

[Shri A. C. Guha]  
Industrial Finance Corporation of  
India. [Placed in Library. See No.  
S-394/55].

**BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE**  
**TWENTY-SEVENTH REPORT**

**Shri M. A. Ayyangar (Tirupati):** I beg to present the Twenty-seventh Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

**STATEMENT RE: OFFICERS OF**  
**ALL INDIA RADIO**

**The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar):** On behalf of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, I beg to make the following statement: In respect of certain matters which were discussed in the course of the debate in the Ninth session of the Lok Sabha, he said that he would refer them to the Union Public Service Commission and place the information on the Table of the House. Accordingly, detailed statements in respect of each of these matters were drawn up. These have been seen by the Commission.

On behalf of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, I beg to lay on the Table of the House statements regarding:

- (1) Retrenchment of Programme Assistants in All India Radio.
- (2) Selection of an officer of All India Radio to the post of News Editor in the News Services Division.
- (3) Reversion of Assistant Engineers.
- (4) Selection to Assistant Engineers' posts of candidates interviewed for Technical Assistants' posts. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 49].

**CORRECTION OF ANSWER TO**  
**STARRED QUESTION**

**The Minister of Commerce (Shri Karmarkar):** On behalf of the Minister of industries, I beg to make a statement.

In connection with starred question No. 1437 answered on 5-9-55, Shri Gidwani asked him a supplementary question desiring to know the value of diesel road rollers, stone crushers and road making machinery imported into India during the year 1951 to 1955, and he replied, "In 1952, the number of rollers was sixty seven; in 1953, sixty-two; in 1954 one; and in 1955 nil. The value in 1952 was Rs. 25,12,000; in 1953 Rs. 23,24,500; and in 1954, Rs. 37,500". The correct position, however, is that the figures of import asked for by Shri Gidwani are not separately available. He regrets the error that crept into the earlier reply and seeks your permission to correct the answer and replace it by the following:

"The figures of import asked for are not separately available. The figures of imports under the general heading, "Earth Moving and Shifting Machinery" are as follows:—

Year	Value in Rs.
1952-53	1,44,07,791
1953-54	1,45,18,532
1954-55	1,05,92,618

**UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION BILL—Contd.**

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now proceed with further consideration of the following motion moved by Dr. M. M. Das on the 22nd November, 1955, namely:

"That the Bill to make provision for the co-ordination and determination of standards in Universities and for that purpose, to establish a University Grants Commission, as reported by the Joint Committee, be taken into consideration".

The hon. Deputy-Speaker has placed on the Table the Report of the Business Advisory Committee in which it has been recommended by the Committee that 13 hours be allotted for this Bill. Up to now, 5 hours and 2 minutes have been availed of and the time remaining at the disposal of the House will be 7 hours and 58 minutes. I am mentioning this because I think we must make allocation of time for the general discussion, then clause by clause consideration and then the third reading stage. We have, to say roughly, 8 hours at our disposal now. So how shall we divide this time? There are about 70 amendments.

**Shri T. S. A. Chattiar** (Tiruppur): May I suggest 6 hours for general discussion, 5 hours for amendments and 2 hours for third reading?

**Mr. Speaker:** That will leave one hour of closing this stage.

**Shri K. K. Basu** (Daimond Harbour): The number of amendments may be 70; but many of them are common and more or less touch only a few clauses. So the time for that stage may be reduced.

**Mr. Speaker:** Shall I say, 4 hours for the amendments?

**Some Hon. Members:** Three hours.

**Shri T. S. A. Chattiar:** I will suggest 4 hours.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let me hear the general consensus of opinion. The general consensus seems to be three hours.

**Some Hon. Members:** Four hours.

**Mr. Speaker:** All right. Four hours for the clause by clause discussion and one hour for the third reading.

**Some Hon. Members:** Yes.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee** (Hooghly): That will be quite enough.

**Mr. Speaker:** That means, that three hours will now remain for consideration of the present motion. We will carry on this debate for nearly three hours and then take up the clause by clause consideration and third-reading discussion, the time limit being four hours and one hour respectively.

Shri V. B. Gandhi was addressing the House. I might remind hon. Members that the time-limit as fixed—as I understand—was 15 to 20 minutes. It might be more strictly speaking, 15 minutes, if more hon. Members want to speak on this motion. Shri V. B. Gandhi has already taken 16, but to be liberal, 15, minutes. So he will finish within 5 minutes.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi** (Chittor): May I make a submission. Yesterday, Members of the Joint Committee were the only persons who had the opportunity to speak. Would it not be possible to consider giving an opportunity to some Members who were not on the Joint Committee to speak?

**Mr. Speaker:** Certainly. The Chair will not make a distinction between Members on the Committee and outside the Committee. The Bill is in the possession of the entire House and any Member desiring to contribute and capable of contributing, will be called upon by the Chair.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

**Shri V. B. Gandhi** (Bombay City—North): I stopped yesterday on a reference to clause 22 (3). Clause 22 (3) provides for definition of a degree. In this connection, I wonder if we are not going into too meticulous details and in doing so, if we are not perhaps stepping on the toes of State legislatures. We should avoid any occasion for a State legislature to make a claim to deal with this subject, for after all, we should remember that education is a State subject.

Another important clause is clause 20. This clause provides for powers for the Central Government to give directions to the University Grants Commission on questions of policy.

I was glad to see that among those who spoke yesterday there was not much opposition to the principle of investing the Central Government with power to give directions on questions of policy. However, much was said about the expression qualifying the word 'policy', the expression 'relating to national purposes'. This was qualification of the word 'policy'

[Shri V. B. Gandhi]

by the addition of these words was made by the Joint Committee. It was not there in the original Bill. Some lawyer Members referred to the difficulty of defining this expression 'relating to national purposes'. I admit that there would be some difficulty in interpreting this expression. But, surely, there are a large number of questions which can be clearly declared as questions relating to national purposes. Some difficulty might arise in the matter of questions on the border line. There would be some difficulty about defining the limits of what constitute questions relating to national purposes. The background of this addition is that in the original Bill the Government was left free to give directions on all matters of policy. That was too wide a power to be given in this matter and, therefore, the Joint Committee qualified that by stating that directions could be given only on questions of policy relating to national purposes. As a result of this addition, now, Government in future will have to consider every time it wants to give directions whether its directions are on matters of policy relating to national purposes. That would certainly mean freedom to the University Grants Commission and through the Commission it would be giving protection to Universities, because, now, the power of the Central Government would be to some extent circumscribed.

After all, what is our aim in the Bill? Our aim in this Bill is to provide for a University Grants Commission that would be a high level body, a body that would be competent, a body that would be having adequate powers and that would have freedom to act and a body that would inspire confidence among Universities.

I will just deal with one more point.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** No more point. The hon. Member has taken 21 minutes.

**Shri V. B. Gandhi:** Two minutes more, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am sorry; he must resume his seat. Shri C. R. Narasimhan.

**Shri Achuthan (Crangannur) rose—**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** As a matter of that I was giving preference only to hon. Members who are not members of the Joint Committee. Mr. Trivedi is not evidently present.

**Shri C. R. Narasimhan (Krishnagiri):** I shall be very brief and to the point and take less time than is normally allowed to any Member. I wish to refer to clause 12 which relates to the functions of the Commission. As amended by the Joint Committee, it reads thus:

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

and for this purpose in sub-clause (c), it says:

"recommend to any University the measures necessary for the improvement of University education and advise the University upon the action to be taken for the purpose of implementing such recommendation;"

I hope that when the University Commission begins to function this power will be freely utilised in regard to certain schemes visualised by the Planning Commission and published in their First Five Year Plan. I may be permitted to read that also here. With reference to University education, the report says:

"Overcrowding in university institutions is a problem which causes considerable concern for the very future of education in the

country. Some suggestions to meet this admittedly difficult problem are offered in the Plan. The need to apply suitable tests for selecting those who should receive university education and to draw as large a proportion of students as possible into gainful occupations before they reach the university stage is stressed. It is also suggested that facilities for private study should be provided on a much larger scale than at present. The fact that the possession of an examination degree has long been an essential qualification for entering into many grades of public service has been an important factor in creating congestion.."

Then, the paragraph referring to women's education says:

"Problems concerning women's education receive considerable attention in the Plan. It is recommended that while women should have equal opportunities with men in various fields of education, special attention should be given to those in which they have marked aptitudes. For advancing women's education it is important that extensive opportunities should be afforded to them for private study and for taking the higher examinations as private candidates. The organisation of short-term courses for women in general education and in crafts is also recommended."

This is the recommendation of the Planning Commission and five years have elapsed. I put a question to the Education Ministry asking whether this paragraph was implemented and I got the reply that it was a State subject and they had no information. I hope things would improve hereafter after the establishment of the University Grants Commission with the powers granted to them under clause 12 of the Bill. I hope something would be done for giving facilities

and for removing congestion in colleges.

As far as the standard of education itself is concerned, many of the colleges have ceased to be teaching institutions. My complaint is that they are merely functioning as testing institutions; boys are gathered and at the end of the year examinations are conducted and marks are given. My complaint is that there are too large a number of boys and teachers are not bestowing proper attention. So the boys when they leave the schools and reach the colleges find it difficult to manage. My feeling is that the boys are not to blame but the teachers do not play their part. In several schools where the boys do not flourish, when I asked for an explanation I got the reply, how can we attend to these boys; they do not study at home; are they studying at home or are they palying?'. I know of so many boys, my own wards, who have been devoting a lot of time to education at home and yet at college they were not faring well. I find that even in the case of boys emphasis is being laid by the teaching staff on their study at home. Therefore, I think, it is not just to say that it all depends upon what they are taught at school or college. It has become a recognised practice to say that attendance in colleges and what is taught in the colleges are important and that they cannot be obtained at home. As I said before, when I approached the teaching staff for explaining as to why certain boys are not flourishing, I was asked to see that they studied at home. Therefore, the teachers themselves are asking the boys to study at home and do not emphasise much on what they propose to teach in the actual classes.

As for girls' education, the same difficulty is there and most of the girls become misfits. They are not good at home and the teaching that they get in the classes is going or deteriorating. So, they are neither here or there.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am afraid the hon. Member has not got any personal experience in this matter.

**Shri C. R. Narasimhan:** I am a guardian of boys and girls. In these matters, more scope should be given for private study and the Centre should collect all facts about these things. Though the current Five Year Plan visualises some progress, nothing has been done, and Government have no information whatsoever to give on the floor of this House in this matter. I hope things will improve hereafter by the efforts of the Ministry of Education and the University Grants Commission.

**Shri Dhulekar (Jhansi Distt.—South):** I beg to draw your attention to some of the salutary recommendations that have been made in this Bill. When this Bill was first introduced in this House and clause 3 was put in, to the effect that the Central Government may, on the recommendation of the University Grants Commission, declare some institutions in the country, which are of national importance, as universities, there were two provisions, clauses 22 and 23 side by side with clause 3. In clause 22, it was stated that only universities which are established under an Act of the State or under clause 3 will be entitled to any Central Act or declared as such confer degrees. In clause 23 a prohibition was put that any institution which calls itself a university today will not be entitled to call itself a university unless it is established under a State Act or a Central Act. I approach the hon. Minister of Education and stated that by putting these three clauses in the Bill, while on the one hand you are doing a good thing by proposing to declare certain big national institutions as universities, on the other hand you are, by the provision in clause 22, prohibiting them to grant degrees. I am referring to the *Directory of Institutions for Higher Education in India, 1954*, and in that a list of the universities is given and side by side a list of non-affiliated institutions is also given in which there are two classes

of institutions. One class of institutions is wholly governmental and the other class is partly governmental and partly private, that is to say, there are big institutions in India, respectable and influential, which are getting recognitions from the State Governments as well as the Government of India and also are in receipt of grants. Among these non-affiliated institutions there are institutions like the Kharagpur Institute, Hyderabad Institute and several others, which are conferring degrees—B.Sc. (Hons.), M.Sc. (Hons.) etc.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** What about Ayurvedic Universities?

**Shri Dhulekar:** These are governmental institutions. In the second class, which is recognised and aided, there are the Sangeet Vidya Pith, Ujjain, (Gwalior) the Queens' College of Benaras, Calcutta Madarasa, Jamia Millia, Jhansi Ayurvedic University and several others which are conferring degrees. I approached the hon. Minister and pointed out that under section 22, you have stipulated that no institution in India, which is not a university established under any Act, can confer any degree and so you will be doing away with all these institutions in India which are really doing very good work because they are all technical, some relate to music, some to engineering, some to medicine and some are physical culture institutions. The hon. Minister was pleased to accept the suggestion and in clause 22 an amendment was put in by the Government that all the degrees which are being conferred by institutions which are outside the pale of the universities established under any Acts, will remain as they are and this Act will not do any harm to those institutions. Therefore, the Kashi Vidya Pith, the Gurukul Kangri, Jhansi Ayurvedic University, etc., will be safe. The amendment purports to say that the Government will issue a notification in which a list of degrees will be given, and only those degrees cannot be conferred by other universities or institutions.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** Where is that stated?

**Shri Dhulekar:** In clause 22, it is stated:

“For the purposes of the section, ‘degree’ means any such degree as may, with the previous approval of the Central Government, be specified in this behalf by the Commission by notification in the Official Gazette.”

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** That is the meaning that he has got.

**Shri Dhulekar:** The hon. Member may think that an amendment will be necessary, but the hon. Minister gave me an assurance that it means that the present universities which are established by law will go to the Commission and get their degrees registered there and a notification will be published in the Gazette that these are the degrees of a particular university and that the other institutions will not be able to confer those degrees.

**The Deputy Minister of Education (Dr. K. L. Shrimali):** I think there is a misunderstanding regarding clause 3 which says:

“The Central Government may, on the advice of the Commission, declare, by notification in the Official Gazette, that any institution for higher education, other than a University, shall be deemed to be a University for the purposes of this Act, and on such a declaration being made, all the provisions of this Act shall apply to such institutions as if it were a University within the meaning of clause (f) of section 2”

There may be certain institutions which do not call themselves universities and which do not have a charter but it is possible that the University Grants Commission may consider them fit to receive grants for the purpose of development of higher education. The intention of clause (3) is to cover the cases of these institutions.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Degrees cannot be granted. That is his complaint.

**Shri Dhulekar:** I disagree with the hon. Deputy Minister. All these things which I am submitting here were written and everything was submitted to the hon. Minister. There was a long correspondence and discussion.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon. Member wants degrees to be granted by these institutions also.

