honourable friends in this House who have studied the educational problems in the country more seriously would know that the present system of education was launched in this country about a century back, and that since then there has hardly been a real, earnest attempt made to review the system. There have been certain Commissions now and then. There has been the Hunter Commission, there has been the Sadler Commission and a few other attempts made to investigate the question of education in the country but all these Commissions were handicapped on account of the fact that not one of them concerned itself with the educational problem as a whole. Either these Commissions confined themselves only to one stage of education or to one province in the country, but none of them ever tried to visualise the whole situation in the country, to find out how this educational policy has worked in the country and whether it has been a success so far as it has produced results commensurate with the labour, energy and money spent upon it. Whatever might be said of the other policies pursued by the Government in this country—much is not said about them which is favourable—the policy which the Government has pursued in the matter of education has, I believe, failed to bring about the results which can supposed to be commensurate with all the labour and all the attention which the Government professes to bestow upon education. Sir, it is a matter of extreme regret that India, which has been the cradle of great civilisations, India where Dravidian civilisation, Aryan civilisation had flourished so much, India to which had been brought the culture of which Islam had made such great contributions with the advent of the Mussalmans to this land, has now become the most backward country in the world, judged from the proportion of the literate to the illiterate section of the population. Therefore, Sir, it is obvious that it is not this kind of piecemeal work that could really bring about the desired change in the educational system of the country.

Again, Sir, there are a number of things which the present educational policy of the Government has failed to do in this country. What is it, Sir, that has actually been done to develop vocational and technical training in the country? You know, Sir, there has been a cry of late, in recent years, to try and train people for taking up industrial activities in the country and you know this also that the country is not lacking in the talent required for such industrial enterprise. The very fact that within the course of only one year during which under the stress and strain of war Government was forced to train people for technical jobs as

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a result of which thousands of Indians have been able to come out from their training courses as very useful and efficient technicians, shows that India does not at all lack in the capability, in the quality, required of people who have got to undertake industrial enterprises. This cannot be denied by anybody. From a perusal of the Bill—I confess that I have gone through it only cursorily—I find there is hardly any provision for developing this technical and vocational bias in the Delhi University. I would like to submit that in trying to develop this aspect of training it is necessary that Government should not only have good, well-equipped staff, but that they should also give some sort of encouragement to the students to take up technical and vocational courses. They ought to institute scholarships for students who join these courses, and in doing so they should also keep in view

the interests of those sections of the population which have been ignored all along in the distribution of the benefits and advantages of the facilities offered for education. I mean that Government should, while granting such scholarships, take care to see that a great part of them, a substantial portion of those scholarships or fellowships, go to people of those nationalities or communities which have not had their proper share during all the years that the educational system has been functioning in this country.

I will now make a few observations about the three-years' course. I will not dilate on that for any length of time, as much has already been said about it. All that I would like to say is this. The change proposed is really a very drastic change, even though it may be a desirable change. This was contemplated some years ago. So far as I can recollect, it was contemplated nearly three or four years ago. Actually this question was brought up before the Court of the Delhi University some time last year—about the end of July last year. The Honourable Adviser to the Central Government will admit that grave doubts were then expressed as to the feasibility of this course if it was launched without any preparation on the part of the University. Most of the people were in favour of it, but they had doubts as to whether it could be introduced immediately, they had grave doubts as to whether it could be effectively introduced without the ground being prepared for it beforehand. It was asked whether if it was introduced without preparation the immediate effect would not be very injurious to the student population. At that meeting an assurance was given that steps would be taken to see that all these adverse consequences did not follow.

I will just refer to one difficulty which was considered to be one of the main difficulties—I mean the question of migratory student population. To set doubts on this question at rest, it was said that Government would take steps to see that there was no difficulty about this migratory element, that the students coming to and going from the Delhi University would get admission in the respective colleges. But even though more than a year has elapsed, nothing has actually been done to bring about this co-operation on the part of other universities of the country. Government have failed even to consult universities beforehand, before they actually prepared the Bill, as it was admitted a few minutes ago during the Question hour in this Honourable House. Any university which functions in this land has got to work in consultation and in co-operation with other universities. If this is the case with every university in this country, much more is the case with the Delhi University, because Delhi is a place where a very great portion of the student population is of the migratory kind. Here you have got a good number of students who are children of officers who come to Delhi only as birds of passage. Many students come here from other parts of the country, and in the middle of their course they are forced abruptly to cut short their studies in the University and seek admission in other universities. Therefore, it is quite obvious that this scheme which it is intended to launch in the Delhi University, this scheme which makes a serious departure from the system followed in other universities, should have been put to the other universities and those universities should have been asked to give their consent, and they should also have been requested to suggest ways and means by which it would be possible for them to co-operate with the Delhi University in this undertaking. You know that you have made the securing of this co-operation most difficult, if not impossible, by the way in which you have gone about your task. The very fact that you have ignored those universities, the very fact that you did not agree to consult them beforehand, gives them the impression that you wanted to ride roughshod over their feelings, that since you happen to be at the capital of the Government of India, you wanted to dictate to them. And you know how such a course would be resented by those universities. And you can imagine in these circumstances how unwilling those universities would be to co-operate with you and help you to make a success of this experiment.

Sir, I am surprised also to find that though in the other House at some stage of the discussion over this Bill almost a promise was given, at least hope was given, that the other universities would be consulted about this measure, on account of something which happened in this House, on account of the alleged failure of the

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non-official members of this House to carry out the fiat of the Government and withdraw their Motion for Circulation, the Government omitted to consult those universities. I am told that the Education Secretary in the Legislative Assembly promised that he would consult universities if only the Motion for Circulation of this Bill were withdrawn. But since the Motion was not withdrawn—it was pressed to a division—as a retaliation—we have just passed the Reciprocity Act—the Education Secretary thought that it was against the prestige of Government to consult universities and oblige the Assembly in this respect when they had not the courtesy to abide by the dictates of the Government and withdraw the Motion for Circulation. This is not the way in which a serious matter like this should be handled.

One of the most important features of this Bill, which seems to be a retrograde feature, which is far from being a measure of good reform, and which strikes me and most of my Honourable colleagues on this side of the House as a step in the wrong direction, is the proposal to vest the powers of affiliating and disaffiliating colleges in the Executive Council and also in a majority. The very body in which you want to vest this power has stood against it. In one of the resolutions they had passed, they had told you that they were not in favour of this being done by a bare majority of that body. When they themselves do not feel confident of doing justice in a matter like this if it is left only to a bare majority, you have such fund of faith in that body. As has been characterised by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru, a great portion of it is under official influence. You have such faith in them that you feel that quite a bare majority, even the difference of voting between the Ayes and Noes will be quite enough to do real justice in this matter. The Court of the Delhi University has also opined that such a step is a retrograde step, that it is against the very spirit of the present Act and that it is against the spirit of democracy.

Just one word about what my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru said when he concluded his speech, Sir. I am sorry that such a fine speech he made, which we had such great pleasure to listen to, should have been marred just at the end by the observations which he made in regard to the rights and interests of an important element in the population of this country. The Honourable Mr. Sapru, lawyer as he is, merely wanted to score only a debating point. He said that it is because the Mussalmans have an assured place in the Government services, it is because they have their reservations in the Government services, that they take things easy, they do not want to put themselves to the harder tasks of learning Science and getting instruction in harder branches of studies. But, Sir, Mr. Sapru himself knows in his heart of hearts that that is not the explanation of the present situation. You know that the position is just the reverse. You know, Sir, that for all these years there has been an attempt on the part of communities to get their due share in the governance of this country, in the higher services of this country. There has been an incessant cry, both in this House and in the other place, about the paucity in Government services. You know, Sir, how this and the other House has been enlightened as to the ways and the devices which are adopted to cheat the Mussalmans out of their due share not to speak of any concessions that are supposed to be given to them. This cry would not have been here otherwise and in support of my contention I would cite another incident. The Honourable the Leader of the House, who is one of the experienced administrators in this country, who has long standing experience, who was the head of one of the three big provinces, Madras, for some months, that statesman, that administrator, himself had to admit the justice of the grievance, had to admit that the Mussalmans had not been given a fair deal. It is too late in the day now. It is simply light-hearted to say that since the Mussalmans have got an assured place in the Government, they take things easy. The fact is just the reverse. Mussalmans are not admitted to such studies. I can quote instances. I have been on some selection committees. But for the fact that I was there, a number of Mussalmans would have been refused admission. I do not want to go into details but I want to tell my Honourable friends Mr. Sapru and Dr. Kunzru who say that these things are not done. Other people are not equally so broadminded. Unless people in this country take broad views, unless they forget that they have to think only of the rights and privileges of their own people, or simply that they should sit tight over the vested interests which they have secured, you cannot hope for any change in all those better, more honest and less

controversial methods. Unless you have recourse to such methods as giving separate representation to Mussalmans in respect of selection to services or admission to higher studies, you cannot do the thing fairly. I do not want to say much about this at this stage. I have already said that on account of these objections that we have to this Bill and on account of the fact that in spite of all the efforts that we made in the other House for improving the Bill the Government have not cared to respond to the wishes of the Mussalmans—and that in spite of the fact that Government themselves have admitted the justice of our grievances—since Government have refused to do bare justice to us, we refuse to co-operate with the Government in getting this Bill passed in this House.

