

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There are two amendments.

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:** I am not pressing my amendment, No. 1. I would seek leave of the House to withdraw it.

*Amendment No. 1 was, by leave withdrawn.*

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I shall now put the amendment moved by Shri Sidheswar Prasad, to the vote of the House.

*Amendment No. 2 was put and negatived.*

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Has Shri Prakash Vir Shastri the leave of the House to withdraw his resolution?

**Shri Prakash Vir Shastri:** No, no. I am not withdrawing it.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question is:

"This House is of opinion that one Session of Parliament be held at Bangalore or Hyderabad every Year".

*The motion was negatived.*

17.25 hrs.

#### RESOLUTION RE: STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION—contd.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now take up further discussion of the following Resolution moved by Dr. L. M. Singhvi on the 12th March, 1965;

"This House is of opinion that the pattern and structure of education should be purposefully recast and reorganised with a view to promote greater educational uniformity and the cause of national integration."

Four minutes have been taken. There are 56 minutes left.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur):** The state of education and the plight of teachers in our country weigh very heavily on our national conscience. The long and persistent neglect of education has led, I believe, to a smothering of values and a smothering of our creative impulses. A cynical view of conscience is that it is the fear of being watched, that it is the fear of being found out. Even that fear seems to have been in abeyance all these years of drift and inertia, and remorse for this state of affairs has, at best, consisted in ministerial confessions and admissions, making ourselves and the country feel bad, in order, perhaps, to lessen their sense of guilt.

I do not wish to sound unduly self-righteous or sweeping in my comments, but I do feel that the gravest lapses of the Government all these years after independence have been in the twin fields of education and economics, and the cumulative effect of these lapses in the long run fill our hearts with dismal forebodings.

I for one was happy to discern a radical approach in the outlook of our new Education Minister, Shri M. C. Chagla, who is a scholar, a humanist, and a jurist of distinction, and who has, by his forthright realism, at least revived the flickering hope that this Government means to salvage and resuscitate education from the stagnation into which it has fallen. It is a stupendous task and a task of heroic dimensions. It is on the success or failure of this task of Shri Chagla that the very future of our country and its teeming millions hinges.

There is no doubt that education provides the nursery for the growth and flowering of human resources and that investment in education is the most basic and the most far-reaching of all investments. The question that we must address ourselves today

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

and the question which the hon. Education Minister must answer today, is whether we have done everything possible to ensure that education occupies a pivotal position in the scheme of things in our national planning and effort, whether we have always exerted ourselves to find the required resources for the cause of education and research, whether we have brought vision and dynamism to bear upon the effort in the field of education, whether we have formulated and implemented our educational policies with a view to reconstruct them, so that they may contribute in a real sense to the cause of national integration and to the cause of national advancement.

17.29 hrs.

[SHRI SONAVANE in the Chair]

In my humble opinion, the record of the last 17 years is a repudiation and a travesty of the trust we had made with destiny in the exuberant sunshine of the dawn of our independence. Let the Education Minister tell us today if he does not consider the total appropriations for education to be extremely meagre and woefully inadequate. Let us concede candidly that at the present pace we may not in our lifetime be able to redeem the promises and the expectations enshrined in our Constitution and enshrined in the hearts of all enlightened citizens of this country. Let me say clearly that without a radical reorientation and reorganisation of the structure of the pattern of education in our country, the cause of education will be a lost cause. I sound this insistent note of urgency because in our swiftly changing times, in nuclear times, a nation which is anxious to telescope the progress of centuries in a few decades does not have much time left to-day to redeem the expectations and the promises made. We are accustomed to speak in a somewhat grandiloquent terms of the academic freedom but we must pause and consider whether

academic freedom can flourish or even subsist without upholding the dignity of the teaching profession at all levels. I have no doubt in my mind that a great deal depends on the prestige education and the educators enjoy in our society and the rating the society gives to the teaching profession. Although the pay scales of university teachers had improved of late, the fact that an urban postman is paid more than a primary school teacher, that a clerical assistant is paid more than a high school teacher in our country is a matter of crying shame for us all. It is very well for the authorities and for the Education Minister to wax eloquent over perorations of ethics and emergency but in the context of the incredibly low pay scales obtaining in our own country, it is quite heartless to say that teaching is a vocation and therefore the teachers' profession should be indifferent to salaries and material comforts. I agree that it is extremely necessary for the teaching profession to be disciplined but in the name of discipline Government cannot be permitted to practise the worst kind of exploitation and perpetrate the injustice. The Minister has been good enough to say recently, only this week, that the Centre is prepared to give fifty per cent of the contribution to the States which wish to raise the pay scales of teachers and that in the case of U.P. he is prepared to consider it on a special footing. Where does it leave us? It leaves us if I may say so, in the wilderness and to ad hoc solutions which are more apparent than real. The whole question of pay scales of primary, high school and higher secondary school teachers must be looked into by a Pay Commission or by a specially constituted committee of persons competent to deal with this matter. Without this I think we could not have adequate pay scale or uniform pay scale throughout the country for the teaching profession. It is well-known that secondary education is the weakest spot in the whole system of education today.