**Shri Dhulekar:** My submission is this. What the hon. Minister said and what the saving clause means is this. Only those degrees which are notified in the official Gazette cannot be conferred by any other institution. But those degrees which are already being conferred by those institutions which are not universities today under any Act can continue to be conferred by them. There is the *Sahityacharya* of the Board of Sanskrit Studies at Banaras, there is the *Ved Tirath*, there is the *Kavya Tirath* of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, there is the *Vedalankar Acharya of Gurukul*. The hon. Deputy Minister says that all these institutions are washed away by the Act. If that is his interpretation I say he is doing an injustice because these are all national institutions and crores of rupees have been invested by all people over the country from Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madras and Calcutta.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Under clause 22(3) ‘degrees’ are such degrees as are recognised by the Central Government.

**Shri Dhulekar:** Sub-clause (3) reads:

“For the purposes of this section ‘degree’ means any such degree as may with the previous approval of the Central Government be specified in this behalf by the Commission by notification in the Official Gazette.”

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Therefore they may state to the Central Government that Acharya and others ought not to be termed as degrees for the purpose of this Act.

**Shri Dhulekar:** That comes to this. What the law does not prohibit it allows. It does not say that the Acharya degree cannot be given. Only that degree cannot be given by any other institution—that degree which will be notified in the Gazette.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He wants interpretation from the hon. Minister.

**Shri Dhulekar:** Hon. Minister's interpretation is nothing; it is a question of law. Law is very clear. As I said earlier, only those degrees are prohibited—degrees which are to be conferred by institutions which are declared to be universities under this Act; that is, the degrees which are notified in the official Gazette. Therefore, *Sangeethacharya* degree can be conferred by Gwalior Vidyapith; it could not be prohibited. I cannot agree with the hon. Deputy Minister.

**Shri U. M. Trivedi:** If Bombay University also gives *Sangeethacharya* degree what will happen?

**Shri Dhulekar:** No. It is a question of right; it cannot be given by the Bombay University. Take the Kashi Vidyapith. It is an institution which is recognised by the U.P. Government; its degree is recognised as equivalent to B.A. Jamia Milia degree is recognised as a degree equal to B.A. How can this Act say that such degrees from institutions spread all over India are not so?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member does not find any difficulty in the Act itself. He is clear about the interpretation of the Act. He is obsessed by what the hon. Minister reads into the Act. The Act stands by itself.

**Shri Dhulekar:** I wish to make my meaning clear to the House. It is not a question of a Member simply standing up and expressing something. I gave in writing my views about clause 23 and I asked about

these institutions. I shall refer to one case of a Government institution—the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur which confers B.Sc. (Hon.) and M.Sc. (Geology) degrees. It is purely a Central Government Institute and my learned friend cannot say tomorrow that this cannot give any degree. Tomorrow if this degree is not notified in the Gazette or if this institution is not declared to be a university under clause (3) then this degree will become a nullity.

**Dr. K. L. Shrivastava:** Since it is a Government institution, I may make the position clear. After this Bill is passed, the Kharagpur Institute will not be able to confer B.Sc. and other degrees. Government will have to introduce legislation; we are already proposing to introduce legislation with regard to the Kharagpur Institute. The whole purpose of this Act is that no institution which has not received a charter from a legislature should call itself a university. One may give whatever degrees one likes but there are certain degrees which must be accepted by the Government. That is the whole purpose of this Bill. Nobody is preventing any institution from conferring any degrees they like but they should not give degrees which are specified in the Gazette.

**Shri Dhulekar:** Therefore, it is clear that no institution can confer a B.A. degree except the Punjab University or the Allahabad University.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The matter is clear; any other new point may be proceeded with.

**Shri Dhulekar:** My learned friend has given a new interpretation for clause 23. I have, therefore, put in an amendment. I do not think that he would give a wrong interpretation in this case also.

**An Hon. Member:** His interpretation is correct.

**Sardar A. S. Saigal (Bilaspur):** You may have your own interpretation.

**Shri Dhulekar:** Yes. There is clause 23.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If an institution calls itself *Vishwa Vidyalaya* what will happen? It does not prohibit the use of its equivalents or synonyms in the regional languages.

**Shri Chattopadhyaya (Vijayavada):** *Vishwa Vidyalaya* would include all the universities of the world.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** A university is called like that.

**Shri Dhulekar:** With regard to clause 23 also. I approached the hon. Minister in writing. There are three institutions in India which have got the word 'university' after their names: Jhansi Ayurvedic University, Gurukul University and the Brindaban University. All these institutions are recognised by the U.P. Government and also by the Government of India. They are receiving grants; in the official Gazette the words 'Gurukul University' appear; 'Brindaban University' appears. In the Official Gazette Jhansi Ayurvedic University also appears. In the Delhi Gazette also degrees awarded by Jhansi Ayurvedic University are recognised. So, these three institutions are having the word 'university' against their names. So, when this clause was put in saying that no institution shall be entitled to have the word 'University' associated with its name in any manner whatsoever, I approached the hon. Minister and the Education Ministry said that there is a proviso added to this clause which says:

"Provided that nothing in this section shall, for a period of two years from the commencement of this Act, apply to an institution which, immediately before such commencement, had the word 'University' associated with its name."

That is, two years have been given for these institutions to get themselves declared as universities either by getting a legislation passed in the State or in the Central legislature or

getting their names declared as universities under clause 3 of this Act.

My learned friend the Deputy Minister disagrees and he again puts a wrong interpretation upon this clause 23. He says that even if a declaration is made by the Central Government by a notification under clause 23 declaring certain institutions to be universities still the institutions will not be able to use the word 'University' along with their names.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am afraid, under clause 3 this University cannot be recognised.

**Shri Dhulekar:** Here in clause 3 it is said:

"The Central Government may, on the advice of the Commission, declare, by notification in the Official Gazette, that any institution for higher education, other than a University shall be deemed to be a University for the purposes of this Act, and on such a declaration being made, all the provisions of this Act shall apply to such institution as if it were a University within the meaning of clause (f) of section 2."

My interpretation is this, that when the members of these three universities approached the Education Ministry saying that the prohibition of the word 'University' will cause them difficulty the Education Ministry granted two years so that they may get either a declaration under clause 3.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** No, no. My interpretation is—of course, subject to Shri Chatterjee's—that section 3 does not help the universities so far as the name is concerned. This cannot be called a university at the end of two years even if it is registered as such.

**Shri Dhulekar:** My submission is this. I was on the Joint Committee from the beginning to the end and I would say.....



**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member's language has to be interpreted by the House and not by the Joint Committee only.

**Shri Dhulekar:** My submission is that two years have been given for converting these institutions themselves into properly incorporated or declared institutions.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Declaration under clause 3—I do not want to take the time of the House—is useless. It will not save the situation. It will not enable the hon. Member to call his erstwhile University a University.

**Shri Dhulekar:** I am submitting, Sir, that this saving clause was put in with the intention that these institutions may take either of the two courses: (i) either they may apply to the Commission that they may be declared 'Universities' or (ii).....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is useless. Even if the Commission declares the hon. Member's University as a 'University' the hon. Member cannot have the name 'University' attached to the name of the institution. He will have to delete it at the end of two years.

**Shri Dhulekar:** So, I say that the very object of this saving clause will be defeated. Therefore, I have put in an amendment before you that just as in clause 22 where the words are:

"The right of conferring or granting degrees shall be exercised only by a University established or incorporated by or under a Central Act, a Provincial Act or a State Act or an institution deemed to be a University under section 3....."

The wording of this clause must also be changed. My amendment seeks to change clause 23 like this:

"No institution, whether a corporate body or not, other than a University established or incorporated by or under a Central Act, a Provincial Act or a State Act or an institution deemed to

be a University under section 3....."

**Shri Veeraswamy** (Mayuram-Reserved-Sch. Castes): Sir, the hon. Member has taken more than 20 minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I took some three minutes out of that.

**Shri Dhulekar:** I have placed this amendment before you for the approval of the House so that the meaning may be very clear. I do not wish that the provisions of the Act should be circumvented or evaded in any way. The Commission has to be approached at any stage and the Central Government has to be approached at every stage. Therefore, when the Commission and the Central Government both have decided that a particular institution should be a University then there should be no difficulty if under section 3 a notification is issued and a declaration made.

I have placed these points before the House so that the Members may see that when there is a provision that such of the institutions in the country as are national institutions may be declared as 'Universities' that provision is not such that it may become ineffective.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Shri Achuthan.

**Shri Chattopadhyaya:** I would like to point out that though it is not yet lunch time there is not enough quorum in the House. It seems to have become the fashion of the day.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am glad the hon. Member is here.

**Shri Chattopadhyaya:** I am always here, Sir.

**Shri K. K. Basu:** At least when he raises such points before the House.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I thought the hon. Member will give a couplet. Now, let us proceed.

**Shri Achuthan:** I welcome this measure. Even though the Radhakrishnan Commission reported years back and the Government was trying its best to see that a measure of this nature is brought into existence, at least we have the consolation that this measure in its present form is now before us. Some hon. Members expressed the view that the subject of education ought to be the concern of the Centre alone. But, under the Constitution, if we look to the Schedule, we will see that education is a matter purely concerning the States. Moreover, in the State itself, in order to give autonomy to the University, the State Government does not take up directly the question of higher university education. There are special enactments in the States concerned by which the universities in the respective States are given almost complete autonomy. The State gives them grants and if at all any suggestions come up before them for amending the University Act, then the State Governments say: "These are our views" and then enacts the measure. So, according to me, apart from the Centre and the States concerned, now we are going to have the University Grants Commission for the purpose of promoting higher education in this country.

Many Members expressed the view that the powers of the University Grants Commission must be enlarged. I have my own views in the matter. I do not agree with them. According to me the universities are more competent, as they are now under the Constitution, to see that their curriculum or their programme is decided in the best way, than the University Grants Commission. The Commission is only a supervising body which is meant more for the promotion of research work, standardisation work and for giving grants to those universities and other institutions recognised under section 3 where it is highly necessary to give such grants in the national interest. So, there is not much to say with regard to the composition of this University Grants Commission or to give more powers

to this body other than what is now given to the universities in the respective States by the respective universities Acts of those States.

Many Members also expressed the view that this Commission must give special attention to the rural universities. According to me, even though there may be two dozens of universities and a few hundreds of colleges, many colleges are filled by students coming from rural areas. Take, for example, my State of Travancore-Cochin. There are more than 45 colleges there. They come under two universities, Madras and Travancore. If you take a census of all those students studying in those colleges, you will see that more than 99 per cent. of them are from rural areas. They may belong to the middle-class or the lower middle-class. If you want rural universities to be opened it is the concern of the universities of the respective States concerned to see that all subjects are taught in such rural universities and decide upon their location, etc. Take for instance, Bombay. I have read from the newspapers that in Bombay they have opened a rural university college where subjects which are peculiar to the rural areas of that part of the country were included in the curriculum and instruction is imparted in those subjects. I can understand that. But what is the meaning in saying that the University Grants Commission must take up the question of rural universities throughout India. I do not agree with that view.

Then the question of language was taken up yesterday by many hon. Members. I feel it very difficult to agree with those Members who stated that the university education must be in regional languages. I understand that the regional languages must develop. They must flourish. They must have their own vocabulary enriched more and more. I understand that provincial languages must be considered on a national scale. But one difficulty may arise. The sub-

[Shri Achuthan]

jects of study in Madras, Andhra and Travancore Universities may then be in Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam respectively. If education in all the subjects is imparted in the regional languages at the university standard, where is the scope for students from other areas to go to a college falling under an area different from theirs and study there? It would result in regimentation. If colleges in particular areas teach the subjects in the particular language, the regional language, of that area, how can students from other areas join such colleges? Suppose, the students studying in the Travancore University study everything in Malayalam, how can they go to Madras and join a college there where the medium of instruction would be Tamil? If this is the case, after a few years, especially after the S.R.C. Report is implemented, there will come a stage when you will find that, in some colleges at least, only students belonging to that particular area study in those colleges. What I want is an interchange or intermingling of students, so to say, and an all-India outlook must be achieved. We are always crying from the housetops that we must have a national outlook. Even the division of the country on the basis of language, I should say, is an absurd proposition. Of course, this is not the occasion to speak on that subject. If you take up the question of language being given undue influence in respect of higher education, it would not be good. I can understand that in the case of primary education or secondary education and there is the end of the matter there. For higher education, you must evolve a scheme by which students from any part of the country, irrespective of the provincial or regional language of the area from which they come, must be able to study in a college. For instance, suppose Calcutta is having perhaps the best colleges in the country. How can we, from Travancore-Cochin, go there if they teach only in Bengali? How can our students go over there for intermediate or B.A. or

M.A. or M.Sc.? The instruction in these classes will be available there only in the medium of Bengali. In the natural course you will see that there is a division. If you say Bengali alone, I will say Malayalam alone or Tamil alone.

**Shri Chattopadhyaya:** Then, what language does he suggest so as to be introduced in the colleges, in order that students from one State may go to another State?

**Shri Achuthan:** I say English or Hindi or Sanskrit. There must be some language which is common throughout India. Even now, only because of the English language, we mingle together. Otherwise, how can all of us speak and understand in this Parliament? Therefore, this question must be seriously considered by able men, able educationists and particularly you, Sir. No one area should be handicapped in this respect, because, after a few years, the position will be Malayalam for Malayalees. They will be confined to that area alone so that other universities teaching in their respective languages may not be able to impart education to the students or Indian nationals who belong to other areas of the country.

Then there is another aspect. There are university colleges and affiliated colleges. In my State, for example, out of the 46 or 50 colleges, only four or five are Government colleges. All other colleges are private and are affiliated to the university. Again, Christians have their own colleges; Nayars have their own colleges; Ezhavas have their own colleges; Muslims have their own colleges. There is competition going on. Every year, applications for opening colleges are pouring in. If, in one year, any particular community gives an application for opening a college, the next year all other communities also give applications for opening colleges. This campaign goes on there. The

colleges of course satisfy the minimum requirements and they are growing like mushrooms. That is the problem. Even though we have colleges in good numbers, a time comes when the standard becomes low. Only in some colleges maintained by the Government, we get professors, the best equipment, the best library arrangements, etc. Other colleges are just an excuse and they run, ever trying to keep up the standard. So, the University Grants Commission, even though their powers are limited, must see that in all colleges the standards are kept up. Even during admission, you must see that all students need not be admitted. The best, who are most efficient students, whose progress can be seen from their progress report and examination marks need alone be admitted so that higher education is meant really for those who are fit for it, and not for higher education's sake, not for seeing that the students just study and after a few years obtain a degree by passing from one class to another.