THE HONOURABLE MR. JOHN SARGENT (Nominated Official): Sir, I am quite sure that any new member like myself, who has the honour of addressing the House for the first time, will receive the utmost kindness and indulgence. I do venture, Sir, to claim that indulgence for my own limitations. But I am not anxious to claim any indulgence or to make any apology for this particular Bill. As an educational measure I venture to say that while by no means perfect, it is a desirable one. It may be unlucky to have got involved in other and larger issues. But with regard to the scope of the Bill, it is not the object of this Bill to create a model University although that may be, and I hope is, the ultimate aim of the University authorities and of the Government of India. That is an ultimate aim. It has been said that you cannot make a man good by Act of Parliament and I do not believe that you can make universities good by legislative action. But this particular measure does seek to clear the road and to smooth the way towards the attainment of our ultimate object.

I should like to make it clear at this stage that the objective of the University is not to become a vast omnibus covering every conceivable aspect of learning and competing with other established universities of this country. The objective, as I understand it,—I have been in fairly close touch with recent developments,—is quality rather than quantity. We do not aim at a vast university; we do not aim at an all-comprehending university. But as was stated in the Vice-Chancellor's memorandum, the aim of the University, particularly in those subjects which may be regarded as particularly related to the art of government, is that it shall have a status of an All-India character and shall be regarded as a home of absolutely first class learning.

This debate has been conducted hitherto on a very high level; occasionally I have felt that we have been so high that we have got into the rarefied atmosphere of academic speculation. I personally do not complain of that at all. It is always a delight to me to find educational issues of a wide kind considered in any Legislative Assembly. It cannot be said that hitherto in any part of the world they have occupied an undue amount of the legislators' time. But, Sir, I hope I shall be pardoned if I attempt to fill in the background against which both the reorganisation scheme for the Delhi University and this present Bill, which is connected with it, may be seen in a truer perspective.

The Honourable Member in charge of Education, Health and Lands has said that probably five years ago very few people in this country would have been prepared to say that the University of Delhi had fulfilled the high hopes which were expressed at the time of its foundation. I can speak with a little personal knowledge in that connection, because it so happened about five years ago I was appointed as a member of a committee to inspect the colleges of the University. Since my two colleagues were both distinguished Indian gentlemen, one a Hindu and one a Muslim, I hope it will not be thought that our investigation was in any way biased or prejudiced. Nor do I wish to take this opportunity merely to ventilate old grievances or shortcomings which probably had better be buried, since I am glad to say that a more successful and generally better regime has already been introduced into most of the colleges of the University. But, Sir, in the course of that inspection we did come across things in connection with the colleges which I think anyone interested in education could not but view with very grave concern. We found, for instance, that some of the colleges of the University—and I want to make clear that what I say only refers to some of the colleges—some of the colleges of the University were managed by bodies which were also responsible for the management of a number of other educational institutions. That of course is in no way to their discredit; but it did work in this way that the colleges for which they were responsible had no

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separate financial life ; their finances depended entirely on the other activities of the trust or body which was responsible and consequently it was impossible to plan any considered development or indeed guarantee teachers any permanence of security. An instance was mentioned in another place the other day, for which I myself could find parallels, of one teacher of unimpeachable record whose increments over a period of 14 years I think averaged about 10 annas per year. In many cases we found that in spite of scales of salaries being prescribed, increments were not in fact being given. Then we found that in other cases where scales of salaries were in operation they were in fact not being paid owing again to the unstable and uncertain financial situation of the colleges. We further discovered what from my point of view was more serious, that on the whole not only were teachers badly paid but they also enjoyed no form of security of tenure at all. In fact it was not an unusual practice for the majority of teachers in certain cases to be appointed temporarily for the period of the academic year, to be discharged at the beginning of the vacation and to be re-engaged on the opening of the next academic year. However necessary that might have been in the interests of economy, I am afraid no one interested in education would feel that such a system was likely to attract the sort of teacher that is essential if continuity and a high standard of scholarship are to be secured in any educational institution.

Turning to the University side at the same period one was concerned to find that the University, although it has always been implicit in its conception that it should take an effective part in the teaching of the University, possessed no professors at all. It had extremely little advanced teaching. It had certain essential Faculties, although others provided in the Act, as Honourable Members of this House have pointed out, were still non-existent. I refer to Medicine and Technology. The actual apparatus and buildings for the teaching of Science, for which the University itself had accepted responsibility, were of the most inadequate description. And thirdly, Sir, the relations between the University and colleges at that time were of a very unsatisfactory character. It is not a question of imputing blame in either direction. The colleges, or some of them, complained, I think with a good deal of justification, that they had very little voice in the management of the University. On the other hand, it was quite clear to those of us who attended meetings of the University bodies that the University was very largely controlled by two or three colleges and that those colleges had obtained a large proportion of the senior teaching posts in the University. As in most cases, there is something to be said here on both sides and it is fair to those colleges to say that by offering better salaries and better conditions of service they had on their staffs better qualified teachers than the other colleges which had been in a less fortunate position and the University could legitimately defend itself by saying that they naturally looked for the best teachers for their posts. That was what was found in the University five years ago. I would venture to say that if that condition of affairs represented a state of academic freedom which this Bill is seeking to destroy, then I am afraid I cannot set much store by it. In fact there was a general feeling, not confined to the members of the inspecting committee, that the time had probably arrived when the question of the future of the Delhi University must receive very serious consideration. The question, Sir, as it was defined at the time by a distinguished friend of mine was whether to end the University or to amend it.

Now, if the House will forgive me for one moment I must become egotistical. I have a certain personal responsibility in this matter. When I came out to this country it was given to me as a duty to endeavour to suggest, and not merely to suggest, if possible to show, ways and means of effecting improvements and developments in the educational system generally. Since, Sir, I have no authority over education in the provinces, and since I am a great believer in practical examples rather than theoretical precepts, it appeared desirable that my first effort should be to raise the centrally administered areas, which are directly under the Government of India, to a reasonable standard of efficiency. Now, Sir, normally any one, I take it, approaching a question of reconstruction in education would begin at the beginning and having created an effective system of primary education would proceed to build on that an efficient system of secondary or high school education and would then

turn his attention to universities and those higher branches of technical education which are on a university level. So far as the rest of the centrally administered areas are concerned we have attempted with such resources as the outbreak of war or other considerations have left us to follow that plan but in Delhi we began from the other end. I have been taken to task in another place for having used the expression that in Delhi we decided to build from the roof downwards. This has been taken as an instance of the hasty, ill-considered and generally stupid manner in which the Government of India have approached this question of reorganisation, but, Sir, as I have been informed by architectural friends of mine, in modern life it is not unknown to start building a building from the roof but if you do it presupposes even more care in your planning and even greater care in your construction. Now, Sir, my Honourable Member at the time agreed with me as to the advisability of adopting this cart-before-the-horse procedure in the case of Delhi, because we felt that something should be done about the University, because we felt most reluctant to see the capital city of this country deprived of all facilities for university education, and because we felt that in spite of its defects there were bright places in the Delhi University, that it had produced teachers and students who would hold their own not only in any company in this country but in any other company outside ; that there in fact was something to build on. Furthermore at that particular moment there became available a man with the knowledge and the standing, the interest and the enthusiasm to implement any scheme of reorganisation which might be approved. I need hardly say that I refer to the present Vice-Chancellor, Sir Maurice Gwyer. In view, Sir, of those factors, after consulting Sir Maurice, we decided that it would be in the interest of higher education in this country that Delhi University should be taken in hand and that not only should it be put on its feet with Government assistance but that an educational experiment of considerable importance should also be carried out there. I am glad to say that we were able to persuade the Honourable the Finance Member and the Standing Finance Committee and the Legislature to vote a considerable sum of money to enable proposals of the Vice-Chancellor, which were approved by Government, to be put in hand.