What have we done about it? We have the Mudaliar Committee Report. Have we pressed those recommendations into service sufficiently to improve the quality and content of secondary education in our country. We have done, if I may say so, precious little in this direction, at least so far. The States now clearly say that higher secondary education is beyond their means and beyond their capacity and therefore the upgrading of schools which was supposed to be to the tune of 40 per cent had been less than half of it. The quality of upgrading has also been more perfunctory than proficient. The needed facilities relating to the revised syllabi, model laboratories and adequate libraries are conspicuously absent; the teacher pupil ratio is unconscionable today in our country. Nothing very much has been done by the Government in all these years. The enormous wastage due to a high percentage of failures is continuing unabated both in schools and in universities. The language formula is perpetually in a state of flux and irresponsible and changing and conflicting statements made by members of the Government have not helped the adoption of a uniform formula throughout the country. The tutorial system has in most colleges become a meaningless routine. Educated unemployment is, if anything, on the increase. In spite of all this, we ask as if it was a guarded mystery why have our educational standards fallen and gone down. What we need is a stable, all-India pattern. What we need is a Grants Commission for higher secondary and high school education, an idea which at one time found support at the hands of our present Education Minister. What we need is to find adequate resources for education and to make it a concurrent responsibility of the Centre and the States. A monstrous, demoralising constitutional anomaly is being brought into existence today because the Centre has all the resources and the States have the basic responsibility in the field of education. The only solution is either to revise the distribution of powers in the Consti-

tution or to agree to a different scheme of distribution of fiscal resources.

In this context, I would like to know whether the Minister proposes to pursue the path of constitutional amendment or would be satisfied with what he has called recently, concurrent powers in substance. I think it is a euphemism which will be used to cloak and conceal for the indecision and inaction. I would also like to know what the operational range of this concurrence in substance would be.

Furthermore, the Minister himself states in no unclear terms what he proposes to do in respect of establishing an All-India Educational Service which would function effectively throughout the country as a catalyst of national integration. I would also like to know whether the idea of vesting the President of India with visitatorial powers is going to be actualised in the near future. The other day, during the Question Hour, Shri Chagla observed in response to a question that I had put that so far as he could recall, there was no specific recommendation in the matter of vesting the President with visitatorial powers in respect of universities. So far as the Sapru Committee report is concerned, I agree that the position so far as that recommendation is concerned is not quite clear in this respect, but the opinion of the Attorney-General which has been appended to the report is quite clear in the matter. The Attorney-General says:

"It is open, however, by legislation to invest the visitor with wider powers, but if they are powers for the purpose of co-ordination or fixing of standards within the meaning of Entry 66, it must be done by Central legislation. If those powers are to be properly exercised, that legislation will have to appoint the President generally as the visitor for all the universities. I think no question should arise as to such legislation being discriminatory as vesting unguided powers

[Dr. L. M. Singhvi]

since the powers would have to be exercised only for the purpose of co-ordination and fixing of standards which have to be a sufficient all-over guidance to validate the exercise of such powers vested in the visitor."

The only hesitation of the Sapru Committee in this matter stems from the fact that on account of an earlier opinion of the then Attorney-General in 1952, it was felt that even these visitatorial powers would have to be exercised by the President on the aid and advice of his Council of Ministers, and therefore, it may encroach upon the academic freedom and autonomy of the universities. If we are prepared to give these visitatorial powers to the President as such, then I am sure the import of the Sapru Committee's recommendation is to vest the President with such visitatorial powers.

I would also like to know as to what the Government proposes to do in respect of the various recommendations made by the Sapru Committee, which has done an estimable piece of work so far as the assignment which was made over to it is concerned. I should like to know particularly whether the Government is prepared now, has made up its mind, to scrap the whole scheme of matching grants and not to make education the handmaid of people who command wealth and power in society and to extend the benefits of education to all those who may not have necessarily the wealth to acquire it but may have the confidence and the merits to acquire it. It is a distressing affair in a State like Rajasthan where the Government has proclaimed a moratorium on any further extension of higher secondary schools. They said we cannot bear it; we do not have the money. The State Government insists that each village where the school is desired must contribute 50 per cent of the outlay on it. This is a distressing state of

affairs in a society which we say is based on social justice. I hope something would be done to rectify the situation.

I would like also the Minister to give an assurance in respect of bringing into existence national colleges which would set high standards of education and which would be sort of peaks of excellence in the field of education, from which various other colleges and universities could draw inspiration. It is obvious that in recent years, particularly after independence, there has been a visible decline in the voluntary effort in the field of education. I should like to know what is being done to salvage voluntary effort in the field of education in our country.

Before concluding, I should like to say that I expect that the present Education Minister, who has spoken frankly very often about how he wishes to reconstruct the system and pattern of education in our country, would not also be like his other colleagues, a prisoner of indecision or inertia. I hope we will be able to disprove what a publicist recently said answering the question, "Where is India going"? He said, "One can only answer for the present, that it is pottering along with no clear destination yet in mind". This does not redound to our credit. I would expect the Education Minister to take us into confidence and tell us about his blueprint for the reorientation and reorganisation of the pattern and structure of education in our country, so that we may look forward to a brighter tomorrow.

**Mr. Chairman:** Motion moved:

"This House is of opinion that the pattern and structure of education should be purposefully recast and reorganised with a view to promote greater educational uniformity and the cause of national integration."

There are some amendments also.