I generally agree with the provisions of the Bill. I agree to the appointment of a Commission. But I find in clause 6 that one-half of the members appointed for the first time shall retire on the expiration of the third year. I do not find any necessity, especially during the initial stages of the Commission, for one-half retiring. We are just establishing a University Grants Commission; it must function at least for ten or 15 years, and let it work up a system. There is no point in a member being appointed and retiring at the expiration of just three years, when the whole work is yet to start. Therefore, the system of one-half retiring is not, in my opinion, worth while at this stage. For at least ten or 15 years, you must not have that system of one-half retirement.

I agree with the powers and functions of the Commission. I have not much to say on that subject.

Then there is the question of election. I am not in favour of election

in colleges and educational institutions. As was remarked by Shri T. S. A. Chettiar who has had a vast experience in educational matters—he was also the Minister for Education in the Madras State—elections lead to very unpleasant consequences. The subject of education must be, so to say, devoid of politics and other matters of faction. It must be kept aloof from them. Let us see that the best men are nominated and not elected, from among the vice-chancellors who are competent and respected by all people. It should not be said that this man stood for election and lost and that man stood for election and won. Such a thing in the educational field becomes, so to say, a reproach, and gives a feeling of detestation to my mind. It is detesting when you say that eminent men who are striving for nobler purposes are brought into the field of elections. So, I agree to the principle of nomination in this body.

The point made by the hon. Member who preceded me must be made clear, and that is in regard to the degrees conferred by certain bodies in this country. There are a number of institutions in the country which should be recognised for the conferment of degrees on students. Those institutions confer valuable degrees. It is not that all of those institutions came up in the last few years. They have their own background and tradition, and they do real service to the country in the field of education and there should not be any difficulty in their being brought into the fold of universities and awarding degrees to people who are qualified. There should not be any discouragement to those who are studying in such institutions, and such institutions should crop up in all parts of the country. Reference was made to certain institutions. We are proud of them. You were also referring to the Sanskrit Sammelan at Tirupathi. There are quite a number of such institutions, in my States also, but only step-motherly attitude is shown to them. It must not be so. As our revered President has remarked the other

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day, those institutions contain a lot of gems—especially those teaching Sanskrit—which we have not seen and the people claim that our forefathers were the writers of those valuable things. So, those institutions must be revered and we must see that the standards are kept up and given encouragement and that the national character is maintained.

My friend Shri Sharma was referring to the national purposes. Clause 20(1) says:

“In the discharge of its functions under this Act, the Commission shall be guided by such directions or questions of policy relating to national purposes as may be given to it by the Central Government”.

I am unable to understand clearly what is meant by “national purpose”; he was referring to research and all that; education is meant for that. But my difficulty is, if we use the term national purpose” it may turn out to be something political. I do not know why that term has been used.

1 P.M.

I support the Bill and say that the Bill must be passed and implemented, so that the aim may be achieved.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I hope all sections of the House are agreed that university autonomy is essential for democracy in education. But, Sir, we ought to see at the same time that the agencies set up for education planning is really democratically constituted. I am afraid there we are disappointed. I wish the hon. Education Minister, Maulana Saheb, had been here. This is a very important Bill and I would have liked from the Education Minister, who is a Member of the Cabinet, some definite assurances. Otherwise, the House is not satisfied and there would be misgivings in the country. Of course, the hon. Deputy Minister and the able Parliamentary Secretary are here, but they are not Members of the Cabinet. This is a matter which requires tackling at the highest level. Therefore, I am sorry that

during the five hours' debate yesterday and even today, the Education Minister is conspicuous by his absence.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education (Dr. M. M. Das): I may inform the hon. Member that that tackling at the highest level has already been done.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I congratulate the Parliamentary Secretary on his loyalty to the Minister. But what I am pointing out is this. The Parliamentary Secretary has been good enough to give us the assurance. I am quoting his language:

“Protagonists of university autonomy will be happy to find that the Select Committee has given full guarantee of academic independence and autonomy to our universities. There should, therefore, be no longer any fear of violation of university autonomy.”

We are not satisfied with this statement of the Parliamentary Secretary. I am not doubting his *bona fides*. But I am saying that the composition of this University Grants Commission is such that it may easily degenerate into a limb of the Government and may become a mere department of the bureaucracy. What is this Commission? If you analyse the composition, you find that there will be 9 members of which not less than three members will be from among the Vice-Chancellors of Universities; two members from among the officers of the Central Government to represent that Government and the remaining number from among persons who are educationists of repute or who have obtained high academic distinctions. But there is a proviso:

“Provided that not less than one-half of the number so chosen shall be from among persons who are not officers of the Central Government.....” etc.

Out of the nine, one member will be a whole-time member, namely, the Chairman and there will be four

Government officers. That means out of 9, 5 will be practically Government officials. We are therefore pleading that there should be introduction of greater elective element, non-official element and there should not be any over-emphasis of officialdom in this Commission, if it is to inspire confidence.

There are certain points raised very pointedly by some hon. Members in their note of dissent. If you look at clause 14, you will find the penalty clause. It says:

"If any university fails within a reasonable time to comply with any recommendation made by the Commission under section 12 or section 13, the Commission, after taking into consideration the cause, if any, shown by the University for its failure to comply with such recommendation, may withhold from the University the grants proposed to be made out of the Fund of the Commission."

That means penalising any university for not carrying out the order or directives of the Commission. A Member from South India has raised a point. Supposing the Commission in its wisdom says that some South Indian University must carry on its teaching in Hindi and if it fails to do so within the time-limit prescribed, then will that penalty be incurred? I am strongly in favour of having a national language and Hindi should be made *lingua franca* as soon as possible. I was touring South India this year and I had been to Tirupati and also to other centres of university learning; but I was amazed to find that there was a lot of dissatisfaction and misgiving amongst our friends in South India. One hon. Member from the South is saying in his minute of dissent:

"In order to clear the misunderstanding of our people in the South, it should be made clear in the Bill itself in some form that in the name of national purpose or co-ordination, deter-

mination and maintenance of standards of teaching, the Commission should have no power to change the teaching language of the university. It should have every right to examine academic standards obtaining in such universities and in controlling expenditure....." etc.

The hon. Parliamentary Secretary said that these things have been tackled at a very high level. May I know whether this point was tackled at that level and if so is the hon. Minister, his Deputy or the Parliamentary Secretary in a position to give an assurance that this will not be utilised for any such purposes?

Dr. M. M. Das: Yes; we will give.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I am very happy to know it; but, with due respect to my learned friend, I say that an assurance from the Cabinet Minister, a Minister of the rank and standing of Maulana Saheb, would have been very welcome and very desirable.

There is one other thing, and that is about clause 20. One hon. Member was just now asking, "What is this national purpose?" Clause 20 reads as follows:

"In the discharge of its functions under this Act, the Commission shall be guided by such directions on questions of policy relating to national purposes as may be given to it by the Central Government."

This is an ambiguous phrase and the Commission may be utilised for a purpose even beyond what is really and strictly a national purpose. My hon. friend was saying yesterday that "national purpose means whatever purpose Government thinks best". Therefore, Governmental purpose is synonymous with national purpose. That is a very very narrow bureaucratic approach. (Interruptions).

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह (हजारीबाग पश्चिम) : ठीक ठीक ।

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** Sir, there is this danger. Sub-clause (2) of clause 20 says:

“(2) If any dispute arises between the Central Government and the Commission as to whether a question is or is not a question of policy relating to national purposes, the decision of the Central Government shall be final.”

This is really something which requires clarification. I wanted to press the Education Minister to give us an indication as to what was in his mind and what is the educational policy of the Government going to be, so that we may know where we stand. I am strongly in favour of maintaining the autonomy of universities. We have no right, this Parliament, however much may be its strength and sovereignty, has no right to encroach upon the freedom and autonomy not merely of the universities, but also of the States concerned. The Calcutta University is functioning under the Universities Act; its academic standards and rules and regulations are prescribed by that Act and by the statutes which created the Syndicate, the Senate and the Academic Council. They are to determine and to say what the standards of university education should be. Therefore, when we say we are setting up this Commission in order to make provision for the co-ordination and determination of standards of universities, and for that purpose establishing this University Grants Commission, I doubt and I am apprehensive of a double dose of attack on the autonomy of both the Universities and the States. What right has the University Grants Commission, ordinarily, to determine standards? The standards have got to be prescribed by the Academic Council, by the Senate of the University. If there is anything wrong, the State is there. You know, Sir, that in our Constitution there is a deliberate division of legislative powers and legislative functions. In its wisdom, the Constituent Assembly has prescribed that University education shall be a State subject, an

exclusively State subject. Only in respect of technical and vocational education, we have reserved it to Parliament. Therefore, Parliament can legitimately set standards.....

**Dr. M. M. Das:** The hon. Member forgets to mention item 66 of the Union list in which this responsibility of maintenance and co-ordination of standards has been deliberately placed on the shoulders of the Central Government.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** I am not saying that the Bill is *ultra vires*. I hope my learned friend will give me the credit of knowing this. If it had infringed or gone beyond the circumscribed limits of that provision, it would have been *ultra vires* and I would have taken the point that this Parliament is not competent to legislate. I am not saying that.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member is trying to establish what the scope of co-ordination is.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** Yes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He does not say that the House has no right or this Parliament has no right to co-ordinate. But, what is that co-ordination?

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** I am not raising the point that this is *ultra vires*. I am not questioning the powers and authority of this Parliament. I am saying, assuming it is *intra vires*, what is this you are doing? Is there not the danger of trespassing on the jurisdiction and autonomy of the University and the academic set-up which has been constituted under the University Act? Are you not to some extent also likely to trespass upon the jurisdiction and authority of the State Governments? We have got the Calcutta University Act. We have got the Senate, the Syndicate and the Post-graduate Council, and the Academic Council, which set the standards, maintain the standards, determine the standards and co-ordinate the standards, to some extent. We want to know what exactly is the

intention. How will you, in practice, operate, so that there should be no overlapping, so that there should be no trespass or encroachment or, in any way, deflection of the rightful authority of the University? If there is any trouble, in Calcutta, Dr. Roy's administration of West Bengal would look into that. If there is anything wrong in the Tirupathi University or the Andhra University, the Andhra Government will look into that and the Andhra State will look into it.

There is one clause which has been put in by the Joint Committee which I do not like to be there. I am drawing your attention to page 4 of the Joint Committee report where it is said:

"The Committee consider that the University Grants Commission should have power to deal not only with constituent colleges but also other colleges affiliated to the University."

I know, Shri H. N. Mukerjee has commended it to the acceptance of the House. I am asking this Parliament very seriously to consider whether you should accept it. What is this power that you are giving to this Commission? You are giving power to the Commission not merely to deal with Universities, but to deal directly with affiliated colleges. I am afraid you are going too far. You are really embarking upon dangerous ground which will lead to undesirable consequences. In page 2, clause 2 (f) says:

"University' means a University established or incorporated by or under a Central Act, a Provincial Act or a State Act....."

I have no objection to that. It proceeds:

".....and includes any such institution as may, on the recommendation of the University concerned, be recognised by the Commission in accordance with the regulations made in this behalf under this Act."

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Therefore, you are giving power not merely to deal with the Universities, but to deal directly with affiliated colleges. I am submitting that that would not be right. The wording is, "institution as may, on the recommendation of the University concerned, be recognised by the Commission." We all know that he who pays the piper may call for the tune. Therefore, in the garb of giving out doles and stimulating research the Universities will be, to a large extent, at the mercy of this Commission. Supposing the Commission wants that a particular institution or college should be recognised by the Commission, I take it, ordinarily, the University will not be able to stand in the way. What happens? The Commission does not deal with the University; it deals with the institution directly. I submit that that is not proper. That may lead to all sorts of anomalies and undesirable situations. It may, to a large extent, detract from the autonomy of the Universities and also make these institutions come directly under the thumb of the Government. I submit that this kind of thing should not be allowed.

I am strongly supporting the recommendation made by Shri Meghnad Saha and other Members for stimulating rural education. There is a lot of criticism nowadays that our youth are going astray. Undesirable incidents are taking place in big cities. It happened only the other day in Bombay, and yesterday in Rewa and other places. They say that the youth are going astray and that the educationists are not doing their duty, and also that the Universities have not been able to control and mould the youth of the country during the critical period of adolescence. To a large extent it is correct that the teachers.....

**Dr. M. M. Das:** May I have the benefit of the opinion of my learned friend about the amendment of Shri Meghnad Saha?



**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** Shri Meghnad Saha's amendment is two-fold. First, he says:

"The Commission shall consist of—

(a) an executive body of seven members consisting of a whole-time Chairman and four other whole-time experts respectively on Arts, Sciences, Engineering and Technology and Medicine and two secretaries of the Ministry of Education and Finance....."

I wholeheartedly commend this to the acceptance of this House. I think that is very desirable. Shri Meghnad Saha has made out a very good case. He is an educationist of great standing. He occupies a Chair of the Calcutta University. He has held other Chairs. He is one of the world-famous scientists. He has also assured me that the onerous responsibility which has been entrusted to this Commission cannot be really discharged unless you have more than one whole-time expert. I know there is a lot of comment on the Law Commission because there are not more whole-time men. I also commend to the acceptance of the hon. Minister our suggestion that you cannot get any desirable results unless you have more than one whole-time man. You cannot have only one man for the purpose of tackling this problem of 35 Universities, co-ordinating standards, promoting research, stimulating industrial education and also technical education and also stimulating education in scientific and technological subjects which have not been explored even today. I wholeheartedly approve of this recommendation of Shri Meghnad Saha and I hope that the hon. Deputy Minister and the Parliamentary Secretary will sympathetically consider that.

With regard to the Advisory Council, I have my doubts whether that would be not leading to duplication and overlapping. With regard to the first part of Shri Meghnad Saha's suggestion, I thoroughly agree.

What I was pointing out was this. Unless you remove the Universities from the deleterious influences of big urban centres where there are so many cinema houses, opera halls, dancing places, *Bharata natyam* and other things, you cannot possibly have that atmosphere where education can be imparted.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Will there not be a touring cinema close by?

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** When Dr. Katju was the Governor of Bengal, you know, he was the Chancellor of the Calcutta University. He appointed me as the Chairman of the Commission to reorganise commerce studies in the Calcutta University. You will be amazed to know that there are 14,000 commerce students in the Calcutta University,—I am not saying under the Calcutta University, but in the Calcutta colleges and when I went to inspect along with the members of my Commission some of the Calcutta commerce colleges I found that in a particular college—Shri Mukerjee knows it very well—there were 4,500 students and there was not sitting accommodation even for 2,000. I do not know where the rest of the 2,500 students were studying. There were shifts.