Now, Sir, very briefly the aims of the reorganisation scheme were these. An essential thing in our opinion was to improve the status, salaries and conditions of service of teachers, particularly in the colleges, and that was not merely a humanitarian consideration but it had the further objective that if the colleges were put in a position to engage teachers at rates of salaries which compared with those in force in other university institutions in this country, if they were required to grant to them reasonable conditions of service, the teachers of the colleges would ultimately have a real opportunity of becoming recognised teachers of the University. Now, we have gone further than that by requiring consultation between the University and the colleges in regard to the appointment of teachers and also requiring that a large proportion of the college teachers should in fact be recognised teachers of the University. In so doing we had in mind an important educational and economic proposition and that was the institution in the University as soon as practicable of a system of co-operative teaching. This, Sir, may be an ambitious and optimistic aim. It does assume an amount of good sense, a desire to co-operate, a willingness to subordinate personal or even corporate interests, a bond between both the colleges themselves and the University and the colleges, which is not always found in human affairs and perhaps still less often in university affairs. Now, Sir, we had a definite aim in this matter and while I am perfectly prepared to hear Honourable gentlemen with more experience both of university education and of this country than I have say that there is no halting-ground between a purely affiliating university and a unitary university where the university itself takes full responsibility for all the teaching, I still think that there is a half-way house which has proved its value in my own country and I have not been able to see any earthly reason why granted adequate funds, granted teachers of appropriate quality and granted the spirit of co-operation, it should not be effectively introduced into this country. And, Sir, the object of the Delhi University reorganisation scheme is to try an experiment in a form of university for which no satisfactory nomenclature to my mind has yet been suggested. Like other people I do not like the word "Federal" but I cannot think of any better word to describe it ; it is a university where the

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university is mistress in her own house but where the colleges, so far from being mere hostels, are honoured members of the family, with an important voice in any decisions which are taken affecting the common welfare. And, Sir, the developments which have taken place in the last year or two do not make me despair, and I see no reason why such a conception, which approximates to that of my own University, should not become operative in this country.

The main educational feature of this conception, to which a great deal of reference has been made, is of course the three-years' course. It is a main feature but I do not want it to be thought that it is the only feature in the reorganisation scheme. Members who will be good enough to read that interesting and important document prepared by the present Vice-Chancellor will see that it is a very wide and, I think, high conception of the possibilities of university education in this country. But the three-years' course is a very important educational idea, as, I am glad to say practically all members, however much they may approve or disapprove of the technique of this measure, are prepared to accept. I will be very brief in explaining why it appears to me to be an important educational idea. The advantages which it will confer on universities are obvious. It will set them free to concentrate on work of university standard. It always causes me some concern, when I visit universities, to see in the crowded class rooms a large number of small—I would almost say very small—boys, who, in my opinion, would be much better at school.

But there the important point comes in. We say "at school"—and one of the important factors of this reorganisation so far as the three-years' course is concerned, as has been admitted by the authoritative educational bodies of this country, is that it should not, and indeed cannot, become effective unless as a condition precedent the high school system of the country is reorganised. And I venture to think that probably the reason why a measure of this kind has not so far been introduced generally is due to the very considerable practical, administrative and financial difficulties which stand in the way of a general reorganisation of the high school system of this country. We are fortunate in Delhi that the problem is within reasonable bounds, and that we have the money, and that we have the teachers, in order to carry out this reorganisation. But, Sir, there is a deeper reason why I attach importance to the reorganisation of the high school system than this. And here, if I may, I want to go back to the experience in my own country. You probably know that higher education for very many years was exclusively in the hands of the great public schools or the so-called grammar schools, which were modelled very closely upon them. But after 1902 power was given to local authorities to spend public funds on the provision not merely of elementary but also of higher education. That led, in the last 40 years, to the creation of a great mass of municipal and county high schools in which the bulk of the artisan and lower middle class and in recent years upper middle class children are receiving their higher education. When those schools began, they went up to the fifth form—that is roughly the school certificate standard or what we call here class X. But before long it was appreciated that if these schools were really going to be effective educational institutions for the children of the ordinary man, they must be provided with a higher top, or in other words the more advanced classes, which were already probably the main educational strength of the old public school system. And nothing, I think, has contributed more largely to the raising of the standard of higher education in my country than the addition of what we here might call the 11th or 12th classes to the ordinary high school. It has meant, as it will mean here and as we intend and have already shown it to mean in Delhi, that teachers with higher academic qualifications and better salaries will be available to be added to the staffs of high schools. It means also that the high school course can be prolonged over a longer period. And I hope that the experience here will be the same as it has been in my own country, where, through the imperceptible influence of a higher standard of scholarship in the highest classes, the standard throughout the whole school has been raised. It is significant, and I think it is beyond contradiction—in fact if I had the book I believe I could give the reference—that the Cambridge University Examinations Delegacy, of which I used to be a member, came to the conclusion that within a period of about 25 years the

standard of their school certificate had gone up by something like 17 months. If we can look forward to any such change in this country, we shall have solved the problem, the very difficult problem, which the Sadler Commission originally presented to us. That was not merely the elimination of the first year of the intermediate, which is all for the moment we are aiming at in Delhi, but the elimination of the intermediate altogether and its covering during the high school stage. If that can be done without any substantial addition to the length of school life, we may look forward to a general standard in our degree course a year or even two years in advance of what we have at the moment.

There is one other reason why I am anxious to see this reorganisation of high schools. There are some very fine high schools in this country. But, on the other hand, Sir, if I may venture a criticism, I am afraid that too many of the pupils who enter our high schools go there rather because their parents are able to afford it than because they themselves have the ability to take full advantage of the course and pass on as worthy students of a university. And I am entirely in agreement with my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru as to the need for a most extensive and liberal system of financial assistance so that in future no poor boy or poor girl of outstanding ability may be denied the benefits of higher education.

One other factor about the high school. It is desirable not only that the standard of scholarship in school should be raised, but that there should also be a leavening of older boys in the school who have already, as I might call it, entered the gates of real learning. I believe in this country, as in my own, the presence of those pupils will have an imperceptible influence on the younger pupils. I remember at my own school where boys who had won scholarships at Oxford or Cambridge used to walk about in all the dignity of velvet and other gowns that one in one's heart of hearts used to regard them with the utmost respect and veneration. I think it would also be an inducement to that spirit of loyalty to a high school which does not always exist. I am afraid that only too often both parents and children regard the high school, and indeed, even the university, as a kind of shop where you go to buy something as quickly as possible that may be of commercial value to you afterwards. It seems to me that there ought to be a wider conception of an educational institution as a unit which should enjoy the loyalty of all its members.

Now, Sir, implicit in this three years' scheme, as has been pointed out, is the question of migration. I have never myself attempted to minimise the difficulties inherent in this. But I agree with my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru that they are by no means insuperable. It has been asked why, since we knew the difficulties implicit in the problem, did we not first approach other universities and ascertain what their attitude would be towards overcoming them. I can only say this, that I think that a university, being approached on a matter of that kind, might reasonably say, "How can we give you a reply in advance? We have already, on two occasions, through our Inter-University Board, approved the principle of this scheme provided certain conditions are fulfilled. Have you yet fulfilled the conditions? Where are your courses of study? How, without seeing these, can we say whether in fact a boy, who passes the higher secondary examination which will in future be the matriculation for the Delhi University, is fit in fact to be admitted to the second year of our intermediate course, if he should apply to be transferred to our university?" They might, if they see fit, also say, "How can you approach us on this matter when your own Act and Statutes do not yet provide for the recognition of this examination as the admission to your own University?" I may say that the University have insisted on the prior need of regularising their own position, as is in fact being done in this Bill, and I may say that for the last 18 months to my certain knowledge committees have been working on the new courses of study. Several of the courses of the University consequent on the adoption of this three-years' scheme are now ready. Whether they have yet been communicated to other Universities or not, I am not aware. But it seems to me that the reason for optimism is this, that people who refer to the minutes of the meetings of the Inter-University Board in 1934 and 1939 and of the Universities Conferences which on both occasions followed these, will see that, subject, as I have said, to the fulfilment of certain conditions, the three-years' course has received their blessing. Once the University of Delhi has

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got its Act and Statutes altered and got its courses prepared, it is in a position to go to other universities with a reasonable expectation, if I may put it no higher, of sympathetic consideration for the proposals which they are submitting. No doubt those proposals will be accompanied by an offer of reciprocity, that is, that people with an intermediate pass from another university will be admitted to the second year of the degree course in Delhi. Therefore, Sir, I do not see any particular reason for undue pessimism as to the fate of an approach of that kind.