**Shri Rananjaya Singh** (Musafir-khana): I beg to move:

That in the resolution,—

for "recast and reorganised" substitute—

"reorganised in consonance with the Indian culture by bringing in a synthesis of the ancient and the modern." (1)

**Shri Shree Narayan Das** (Darbhanga): I beg to move:

That for the original resolution, the following be substituted, namely:

"This House recommends that the Education Commission appointed by the Government of India be further asked to suggest measures to recast and reorganise the pattern and structure of education with a view to promoting greater educational uniformity and the cause of national integration if the said Commission thinks it necessary and desirable of so doing." (4)

**Shri P. R. Chakraverti** (Dhanbad): I beg to move:

That in the resolution,—

for "reorganised with a view to promote greater educational uniformity and the cause of national integration", substitute—

"reoriented to meet the demands of developing economy of the country as an integrated whole." (5)

**Shri Sidheswar Prasad**: I beg to move:

That in the resolution,—

add at the end—

"so that it may be helpful in eliminating the prevailing social, economic and cultural discrimination." (6)

**Mr. Chairman**: Regarding the amendment of Dr. L. M. Singhvi, I feel it is out of order and it cannot be admitted.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi**: If the amendment has been admitted, I would like to know why it is out of order.

**Mr. Chairman**: The question of admission comes in later on. It is beyond the scope; it is unduly long and involves multiple issues.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi**: I take exception to this.

**Mr. Chairman**: I have given my ruling and he will please abide by it. Shri S. M. Banerjee is not here. So, his amendment is not moved.

The resolution and the amendments which have been moved are before the House. Only 56 minutes are available. Sometime has been taken by the mover. There are 7 speakers. In order to accommodate them, I request hon. members to take only 5 minutes each.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi**: It is quite obvious that the discussion on this resolution cannot be concluded even according to the 56 minutes left. So, in order to accommodate my esteemed friend, Shri Mukerjee, I think we should adopt the same procedure which was adopted last time that this would be an adjourned debate and Mr. Mukerjee would have a chance to move his resolution.

**Mr. Chairman**: I would like to bring to the notice of the House that the 25 minutes spent on the discussion on the use of gas in Vietnam have been accounted for. So, even the discussion on Dr. Singhvi's resolution would be covered within the time so as to leave one minute for Mr. Mukerjee to move his resolution. I think that would satisfy the House.

**Mr. Chairman**: Shri Sree Narayan Das.

**Shri Bade** (Kharagone): Sir, does it mean that other Members, who have

[Shri Bade]

not given any amendment, will not be called to speak?

**Mr. Chairman:** I am giving only five minutes each. There would be some time left for other hon. Members also. Let us proceed now.

**श्री श्रीनारायण दास :** हमारे सिधवी साहब ने जो प्रस्ताव सदन के सामने उपस्थित किया है वह, हमारे देश की शिक्षा प्रणाली के सम्बन्ध में विचार करने का बहुत अच्छा अवसर देता है। यह सही है कि हिन्दुस्तान में अंग्रेजों ने जो शिक्षा प्रणाली प्रचलित की, उसके सम्बन्ध में समय समय पर टीका टिप्पणी होती रही है। जब हम स्वतन्त्र नहीं थे तो हमारे देश के जो तत्कालीन नेता या उन्होंने उस शिक्षा प्रणाली से भिन्न कई प्रणालियों का प्रचार इस देश में किया। इसी सिलसिले में गुरुकुल प्रणाली का, उसी सिलसिले में शान्तिनिकेतन का, उसी सिलसिले में और भी गैर सरकारी तौर पर बहुत सी शिक्षा संस्थाओं का निर्माण हुआ। आशा की गई थी कि उस शिक्षा प्रणाली से देश की संस्कृति और सभ्यता को बनाये रखा जाएगा, देश की जो मौजूदा हालत है और देश में भावात्मक एकता कायम करने की जो जरूरत है, उसके अनुरूप ही शिक्षा प्रणाली हमारे देश में प्रचलित होगी। उस पद्धति को अपनाने की कोशिश भी की गई। लेकिन बावजूद बड़े बड़े प्रयत्नों के और बड़े बड़े सुधारकों के परिश्रम के, हमारे देश में एक ऐसी शिक्षा प्रणाली का निर्माण नहीं हो सका जो देश की आवश्यकताओं को हर दृष्टि से पूरा कर सके और देश में भावात्मक एकता पैदा हो सके या देश की शिक्षा पद्धति में एकरूपता आ सके।

माननीय सदस्य ने जो प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया है, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह के प्रश्न पहले भी बराबर यहाँ उपस्थित किये जाते

रहें हैं। जो हमारे देश के शिक्षा शास्त्री हैं और जो शिक्षा में दिलचस्पी रखते हैं उन ल ने भी और सरकार की ओर से भी कई प्रकार के कमिश्नों का निर्माण समय समय पर हुआ है। राष्ट्राकुष्णन कमीशन की नियुक्ति हुई थी जो विश्वविद्यालयों की शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में बहुत विषय रिपोर्ट पेश कर चुका है और उसकी सिफारिशों के अनुसार बहुत से सुधार भी यूनिवर्सिटी की शिक्षा प्रणाली में हुए हैं। बाद में प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा और माध्यमिक शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में भी कई तरह के आयोगों की नियुक्ति हुई है और शिक्षा प्रणाली में परिवर्तन लाने के लिए या शिक्षा के संगठन को इस स्तर पर लाने के लिए जिस से देश में एकरूपता आ सके, शिक्षा में एकरूपता आ सके और देश में भावात्मक एकता पैदा हो सके, उन्होंने अपने सुझाव दिये हैं। सरकार ने उन कमिश्नों की रिपोर्टों के आधार पर बहुत से पग भी उठाये हैं उनकी सिफारिशों को अमल में लाने की कोशिश भी की है। लेकिन जहाँ तक मेरा खयाल है और कई अन्य माननीय सदस्यों का भी खयाल होगा अभी तक हम अपने देश में एक ऐसी राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा प्रणाली की स्थापना नहीं कर सके हैं जिससे सभी तरह के हमारे जो उद्देश्य हैं, उन में हमें सफलता मिल सके। इसी लिए माननीय सदस्य ने इस प्रस्ताव को उपस्थित किया है। उन्होंने कई शिक्षा संस्थाओं की ओर हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित किया है और बहुत सी जो कमियाँ हैं यूनिवर्सिटी शिक्षा में, माध्यमिक शिक्षा में और प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा में भी उनकी तरफ हमारा ध्यान खींचा है। शिक्षकों की जो मर्यादा है, शिक्षकों को जो प्रतिष्ठा हम अपने समाज में देते हैं, शिक्षकों की वेतन प्रणाली में जो कमियाँ हैं, उन सब बातों की ओर भी उन्होंने हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित किया है।