**Shri Syamnandan Sahaya (Muzaffarpur Central):** Two shift classes.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** Three shifts.

When I went to the University of Birmingham,—the greatest commerce university in England today is Birmingham—the Vice-Chancellor and the Professor of Commerce and the Dean of the Faculty of Commerce, all of them came and I had the privilege of discussing matters with them, and they were telling me: "Why don't you introduce this system which we have introduced in Birmingham?" I asked them: "What is the wonderful thing you have introduced?" They said—I was then a Judge of the Calcutta High Court—"Mr. Justice Chatterjee, we do not give any student in Birmingham a B.Com. degree unless and

until he goes into a slum area or factory and actually is with the labourers or with the particular industrial concern for at least three months and then he submits a thesis. Why don't you do it?" I laughed and laughed. They asked me: "Why are you laughing?" I said: "We have got 14,500 students. Where are the slums or factories to send them to?" They thought I was joking. They never knew that this was feasible or possible.

When I went to the University of Paris—I do not know whether any of my friends have been there—I found that they had developed it even more. One year out of three years every student must spend in the slums or in the factory along with a professor attached to a group of boys.

That kind of education we want, not this kind of mass production, this regimentation, this standardisation, this kind of unsatisfactory diplomas being given and at the same time, to some extent, telling the boys that they have been given this *imprimatur* which has got no market value and which gives them false hopes and false expectations. They are very often disappointed because nothing happens and they are not fit really for the struggle of life.

I am strongly advocating rural education. In the Calcutta University, there is a college started by the Ramakrishna Mission at Belur. Belur is just a few miles away, but they are practically every year standing first or second or high up in university examinations, because to some extent they are removed from the unfavourable atmosphere of a big city like Calcutta. In that spiritual atmosphere of Shri Ramakrishna's great mission they are doing very good work. Not only that. They are able to build up character which is much more important than merely academic degrees or diplomas. I am strongly supporting that, and I am also strongly supporting the proposition—the hon. Ministers will also help us—that there should be really some Sanskrit Universities started. I am strongly supporting the

suggestion made by a lady Member yesterday that there should be a Sanskrit University started at Nabadwip. That is a sacred spot which was the birth place of Shri Chaitanya. After Taxila and Nalanda that was the greatest university, and for at least 500 years it was a university of international repute. I want your Tirupati should have a first class Sanskrit University. The States Reorganisation Commission has recommended that there should be a Hindi University in Hyderabad. Of course, I am glad that Hyderabad State is going to be liquidated, but still there will be Hyderabad city and I hope something will be done to build a real first-class university devoted to Hindi in the South, if possible in Hyderabad.

The time has come when there must be a thoroughly new outlook. Do not think of the humanities or arts and sciences and simply carry on duplication or triplication of ordinary colleges with stereotyped formulæ and stereotyped syllabus and the old type of teaching. I want that India should be now made fit, that our boys now should be made fit for new responsibilities. What is this colossal unemployment? Dr. B. C. Roy has stated in the Bengal Legislative Assembly that out of every one hundred employed, there are fortyseven unemployed in the city of Calcutta or in the industrial area round about. That is, there are lakhs and lakhs of boys, unemployed although decently educated. He was talking of the Bhadrakal or the middle class educated people. I do not know, it may be even more. **Therefore, in the city of Calcutta there are at least half a million educated boys who cannot get employment and are starving. Something should be done to tackle this problem. Otherwise, it is no good simply giving them B.A. and M.A., B.Com. and M.Com. degrees, turning them out in thousands just as the Britishers used to do for the purpose of manufacturing clerks to run efficiently and cheaply the out-moded colonial form of administration for their own purpose. The time has come when we must see that this kind of colossal**

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unemployment is weeded out and they are given technological and practical training which can equip them for the struggle of life.

**पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव (गुड़गांव) :**  
 श्री जो मैं ने श्री एन० सी० चटर्जी की तक्ररीर सुनी और उन्होंने जो नकशा खींचा कि हम देश में किस तरह की तालीम चाहते हैं और किस तरह की हम युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन (विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग) से उम्मीद रखते हैं तो मुझे पहला ख्याल यह हुआ कि यह जो नकशा हमारे बिल में दिया हुआ है और जिस तरीके का इन्तजाम बिल में इस युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन का किया हुआ है, यह उससे बिलकुल मुखालिफ है। असल तो यह है कि मैं कुछ अर्थों से हाउस में यह देखता हूँ जब भी कोई बिल हमारे सामने आते हैं तो वह बिलकुल स्कैची होते हैं, उन बिलों का असली मतलब जान और यह नज़र नहीं आती और हमको मालूम नहीं होता कि दरअसल गवर्नमेंट (सरकार) का असली मंशा क्या है और किस तरीके से उन चीजों को जो गवर्नमेंट चाहती है उनको अमल में लाये जाने की तजवीज है।

अब इस बिल के अन्दर जो हिन्दुस्तान के लिये इतना जरूरी बिल है और जो कि भेरी निगाह में किसी तरह से भी किसी दूसरे बिल से जो आयन्दा इस हाउस (सभा) में आयेगा, उससे कम इम्पार्टेंस (महत्व) का नहीं है, हमको नहीं मालूम कि गवर्नमेंट कितना रुपया खर्च करना चाहती है और किस तरीके से रुपया खर्च करना चाहती है और क्या गवर्नमेंट की मंशा है, यह सब बातें इस बिल (विधेयक) के अन्दर मौजूद नहीं हैं। अब जो रूल्स (नियम) बनेंगे, मुमकिन है उनके अन्दर कोई चीज निकले या न भी निकले। डेलीगेटेड लेजिस्लेशन (अधीनस्थ विधान) के सवाल पर

हमारे स्पीकर साहब (अध्यक्ष महोदय) ने राय जाहिर की हमने डेलीगेटेड लेजिस्लेशन के वास्ते एक कमेटी (समिति) मुकर्रर की कि किस तरीके से पार्लियामेंट डेलीगेटेड लेजिस्लेशन पर कंट्रोल (नियंत्रण) रखे। चन्द एक तजवीजात की गई थीं जिनके कि ऊपर आनरेबुल (माननीय) डा० केसकर ने यह जवाब दिया कि गवर्नमेंट ने सोचा नहीं है कि उस कमेटी की जो सिफारिशें हैं, उनको मंजूर करें या न करें। अगर गवर्नमेंट उन चीजों पर सोचन नहीं चाहती और उनको मंजूर नहीं करना चाहती है तो हाउस का फर्ज है कि कोई रूल बनाने के वास्ते इस तरह का सेक्शन (धारा) रखे और हाउस के अन्दर सारे डेटेल्स (विवरण) आये ताकि हम को पता लगे कि गवर्नमेंट किस तरीके से उनको अमल में लाना चाहती है। इस हाउस का फर्ज यह है कि जो हमारी मंशा कि देश में हो, तो उसका हम पूरा इन्तजाम करें और हर एक रूल को उसकी डिटेल में देखें कि वह दरअसल हमारी मंशा को पूरा करेगा या नहीं। डेलीगेटेड लेजिस्लेशन की कमेटी की जो यह तजवीज है कि सारे रूल्स यहां रखे जायें और उनको तबदील करने का अक्षितयार हो, अगर उसको गवर्नमेंट मंजूर नहीं करती तो हमारे पास एक ही चारा रह जाता है और वह यह है कि हम हर एक रूल पर डिटेल में यहां बहस करना चाहेंगे और उन पर आपकी राय जाहिर करना चाहेंगे।

इस बिल की अग्रहमयित को मैं खूब समझता हूँ। दफा १२ की जो मंशा है, वह इतनी वसीय है कि वह देश की किस्मत का फंसला करने वाली है और समझता हूँ कि आयन्दा अगर हम ने इस देश के फंस को बँज (बदलना) करना है और अगर इसने नया रंग रूप देना है तो बिना शक व शुबहा ऐसे कमिशन के जरिये से यह रंग रूप नहीं

मिलेगा जैसा कि इस बिल के अन्दर इन-विसेज किया गया है। इसको देख कर मुझे फिर ताज्जुब होता है कि जब एक इतना जरूरी कमिशन है, तो उसके लिये एक मेम्बर साहब ने इंस्टिट्यूटली फरमाया था और इसके नोट में भी लिखा है कि ५ करोड़ रुपया है और ३५ युनिवर्सिटीयां हैं। कम से कम इतना तो इसका जरूर स्कोप (क्षेत्र) वसीय है, मैं इससे मुतमईन नहीं हूँ और मैं समझता हूँ कि इसका स्कोप बहुत वसीय है क्योंकि टेकनालोजीकल, इंस्टिट्यूटल (औद्योगिक), लिटरेरी (साहित्यिक) और मैडीकल एज्युकेशन (चिकित्सा सम्बन्धी शिक्षा) को वहां पर तरक्की दी जायेगी और उन सब चीजों का इन्तजाम करने के लिये यह रकम बहुत थोड़ी है और साथ ही हमें अपनी युनिवर्सिटीज की तादाद को भी बढ़ाना पड़ेगा।

जहां तक इस युनिवर्सिटी ग्रान्ट्स कमिशन कम्पोजीशन का सवाल है, उसके बारे में मेरा कहना यह है कि उसका कम्पोजीशन ठीक नहीं है और बेढंगा है और यह नामुमकिन है कि मौजूदा कम्पोजीशन से कमिशन अपना काम बखूबी कर सके और अपनी मंशा को पूरी कर सके और उसके कम्पोजीशन से मुझे हरगिज उम्मीद नहीं है कि यह युनिवर्सिटी ग्रान्ट्स कमिशन दरअसल वह काम अंजाम दे पायेगा जो उसके सुपुर्द किया गया है। युनिवर्सिटी ग्रान्ट्स कमिशन के अन्दर मुझे सबसे कमजोर बात जो नजर आती है वह यह है कि जिस तरीके का इसको होना चाहिये था वह नहीं है और इसके अन्दर न जान देखता हूँ और न रूह देखता हूँ और मैं तो इसके अन्दर फकत एक मुर्दा हड्डी वाला स्केलेटन (ढांचा) देखता हूँ। उसके अन्दर शायद एक आदमी भी ऐसा नहीं है जो होल टाइम (पूरे समय का) हो। ज्वाइंट कमेटी (संयुक्त समिति) यह नहीं चाहती है कि जो इस का हैड या चेअरमैन हो वह

होल टाइम हो। इतने बड़े देश में जहां पर यह कमिशन इतना रुपया खर्च करेगा जिस के सुपुर्द यह काम होगा कि वह सारे देश की जो हालात हैं उन को तब्दील कर दे, उस में एक भी आदमी होल टाइमर न हो, एक आदमी भी उस के काम के लिये रिस्पॉन्सिबल (उत्तरदायी) न हो, तो कैसे कमिशन का काम चल सकेगा। डा० मेघनाद साहा ने जो सजेशन (सुझाव) दिया है मैं उस की ताईद करता हूँ। यही एक तरीका है जिस से कमिशन कुछ काम कर सकता है। हम हर एक चीज के अन्दर ग्रेट ब्रिटेन की नकल कर रहे हैं, ग्रेट ब्रिटेन में १६ मेम्बर हैं ऐसे कमिशन के। उस के अन्दर प्रेजिडेंट (राष्ट्रपति) और वाइस प्रेजिडेंट (उप-राष्ट्रपति) दोनों ही आदमी होल टाइम आदमी हैं। हालांकि हमारी और ग्रेट ब्रिटेन की हालात में रात दिन का फर्क है। वहां की युनिवर्सिटीज की उम्रें ७००, ३००, १५० बरस की हैं, हमारे यहां की युनिवर्सिटीज इतनी पुरानी नहीं हैं, हमारे स्टैंडर्ड (स्तर) इतने ऊंचे नहीं हैं, हम तो अभी ग्राउण्ड वर्क कर रहे हैं, फिर भी हम इस बात में उन की नकल नहीं कर रहे हैं। हमारे यहां कम से कम पांच मेम्बर ऐसे होने चाहियें जो कि कमिशन के काम के वास्ते जिम्मेदार हों, होल टाइमर्स हों और वह रात दिन सिवाय इस कमिशन के और किसी दूसरी जगह काम न करें, मैं नहीं चाहता कि उन के हैंड्स (हाथ) इतने फुल हों अपनी युनिवर्सिटीज (विश्वविद्यालयों) में कि वह कमिशन के काम पर पूरी तवज्जह न दे सकें। जैसा मि० चैटर्जी ने फरमाया जो युनिवर्सिटीज के वाइस चान्सेलर्स हैं वह खुद अपनी युनिवर्सिटीज के ही लिये सेल्फ सफिशिएण्ट हैं, उन के हैंड्स इतने फुल हैं कि वह इस कमिशन के काम पर जरा भी तवज्जह नहीं दे सकेंगे। इस कमिशन के अन्दर आप ने तीन वाइस चान्सेलर रक्खे इसके बाद आप शिकायत करेंगे कि उन्होंने फलां युनिवर्सिटी के लिये ज्याद:

## [पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव]

रूपया रक्खा फलां युनिवर्सिटी के वास्ते कम रूपया रक्खा। मेरी राय में यह जरूरी है कि कमिशन के मेम्बर अन्वल दर्जे के एक्सपर्टस (विशेषज्ञ) हों खुसूस इन्डस्ट्रियल और टेकनिकल एजुकेशन के जिस के बारे में हम रोज शिकायतें सुनते हैं कि फैक्ट्री (कारखाना) तो बन गई लेकिन हमारे पास पर्सनल (व्यक्ति) नहीं हैं। हमारा पर्सनल कैसे बढ़ेगा। क्या इस तरह के आदमियों से बढ़ेगा जिन में एक भी फुल टाइमर नहीं है। चार, छः महीने बाद एक ज्वायंट स्टॉक कम्पनी की तरह से उस की मीटिंग होगी, चन्द लोग अपनी राये देंगे और उस के बाद मीटिंग बर्खास्त हो जायेगी। किसी भी काम को करने का यह तरीका नहीं है। कुछ असहाब ने कहा कि यहाँ पर एलेक्शन होना चाहिये। मैं एलेक्शन के उसूल को चाहे कितना ही मद्दाह हूँ, लेकिन इस कमिशन में हरिजण कोई एलेक्शन की बात नहीं मान सकता। कल श्री मोरे साहब ने फरमाया था कि मिनिस्टर्स और हाउस के मेम्बर्स भी तो एलेक्ट हुआ करते हैं। वही एलेक्टेड मेम्बर्स आते हैं और औरों के बखिलाफ एलेक्शन का दवाजा बन्द करना चाहते हैं। मैं मोरे साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि मिनिस्टर्स में से कौन एलेक्टेड होता है, कौन सुप्रीम कोर्ट या हाई कोर्ट का जज एलेक्टेड होता है? वह सब के सब नामिनेशन (नामनिर्देशित) से आते हैं। जो वेस्ट (स्वोत्तम) आदमी है वह तो शायद एलेक्शन लड़ना पसन्द भी नहीं करेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस कमिशन के मेम्बर्स का रुतब और काम जो देश के अन्दर है वह किसी भी चीफ मिनिस्टर या गवर्नर के रुतबे या काम से कम हैसियत का नहीं होगा। यही तो शक्स होंगे जो देश को बनायेंगे। लेकिन उन्हीं के वास्ते आप ने लिख दिया कि दो तो गवर्नमेंट आफिशियल्स (अधिकारी) होंगे जो एजुकेशनल रिपुट (शिक्षा क्षेत्र में बख्यात) के आदमी