I also may mention in passing that during the course of consideration, the University has had very much in mind several developments which have been referred to by Honourable Members of this House, in particular the provision of a Medical Faculty. The Lady Hardinge College, which has already been mentioned, and with which I happen to be connected, has already submitted a formal application to the University to be affiliated, and that proposal is under consideration. Similar consideration is being given to the question of a Faculty of Technology. There is already in existence in Delhi an institution which in accordance with the practice common in Western countries could quite properly, when it has finished its immediate war work in connection with trainees, be recognised as the Technological Department of the University. Those matters are under consideration.

There was a suggestion made by the Honourable Mr. Sapru in regard to the desirability of courses something like the modern Greats in Oxford. In that connection I ventured to anticipate him at a meeting of the Academic Council two or three months ago and the Committee was good enough to agree to give the fullest consideration to that suggestion.

Sir, I will not attempt to take up time by traversing in detail other points from the speeches which have been made. These will no doubt come up for individual consideration in connection with the various amendments. I only just want to say a word on a suggestion, which seems to me to be a dangerous one, namely, that this really is a hasty and ill-considered measure. I should like, if I may, to deprecate that suggestion. Actually, the scheme on which the Delhi University reorganisation was based was, as has already been pointed out, drawn up nearly four years ago and received the approval of the Government of India at least three years ago. The University has been working very busily on it since then. The necessary Ordinances have been passed and courses have been drawn up. During the course of the examination of the reorganisation scheme and the necessary preparations to give effect to it there has necessarily been a certain amount of opposition. I welcome that. Any one should welcome reasonable opposition to schemes of magnitude. I do not mind the fact that the opposition has been pressed. It is desirable that all schemes of this kind should be submitted to close consideration. But I do claim that during the last three years this particular scheme has been under examination, certain points have been noticed and questions have been raised in discussion as to whether the Act and the Statutes required certain amendments. These points have been collected and it would hardly have been fair to approach the Legislature to pass a Bill in connection with each and every one of those amendments. These have been collected and form with one or two additions the corpus of the present measure. It is quite true that it looks formidable owing to the vast number of Statutes which are being re-enacted. But we were advised legally, although we wanted, as far as I remember, to amend a few Statutes only, that it would be necessary to re-enact the whole of the Statutes in connection with the present measure. It was also expedient in order to save the complicated procedure of the University making the Statutes themselves in connection with this measure, and I should point out that the University authorities themselves have raised no objection to that being done.

One word with regard to the question of the desirability of further consultation. I do not think anybody who has worked with me has ever charged me with being unwilling to consult as many people as possible in connection with any educational proposal of importance. But, as I have already pointed out, the essential educational part of this measure has already received an overwhelming measure of support from authoritative educational opinion in this country for the last 25 years and therefore I imagine that the principle which we are endeavouring to operate could hardly be disapproved by any university, Provincial Government or other body whom we should commonly approach if the measure were circulated.

With regard to details, that is a matter probably of opinion. I have endeavoured to point out that it is not our objective to make Delhi like any other university either in this country or anywhere else. We aim at a new kind of university. What, therefore, are we likely to receive in the way of comment from other people? The other universities would probably say, "Your proposals differ from our constitution in the following respects". That we already know. It is unlikely that without awaiting the outcome of the experiment, they could do more than say, "You are endeavouring to implement a general idea to which we have given our concurrence but which for local reasons we have been unable to implement". I imagine that I can almost forecast the very words in which Provincial Governments would reply to a request for an expression of opinion on this particular matter. They would say that the Government, while in general agreement with the principles underlying the scheme, regret that owing to financial stringency arising out of the present conditions or for other reasons they were unable to undertake the complicated administrative process of reorganising their high schools or to face the high cost which such re-organisation would involve. Therefore, I cannot feel myself in spite of the utmost desire to know what other people think about a measure of this importance that in fact circulation would have produced anything which would have been of effective use to us in submitting this proposal to the Legislature.

In conclusion, I have avoided myself saying more than I could help on what has been referred to, rightly or wrongly, as the communal issue involved in this measure.

I do not in any way question the sincerity of those people who
 1 P.M. have endeavoured to secure representation for communities in the governing bodies of the Delhi University. My reasons for not having said anything hitherto in this connection are twofold. In the first place, I am aware that I am exposed to the criticism that I have not been long enough in this country to appreciate fully how profound and how deep-seated communal considerations are. Another reason is since I am an educationist and am interested, I hope equally, in the provision of facilities for all boys and girls to whatever community, caste or creed they may belong, I should not like to say anything which might hurt the feelings of anybody in this House or outside. I can still remember—my memory is beginning to go back a long way—the state of feeling in my own country in 1902. I cannot suggest for a moment, and I do not suggest, that there is anything comparable, in quantity or quality, between those differences and the differences which exist in this country. But I do remember that people were at that time divided on an educational issue into which religious issues had entered and that their feelings had been aroused to an extent which led many of them to be willing actually to go to prison in defence of what they thought was a matter of conscience. Sir, that measure, the Education Act of 1902, has left what I should describe as scars on the educational system in England which exist to this day; and I think that a large number of us have come to the conclusion without in any way belittling religious or political issues, that when religious or political controversy has entered the sphere of education in England, education has been the worse for it. And I think that at any rate we should endeavour to establish the position in this country that we want to see education in the hands of really educated people. I have met in the course of my life a few people whom I should call really educated but not many. But when I have met them I have found that they have invariably had the interests of all people at heart and not merely the interests of those who happen to worship or vote in the same way as themselves. I am not ashamed in any way of holding on to an ideal rather than accepting something which appears to me as a second or third best because it may be the easier way of avoiding difficulties at the present moment. I would venture to suggest to all our friends who may feel with some justice, I can see, that their share in the administration of the Delhi University is not as much as it should be or as they would like it to be, that to a certain extent the remedy lies in their own hands. It has been said that if they put more weight into the University they would have more weight in its councils. That does not necessarily follow, but I think it probably would follow. But I would point out at the moment, if I may without undue differentiation take the Muslim community for an example, that in Delhi they have one college which unfortunately is only one out of six. They have one-eleventh of the total number of registered graduates in the University, and they have had less than one-sixth during the last

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three years of the examinees of the University. We all want to see that number increased. We recognise that owing to the proximity of the Aligarh University, perhaps Delhi cannot expect, at any rate as it stands, to have that claim on the affection of the Muslim community that it might otherwise have, if it was not in that proximity. But we should like to see more of them and I think they would find that as their part in the University grows so their control in its affairs will grow also.

I need not go into the question so far as teachers are concerned. My Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam knows that it is difficult at the moment to secure adequately qualified Muslim teachers in Science. I have looked up the applications received for the last six Science posts in the Delhi University and I find that only seven out of 207 applications came from Muslims.

In conclusion, I do not want to join—I hope nothing I have said during this morning has given any reason to anybody to suppose that I am joining—in a general condemnation of Indian universities. We are not promoting this Bill simply because it is going to pull the Delhi University out of an undesirable rut. I would not like that point to be taken at all. Universities of India have many good points; I also venture to think that they have some features which are less good and that if ever—I hope it may happen before long—a really national system of education is to be established in this country, by which I mean a system of education for all boys and all girls, universities in common with other institutions can and must be improved. I cannot help thinking that if we agree on that, now is the time to do what we can. I was glad to hear an Honourable Member of this House whose opinion I have always regarded with much respect point out that so far from being irrational or imprudent of Government to embark on an expensive reform during war-time this is just the time when such measures ought to receive the most serious consideration and the necessary planning ought to be put in hand. I am glad to remind members that probably the most important educational measure ever passed in my own country was passed in 1917 when the state of the country's war situation was graver than it is at the present moment. For that reason I make no apology; in fact I rather commend the fact that this measure is being brought forward at this moment under war circumstances. There is one other reason for speed in getting this measure through, which I also make no apology for referring to. If members disagree altogether with this measure, then what I have to say will make no impression on them at all. If, on the other hand, they agree that this is a desirable experiment and that it is in the interests not merely of Delhi but of higher education in India, I think they will fully agree that we have in the present Vice-Chancellor the one man in all India most interested in the scheme and most likely to see it through to a satisfactory issue. As everybody knows, Sir Maurice Gwyer will not be with us indefinitely. Months are important. Therefore even if the scheme may not be perfect and on subsequent consideration there may appear various ways in which it could be made better, in urging it upon the Legislature at this moment we have had a very practical consideration in mind; that it clears the ground for an advance, it makes the way plain for an experiment which can be carried out under better auspices if it is done now than it could be if it was postponed six months or a year hence. I am, Sir, one of those who are anxious to see things done. In my own country I used to regard reports by experts as a preliminary to action. Since I have been in India I have come to the conclusion that they are usually regarded as an alternative to it, but I hope, Sir, that in this particular case we have indicated that we are in earnest in this measure, that we really believe in it even to the extent of embarrassing members of the Legislature with this prolonged debate, and that we intend, provided we get the necessary authority, to do everything that lies in our power to carry it through to a successful issue. (*Applause.*)

The Council then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter to Three of the Clock.