समय नहीं है कि मैं अभी जो वर्तमान शिक्षा प्रणाली हमारे देश में है उसकी कमियाँ

का वर्णन यहां कर सकूँ। लेकिन जैसा कि माननीय सदस्यों को भी मालूम है, हाल में शिक्षा मंत्री ने एक शिक्षा आयोग की नियुक्ति की है जिसके जिम्मे इस बात का भार सौंपा गया है कि सारी शिक्षा, प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा से ले कर विश्वविद्यालय की शिक्षा तक, का वह अध्ययन करे और अध्ययन करके देश के सामने एक राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा प्रणाली की स्थापना के सम्बन्ध में सुझाव दे ताकि सरकर उतार दिवार कर सके। मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि हमारे माननीय सदस्य ने जो प्रस्ताव उपस्थित किया है उसको उपस्थित करने की आवश्यकता है या नहीं है। जो कमिशन नियुक्त हुआ है, उसकी जो टर्मज अफ रेफरेंसिस हैं, वे अभी मेरे सामने नहीं हैं। अगर टर्मज अफ रिफरेंसिस में यह बात आ जाती है तो इस को कमिशन के ऊपर छोड़ दिया जाये। लेकिन इस प्रस्ताव में जो भावना डा० सिधवी ने रखी है अगर वह टर्मज अफ रिफरेंसिस में नहीं आती है तो मैं माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री जी से अनुरोध करूँगा

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** But the Commission will report after two years and then a decision on that would be taken perhaps after five years.

**श्री श्रीनारायण बास :** जहां तक मेरा खयाल है इसी दृष्टि से यह कमिशन नियुक्त किया गया है कि वह सारे पहलुओं पर विचार करे। तात्कालिक निर्णय करना और उस पर चलना मैं समझता हूँ कि सम्भव भी नहीं है और उपयोगी भी नहीं है। इस लिए इस प्रस्ताव को टर्मज अफ रिफरेंसिस में सम्मिलित कर दिया जाये। अगर जरूरी समझा जाये तो कमिशन से इस सम्बन्ध में कोई इंटेरिम रिपोर्ट मांग ली जाये। उस के आधार पर सरकार को काम करने में सुविधा होगी।

इसी लिये मैं ने अपना संशोधन पेश किया है कि इस प्रस्ताव का जो मूल आधार है,

मूल भावना है उस को शिक्षा आयोग के टर्मज अफ रिफरेंसिस में जोड़ दिया जाना चाहिए। आवश्यक हो तो इस के लिए बीच में ही बोर्ड रिपोर्ट मांग ली जाये और उस के आधार पर काम किया जाये।

**Shri Narendra Singh Mahida (Anand):** Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the Resolution of Dr. Singhvi. Education is a subject which needs a lot of change in our country and also reorientation to the present day conditions. I would request the Deputy Minister who is present here to take cognisance of our pleas and make a very careful study of the educational position in India.

In my opinion, in the rural areas the voice of education is not reaching our small villages. Even though we have compulsory primary education, we have not been able to enforce compulsory education in the backward areas. Instead of attending school and learning, I have seen young boys and girls playing about in the village streets, or going after cattle or indulging in smoking. I have seen with my own eyes children of 5 to 6 years taking to smoking and other bad habits. The reason is that the voice of education has not reached the rural areas.

We must try to improve the salary scales and conditions of service of our primary and secondary teachers. Unless we infuse them with some enthusiasm, I do not think the teachers will take sufficient interest in the education of children in rural areas.

The real definition of education is to learn to judge what is right and wrong. In that sense, even our most backward and uneducated people are educated for after an experience of nearly 35 to 40 years they can judge what is right and what is wrong. In that way education has percolated to the rural areas. But if we bring our present standards of education to the

[Shri Narendra Singh Mahida]

rural area, we can bring about a great change in the country.

The spread of education in this country is an enormous problem and without education we cannot really progress. We may talk about high ideals and high objectives but unless we educate our masses we cannot improve our conditions. We would take nearly 50 to 60 years to compete with other advanced countries in the matter of education.

We also lack moral and spiritual education. We are losing our moorings because we are departing from the teachings of Gandhiji. We should come back to those moral and spiritual values. I would request the Education Minister, who is present here, to see that moral and spiritual education are given to children in both schools and colleges.

Lastly, I come to my State of Gujarat. Although the majority of people in that State want English to be taught from the fifth standard, Gujarat State Government is the only State Government which is insisting that English should be taught only from the eight standard. There is difference of opinion on this subject and some committees are being appointed to look into this question. I would request the Education Minister to pay attention to this problem and bring pressure on the State Government so that the voice of the people may be heard by the State Government.