हों। मैं नहीं जानता कि कौन एजुकेशनल रिपुट का आदमी है। मुझे उन में बहुत ज्यादा एतबार नहीं है जो सिर्फ एकेडेमिक काम करते हैं। जो हमारे प्रोफेसर्स हैं या जो हमारे वास्ते लिटरेचर पैदा करते हैं वह अन्वल दर्जे के आदमी हैं। यह काम इस तरह का है कि इस कमिशन के हर आदमी को इस से वाकिफ होना चाहिये कि आइन्दा के लिये किस तरह के आदमी बनाने हैं। जैसा श्री चैटर्जी ने फरमाया, मैं उसे दोहराना नहीं चाहता, दरअसल इस कमिशन का काम इन्डस्ट्रियल और टेकनिकल आदमियों के काम से भी बड़ा है। इसे यह तय करना है कि देश के अन्दर किस तरह के आदमी और किस कैरेक्टर (चरित्र) के आदमी बनें और किस तरह से। यह फैसला करना है जो हजारों की तादाद में आदमी युनिवर्सिटीज से निकलते हैं, उन के वास्ते क्या किया जाये। अन्वल तो युनिवर्सिटीयों में दाखिला ही बड़ा मुश्किल है, हजारों सिफारिशें ले जाओ तब जा कर दाखिला होता है। दाखिला होने के बाद जो सेकेन्ड और थर्ड क्लास के एम० ए० और बी० ए० होते हैं उन की जो दुर्गति होती है वह हर एक जानता है। मुझे एक कालेज की मैनेजिंग कमेटी का हैड होने का मौका मिला। ११ पोस्टों के लिये दख्खिस्तें मांगी गईं। उन के लिये ११०० दख्खिस्तें आईं। मैं उसी वक्त समझ गया कि आर्ट कालेज का बनाना खत्म हुआ। लेकिन ताहम वह चलते जाते हैं। इस वक्त सारा काम जो हमें करना है वह फिल वाकया कोआर्डिनेट करने का है। अगर हम कोआर्डिनेशन चाहते हैं और हमें ऐसा करना होगा तो हम को आल इंडिया रिपुट के जो बेस्ट आदमी हैं, जो मिनिस्टर से कम नहीं हैं, ऐसे आदमियों को मुकर्रर करना होगा।

एक चीज अभी भी मेघनाथ साहब ने कही है मैं, ने उस के अन्दर यह बाहा

है कि कमिशन में एक चेअरमैन हो, चार एक्सपर्ट्स हों मुस्तलिफ मजामीन के और दो सेक्रेटरी हों। एक सेक्रेटरी फाइनेन्स (वित्त सचिव) का और एक एजुकेशन का। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस तरह से कम्पोजीशन होगा तो बिला शक व शुबहा निहायत अच्छा काम होगा। मैं फाइनेंस का सेक्रेटरी यों चाहता हूँ कि आखिर यह रुपया कहां से आयेगा ? जहां तक स्टेट्स का ताल्लुक है, स्टेट्स को अच्छ्यार है, वह युनिवर्सिटी को रुपया दे सकती है, उन को रुपये देने के रास्ते में गालिबन कोई नहीं आयेगा। इस कमिशन से तो सिर्फ सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट का ताल्लुक है। मुझे अफसोस है कि मैं इस बारे में श्री चैटर्जी से डिसएग्नी करता हूँ। मैं भी चाहता हूँ कि सारी युनिवर्सिटीज की इन्डेपेन्डेन्स (स्वाधीनता) रहे। जैसे पुराने जमाने में आश्रम हुआ करते थे। हमारी युनिवर्सिटीज को फुल इन्डेपेन्डेन्स (पूरी स्वाधीनता) रहे, लेकिन इस चीज के अन्दर इतनी इन्डेपेन्डेन्स न रहे कि जो काम सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट कर रही है उसके लिये वह यह कहे कि वह काम सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट (केन्द्रीय सरकार) नहीं कर सकती। इस इन्डेपेन्डेन्स के देने का नतीजा क्या होगा कि युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन का कहना अगर न माना गया तो सिर्फ इस कदर असर होगा कि सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट का जो फंड है उस से युनिवर्सिटी को पैसा नहीं मिलेगा। लेकिन इस से युनिवर्सिटी के सारे सोर्सेज (स्रोत) खत्म नहीं होंगे। अगर युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन कोई ऐसी डिमांड (मांग) करता है जो किसी स्टेट युनिवर्सिटी को मंजूर नहीं है तो इससे ज्यादा सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट कुछ नहीं कर सकती कि उस को अपनी ग्रांट न दे। वैसे मैं समझता हूँ कि हर्गिज ऐसी नौबत नहीं आयेगी कि जिसके अन्दर कभी स्टेट युनिवर्सिटी से युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन को डिस्प्यूट (विवाद) हो। जिस नियत से युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन

(अनुदान आयोग) मुकर्रर किया जाता है वह सिर्फ इस कदर है कि गवर्नमेंट ज्यादा से ज्यादा रुपया उस को देता कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो हायर एजुकेशन है उस का इम्प्रूवमेंट (सुधार) हो और उस का ठीक से इन्तजाम किया जाये। किसी भी युनिवर्सिटी के इन्तजाम के अन्दर दखल देने का मौका मुझे नजर नहीं आता।

जहां तक इस के अन्दर कान्स्टिट्यूशन (संविधान) का सवाल है, मैं अब से अर्ज करूंगा कि अगर आप इस के लिये ऐडवाइजरी बाडी (परामर्शदात्री संस्था) भी रखें तो बेहतर है। ऐडवाइजरी बाडी से इतना फायदा होता है कि वह दूर से बैठी देखती है, एग्जिक्यूटिव (कार्यपालिका) पर भी नजर रखती है और जिधर भी कोई बुराई देखती है उसे ठीक करती है। लेकिन यह जो बाडी कायम की जा रही है वह इस किस्म का कमिशन है जिस के लिये यह कहना कि यह सिर्फ ऐडवाइजरी है दुस्त नहीं है। इस का आम काम तो ऐडवाइजरी नेचर (स्वरूप) का है, लेकिन जो रिफार्मेशन्स (सिफारिश) करने का और सारी युनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन को कोऑर्डिनेट (समन्वित) करके स्टैण्डर्ड कायम करने का काम है वह एग्जिक्यूटिव नेचर का है और उस का एक फर्ज यह भी होगा कि रूलर युनिवर्सिटी बनाये। अभी नवद्वीप संस्कृत युनिवर्सिटी का भी खिर्क आया। यह नई युनिवर्सिटीज होंगी। इन के वास्ते इस कमिशन की खास तौर से जिम्मेदारी होगी कि वह रुपया मुहैया करे। कई युनिवर्सिटीज के लिये इस बिल में खास प्राविजन (उपबंध) हैं जिस के लिये कमिशन का खास तौर से फर्ज होगा। अगर देश का एजुकेशन को बढ़ाना है और लोगों के दिमागों को सही रास्ते पर लगाना है तो बिला शक व शुबहा इस कमिशन को फुल पावर्स होनी चाह्य। इस के काम के लिये रुपये की कमी नहीं होनी चाहिये। जब मैं पांच करोड़ की रकम

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

को देखता हूँ और सारे हिन्दुस्तान को देखता हूँ तो यह रकम बड़ी कलील मालूम होती है। यह रकम इस काबिल नहीं है जिस से देश का उतना भला हो सके जितनी इस कमिशन से उम्मीद की जाती है। लेकिन जब आप पांच करोड़ रुपया तकसीम करेंगे तो अगर उस में एक आदमी भी होल टाइमर नहीं रखते जो कि उस रुपये को डिस्ट्रिब्यूट करने की जिम्मेदारी ले सके, तो कैसे आप का काम चल सकेगा ?

हमारा आइडिया (विचार) है कि हम कमिशन से इतना काम करने को कहेंगे, वह युनिवर्सिटीज को जायेगा और देखेगा कि कौन युनिवर्सिटी क्या काम करती है। इस में एक आदमी का काम नहीं है। यह जो कमिशन है उसकी सब कमेटीज बनेंगी और वह सब जगह लोकली (स्थानीय रूप से) जा कर काम को देखेंगी और तब अपने फैसले करेंगी। ग्रेट ब्रिटेन जो शायद मुश्किल से यू० पी० के बराबर है वहाँ के कमिशन में १६ मेम्बर हैं जिन को कि कोई नया काम नहीं करना है। मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि अगर आज आप चाहते हैं कि इस बिल से कोई देश का फायदा हो, और इसके ऐक्ट बनने के बाद आप उस का पूरा फायदा उठाएँ तो आप को इस के कम्पोजीशन (रचना) को तब्दील करना पड़ेगा। बिना इस को किये हुये मुझे कोई फायदा मजर नहीं आता है।

इसके अलावा जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि एक तरह का कंट्रोल रखने के वास्ते हाउस ने यह प्राविजन किया है कि जो कमिशन के ऐनुअल रिटर्न्स (वार्षिक विवरण) होंगे अंग्रेजी ऐनुअल बजट (वार्षिक आय व्ययक) होगा वह हाउस के सामने आयेगी और सारा हिस्साब किताब हाउस के सामने पेश होगा। जो भी बिल हाउस पास करता है वह पासबां होता है सारे देश का और मैं चाहता हूँ, बल्कि

हाउस का यह फर्ज है कि वह देखे कि हाउस ने जो युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन बनाया है उस ने ठीक काम किया है या नहीं। उस के दो हिस्से होने चाहियें। एक तो यह कि पिछले साल हम ने क्या टार्गेट (लक्ष्य) रक्खा था और क्या सोचा था उस को देखा जाये और फिर हाउस की तरफ से यह राय कायम की जाये कि कितना काम पूरा हुआ, और अगर फेल्योर (असफलता) हुई तो क्यों हुई। दूसरा हिस्सा यह हो कि अगले साल हम क्या काम करेंगे और हाउस के सामने उस की रिपोर्ट आये। मैं नहीं चाहता कि वह रिपोर्ट उसी तरह से मेम्बरस के पास पड़ी रहे जिस तरह से हाउस के और जो पब्लिकेशन भेजे जाते हैं वह पड़े रहते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो भी रिपोर्ट कमिशन की आये वह हाउस में डिस्कस (चर्चा) हो और यह देखा जाये कि कहां तक काम हुआ है और कितना काम करना और बाकी है। यह नेशनल रिकंसट्रक्शन (राष्ट्रीय पुनर्निर्माण) का काम है। हमें यह असली काम देश में देखा है कि एजुकेशन का जो असली मंशा है कि यहां के लोगों की पर्सोनैलिटी (व्यक्तित्व) को बनाये और देश में हर तरह की तरक्की करे, वह पूरा हो पा रहा है या नहीं। इस की खास पासबां हमारी पालियामेंट है इसलिये पालियामेंट में दिन मुकर्रर कर के कमिशन की रिपोर्ट को डिस्कस किया जाये। चुनावे इस के बारे में मैं ने हाउस की खिदमत में तरमीम भी भेजी है कि इस कमिशन की जो रिपोर्ट आये और जिसे गवर्नमेंट पालियामेंट के सामने रखेगी, उसको यहां पर डिस्कस भी किया जाय और उस में जो खामियां मालूम हों वह मेम्बर लोग प्वाइंट आउट करें (बतायें)। इससे मेम्बरों को यह देखने का और अपने विचार हाउस के सामने रखने का मौका मिलेगा कि वह कौन कौन से काम हैं जो कमिशन कर नहीं पाया है और कौन कौन सी कमियां रह गई हैं।

अब जब मैं दफा १२ को पढ़ता हूँ तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इस कमिशन की कितनी ब्रांचिज (शाखायें) होंगी और किस किस चीज को यह कमिशन देखेगा। उससे तो ऐसा जाहिर होता है कि यह कमिशन केवल लिटरेरी एजुकेशन की तरफ ही ध्यान देगा लेकिन जिस एजुकेशन की खास जरूरत है और जिस तरफ इस कमिशन को ध्यान देना चाहिये वह है टेक्निकल एजुकेशन और इंडस्ट्रियल एजुकेशन। यह चीज इससे जाहिर नहीं होती कि क्या यह कमिशन इस की तरफ भी ध्यान देगा या नहीं। इस वास्ते मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इसको एक लाइवली बाडी बनाने के लिये, इसमें रू फूंकने के लिये, यह जरूरी है कि हम यह देखें कि क्या खून ठीक प्रकार से सर्क्यूलेशन (चलता) करता है या नहीं। यह जरूरी है कि इसकी रिपोर्ट्स को हाउस में डिसकस किया जाये और इस कमिशन का इस हाउस के साथ एक बहुत नजदीकी वास्ता हो।

मैं यह समझता हूँ कि इस कमिशन को यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन का नाम दे कर के इसकी अहमियत को कम कर दिया गया है। इस का काम केवल ग्रांट देना ही नहीं है। इस के चार्ज में हमने जो कार्य दिए हैं वह दफा १२ में दर्ज हैं और वह बहुत बड़े काम हैं कि सारे देश की एजुकेशन को यह तरगीब देगा, उस को बढ़ायेगा और इसी तरह के और बहुत से काम करेगा। अगर यही चीज है तो ऐसी सूरत में इस का काम केवल रुपया तकसीम करना ही नहीं है, यह रुपया तकसीम करने वाली एजेंसी नहीं है, यह तो एक बहुत बड़ी एजेंसी (अभिकरण) है और इसको बहुत अहम काम करने हैं। यह तो देश की एजुकेशन की देखभाल करने वाला कमिशन है।

मैंने शायद ज्यादा वक्त ले लिया है और अब मैं और ज्यादा वक्त लेना नहीं चाहता हूँ। लेकिन मैं फिर आपकी खिदमत में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह देखने

लिये कि जो इस के सिपुर्द किया गया है उस को यह ठीक तरह से कर रहा है या नहीं, इस की जो एनुअल रिपोर्ट्स हों वह इस हाउस के सामने आये और यहाँ पर उन को डिसकस किया जाये ताकि जो खामियाँ नजर आये उन को प्वायंट आउट किया जा सके।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Babu Ram-narayan Singh.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** I have been trying to catch your eye.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He is the older of the two.