The Council re-assembled after Lunch at a Quarter to Three of the Clock, the Honourable the Chairman (the Honourable Sir David Devadoss) in the Chair.

*THE HONOURABLE SARDAR SIR BUTA SINGH (Punjab : Sikh) : Sir, there is only one angle from which we should view this Bill, and that is the educational

angle. The question we must ask ourselves is whether the objective and the means to attain that objective are sound. The criticisms that have centred round in the other House and in this House leave no manner of doubt as to the soundness of the measure. Indeed, the objective which underlies the Bill and the means to attain it have not been questioned. The Government rightly hold to the sheet-anchor of education which lights up the way of life and is universal in its application. How can Government, aspiring to kindle in the heart of youth the light of love of fellow-men, accept changes which aim at guiding education into communal channels? It is true that at present communities anxious to secure communal advantages are ready to sacrifice the greater gain which can only be secured by communal harmony. Education and education alone is the only means of dispersing the shadows and revealing the truth that it is in unity that we can find our strength, and in that strength lies the way to make a better life for our people in which all can share.

With these few remarks, I wholeheartedly support the Bill.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU (United Provinces Northern : Non-Muhammadian) : Mr. Chairman, I am sure that the House listened with rapt attention to the words that fell from my Honourable friend Mr. Sargent. It was a speech of rare quality that he delivered. He and my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru have lifted the discussion of the very important educational question before us to a high plane. It seemed to me, when the Honourable Mr. Sargent was speaking, that he was not, if I may say so, looking with one eye at the political system here and with the other at the educational system. He spoke without any mental reservation, and clearly stated what his ambitions regarding the future educational development of this country were. He spoke as an educationist, and his sincerity will be recognised, I am sure, by every member of this House.

There are, however, Sir, certain points on which, notwithstanding the cogent and eloquent speech delivered by my Honourable friend Mr. Sargent, we should ask for more light to be thrown. My Honourable friend, contrary to the memorandum that was sent to the Government of India by Sir Maurice Gwyer, said, in the course of his speech, that he did not claim that the Delhi University would be an Imperial university. All that he wanted was that Delhi should have a university of its own, and that it should be modelled on the lines laid down in the Bill before us. I think he said that he hoped, however, that the educational experiment of considerable importance—I think these are the words he used—which was going to be carried out here would be an example to the rest of India. Now, I deny, in the first place, that the reorganisation that is being attempted here can be looked upon as an experiment. The experience of the world is behind those who have framed this Bill. The general principle that education should be divided into two stages has been accepted all over the world. In India, too, that principle has gained acceptance all over the country. It has, however, been difficult to translate it into practice, notwithstanding the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, because of those difficulties, administrative and financial, which my Honourable friend Mr. Sargent drew our attention to. I mention these things in order to make Government realise that what is being done in Delhi is not an experiment which cannot, with safety to the country as a whole, be tried in other provinces also immediately. What is being done here is the result of generations of educational experience gathered by other countries.

Nor can I accept the view that the Delhi University will be a shining light to guide the whole of India, and that other provinces will follow the kindly light that will soon be kindled within the portals of the Delhi University. If the provinces have not been able to have universities of the kind that Delhi will soon have the good fortune to have, if they have not been able to make a clear demarcation between higher secondary education and university education, it is not due to any lack of perception of the value of this division and of the necessity of raising the standard both of school education and university education, but because the funds at their disposal and the general examination system relating to admission to the services have stood in the way of the fulfilment of so great a task.

Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Sargent, if I understood him rightly, spoke of the reconstruction in education that was in his opinion required in this country. I am

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not sure whether I correctly understood him, but I hope that I did. If this is his hope, I cordially agree with him. If the Delhi University is a part of the general educational reconstruction throughout the country which the Government of India have in view, I would enthusiastically welcome the Delhi University Bill. But the Government of India are so wedded to the principle of Provincial Autonomy that although it is quite clear that there can be no vigorous intellectual life in this country unless the Government of India come to the help of the provinces, nothing has been done by the central authorities during the last 25 years, that is, during the period that has elapsed since the Calcutta University Commission reported, to fulfil their responsibility and to help the provinces to re-model their educational systems. We see, Sir, that they attach so much value to the principle of Provincial Autonomy that they would rather let people die in Bengal, Orissa and Malabar than call the offending Governors and Ministries to book. No wonder, Sir, that such a Government should think that the principle of Provincial Autonomy was of much more importance than the development of intellectual life in this country. There was a time in England, when the local bodies were independent not merely in ordinary matters relating to local administration but also in educational matters. Had the Central Government said that the local bodies, with their powers of taxation, should discharge their educational responsibility as best they could, there would have been general intellectual stagnation in England. England would have lost its mental vigour and with it the right to participate with other nations on a footing of equality in the discussion of international problems. The Central Government, however, did not take a short-sighted view of their responsibility and it is due to this that during the last 70 years, the entire educational fabric in England has been changed out of recognition. I am sure, Sir, that the whole country will be grateful to my Honourable friend Mr. Sargent and to the Education Department if they can persuade the Government of India to realise their true responsibility towards the people of this country in respect of the spread of education of all kinds. They ought to take a lesson from the past but I am sorry to say, Sir, that instead of learning from the past, they are still living in the past. I lay stress on this not because the question that I have raised can be directly dealt with through the Delhi University Bill but because my Honourable friend Mr. Sargent said in the course of his speech that he, so far from regretting, rather welcomed the discussion of general educational principles in the Central Legislature. I suppose this is his feeling because he hoped that the attention devoted by the Central Legislature to these questions would be a potent means not merely of bringing pressure to bear on the Government of India but also of influencing public opinion in general. That is my only excuse for having dealt with, I think I can perhaps say, the most vital question that faces us at the present time in connection with the Bill before us. Had it been reasonable on this occasion to ask my Honourable friend to tell us how far this subject had engaged the attention of the Government of India and what steps were being taken at the present time to enable us to have before us a clear picture of the goal we ought to aim at, the steps by which we ought to advance and the methods by which the necessary resources can be furnished, I should certainly have done so. I fear, however, that I cannot make such a request to him in connection with the Bill before us. But I shall be grateful—sincerely and not conventionally grateful—to the representatives of the Education Department in this House if they would take us even slightly into their confidence and give us a glimpse of the end that they envisage and the efforts that they propose to make in order to raise India to a level of equality with other nations in regard to the very important problem of intellectual development.

I shall now deal with the questions directly raised by the Bill before us and shall in the first instance take up the general constitution of the University authorities. I do not want to go into the details of this question, because it has been very ably and exhaustively dealt with by my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru. All that I want to do is to draw attention to some of the general principles which I think must be kept in view in discussing the Delhi University Bill. We all want that we should have universities of the same calibre as, for instance, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, of Harvard and