Finally, I also request the hon. Education Minister to Indianise our convocation system. We have a system of having robes and all such ancient Greek methods. We can have our own Indian methods just as we have in Valabh Vidyanaagar. I am quite sure that a very laudable Resolution of Dr. Singhvi will be taken into consideration by the Government.

**Shri P. R. Chakraverti:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, the amendment which I move here is for asking re-orientation of the education system to meet the demands of developing economy of the country as an integrated whole and for bringing in the concept of integration into the educational sphere because of the chaotic conditions that have persisted for so many years after Independence.

As I said on another occasion, it is an age of rising expectations and naturally in this upsurge of a new form of feeling in the human mind, the education brings in a new concept and thereby it serves as a direct link of integration.

Curiously enough, is no common medium of instruction. When I go to Baroda, I find English as the medium; when I go to Ahmedabad, I find Gujarati as the medium and when I go to Kaira—there is the Valabhbhai Patel University—I find Hindi as the medium. Now, the man transferred from Ahmedabad to Baroda cannot get his children educated because they have been trained in a particular way. So, there must be some system, some accepted policy of education in the developing economy of the country. Where education plays such an important part, we cannot leave it to its fate.

As has been announced by the present Education Minister, when he joined the Ministry he did away with the committees. There had been a spate of committees which had been set up in the Education Ministry whenever we were stuck up with any problem without taking recognition of the real facts involved. It is good that he did away with a number of committees

Sir, the other day, in reply to my question, the Minister was kind enough to suggest that the teachers should not indulge in indiscipline. I say that the teachers are the last persons to indulge in all acts of indis-



ciple and other irregular activities because they have to set an example before their students. But why is it so? It is because there are certain factors which are not being taken into account. There is the teacher-student ratio. The ratio must be fixed in a way so that the teachers are not overburdened with a colossal problem of attending to a very large number of students, a class of 150 students or more, and then taking to private tuitions. As such the students do not get proper attention. That is what happens in big cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi. This is a very difficult question which has to be tackled.

Then, there are education shops cropping up in Delhi and other big cities. Delhi is the leading centre in that way. So many education shops are cropping up—there is no recognition, nothing of the kind—and the students appear privately and go to Bhagalpur and other places. They do not know what form of education they are receiving.

Then, there are no recreation facilities for the teachers as well as the students. The student says, "well, I do not have any recreation facility. There is no club, no playground and no meeting place. I go to a coffee shop or some other shop where I speak so many things and hear so many things and, of course, the radio is there." Indeed, it is a very difficult problem. When we have to take account of a growing generation, we cannot leave them like that. There are other factors also which condition their outlook. But this is a very important factor that they must have scope for self-expression. You cannot deny the person opportunity to develop of his personality so that he can feel delighted that he has had full scope and he has tried to give vent to his feelings. He should have scope for his self-expression. That factor also has to be taken into account.

The main thing which I would like to insist upon is that a student can never be interested in education unless he finds education oriented to the developing economy. That is what I seek to emphasise here. What are they doing in Germany? After the secondary education, they have got one year course where the student is allowed to seek his avenues of self-expression through certain crafts and industries. So, I would suggest that immediately after the school leaving certificate is granted, he must have one year's career seeking course where he is allowed to find his avenues of self-expression and find out how far he is fitted with the particular aspect of developing economy and select his profession. That factor has also to be borne in mind.

18 hrs.

**Mr. Chairman:** I would like to know how much time the hon. Mover would take for reply.

**Dr. L. M. Singhl:** I would like to take about ten minutes, because unfortunately the hon. Minister was not present here when I was speaking. I should, therefore, very much like to have about ten minutes.

**Mr. Chairman:** That much time is not available. He can have about five minutes.

I would like to know how much time the hon. Minister would take.

**The Minister of Education (Shri M. C. Chagla):** I have got to attend a meeting at 6.30 P.M. So, you may kindly call upon me at a convenient time.

**Mr. Chairman:** I shall call upon him very early. How much time would he take?

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** I shall be as brief as possible. I would take only about 10 to 15 minutes.

Chairman: Now, Shri Bade. He will be the last speaker on this resolution before the hon. Minister is called.

श्री बड़े : सभ.पति महोदय, मैं माननीय सिधवी साहब का अभिनन्दन करता हूँ कि उन्होंने यह प्रस्ताव रखा।

भारत में पहले शिक्षा का एक स्टैंडर्ड दिया गया था कि शिक्षा कैसी होनी चाहिए।

“सा शिक्षा या विमुक्तये”

अर्थात् शिक्षा वह है जो अज्ञान से श्री गुलामी से आदमी को मुक्त करती है। भारतवर्ष में यह शिक्षा का उद्देश्य होना चाहिए। लेकिन आप देखें कि आज देश में शिक्षा का स्तर क्या है। आज आपका ध्यान उद्योगों की तरफ अधिक है लेकिन विद्यार्थियों के चरित्र निर्माण की तरफ ध्यान नहीं है, चरित्र निर्माण के स्थान पर तो आज एक वैकुण्ठ पैदा हो गया है। लोकमान्य तिलक के समय में जो विद्यार्थी होते थे उनके शिक्षण की तरफ अधिक ध्यान दिया जाता है। आज बच्चा मां की गोद से बाहर जाने के बाद गुरु के पास जाता है, लेकिन वहाँ किस प्रकार की शिक्षा होती है? मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि भारत में शहरों में तो आप शिक्षा देखा हैं, शहर तो एक व्हाइट एल फेंट की तरह यहाँ हैं, उनको और ध्यान दिया जाता है। लेकिन गांवों में शिक्षा की तरफ किसी का ध्यान नहीं है। महात्मा गांधी ने अपने सेल्फ सेक्रोफाइस के लेसनस में कहा है :

You have got no right to give your child that education which your neighbour's child cannot have.