**बाबू रामनारायण सिंह :** जो बहस इस समय चल रही है और समाप्त होने की है, उसमें आपने मुझे जो बोलने का अवसर दिया है उसके लिये मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

आज करीब आठ साल गुजर गये हैं हिन्दुस्तान को स्वतन्त्र हुये। जब अंग्रेजों से जंग चल रही थी उस वक्त जो सब से कड़ी समालोचना देशभक्त नेता और कार्यकर्ता किया करते थे वह शिक्षा पद्धति के बारे में किया करते थे। लेकिन अब जब कि अंग्रेजों को यहाँ से गये हुये आठ वर्ष हो गये हैं इतना अरसा गुजरने के बाद भी हमारे राष्ट्रपति डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद भी कहते हुये सुने जाते हैं कि अब तक शिक्षा पद्धति में कोई सुधार नहीं हुआ है। इससे बढ़कर और देश के लिये कौनसी बात दुर्भाग्य की हो सकती है। देश के लिये द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाई जा रही है और उस पर अरबों रुपया खर्च किया जायेगा लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ यदि देश का उद्धार करना है तो वह केवल शिक्षा पद्धति में ही परिवर्तन करके किया जा सकता है। आखिर शिक्षा या चीज ? यह मानवता का विकास करने के लिये एक मात्र साधन है। सब कुछ आगत बूझते हुये भी आठ वर्ष के बाद मैं समझता हूँ सरकार ने शिक्षा के बारे में



[बाबू रामनारायण सिंह]

यह पहला कदम उठाया है लेकिन मैं तो इसे भी बिल्कुल गलत रास्ते पर उठाया गया कदम समझता हूँ। यह विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग जब बनेगा, इसका जो संगठन होगा उसको अगर आप देखें तो आपको साफ तौर से मालूम होगा कि इसका नामकरण ही गलत है और इसके जैसे काम हैं उनके मुताबिक ही इसका नामकरण होना चाहिये था। कोई ऐसी चीज़ होनी चाहिये थी जिससे लोगों को आनन्द मालूम होता। आपने इसका नाम यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट कमिशन रखा है, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ यह अधिक उपयुक्त होता यदि इसका नाम यूनिवर्सिटी कंट्रोल बोर्ड रखा जाता। यह यूनिवर्सिटियों को कंट्रोल करने वाला बोर्ड होता क्योंकि जो काम इसको सौंपे गये हैं वह इसी प्रकार के हैं। ग्रांट का पता नहीं कितनी ग्रांट मिलेगी। अभी ठाकुर दास जी ने कहा और दूसरों ने कहा कि इसको पांच करोड़ रुपये का वितरण करना होगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी लगभग दो अरब से ज्यादा आमदनी है उसमें से ज्यादा नहीं तो ५० करोड़ रुपया यानी एक चौथाई तो कम से कम शिक्षा के ऊपर खर्च किया जाता। सरकार कई तरह के खर्च कर रही है और उनमें से बहुत सारे फ़िज़ूल खर्च भी हो रहे हैं। यह भी पता नहीं है कि यह जो पांच करोड़ रुपया है यह एक साल के लिए है या कितने सालों के लिए है लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी आमदनी का एक चौथाई खर्च तो शिक्षा पर खर्च किया जाता।

अब इस संस्था का जो संघटन है उससे आप देखिये। इसमें तीन वाइस चांसलर होंगे और दो सरकारी अफसर होंगे जो सरकार का प्रतिनिधित्व करेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि इस तरह की विषमता और भेदभाव चलता रहेगा तो सरकार कुछ नहीं कर सकेगी। अब वह समय आना चाहिये

जब सरकार और जनता में कोई भेदभाव नहीं रहना चाहिये। सरकार को लोगों पर बिश्वास करना चाहिये और साथ ही सरकार को बिश्वास का पात्र बनना चाहिये। आप कहते हैं कि कमिशन में दो सरकारी अफसर होने चाहिये जो सरकार का प्रतिनिधित्व करें। मैं पूछता हूँ यह किस लिये है? वहाँ सरकार का क्या लगा हुआ है? यह तो जनता का काम है और ऐसे लोगों को ही लिया जाना चाहिये जिन पर लोग बिश्वास करते हैं। इन सरकारी अफसरों की क्या ज़रूरत है? मैं तो कोई ज़रूरत महसूस नहीं करता। इस बारे में हम लोगों को काफी तजुर्बा है। नामिनेशन का क्या अर्थ होता है? नामिनेशन का अर्थ जैसे कि हम देख रहे हैं कि बड़ी बड़ी नियुक्तियाँ हो रही हैं, बहालियाँ हो रही हैं, यह है कि जो चीफ़ मिनिस्टर हैं या प्रधान मंत्री हैं उनके पिट्टुओं हों उनको इन पदों पर नियुक्त कर दिया जाये। ही सकता है कि उनमें थोड़ी बहुत योग्यता हो लेकिन असली चीज़ यह है कि वह ईमानदार हों, सच्चाई से अपना काम करें और अपनी सारी शक्ति बलिदान करने के लिये तैयार हों न कि सरकार के कहने के मुताबिक काम करें।

अभी जब यहाँ पर बहस हो रही थी तो नेशनल परपज़िज़ (राष्ट्रीय प्रयोजनों) का नाम लिया गया था। मैं पूछता हूँ कि जब तक देश में इस तरह का पार्टी सिस्टम (दल पद्धति) है, दलबन्दी की सरकार चल रही है, तब तक नेशनल परपज़ का नाम आप क्यों लेते हैं। इसको तो विल आफ़ दी गवर्नमेंट (सरकार की इच्छा) या विल आफ़ दी मिनिस्टर (मंत्री की इच्छा) अगर आप कहें तो ज्यादा ठीक होगा। हमें इन हालात में जो कि इस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान में प्रिवेल (चलते) करते हैं, नेशनल परपज़ का नाम नहीं लेना चाहिये। जब तक दलबन्दी या पार्टी सिस्टम यहाँ पर खत्म नहीं

हो जाता और यह चीज खत्म नहीं हो जाती कि वह मेरा आदमी तो है, आप को नेशनल परपज का नाम नहीं लेना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस विषय में विशेष रूप से विचार होना चाहिये और यह जो कमिशन बन रहा है इसको पूरा अधिकार देना चाहिये। इस बिल में यह दिया गया है कि इस कमिशन में ९ आदमी होंगे। लेकिन ये तो बिल्कुल बेगारी की तरह होंगे। हमारे यहां बेगार चलती है कि कोई आदमी घंटे दो घंटे बेगार कर देता है। हम सारे राष्ट्र का भाग्य इस कमिशन को सौंपने जा रहे हैं क्योंकि किसी को शिक्षा के विषय का समर्पित करना सारे देश के भाग्य का समर्पित करने के समान ही है। ये लोग घंटे दो घंटे के लिये आया करेंगे और किसी विषय पर कुछ निर्णय कर दिया करेंगे। जैसा कि अभी एक मित्र ने बताया, यूरोक्रेटिक मैशिनरी (नौकरशाही व्यवस्था) का कोई सेक्रेटरी रहेगा जो सारी चीजें तैयार कर कमिशन के सामने रख देगा, और उस पर कमिशन के मेम्बर हां करके चले जायेंगे। बस यही होगा। यह तो बिल्कुल बेगार की तरह काम होगा।

मैं तो सीधी बात कहता हूँ कि जब कोई व्यक्ति या शक्ति सुन्दर लक्ष्य लेकर और सुन्दर मार्ग से चलती है तो भी गलतियां हो सकती हैं। लेकिन इस सरकार की नीयत भी तो ठीक नहीं है। कहते हैं कि फ्रांस् कमिशन है और उसका असल काम होगा यूनीवर्सिटीज को कंट्रोल करना। न इनकी नीयत ठीक है और न इनका मार्ग ठीक है। इस वास्ते मैं कहता हूँ कि सरकार का दृष्टिकोण भी बदलना चाहिये और उसे देश को अपना मानना चाहिये। सब को आपस में विश्वास करना चाहिये।

यहां पर लोगों ने कहा है कि हिन्दी और संस्कृत और प्रादेशिक भाषाओं की शिक्षा होनी चाहिये। बहुत सही बात है। यहां पर लोगों ने एक बात और भी कही है कि शिक्षा

सस्ती होनी चाहिये। बड़न सही बात है। यह तो ऐसी बात कही गयी है कि हम समझते हैं कि इसका सारे देश में समर्थन होगा। शुरू में हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने एक बात कही और अब हर एक आदमी यह राय देने लगा है कि हमारे सारे देश का संगठन समाजवादी ढांचे पर होगा। बड़ी सुन्दर बात है। इसी विषय से शुरू क्यों न किया जाये। जैसा मैं ने कहा, देश की जितनी आमदनी हो उसका चौथाई हिस्सा शिक्षा विभाग के लिये दिया जाय। उसी में से यूनीवर्सिटीज को सहायता मिलना चाहिये, यह नहीं कि कमिशन को अधिकार दे दिया जाय कि अपनी झोंक के मुताबिक चाहे जिसको दे सकती है। इस धन का वितरण तो सोशललिस्टिक पैटर्न (समाजवादी ढांचे) के अनुसार ही होना चाहिये। यह देखा जाये कि यह धन सारे देश के विद्यार्थियों पर किस तरह से बांटा जा सकता है। उसी हिसाब से जहां जितने विद्यार्थी हों वहां उतना धन दे दिया जाये। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस के लिये तो आयोग की भी जरूरत नहीं होनी चाहिये। यह काम तो कोई मिनिस्टर या सेक्रेटरी ही कर सकता है।

अभी यहां कहा जा रहा था कि शिक्षा शहरों में केन्द्रित हो रही है। देहात वालों को कोई पृष्ठता नहीं है। किसी किसी ने यहां कहा है कि रूरल यूनीवर्सिटीज भी हों। अच्छी बात है। लेकिन अब तो सोशललिस्टिक सिद्धांतों के अनुसार लक्ष्य यह होना चाहिये कि शिक्षा विभाग का सारा रुपया देश के सारे स्कूल और कालिजों में पढ़ने वाले विद्यार्थियों पर समान रूप से बांट दिया जाना चाहिये और अगर हम ईमानदारी से इस बात को चाहें तो इस प्रकार का वितरण करना कुछ कठिन भी नहीं होना चाहिये।

कभी कभी यहां पर यह आवाज भी उठती है कि आजकल के विद्यार्थी ठीक रास्ते पर नहीं है। वे लोग मर्यादा का पालन

[बाबू रामनारायण सिंह

नहीं करते, डिप्लोमिन (अनुशासन) नहीं मानते। मैं पूछता हूँ कि इसका गुरू कौन है? हमारे लड़के क्यों बिगड़ रहे हैं। इसका गुरू हमारे देश की सरकार है। यह मान लेना चाहिये। कई लोग तो यह भी कहते हैं कि हमारे जो लड़के बिगड़ते जा रहे हैं इसका कारण यह है कि किसी खास दल के लोग उनको उभारते हैं। किसी किसी ने यह भी चार्ज लगाया है। मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि आप सब लोग इस बात पर विचार करें। थोड़ा ही पढ़ने के बाद लड़के अखबार पढ़ने लगते हैं। वे जान जाते हैं कि आज देश में जितना कार्य हो रहा है सब दलबन्दी के आघार पर हो रहा है। यहाँ पर हर एक विषय पर जो वोट लिया जाता है वह दलबन्दी के आघार पर। अगर चांसलर बहाल होंगे तो दलबन्दी के आघार पर, वाइस चांसलर बहाल होंगे, तो दलबन्दी के आघार पर, इसी तरह प्रोफेसर या लेक्चरर जो भी बहाल होंगे वे दलबन्दी के आघार पर। इस लिये लड़के भी यही सीख जाते हैं। और वे भी दलबन्दी के आघार पर सोचने लगते हैं।

एक समय हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जवाहरलाल जी ने कहा था कि हिंसा के जरिये कोई मामला तै नहीं हो सकता। कितना बड़ा सुन्दर सिद्धान्त है। अगर ऐसा है तो फिर यह गोली क्यों चलती है और लड़कों पर गोली क्यों चलती है। पटने में गोली चली, बम्बई में गोली चल रही है। जब हमारे देश के सबसे बड़े नेता के मुँह से यह बात निकलती है कि हिंसा से कोई मामला तै नहीं हो सकता तो फिर क्यों यह गोली चलवायी जाती है। ऐसी अशुद्धी बात कहते वक्त और ऐसी घोषणा करते वक्त शर्म आनी चाहिये।

मुझे और विशेष कुछ कहना नहीं है, लेकिन इतना मैं कहे देता हूँ कि पुराने ढाँचे को ओ कि अंग्रेजों के वक्त की गुलामी की

बातें हैं उनको हमें भुला देना चाहिये और छोड़ देना चाहिये। हमारे देश में क्या शिक्षा होनी चाहिये इसके बारे में सभी ने कहा है। हमारे देश में संस्कृत की शिक्षा होनी चाहिये, आयुर्वेद की शिक्षा होनी चाहिये। उसके लिये आपको विधान बनाना चाहिये। हमारे यहाँ योग विद्या के विश्वविद्यालय होने चाहिये। योग विद्या वह चीज है कि जिसकी पढ़ाई और अभ्यास के बाद मनुष्य हर तरह से निरोग, सुखी, सर्वज्ञ और सर्वशक्तिमान हो जाता है। वह शिक्षा हमको देनी चाहिये। हमारे चटर्जी साहब ने कहा कि नदिया में संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय। मैं कहता हूँ कि नालन्दा में हो, बनारस में हो और दूसरी जगहों पर भी हों।