Yale. The Governments of England and America are now realising their duty towards their people in educational matters and are prepared to help even in respect of higher education, but the development of higher education, generally speaking, has in these countries been due to private charity. It has not been so in other countries, for instance, in France and Germany. I should, however, very much like that those who have money to give should give it for the purpose of improving the system of education in this country and of bringing good education within reach of all classes, particularly the poorest. Can we hope that the Delhi University as proposed to be constituted will be able to gain the affection of the people and benefit by the charity of public-spirited and wealthy people? Sir, there have been colleges and universities in India which have been held in high esteem by the people of the country and which have been able to get a large amount of public support in respect of their finances. I think I may mention only two colleges in order to illustrate what I mean, the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, which has developed into a University, and the Central Hindu College of Benares which has been merged in the Benares Hindu University. When these schools were established, they were able to get the support of the public partly because they seemed to cater to the needs of the communities for which they seemed to be particularly meant but also because they were supposed, rightly or wrongly, to enjoy a greater amount of freedom than other educational institutions. I know that the Central Hindu College, though I was never a student of it, occupied a high place in the affections of the people of the United Provinces because of the touch between the teachers and the students and the freedom given to the students to express their ideas on all matters, including political questions which were tabooed by other seats of higher education at the time. My Honourable friend Mr. Sapru is an old student of that college and I am sure he will be able to bear out the statement that I have made. Take again, Sir, the Aligarh and the Benares Hindu Universities. They have been helped by the Muslims and Hindus, respectively, because they appealed, if I may say so, to their communal patriotism. But that is not the only reason why they have been supported. They have also been supported because they are believed to enjoy a greater amount of freedom than other universities. One has only to look at the constitution of the Benares Hindu University to realise the difference between the Delhi University and the Benares Hindu University. There will be much more of official control in the Delhi University than there is not only in the Hindu University but in many other universities, for instance the Lucknow and the Allahabad Universities. If it is the desire of the Government that the Delhi University should be loved by the people, should be regarded as a sort of beacon light, they should give it the greatest amount of freedom that is possible, so that the people may be able to regard it as a national institution. If I may give an illustration or two, I would refer to the constitution of the Court and the Executive Council. I know it can be said that there will be fewer nominated members in the Delhi Court than there are in the Dacca University Court. But I hope that the Dacca model is not a model which the Government would think of copying at the present time. Both in Allahabad and Lucknow, certainly in Allahabad, the number of nominated members is proportionately less than it will be in Delhi. Take again the Executive Council. I think there will be 26 or 27 members in the Executive Council and among these including the Vice-Chancellor, Rector, Treasurer, Superintendent of Education, Educational Adviser to the Government of India and the four nominated members, there will practically be nine nominees of Government. This, as compared with later universities established in accordance with the Sadler Commission is a high proportion. At any rate, it is a matter that will be noticed by all those that are connected with education and will stand in the way of the Delhi University being regarded with that affection which free institutions can inspire.

Sir, I shall now say a word about the colleges. My Honourable friend Mr. Sargent has been at pains both here and in the Assembly to insist that they will be allowed to continue and lead a vigorous life. My Honourable friend, Sir, will, I am sure, deny that he is a politician—he would like to be regarded as an educationist pure and simple—but I think I noticed a vein of the politician in him, when he referred to this matter. He spoke about the colleges, the desirability of maintaining them, of having as many university teachers as possible drawn from the college teachers and so on. Let us see, Sir, soberly, with strict regard to concrete facts and

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without any prepossessions one way or the other, what chance the colleges have of that fuller development on which their ability to attract public sympathy and public support will depend. They have already failed to get that support which is required to raise their standard of the education that they give and to enable their teachers to receive those salaries and enjoy that security without which no educational institution, can get the right kind of teachers. Now can we reasonably hope that the reorganisation will infuse such a life into them, that they would develop such special characteristics as would enable them to attract the support of the public? Sir, so far as I can see the best teaching in the University will be given by the University. The teachers from the colleges may be employed in the same way as teachers belonging to the colleges in which are residential places where tutorial instruction is given are employed in the Allahabad University, but they cannot rival the University in dignity and in position. At any rate, Sir, if I had any money to give to the Delhi University I would rather give it to the University than to any of its component colleges.

My Honourable friend Mr. Sargent spoke of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and of their federal character, but the colleges there occupy a position of importance because of historical reasons and the endowments which led to their establishment. They can lead an independent life. They can, therefore, be abolished, but the state of things here is quite different and whatever the Government may say I feel, and feel strongly, that the development of the University in future will be in the direction of the strengthening of the central organization at the expense of the colleges. Now, Sir, I am mentioning this not because I have any antipathy to the colleges or because I do not realise the value of small colleges and their ability to influence the students in a way in which larger centres of learning which have to do with huge numbers can perform. I should like to strengthen the colleges. I would not regret it if the colleges could provide teachers of the requisite type not with the help of Government but with private support. Then the purpose of the existence of the colleges would be fulfilled and they would be able to kindle a feeling of loyalty in the breasts of their students which the University cannot, but I see no chance of progress taking place on such lines in future. If this view is correct it will be a mistake to shut our eyes to the realities of the situation. If Government can provide unlimited money for the Delhi University and can enable the colleges to develop fully, the theory on which the Delhi University Bill proceeds may be justified. But I personally am not convinced of the wisdom of such a policy. It might have been prudent, in view of the controversy that the question of the reorganisation of the University aroused in educational circles in Delhi, particularly among the governing bodies of the various colleges, to have given way on that point. I could have understood my Honourable friend Mr. Sargent taking that line. But I consider it a mistake that Government should not openly recognise this consideration, and act in such a way as to give the public a wrong impression of what the future development in all likelihood will be.

Sir, I have mentioned this partly because a correct view of the matter that I am discussing is important partly to enable Government to decide wisely regarding the expenditure of the funds available for higher education in Delhi, and partly in the interests of the development of the colleges in future. So long as they try to compete among themselves, and to duplicate the instruction that can be provided by the University, they will not merely fail to achieve their purpose, but will also not undertake the work which they really can perform better than the University can. Attention has been drawn by several speakers in this House to the need for the provision of scholarships on a generous scale so that deserving boys belonging to the poorer classes might not be prevented from prosecuting their studies up to the highest stage. Now, if the colleges have this in mind and realise that it might in course of time be their glory to enable deserving students of all classes to enter the University, I think they would be able to do something which we cannot, in the near future at least, expect the University to achieve.

Secondly, there is the question of contact between the teachers and the students. A time comes, Sir, in the life of every one of us when we want that all that we think

and all that we do should be bathed in a moral light. We must not, however suppose that this is the privilege of the grown-ups only. The students of the higher classes are as much capable of being influenced by this feeling as we. They would like to come into touch with teachers who would change their outlook, give them new ideals, and fill their lives with a new purpose. This personal touch the colleges can provide better than the University. It is worthy of being attempted by them. There is no higher task that the educational authorities or those who have any chance of moulding public opinion can set before themselves. If I were asked to give a brief definition of education, I would say it was the training of the emotions. I would lay more stress on the growth of character, on the elimination of the conflict between reason and will which mars our lives and which prevents us from putting much that we read in our schools and colleges into practice than on formal instruction. Now, this training of the emotions, with its necessary consequence of the development of high ideals and the removal of the divorce between ideas and practices, is a task that can be more easily and more successfully undertaken by the colleges than by the universities. And that is why I had drawn attention at length to the lines on which the university should be encouraged to develop in future.

Sir, I should now like to say a few words about secondary education and one or two other matters before I sit down. It gave me unmixed pleasure to learn from my Honourable friend Mr. Sargent that Government had already taken in hand the reorganisation of secondary education in Delhi. The object of all reorganisation must be to raise the standard of education as a whole. We may, however, divide education logically between its various grades and yet fail of achieving our purpose unless we can provide the machinery and the finance which the successful working of the educational system would require. I hope, however, Sir, that the Government will profit by the example of the United Provinces. I do not know whether my Honourable friend the Educational Adviser to the Government of India is invited or allowed to visit high schools not situated in centrally administered areas. I do not know, but I hope that he has visited, not a few, but many high schools and intermediate colleges in the various provinces, and I hope, in particular, that he has visited a number of such institutions in my province. When education was reorganised and the Allahabad University and the Secondary Education Bills were passed, we all had high hopes. I was a member of the United Provinces Legislature, and did my utmost to help the Education Minister to put these Bills through. But experience has shown that while the standard of education in the University has risen, the intermediate colleges have not fulfilled the purpose that the Sadler Commission which we followed in reorganising our educational system had in view. I do not by any means wish to imply that the intermediate colleges have been a total failure or that their standards have not risen. But there is still a gap between the last stage of secondary education and the first stage of university education. The object of the legislative enactments to which I have referred was to make secondary education compete in itself and sufficient to enable a boy who had received it to enter life if he was unable to go to a university or to profit by university education. But, as I say, this hope has not been realised owing to various reasons one of which is want of funds. The intermediate colleges, that is, classes XI and XII of the higher secondary institutions, instead of shedding that influence which my Honourable friend Mr. Sargent hoped for, have themselves been reduced to the level of school classes. The teachers who teach the intermediate classes are certainly more qualified than the teachers in those high schools where there are no intermediate classes. But this by itself is not sufficient to satisfy those who realise the value of the principles and recommendations formulated by the Calcutta University Commission. Another reason for the failure of these institutions has been that that stress has not been laid on the development of the mother tongue on which the Commission insisted. I know that there was a difference of opinion between Indian educationists on this point. Educationists spoke with different voices before the Commission on the subject. But the Commission, after considering the different views expressed, came unhesitatingly to the conclusion that training in the mother tongue was not merely an important but an essential part of education. I do not want to tire the House with long quotations but it will perhaps permit me even at this late

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hour to draw its attention to the most basic recommendation of the Sadler Commission in respect of educational reorganisation in this country. The Commission said :—

“The mother tongue is the true vehicle of mother wit. Another medium of speech may bring with it, as English brings with it, a current of new ideas. But the mother tongue is one with the air in which a man is born”. . . .
Then it went on to say :—

“It is the mother tongue which gives to the adult mind the relief and illumination of utterance, as it clutches after the aid of words when new ideas or judgments spring from the wordless recesses of thought or feeling under the stimulus of physical experience or of emotion. Hence in all education, the primary place should be given to training in the exact and free use of the mother tongue”.