क्या गरीबों को वही शिक्षा मिलती है जो कि श्रीमंतों के बच्चों को मिलती है। आप देखें कि गांवों में किस प्रकार की शिक्षा दी जाती है। मैं आपको बताता हूँ कि मध्य

प्रदेश में बच्चों को क से कमल श्रीर ख से खडग सिखाया जाता है, पहले ग से गणपति सिखाया जाता था, लेकिन अब गणपति को निकाल कर ग से गधा सिखाया जाता है, जिस कि हमारे सिक्कूलरिज्म को धक्का न लगे। न मालूम हमारा यह सिक्कूलरिज्म हमको कहां ले जाएगा। आपने देखा होगा कि बच्चों को स्कूलों में चरित्र का शिक्षण नहीं मिलता।

आपको मास्टर्स की पगार बढ़ानी चाहिए। इसके बारे में दो मत नहीं हो सकते। इसके साथ यह भी देखें कि विद्यार्थियों को शिक्षा किस प्रकार की मिलती है। भारत में शिक्षा ऐसी होनी चाहिए कि विद्यार्थी चरित्रवान हों। आज विद्यार्थियों को उचित शिक्षण नहीं मिलता, इसलिए उनमें अनुशासनहीनता आ गयी है। उनमें राष्ट्रीयता की भावना उत्पन्न नहीं होती है। इसका क्या कारण है? इसका कारण यह है कि हमारी जो टैक्सट बुक्स हैं नमें जो हमारे बड़े श्रीर विद्वान लोग हो गये हैं उनके चरित्र नहीं दिए जाते।

बच्चों को इतने इतने विषय पढ़ाए जाते हैं फिर भी उनका शिक्षण अधूरा रहता है। आप देखें कि उनको सामान्य विज्ञान, भाषा, संस्कृत, अंग्रेजी, इतिहास, ग्रथशस्त्र, नागरिक स्वास्थ्य आदि सात सात विषय पढ़ाए जाते हैं और एक एक विषय के लिए लड़कों को दो दो नोट बुक्स लेनी पड़ती हैं और बटेस्ट बुक्स भी काफी महंगी होती हैं। आप देखें कि इस अवस्था में एक गरीब किसान अपने लड़कों को—अगर उसके तीन चार लड़के हैं—किस प्रकार पढ़ा सकता है। वह उनको छोटी उम्र से ही होटलों में और सिनेमाओं में नौकर करा देता है। तो आप देखें कि गांवों की शिक्षा पर ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता, जो दो परसेंट लोग कालिजों में पढ़ते हैं उन पर ही आपका ध्यान है।

साथ ही मैं परीक्षा पद्धति के बारे में भी बता दूँ। राधाकृष्णन कमीशन ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि यहाँ की परीक्षा पद्धति बदलनी चाहिए। यहाँ एक डाक्टर आए थे मध्य प्रदेश से। उन्होंने बताया कि हायर सेन्डरी में विज्ञान की शिक्षा कसी देनी चाहिए यह सिखाने के लिए अमरीका से विशेषज्ञ आए हैं जो कि यहाँ के लोगों को बता रहे हैं कि किस तरह पढ़ाना चाहिए। वह कहते हैं कि बच्चों को डाइरेक्टली बताया जाना चाहिए कि एच टू ओ के माने पानी के हैं। इस तरह पढ़ाना चाहिए। ये अमरीकी विशेषज्ञ हमारे मध्य प्रदेश के और अन्य प्रदेश के शिक्षक शारिद्यों को पढ़ने का प्रशिक्षण देने के लिए यहाँ बुलाए गए हैं। ये अमरीकी विशेषज्ञ हम को क्या पढ़ेंगे। मेरा कहना है कि आपको गरीब लोगों के बच्चों के शिक्षण पर अधिक ध्यान देना चाहिए और जो शिक्षक बच्चों को द जाए वह ऐसी हो जिससे उनके चित्र का निर्माण हो तभी उनका और देश का कल्याण हो सकता है। गरीबों के लिए किताबें भी आपको सरती करनी चाहिए, तभी वे पढ़ सकते हैं। अगर किताबें महंगी रहेंगी तो गरीबों का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता।

सभापति महोदय, यह बहुत महत्व का विषय है, इसके लिए पांच मिनट का समय देना तो अन्याय करना है।

सभापति महोदय : आप बजट की डिमांड्स के वक्त इस पर बोल सकते हैं।

श्री बड़े : उस समय तो मैं बोलूंगा। पर इस समय तो पांच पांच मिनट देने से तो यह अच्छा था कि आप एक दो सदस्यों को बुला देते और हम उनको सुन लेते।

श्री रणजय सिंह : मुझे बोलने का समय नहीं मिला। मुझे बयों इन्तोर किया था रहा है। मैं ने क्रमेंडमेंट भी दिया है।

सभापति महोदय : वक्त नहीं है।

श्री रणजय सिंह : मुझे बजट पर भी बोलने का समय नहीं मिला। यह बड़े महत्व का विषय है।

सभापति महोदय : एजुकेशन निस्टर।

Shri M. C. Chagla: Mr. Chairman, I will try to be as brief as possible because I see the clock moving on.