अब इस सरकार के बारे में क्या कहा जाये। पांच छः बरस बाद हमारे देश में अंग्रेजी का कोई चलन नहीं रहेगा, न कोई अंग्रेजी पढ़ने वाला रहेगा और न लिखने वाला रहेगा? तो मैं पूछता हूँ कि आज जो हमारे बच्चों को अंग्रेजी पढ़ाई जा रही है वह किस लिये? उनका जो इतना समय नष्ट हो रहा है, हमारे देश का जो पैसा नष्ट हो रहा है, हमारे देश के नवयुवकों की जो शक्ति नष्ट हो रही है, वह किस लिये। अब जो यह अंग्रेजी की शिक्षा हो रही है वह किस लिये? इसका कौन जवाब देगा? जब इसको व्यवहार में नहीं रखना है तो अंग्रेजी शिक्षा क्यों दी जा रही है? हमारी शिक्षा हमारी प्रान्तीय भाषाओं और हिन्दी में होनी चाहिये। अंग्रेजी को तो जल्द से जल्द खत्म करना चाहिये।

मैं अन्त में एक और बात कह कर बैठ जाऊंगा। श्री मेघनाद शाह का जो संशोधन है उसको पार्लियामेंटरी सेक्रेटरी साहब को मान लेना चाहिये। अगर उनको ऐसा करने का अस्तिधार न हो तो वे जाकर अपने मालिक लोगों से अस्तिधार ले आवें। मैं यहाँ पर साफ साफ कहूंगा कि इस सरकार

के शिक्षा विभाग मंत्री में या पालियामेंटरी सेक्रेटरी में कुछ भी अक्ल और ईमानदारी हो और यह ईमानदारी से बात कर सकते हैं, समझ सकते हैं और बोल सकते हैं तो श्री मेवानन्द शाह के संशोधन को अख्त मूंद कर मान लें। मैं उन से निवेदन करता हूँ और मैं देश का एक प्रतिनिधि हूँ, मुझे हुक्म देने का भी अधिकार है। उनको इतना करना चाहिये। यह देश की बात है, किसी एक आदमी की बात नहीं है कि एक विधेयक विभाग का तरफ से तैयार होकर आया, कैबिनेट (मंत्री परिषद्) में गया किन्तु गया और वहाँ गया भी तो किसी तरह से पास हो कर जा गया और अब यहाँ आया है हमारे भाई ठाकुर दास जी ने कहा था कि यह देखना ही पड़ेगा, यह देखना पड़ेगा। मैं पालियामेंट (मंसद) के सदस्यों से कहता हूँ कि जब तक सरकार के अधीन यह पालियामेंट रहेगी तब तक तो यह सरकार जो कहेगी वह करना ही होगा। लेकिन पालियामेंट के मेम्बरों को यह क्रम बदल देना चाहिये, होना यह चाहिये कि सरकार पालियामेंट के अधीन हो। जो कुछ पास होना है यहीं पास हो, और जो यहाँ पास हो उसके मुताबिक सरकार काम करे। यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि जो कुछ सरकार पालियामेंट के सामने लाये उसको पास कर ही दिया जायें और उसको पास करना ही हो। यह परिस्थिति अब खत्म होनी चाहिये। हमारे देश में पालियामेंट को सारी शक्ति होनी चाहिये और पालियामेंट इतनी शक्तिशाली होनी चाहिये कि सरकार उसके मुताबिक चले, न यह कि सरकार को कहने के मुताबिक यह पालियामेंट चले।

2 P.M.

और अधिक मैं नहीं कहूँगा। मैं यह भी निवेदन किया चाहता हूँ और जसा कि और लोगों ने भी कहा है कि इस बिल का इस प्रकार से संशोधन हो जिससे देश का उपकार हो और जैसा मैंने पहले कहा है

कि असल में यह यूनिवर्सिटी कंट्रोल बोर्ड है, तो मैं चाहूँगा कि यह यूनिवर्सिटी कंट्रोल बोर्ड न होकर यूनिवर्सिटी के लिए मदद करने वाला बोर्ड हो जाये। बस, यही कह कर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I call upon Shri Veeraswamy and after him I will call upon Shri Gopala Rao.

**Shri Veeraswamy (Myuram—Reserved—Sch. Castes):** To catch the eye of the Chair has become a problem with me.

**Shri M. G. Vaishnav (Ambad):** What about the chance for this side, Sir?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The position is this. Dr. Suresh Chandra raised this point earlier and I have been looking on this side and on that side, but it is only Shri Vaishnav that gets up now on this side. If no one gets up on one side, what can I do?

**Shri Veeraswamy:** Though to catch the eye of the Chair is very difficult, somehow I succeeded in catching the eye of the Chair because of my constant attempt.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The complaint is that the Opposition catches my eye more often than this side.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** It is also because of the sympathy of the Chair towards Members like me. I am here not to welcome this measure but to oppose it and I register my strong protest against it on behalf of the South Indians, more especially on behalf of the Tamilians.

**An Hon. Member:** Including the Chair.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** This measure has been opposed by most of the Vice-Chancellors of the Indian Universities.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** That is wrong; the hon. Member is giving wrong information to the House.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** There may be some who welcome this measure, but

[Shri Veeraswamy]

the educational experts of this country have registered their protest against this measure because it is going to control the autonomous University bodies existing now in the States through the University Grants Commission. It is really surprising to me that the party in power and the Government appear to be interested in higher education and in the improvement of the standard of education of the universities. It is a well-known fact that the party in power has aroused a great contempt and hatred for English, that beautiful and excellent language which has elevated us to such an extent as to be a great nation in the world today within a short span of time. Since Independence we have been able to make ourselves felt in the comity of nations not because of Hindi but because of English. This measure is an attempt, it is vividly clear to me, to dominate over the regional languages by Hindi.

**Pandit K. C. Sharma** (Meerut Dist.—South): You can put up with English but not with Hindi.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** The University Commission is going to make grants to universities and compel them to introduce Hindi, in course of time, as the medium of instruction in place of English or the regional language.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Is that written in the Bill?

**Shri Veeraswamy:** It is not written in the Bill that the Commission will recommend to any university the measures necessary for the improvement of university education and advise the university upon the action to be taken for the purpose of implementing such recommendation. There are two more clauses. Clause 20 says:

"In the discharge of its functions under this Act, the Commission shall be guided by such directions on questions of policy relating to national purposes as may be given to it by the Central Government.

If any dispute arises between the Central Government and the Commission as to whether a question is or is not a question of policy relating to national purposes, the decision of the Central Government shall be final."

If wisdom prevails on the Commission not to compel any university to introduce Hindi as the medium of instruction, the decision of the Central Government will be final; that is, they can compel the Commission or the university to accept Hindi as the medium of instruction.

[**PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA** in the Chair.]

**Dr. M. M. Das:** May I make a categorical statement that the Government of India has not the slightest intention of making the medium of instruction in our universities a subject of policy? I will deal with this in my speech later, but as the hon. Member has referred to that point now, I think it desirable that I should mention it now.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** I would suggest to the Government to provide specifically in this measure that Hindi will never be imposed on any university as the medium of instruction and that must find a place in this Bill so that we the people of Tamil Nad may be free from the fear of the domination of the North over the South.

**Shri V. P. Nayar** (Chirayinkil): What does the Parliamentary Secretary say to this?

**Shri Veeraswamy:** Every hon. Member coming from the South knows very well that the standard of education both in high schools and colleges there was and is the highest in this country, and so also the standard of education of the Bengal University is very high. But I can say without any hesitation that when you compare the present standard of education in our schools and colleges with the standard of education during the British days, it is far below and this is because of the contempt and hatred

being aroused among the students towards English. Now the affection for English is decreasing and people are being told that English is not going to be in India and it will never occupy a place of honour in India and it is Hindi that will become the national and official language. So the students think that English is not going to help them and that it is Hindi that will help them. It is this thought that is being developed in the minds of students. If the Government are really interested, if they shed real tears over the deteriorating standard of education in our universities, and if the tears are not crocodile tears, I would suggest to the Government to give up their madness for Hindi, aversion towards English and not to interfere with the autonomous bodies, that is, universities in their administration. Leave the universities as they are, allow them to work as they have been doing and as they like to do in the future also.

**Dr. Suresh Chandra (Aurangabad):** The hon. Member has taken his oath of allegiance to the Constitution but he is speaking against the Constitution.

**Shri Meghnad Saha (Calcutta—North-West):** May I rise on a point of order? Here is a very important Bill being discussed. Neither the Minister is here—he has never listened to any of the speeches on the Bill—nor the Deputy Minister is here. We here are speaking to empty benches and are going to take decisions. I think you should send for the Minister or the Deputy Minister.

**Pandit K. C. Sharma:** The Parliamentary Secretary is here.

**Mr. Chairman:** This is not the first time when complaints of this nature have been made. Many Members have adverted to this subject and the Chair also has many times said on the floor of the House that ordinarily the Minister in charge or other Minister should be present when a discussion of an important nature takes place. At the same time the Chair has got no

power to enforce the attendance of any particular Minister here. This is the difficulty. The Parliamentary Secretary is here, he represents the Department and he represents the Minister also, but at the same time it is quite desirable that when an important question like a Bill of this nature is discussed, the Minister in charge and other important Ministers should remain present in the House—The difficulty is that I am unable to enforce the attendance.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Unfortunately, it is only the exception that the hon. Minister in charge of the Bill is present; the rule is that they are absent.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** I may submit to you that the hon. Deputy Minister was here; he has gone out for taking his lunch like other Members. He will come back again within a few minutes.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** You do not want lunch?

**Mr. Chairman:** The complaint is not against the Deputy Minister who was here for such a long time. The real complaint is this. The hon. Minister in charge is not here. The Bill is extremely important as the hon. Member himself said. It is very desirable that the hon. Minister should listen to the speeches here and come to conclusions in respect of composition, etc., of this Commission. In his absence it is very difficult to impress only the Deputy Minister and the Parliamentary Secretary because the Minister in charge of this Bill is not here. It is he who really can influence the decision of the Cabinet also in this respect if necessary. It is a most important question and if he is not here it means that the Members are speaking almost to empty benches. It is not desirable.

**Dr. Suresh Chandra:** As the Bill is very important as you have yourself said, and as the Minister in charge of that Bill is not here, may I suggest that this Bill may be postponed until the Minister comes here. Otherwise what we say today here will be of no use. We are going to pass a measure

[Dr. Suresh Chandra]

which is going to affect the whole educational system of our country; it is not like Grants Commission in U.K. where it is only a disbursing commission.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member may continue.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** This is an important point which I hope the Parliamentary Secretary will convey to the hon. Minister and ask him to be present here at least during the clause by clause discussion so that he will understand the spirit of discussion over this measure.

My hon. friend coming from Travancore-Cochin a few minutes ago wept over the conditions obtaining in our country and said that regional languages were going to become the media of instructions in all institutions. He regretted that for one reason that our students could not go and mix with other students because the medium of instruction will be the stumbling block to the students coming from other regions. With the interest of our country and of the coming generations very deep in my heart, I would suggest to the Government that English may be the medium of instruction in the colleges because that is the only force which could bring together our people. Hindi is not going to be accepted by us Tamils—I am not joking—as the national language or the official language and so on behalf of the Tamils I suggest this for the good of the country to this august and supreme body of the nation that English may be retained as the medium of instruction in all our universities. Or I shall make a correction. It may be so in such of the universities which want to retain English as the medium of instruction. If the Government is very particular about pushing through this measure, I would like to suggest to the Parliament to make provision that the Commission will have no power, as I said first, to compel any university to introduce Hindi as the medium of in-

struction except in the Hindi speaking areas.

**Mr. Chairman:** Hon Member seems to be fighting a phantom. The hon. Parliamentary Secretary has already given out the policy. After hearing that, I do not think it is necessary to talk more and more about this.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** Even then I have got my own doubts. That is why I stress this point.

The Radhakrishnan Commission has suggested the creation of regional university commissions. This Commission itself is going to be created according to the recommendations of that Radhakrishnan Commission. So, let there also be regional university commissions giving directions to the regional universities and this Grants Commission may confine its work only to sanction of grants to the universities, inspecting the universities and also getting facts and figures or information from the various universities and compiling a report so that other countries may come to know how our universities have been working and how our standard of education is improving. We may also get facts and figures from foreign universities and make it available to our regional universities.

The number of members on the Commission to be set up is nine. My hon. friend, the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party has suggested that 17 members should be there on the Commission. I would like to suggest that more than half of the members should be representatives of universities so that their voice may be binding on the Commission. If others are allowed to dominate over the Commission, the decisions will not be in favour of the universities.

The office of the Chairman alone has been made a salaried one and not that of the members. It is better that the members are also made salaried members so that they can give their best attention to the proper working of this Commission. It is said in this

Bill that information collected from Indian universities and foreign ones will be made available to such of the universities which ask for such information. I would like to suggest that the information should be made available to all the universities irrespective of the fact whether they ask for such information or not. Are we—Members of Parliament—not provided with the entire proceedings of the House whether we know the three R's or not? So, every university should be provided with the information that would be collected from Indian as well as foreign universities.

**Shri Gopala Rao (Gudivada):** Though substantial improvements have been made in the Bill in its present form, at the same time, at the very outset I would say that there are basic points, unless they are radically changed, there is no scope for achieving the main purpose of the Bill. You know, in the recent past there has been a great awakening, enlightenment and desire in the country for higher education with the result that with the help and initiative of the enlightened public and the liberal contribution of the masses a good number of colleges, high schools and other educational institutions have come into being. But, in this effort, I am sorry to say, the Government could not rise to the occasion either to finance them or to get further advancement of their institutions. Even under the present Bill in its present form there are no provisions regarding the affiliated colleges and I have not been able to understand what is the policy taken by the Government regarding the question of affiliated colleges. One cannot think of developing our university education—promoting or consolidating it, whatever it may be—without solving the question of affiliated colleges. A number of problems are connected with the affiliated colleges. We all know that 80 per cent. of the university education is done through these colleges. Out of a total student population of 4 lakhs more than 3 lakhs are receiving education through these affiliated

colleges. In the same way, take Andhra or any other State. Out of 35 colleges in Andhra 32 are affiliated colleges and one or two university colleges. Therefore, I say that our approach must be one and the same both towards university colleges and affiliated colleges. Some effort was made in the Joint Committee to improve this position but only those colleges will come within the purview of this Bill which are recommended by the university authorities and recognised by the University Grants Commission. I do not know to what extent this will cover the affiliated colleges. Also, nobody knows on what criteria the universities will recommend that such and such colleges can be given grants. The present financial position of these colleges is very precarious and they are on no sound foundation. Unless the Central Government go to the rescue of these colleges it is very difficult to advance these colleges or even maintain them.