I cannot use so beautiful and vigorous and cogent language as Sir Michael Sadler could. But I have tried in my own humble way to express the same idea as is contained in the quotations that I have just ventured to place before the House. If I may trouble it with another small quotation, I would draw its attention to the recommendation that the Commission made with regard to the medium of instruction. It came to the conclusion, after weighing the evidence placed before it, that English education was not the cause of deficiency in the mother tongue. It was rather the deficiency of boys in respect of their power of expression in their mother tongues that was responsible for their weakness in English and it consequently went on to say in Chapter XLI, para. 14 :—

“Unlike some of our correspondents we regard a severe training in the use of the mother tongue not as a dangerous rival to training in English but as the necessary preliminary to such training”.

This vital principle which the Commission pressed on our attention has not been fully acted upon in our educational system. I am well aware of the fact that lectures can be delivered in all subjects except English and perhaps Mathematics—I am not sure with regard to Mathematics—in the mother tongue. But it is one thing to give freedom to teachers in this respect or to allow students to answer questions and papers in certain subjects in their own mother tongue and quite another to give an important place to the study of the mother tongue in the curriculum and to aim at the development of a good power of expression among the boys in their own languages.

It is this that has not been achieved. I hope that in the reconstruction of secondary education in Delhi this will be borne in mind. Mere freedom in respect of the teaching of certain subjects or the answering of examination papers in certain subjects will not be enough. I attach so much importance to this question that I would, even at the university stage, do what I could to draw the attention of the students to the importance of their acquiring a proper knowledge of their own languages. I do not want to compel every student in a university to learn Urdu or Hindi or any other language. But perhaps the purpose that I have in view can be achieved if we require every student who goes up for the B. A. degree to write an essay in some subject connected with his studies in his mother tongue. He will then realise that a good knowledge of the mother tongue is not a luxury but a necessary means of success in the university.

Sir, I do not want to lengthen this general discussion of the principles underlying the Delhi University Bill any further. I would however like to ask the Education Secretary and the Educational Adviser whether there is a teachers' training college in the University or whether the University and the Central educational authorities are thinking of having a degree in teaching in the University and of establishing a teachers' training college. This is another essential matter to which the Sadler Commission referred—

THE HONOURABLE SRI JOGENDRA SINGH : We have already taken up the question of training teachers.

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU :As it was not referred to in the Bill or anywhere in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, I wanted light to be thrown on the point. I am glad to know that the University is devoting its attention to this point.

Sir, there are other questions, the question, relating to extra mural teaching for instance, which can be fruitfully discussed in connection with a measure of this kind, but as it is already very late, I do not want to deal with this point, specially because I feel that it is not a matter that could have escaped the attention of my Honourable

friend Mr. Sargent. I will not, therefore, dwell on it, but if anything can be said in winding up the debate by Government on this point, I shall be very glad indeed.

Sir, we shall deal with the constitution of the various bodies when the amendments that have been given notice of are considered. I should, however, like to say a word about the way in which the Vice-Chancellor is going to be elected. I do not want to go into the details of the procedure that has been laid down, because my Honourable friend Mr. Sapru and I have given notice of an amendment on that point. I only wish to say that the device of having a sub-committee to recommend three names to the Executive Council is a valuable device which I hope will attract the attention of the other universities. I should whole-heartedly welcome the establishment of such a Selection Committee for the purpose of proposing names to the Executive Council if it could be guaranteed that the Chancellor's nominee would be an educationist. I cannot, however, approve of the authority that has been given to the Chancellor to appoint a Vice-Chancellor. But I shall have an opportunity of discussing this question later.

Sir, I have dealt with the Bill in so far as I thought I could speak about its different aspects without repeating the remarks that have been made by the previous speakers. I should like, however, before I sit down to address myself to the question of discrimination against Muslims in the matter of university appointments which was raised yesterday by my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam and which was raised again today by the Honourable Mr. Padshah. Mr. Hossain Imam was indignant that in the Allahabad University, with which I am particularly concerned, and with which it has been my privilege to be associated for a quarter of a century, there was a bias against Muslims. Now, I have been a member of one or two selection committees of the University and I can assure him and others in this House that the Allahabad University can legitimately pride itself on the fact that it has chosen its professors and readers irrespective of the community to which they belonged or the province they came from. We hear a great deal about the differences between Bengalis and non-Bengalis, Punjabis and non-Punjabis and so on. But the Allahabad University has been broad-minded enough to bear the true interests of the students in mind and to realise that its position will depend not the extent to which Hindus or the people living in the United Provinces were appointed but on the selection of capable teachers who could inspire their students with new ideas. I do not say that we have fully succeeded in our efforts, but I can conscientiously assure every member of this House that there is not a tinge of communalism or provincialism in the selection committees of the Allahabad University in so far as the posts of professor and reader are concerned. I refer to these posts only because it has been recognised, and I think rightly recognised, that in respect of lectureships preference should be given to the people of the United Provinces.

Another point that I would like to draw the attention of my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam to is that he is unaware of the small, the negligible, number of Muslim students in the Science classes. I refer to the Science classes because he pointedly referred to posts in the Science Department. After all, as time goes on we shall have to depend for the development of our universities largely on our own pupils. Let us therefore see to what extent the Muslim students of the Allahabad University have taken advantage of the instruction provided by the Department of Science, which is a very important part of the University. Take the Physics Department. In the year 1935, there was not a single Muslim student who obtained his M. Sc. degree in Physics. The Chemistry Department tells the same tale. Again, among the M.Sc.s, in Zoology there is only one Muslim and he has obtained only a 3rd class. There is no Muslim among the successful candidates in Botany and in Mathematics so far as the M.Sc. examination goes, and, of course, it is quite impossible for us to appoint any teacher who is not at least a M.Sc.

Take again the year 1938. If my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam would look at the figures given in the Calendar for the year 1939 he will, as a fair-minded man, as a man who only asks for a fair representation of a certain culture among the university teachers, I am sure, acquit the Allahabad University of the serious charge that he brought against it. In the year 1938, Sir, in the Departments of Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Botany and even Agriculture, there was not a single Muslim, that is among the M.Sc.s. of that year there was not a single

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Muslim M.Sc. I think I have made a slight mistake ; I should have said that in none of the Departments of Physics, Chemistry, Zoology and Botany was there a single Muslim M.Sc. In Mathematics there was one and he, I am glad to say, got a 1st Division.

THE HONOURABLE MR. HOSSAIN IMAM : Has he been provided with any employment ?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : It is not the business of the University to see whether this boy has been provided with any employment. I do not think he is in the Mathematics Department of the Allahabad University but it is not the business of the Allahabad University to provide a job for any of those students who have passed their examinations with credit. Indeed, in selecting our teachers we as a rule do not content ourselves with selecting only M.Sc.s. We really select Ph.D.s. and D. Scs. and so on and those teachers who had not obtained such degrees have in many cases obtained it. This is the real reason, Sir, why in the Allahabad University, at least, there is only one Muslim teacher, so far as I know, on the Science side. To think that the Allahabad University discriminates against Muslim is to do it a cruel injustice and I trust that my Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam after having come to know the true facts will withdraw the serious accusation that he brought against my Alma Mater.

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH (Education, Health and Lands Member) : Sir, I was satisfied when I agreed to introduce the Delhi University Bill. My satisfaction has grown greater as I have listened to the debate. The soundness of the scheme has received free and generous acknowledgment from all sides. The scheme itself, as the Educational Adviser pointed out, is an experiment. It is an experiment in the sense that it is for the first time that we are starting raising the standard of secondary education and shortening the period of the degree course. It is an experiment of great moment which may mould the whole future policy of education in India. I listened with great respect to the speech of the Honourable Sir Ramunni Menon which his long experience in university matters entitles. He has been so much in sympathy with the object of the reorganisation of the Delhi University that there are only a few points which I may clarify. He demurred that Delhi University should draw on the taxpayer's resources more than any other university. If my memory serves me aright, it was Sir Harcourt Butler, the first Education Member, who secured large grants from central revenues for education. It was he who laid the foundation of the unitary system in the Allahabad University. I would feel fortunate if I can to some extent serve the cause of education and follow his good example and support university education all along the line.