May I compliment my hon. friend, Dr. Singhvi, for whom I have very great regard, on moving this Resolution? I appreciate the spirit underlying it, the object he has of improving the whole structure of education. But may I appeal to him not to press this Resolution, because we are trying to do exactly what he wants by appointing the Education Commission which will go into the whole spectrum of education, primary, secondary, higher, technical and so on. It will deal with all the points he has raised in his Resolution.

Two of my hon. friends have talked about primary education. I agree that the situation is far from satisfactory. But look at what has happened since independence? 50 million boys are there in primary schools today. It is what I call an expansion explosion. We have not sufficient teachers, trained teachers, we have not sufficient schools, we have not sufficient textbooks. The children want to come and are clamouring for education. Therefore, I have been emphasising that while we cannot prevent expansion, we must also pay some attention to quality.

May I point out two things? We are trying to make primary education production-oriented. I agree with what my hon. friend over there said that students should have the opportunity of self-expression. The student should do something creative and not grind his nose at the desk and read merely textbooks and pass examinations. Also we are doing our best with regard to textbooks. We have set up a committee here. We

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

are writing textbooks on a national basis. We are going to send them to every state so that they can be translated into different national languages.

I do not know whether my colleague was good enough to note down all the points Dr. Singhvi made. I cannot deal with all the points he has made in this short time. I will try to reply to as many as I can.

I agree with him that education is of basic importance. I think there is nothing in India today which is of greater importance than education. It is investment in human beings. Unless we can raise the educational standards of our people, we can never go far as a nation. Therefore, I entirely agree with him that education should be given top priority. Unfortunately, whenever there is an economy drive, education becomes the first casualty.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** Do not allow that.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** That is how it is, because we cannot show results. They say: "We cannot produce steel, we cannot produce fertilisers, we cannot put up irrigation dams. What is the value of education." But we are creating human beings, and no nation can progress without creating the right type of human beings.

Dr. Singhvi says that we must take note of the urgency of the problem.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** These are generalities. What I would like the hon. Education Minister to deal with specifically are some of the points. With your permission, I may specify them.

**Mr. Chairman:** He has noted them.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** I am coming to them.

As regards the teacher's profession, I entirely agree with what he says.

I have said so often on the floor of the House, I have said it at public meetings, and I go on repeating that I think that our teachers are very poorly paid. But look at what we have done. We have offered 50 per cent for increase in the emoluments of teachers, if the State Government can spare the other 50 per cent.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** The States do not have even that 50 per cent.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** Therefore, I do feel that the system of matching grants has not succeeded, and we are trying to evolve a better system for the Fourth Plan.

I entirely agree that our education cannot improve unless we raise the standard of our teachers. We are doing everything possible to raise the status of our teachers. We give them national awards. Teachers are selected for these awards. We have a national foundation to relieve the distress of the teachers. As I have said, we are giving every incentive to the States to raise the dignity and status of the teachers. Still they are very poorly paid.

**Shri Bade:** You agree, and still you cannot do anything without the help of the Finance Minister.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** I wish I were both Education Minister and Finance Minister, then I could write cheques for education, but I am not. Therefore, for everything I want, for education, I have to beg, to go down on my knees before the Finance Minister and say, "Please give me some money for education", because I think this is the greatest national activity we can have.

Then, my hon. friend wants that a high power commission should be appointed. This has already been done.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** I did not say that. I do not believe in committees.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** He says the recommendations of the Mudaliar Commission have not been implemented. I cannot implement the recommendations of the Mudaliar Commission when by March next year I hope to have the report of this Education Commission, and I give an assurance to this House that this Commission's report will not be pigeon-holed. Once we have taken a decision, we will implement whatever the Commission recommends.

**Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur):** By what time will this Commission report?

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** It is expected by March next year.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** Final report?

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** That is a year more.

I agree with the suggestion of Dr. Singhvi that there should be an all-India pattern of secondary education. At various conferences of Education Ministers, we have laid down the pattern—so many years of school, three years degree course etc. Most of the States are conforming to it, and today we are giving the greatest importance to secondary education.

**Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalpuzha):** Many States are not following the pattern, they are flouting it.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** I know, but we have no powers. Secondary education is a State subject. A suggestion has been made by the teachers that I should set up a Secondary Education Grants Commission like the University Grants Commission. We consulted the Law Ministry, and they said it was not constitutional. So, unless we make secondary education either a Union subject or a concurrent subject, this cannot be done.

But, I must admit, as I have said before, that although there is no concurrence in law, to a large extent there is concurrence in substance,

because all the Education Ministers agreed at the last Education Ministers' conference that in all matters affecting quality in secondary education, the schemes should be Centrally sponsored or Central schemes, and that the States would abide by the directions given by the Centre. Therefore, we are having a crash programme with regard to teaching of science and teacher training. These are two very important subjects as far as Secondary Education is concerned. Unless we attach the greatest importance to science our country will not progress. We are very backward in science. We had a special commission consisting of Russians and Americans financed by UNESCO. It has gone round and given a report how to improve science education in secondary schools and we have started implementing it. Dr. Singhvi says that education must be in the concurrent list. I am trying to get at least higher education in the concurrent list. That is in Sapru Committee's report. So far only one State, Punjab, had agreed to it. My friend who is an eminent lawyer knows that the Constitution cannot be amended unless a majority of State ratify this particular amendment. So that even if I get the whole House to agree, I think very likely I would, that higher education at least should be in the concurrent list, it is no good till I get a majority of the States to agree to it. With regard to the Indian Education Service, a Resolution had been moved this afternoon in the Rajya Sabha and we will set up the Indian Education Service almost immediately. I am very happy that at least in that respect all the States have agreed that we should have an All India Education Service. That will be a great integrating factor. The constitutional requirement is that it has to be carried by a two-third majority in the Rajya Sabha. A Resolution had been moved and I hope the vote will be taken on Monday. Another suggestion of Dr. Singhvi is: what about the President being vested with visitorial powers