Sir Ramunni Menon was not sure whether it was in the interest of the administration to have such a large membership in the Executive Council. Since the Executive Council is to exercise large powers, it has been our endeavour to give it a representative character. I feel confident that the representative character of the Executive Council and the sympathy which inspires all those who are connected with education, whether officials or non-officials, will assure a smooth working and cordial co-operation of all the colleges.

My friend the Honourable Pandit Kunzru dwelt on this aspect at some length. A great deal has been said by him and others that in the management of the Delhi University official influence would be more than in other universities. Is the Honourable Member satisfied that universities which are free from official influence have become the beacon lights which he expects that Delhi University should become ? If that has not been the experience in the universities which are free from official influence why refuse to accept the accession of strength that educational experts may bring to Delhi University by their large experience in educational matters ? I am sure he remembers that Bagehot in his illuminating book on *Constitution* said that the system of representation had one object only and that was to produce a competent cabinet. We have tried to give Delhi University a cabinet which will have the advantage of the experience and knowledge of educational experts drawn from a very wide field.

The Honourable Sir Ramunni Menon also dwelt on the communal position in India. I cannot deny that it exists, but would he, if he discovered microbe of disruption, agree to foster it? Would he not take any steps that were
 4.5 P.M. within his power to see that that microbe was not allowed to multiply, and that communities were drawn together to serve a common purpose, at least in the field of education—education, which is the lever by which we can raise all communities to power and strength?

My Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam has spoken at length, and spoken with conviction, but I fear he is dominated by two conflicting ideals—the ideal of democracy and the ideal of communalism. And these two ideals, I am sorry to say, do not go together. - Democracy is a means to an end, not an end in itself. My friend Iqbal once, in a light moment, composed a couplet; I can render it in a more polite form: He said:—

“The principle of democracy has espoused the class and communal society of India.
 It is an illicit connection, and its issue is spurious politics”.

May I ask my Honourable friend: Is there any democracy that has succeeded on divided loyalties? As long as our loyalties are divided, the dream of working a democracy is a dream which cannot be realised. We will have to come together and be loyal at least to one single thing. Let us be loyal to education, and establish our claim to work a democratic system. But if we are not loyal even in the field of education to that which illumines the path of democracy, how can we claim that we can work any democratic institutions? In the words of a poet—

“What life have you if you have not life together?
 There is no life that is not life in community,
 And no community, not lived in praise of God”.

A university is a place of learning, and a university must hold aloft the torch of truth, so those who pass through its doors carry the light, the light that unites and that disperses the shadows that divide brother from brother.

Our aim, Sir, in revising the constitution of the Delhi University has been so ably defined by the Honourable Mr. Sargent in his eloquent speech that I have nothing more to add on that subject, except this, that our endeavour has been to provide an adequate organisation to carry on the day-to-day administration without overshadowing the ideals to mould gradually the communities into a nation.

My Honourable friend Mr. Hossain Imam made an appeal to remedy any defects in the Bill which experience reveals in a year or two. The Government of India is a responsive organisation, and bound to do justice to all manner of men without fear or favour. I can assure him that Government is and will always be ready to do its best for all the people of India and to remove any defects that experience reveals in our constitution.

I have listened with deep interest to the discourse which the Honourable Mr. Sapru has given us on every aspect of education. It reveals his deep concern in matters educational. I am glad there are public men of his calibre who, in this dry world, are anxious to keep the fountains of learning flowing. I too have been interested in education for many years, interested in ideals which Plato preached in his *Republic*, which Rousseau in his *Emile* gave out in France. I accepted the reorganisation scheme of the Delhi University because I was struck with its soundness and with the practical steps that were designed for its implementing.

My Honourable friend Mr. Sapru drew pointed attention to the need of creating faculties of agriculture, medicine and engineering, civil and mechanical. It was given to me in the Punjab to raise agriculture and engineering education to a degree standard. It was only the other day that I was discussing the matter with the Educational Adviser. He has told you already about the direction in which our minds are moving. I am anxious to have an Imperial College of Engineering. I have had talks with General Bird, who is equally anxious to have a fully equipped college for training engineers for the army. I hope that these discussions will lead to some tangible results. I can assure the Honourable Member that these are the subjects nearest to my heart, and I will do my best for them.

I need not repeat what the Educational Adviser has already said about our plans for promoting popular education in all its stages, from the lowest to the highest standard. I think I am revealing no secret when I say that the picture is being paint-

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ed by artists who are competent to paint it, and the picture is practically ready. But if this picture is going to be invested with life, it will need funds, and it will need your support. That is why the Educational Adviser and I rejoice that this Bill has drawn so much attention, because it is the popular support which can enable us to carry out these schemes. We are preparing plans which, within a definite number of years, if we can carry them out, should secure the ideals which our friends have at heart.

There is one point, however, which the Honourable Mr. Sapru raised regarding bringing education within the reach of the poorest peasant and the poorest urban worker. I must say that we must no more accept chronic poverty as our heritage. Indeed, it should be our endeavour to improve the whole wage structure, both rural and urban, by producing good nourishing food for all our population, thus improving the health and efficiency, and with it the earning capacity, of our population. If we do that, the question of creating meagre reservoirs of education does not arise. Our boys and girls would be in a position to take advantage of such education as is available.

The Honourable Mr. Sapru said that I was always preaching that they should acquire an agricultural bias. I preach it, because I feel that it is by improving the living conditions of agriculturists that you can create wealth and, through that wealth fulfil the purpose which you have at heart. As long as the wage structure remains where it is, as long as the agricultural wage is not even two annas a day, you cannot expect that India can rise to equality with other parts of the world. Raise the wage structure and see what you can achieve. Concentrate your minds on creating better living conditions for all the people of India. The majority of the people of India are the poor agriculturists, ploughing in the sun and rain and producing just enough food to go round. It seems a little out of place to talk of better conditions when we are witnessing the tragedy that is haunting Bengal. I feel this tragedy has happened because India had ceased to be a single economic unit. If the integrity of India is maintained and all communities join to promote the common weal, we can banish poverty and carry through our plans for giving instruction to the boys and girls. As I am on the point of Bengal, I may mention that the early rice crop this year in Bengal is about one million acres more than in ordinary times and if the produce—

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU: When will it mature?

THE HONOURABLE SIR JOGENDRA SINGH: It is maturing now. Part of it has matured. If the produce is properly husbanded and the trade is allowed to function, I am quite sure that the present scarcity will not exist. But any interference may prevent the flow of food from villages to the towns.

There is one more point which I would like to mention. I am not a believer in resisting legitimate demands. The Honourable Mr. Sapru laid a great deal of stress on my resistance. I am neither a passive resister nor an active resister. Indeed, I am ready to co-operate and do my best for all communities and all manner of men. It is true I joined as a representative of my own community as a member of Government. But it is also none the less true that if I am true to the oath of office which I have taken and if I am true to the principles which have guided me through all my life, it is my ambition to serve, protect and promote all interests,—Mussalmans, Hindus, Christians,—alike. Our brethren of Islam have been partners in a great tradition, a tradition that has been built up by men not of my own generation but of generations that have gone before. It is my belief that the currents of goodwill have been temporarily interrupted. But I am full of faith, that once again the vital currents of goodwill will pass and repass between the two communities and they will draw strength from one another and the unity of all the people would be the symbol of India herself, above and beyond all creeds and castes. (*Applause.*)

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:—

“That the Bill further to amend the Delhi University Act, 1922, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, be taken into consideration”.

Question put and Motion adopted.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN: There is another three-quarters of an hour. Shall we take up some of the amendments?

THE HONOURABLE MR. SHAVAX A. LAL (Nominated Official) : We shall take them up on Monday, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN : Some of these amendments cannot be moved, for instance the omission of clauses and so on. They are negative amendments.

THE HONOURABLE MR. SHAVAX A. LAL : They are direct negatives. There are previous rulings that they cannot be moved.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN : Can we not do the first page of the amendments ?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : I think the amendments had better be taken up on Monday, Sir.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN : I want to know when we can finish ?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : I think Government are aware of the general desire of this side of the House that the discussion should end on Tuesday. We do not want to prolong the discussion unnecessarily.

THE HONOURABLE THE CHAIRMAN : The Third Reading also will be finished by Tuesday ?

THE HONOURABLE PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU : That is what we hope, Sir.

The Council then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 30th August, 1943.