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

for all the universities? The Universities are autonomous. The University Acts are passed by State legislatures. We have had a model universities Bill committee and they have made certain suggestions about the appointment of Vice Chancellors. I have forwarded this report to the various States but again, I cannot compel the States to accept this.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** I would draw the attention of the hon. Minister to this part of the opinion of the Attorney General which is appended to the Sapru Committee report in which the Attorney General has clearly stated under entry 66 Central legislation vesting President with visitatorial powers could be enacted. Under such legislation, the President could be a Visitor for all the universities in India.

**Mr. Chairman:** I hope the hon. Minister will have a lot of opportunity to give detailed explanation at the time of replying to the Demands for grants on the Ministry. We have to consider the time factor now.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** That only applies to the Central Universities. I will look it up again and see if that could be done. The other suggestion is the establishment of national colleges to serve as peaks of excellence for other institutions. I agree that our colleges are in a bad way. 85 per cent of our students are in colleges. There are some very good colleges but the majority of them are bad colleges. We have now decided to concentrate on improving the standard of colleges. I agree with my hon. friend that we should take up one or two colleges and make them models.

Since you have already indicated, I must conclude my remarks as quickly as possible. Shri S. N. Das has moved an amendment. It conforms to the reference we have made to the Commission. Our education

system should be according to a national pattern. My friend Shri Mahida supported the Resolution and had spoken about primary education and moral education and it was said that convocations should be made simpler. The other day, I delivered a convocation address at Wardha at the rural institute. We had an entirely Indian ceremony but again this must be left to the Universities as they are autonomous.

I have already dealt with what Shri P. R. Chakraverti has said about the demands of a developing economy and self-expression. I agree with him. I also agree with Shri Bade.

**Shri P. R. Chakraverti:** One year's career-finding scheme which has been introduced as a new innovation.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** I agree. In all these things, what we have to remember is that the numbers are astronomical: 50 million students in primary schools, about 10 million in secondary schools and a million and a quarter in colleges and universities. In any scheme which we devise, we are faced with these enormous numbers. I agree that the students should have a training, as my hon. friend Shri Chakraverti suggests, but it is a question not only of resources but of teachers and the equipment.

I would not take any more time of the House. I again thank Dr. Singhvi for having moved this Resolution. The debate has been interesting. I would appeal to him not to press this to a division. I can assure him that all these points will be taken into consideration by the Commission. I shall forward copies of the proceedings of this House on this Resolution to the Commission.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** Mr. Chairman, Sir, in the midst of unrelieved and remorseless drift and inertia which characterises Government policies in most fields, I do find a reassuring

sign in what Shri Chagla has said on the floor of the House today and earlier. I am sorry that the ubiquitous axe which applies to the Demands for Grants for the Education Ministry seems to have been applied also to this Resolution concerning the field of education in our country.

**Mr. Chairman:** The time was allotted by the Business Advisory Committee. I was not responsible.

**Dr. L. M. Singhvi:** It seems it has been applied equally to this Resolution. If it is applied to the time allocated to the discussion of this Ministry's demands for grants in the budget also, it would not really give us an adequate opportunity to discuss the problems that confront education in our country.

I am not wholly satisfied with what the hon. Minister of Education had to say in respect of the various issues I had raised. In view of the great admiration I have for him and his integrity and his sense of what is right and his courage of conviction, I hope that I would be right and justified in ascribing his unsatisfactory replies to the lack and insufficiency of time rather than to his views in the matter.

I feel that this Parliament should take note of the fact that the whole field of education, our whole progress in the field of education today, is stalemated and deadlocked partly because it is a half-way house that we have sought to build, because the States and the Centre share responsibility in the matter, one without having the finance and the other without having the constitutional power. This is a distressing situation, and this sort of dyarchy, I think, should be put an end to.

I do strongly feel that the pay-structure of the teachers should be

revised progressively and at once. No excuse would avail in this country: even if we were to say that the Central Government is prepared to give as much as 50 per cent, that is not a sufficient excuse, because the remaining 50 per cent is not forthcoming so far as the States are concerned. It cannot be done merely in the State of Uttar Pradesh. It is a problem which is nationwide and I think it should be tackled as a nationwide problem.

The debate has been considerably cramped because of the lack of time. I am thankful to my hon. friends who have participated in the debate and have lent their strong support to the discussion and to the points of view that I had sought to explain. I am also thankful to the hon. Minister for having answered many of the issues that I had raised, though he was not actually present, and it must be ascribed to the very full notes that Shri Bhakt Darshan has taken for him.

I seek the leave of the House to withdraw the Resolution in view of what the hon. Minister has said.

**Mr. Chairman:** I think the amendments also are withdrawn.

श्री रणजय सिंह : मुझे बोलने का समय दिया जाये ।

सभापति महोदय : आपको डिमांड्ज पर बोलने का मौका दिया जायेगा । मैं स्पीकर साहब को कहूंगा कि वह आपको मौका दें ।

*All the amendments were, by leave withdrawn. The resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.*