The argument advanced by the Government against bringing all the affiliated colleges under the purview of this Bill is simply that they are in a good number and there are no funds or the funds are limited. This cannot be a proper argument to defend their case because when 80 per cent. of the students are receiving education through these colleges and when we are here seeking to expand or develop our university education and are discussing the whole reorganisation of the university education we cannot ignore this problem. You can accept the general principle of bringing these affiliated colleges under the purview of this Bill and impose certain restrictions that a college with a standing of 10 years, or with a certain student population of, say, 1000, or with certain equipments and certain other standards will only be covered by this Bill. These restrictions can be imposed.

Coming to my second point, I am surprised to see that not a single word is there in this Bill about the staff on which we have to depend



[Shri Gopala Rao]

or the whole implementation of the Bill, whatever form it may take. For the implementation of the Bill we will have to depend upon the staff—the professors, lecturers and so on—of these institutions. The staff have to play a definite role in the development of our education. That being the case, how can we ignore them in this Bill. Only in clause 26 some mention is made regarding standards, classification of staff and something like that. But, if you see the present situation you will find that they are in a very bad condition. According to the information I have got, out of 15000 college teachers, 6000 get below Rs. 150 per month, 7000 get below Rs. 250 per month and only about 1500 people are drawing more than Rs. 250. I know—this is within my personal knowledge—that very good writers, scholars, and poets who are working for the last 15 years—some Telugu pandits and other pandits—are not even drawing Rs. 250 a month. Unless these people who are expected to run the whole university education are well paid and their livelihood is properly assured ultimately, they will have to resort to some other ways to maintain their families. When they are in search of their livelihood they are forced to resort to some part-time professions also. How can you expect a teacher under such conditions to spend his time in studies, in doing research work so that he may learn new things to teach our students? Therefore, what actually happens is, real education is not being done inside the colleges. These students who are not satisfied with the education inside the colleges are forced to go to private tutors paying them large sums of money. Of course, this can only be done by students who come from rich families. What about the students who come from poor families? They are helpless. They will not be able to get good education inside the colleges, nor will they be able to go to private tutors and get good education due to lack of money. Therefore, this question must also find a

place somewhere in this Bill. When any step is taken in the direction of development of education the question of salary of the staff should not be ignored. That is why I say that at least all the recommendations of the University Education Commission regarding pay scales of university teachers should be applied to the affiliated colleges also.

The other point connected with this is that our colleges are under-staffed. According to information I have got, in other countries 1:10 is the ratio between the teaching staff and the students whereas in our country—I do not know the exact figures—the ratio is 1:50 and in some places it is 1:70 or even 1:80. Unless some individual attention is paid, unless some individual instructions are given to the students it is not possible for students to have efficient education or for the teachers to give efficient and proper coaching to the students. These points must also be taken into consideration and provided for in some form or other in the Bill.

Another important point to which I want to refer is that in clause 20 a question of policy relating to national purpose has been put in. This clause is very beautifully vague. The whole world can come under the purview of this clause. Many of our friends raised all sorts of apprehensions and suspicions with regard to this. Under the plea of national purpose they can interfere in the day-to-day administration. Some friends are saying that under the plea of national purpose they can change the medium of instruction. It is also said that under the plea of national purpose they can take over some universities. As far as we are concerned for the last few years there is a wide rumour that the Central Government is thinking of taking over Osmania University as a Hindi University. We have no objection to Hindi being made the national language for central administration. But, with regard to the question of taking over the

Osmania University for that purpose it will be strongly opposed and protested against by the 33 million people of Visal Andhra. It is better to make the point clear now itself. Let us put in concrete, definite terms what is the meaning of 'national purpose'. It is not defined here and therefore, there is scope for every kind of apprehension and wrong interpretation.

According to clause 14 also the University Grants Commission can withhold grant proposed for a particular college or university under the plea that their recommendations are not being complied with by those institutions. This, I feel, is something like keeping some money within their hands and doing a sort of threatening. Some of our friends are very much afraid whether there will be provincial autonomy in future. This clause strengthens that apprehension. Therefore, I say that this clause must be redrafted in a different form. After a grant is given for a particular purpose, if the university or the college concerned consistently refuses to comply with the recommendations of the Commission even after so much persuasion, then the Grants Commission may take certain steps against that institution. In that way the whole clause must be redrafted.

Coming to the last point—money—I should like to say a few words. Last year only Rs. 1,20,00,000 or so was disbursed by the Grants Commission which is working now. The talks are colossal and very great and the funds are limited. If you want to fulfil the whole task that has been given in this Bill it would be very difficult unless the Commission had at its disposal some funds which may run to Rs. 10 crores or so. Otherwise, what is the purpose of giving so many powers and so many functions to the Commission? Development, promotion, consolidation and so many other things are there. For a Commission which has to deal with education in the whole country, unless sufficient funds are kept at its

disposal, it is not possible to fulfil those colossal tasks assigned to the Commission. With these few words, I conclude.

**Shri H. G. Vaishnav:** The objects of this Bill are very commendable. They are, as mentioned in the Bill, "co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research in scientific and technical institutions" and also maintenance of standards of teaching and examinations in universities. But when we see the powers given to the Commission, I feel they are not adequate to fulfil this task. The Bill is named the University Grants Commission Bill. From the name it appears that this Commission is nothing but a disbursing body. The task of the Commission seems to be just to find out the requirements of universities and recommend what grants should be given to the respective universities for the fulfilment of the purposes mentioned in the Bill. But this is not the only object though apparently the name of the Bill indicates it to be so. If functions such as co-ordination and promotion of education, maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in universities, are to be discharged, really this Commission should have been given greater powers. The functions and powers are defined in clause 12 of the Bill. I think they are also inadequate, but, in spite of the powers being inadequate, whatever recommendations are made by the Commission should be acted upon. If the recommendations are not at all acted upon or complied with by the concerned universities, what is the remedy and how is the failure on the part of the universities to be dealt with? Clause 14 deals with such contingencies, but it only says:

"If any University fails within a reasonable time to comply with any recommendations made by the Commission under section 12 or section 13, the Commission, after taking into consideration the cause, if any, shown by the

[Shri H. G. Vaishnav]

University for its failure to comply with such recommendations, may withhold from the University the grants proposed to be made out of the Fund of the Commission”.

So withholding of the grant is the only consequence. My submission is that the universities which are already working, are working with their own funds. In view of the objectives before the Commission, if some scheme is proposed regarding co-ordination, promotion and maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in the universities, and if that recommendation is not at all followed by the universities, what will happen? Whatever further grant which may be proposed by the Commission to that university may be withheld. My submission is that the universities which are not acting according to the recommendations of the Commission are not dependent on the grant given or proposed by this Commission, and if that point is disregarded by the concerned university, how are the recommendations regarding maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in the universities to be implemented? So, clause 14 is an obstacle in the way of executing the duties of the Commission. There ought to have been more powers for the Commission. In case the recommendations which are vital for the promotion and co-ordination of university education are not followed, certainly some other powers ought to have been given to the Commission to see that whatever they recommend in the interests of university education and in the interests of the whole country is followed; if it is not followed, some other ways ought to have been shown so that the universities could be compelled to follow the directions given by the Commission.

Secondly, we see that this Commission is not at all entitled or authorised to have any of their own policies executed, or to formulate their own

policies. If the Commission wants to put in a policy of their own, clause 20 will come in its way. Clause 20 says:

“...the Commission shall be guided by such directions on questions of policy relating to national purposes as may be given to it by the Central Government”.

Such a Commission which serves a higher purpose ought to have been entrusted with some powers regarding policy, relating to national purpose or any other educational purpose. Of course, national purpose regarding universities can only be in respect of education and not of any other purpose. But that too is not given to the Commission. It is the Centre which is to guide the Commission under section 20. Then, my question is: what is the nature of this Commission. Is it only to disburse money after seeing the condition of the universities? If it is only disbursement of money, then that can be done even by some executive body. Some officers can be appointed; they can go round the whole country, visit the universities and just recommend the allotment of grants. If this is the only purpose, I think this Bill which aims at assuming higher levels, becomes useless. Therefore, the Commission ought to have been really empowered with many other powers than those mentioned in clause 12.

Then there is clause 13 which gives some powers of inspection. But is such a Commission to be given only powers of inspection? Again, if they find something wrong, they ought to have been given powers to correct that wrong by asking a particular university or body to take certain actions. In the absence of such powers, I think that the whole purpose, which though very high as I have said at the beginning, becomes rather useless and aimless.

Again, after reading the whole clause 12, from (a) to (i), it appears to me that this Commission is not at

all empowered to establish any university or to recommend the establishment of any university at any place. Many hon. Members have said that there is a necessity for establishing rural universities, a Hindi University and so on. But in clause 12, from sub-clause (a) to sub-clause (i), no such power at all is given to the Commission even to recommend the establishment of any university at any place. We are having a very big aim of the Bill but powers given to the Commission are only of inspection of universities, collection of information from universities and so on which in practice, will bring nothing. That seems to be the whole weakness of the Bill. Even while recommending grants, there is no mention about recommending grants to the universities for instituting free studentships, scholarships, stipends etc. to help poor students. We know that in our country hundreds of thousands of students are deprived of higher education because of their poverty. The universities concerned cannot pay proper attention and there are also things like favouritism and so on. This Commission can recommend grants for instituting free studentships and scholarships, but no such thing has even been hinted in this Bill. The Universities Grants Commission is only to recommend grants to the universities according to their necessities. It has also not been made clear as to what the necessities are. Taking all this into consideration, I think that this Commission should be weaponed with proper authority. It would be given full authority really to have co-ordination as well as maintenance of standards of examination and so on. I hope these points will be taken into consideration by the concerned Ministry and suitable provisions will be made in the Bill.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy** (Mysore): Mr. Chairman, the preamble of the UNESCO states that causes of war are born in the minds of men and in the minds of men deferences of peace should be constructed. Sir, after independence education has assumed

a large proportion. Especially, university education has assumed great importance. Many hon. Members have spoken supporting the measures before the House, but, unfortunately, I have to take a different line of reasoning. Nobody has raised what I am raising just now. I shall presently place the point before the House. The same body, I feel should not be entrusted with a double task, namely, to deal with the question of giving grants to the universities; and bring about co-ordination and maintenance of standards in the university education. These two tasks, I submit, are very very serious and quite different. Each task demands undivided attention of a body of experts, and I feel the same body cannot deal with these two problems at the same time in an effective way. Even the Radhakrishnan Commission has said that the University Grants Commission should confine its activities to the matter of giving grants; and the matter of fixing standards of university education and bringing about co-ordination and maintenance of standards should be entrusted to a separate body.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** That is a wrong information. I can quote from the University Education Commission's report. They have said that the two tasks should be given into the hands of one body.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** I will quote from the Radhakrishnan Commission's report.

**An. Hon. Member:** He has not seen that!

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** I am quoting from page 412 of that report:

"The initiative, in seeking advice, should always come from the universities. If the Commission proffered advice unsought, it would spoil the relationship we wish to see it established with the universities, which is the relation of friendship and not that of the policeman or even the inspector." My implication is this.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** It is only your implication.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** This sentence would show that unless the universities themselves want some advice from the Commission, the Commission should not tender advice to the universities. Thereby they have not supported the idea that the University Grants Commission should be entrusted with the responsibility of financing the universities as well as tendering advice to the universities in respect of educational matters. I feel that these are two different functions.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** For the information of the House, I will quote what the University Education Commission has said:

"The only solution is to give to the Universities Grants Commission that task of co-ordination with the sanctioning of grants."

This is the language of the Commission. I am speaking not by implication, but by quoting the language of the Commission.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** May I know in what page it is mentioned?

**Dr. M. M. Das:** I will give it later on.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** I have quoted from page 412 of the University Education Commission's report. Anyway, I do not want to join issue with the hon. Parliamentary Secretary on this point. I feel strongly that these two functions are very important and the same body cannot fulfil these two functions at the same time. Co-ordination and maintenance of University standards should be entrusted or left in the hands of the Universities themselves. I am not sure whether taking power from the Universities and giving that power to the Central authority would enable us to maintain University standards or would help us in this task. I am seeing a great tribe of Education Ministers in our country, their performance and their equipment. By looking at them,

one would think that these Education Ministers, are not competent or well equipped to deal with education matters. They have been given to the Education portfolio, not because they are competent or well equipped to deal with education matters, but because they must be given some portfolio. The Education Ministers are not experts in Education. This is the cause of our bane.

**Shri K. K. Basu:** The Ministers do not even know the subjects for which they are appointed.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** We cannot entrust the decision of policies in respect of education.....

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Hoshiarpur):** I do not know what the implications of the remarks of the hon. Member are.

**Dr. Suresh Chandra:** The hon. Member should not make such observations.

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order. The hon. Member is on his legs and he is not giving way. He wants to know the implications which he has not understood. If the hon. Member gives way, he can interrupt and put a question.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** There were no implications. My remarks were very frank and I think they have been understood by all Members.

**Shri K. K. Basu:** You are only wasting Shri D. C. Sharma's time. You are not a qualified educationist.

**Mr. Chairman:** Order, order.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** The University Grants Commission should only deal with the question of grants and it should not be burdened with the task of co-ordination or maintenance of standards and standardisation of University education. That is a task that should be entrusted to a different body. The Radhakrishnan Commission says that while dealing with these questions, the University Grants Commission may gain

knowledge and experience in education matters. While inspecting the Universities, while going round the Universities and educational institutions, the members of the Commission would certainly collect a lot of materials and would gain knowledge and experience in matters of education. Certainly that knowledge should be availed of. They have therefore suggested that that knowledge and experience should be given to the Universities only when they are asked to give that knowledge and experience: not otherwise. I would suggest that there may be a different body. That knowledge and material of the Commission may be passed on to that body. That separate body may be entrusted with the task of fixing the standards, maintenance of standards and co-ordination of the University education. Here, unfortunately, both these functions have been entrusted to the same body. In a matter like this, the Government should not interfere too much with the autonomy of the Universities.

**An Hon. Member:** Should not interfere at all.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** I do not go to that extent. But, I would say that there should be less of interference on the part of the Government in respect of University affairs. Unfortunately, nowadays, especially after Independence, too much of politics has entered the portals of the Universities, because, the Ministers themselves create groups and cliques within the portals of the Universities. I know, and I think it is common knowledge that in the University Councils Members are appointed because they belong to a particular party, or still less they belong to a certain community or still less, they are his personal friends and relatives. That is the consideration on which Members are appointed to the various University bodies everywhere and they are the people who decide the policy and standards of that particular University. The Ministers take direct interest in the

appointment of these people. Believe me or not when I say that even the success or failure of a candidate is influenced by the Minister, through the Member who is in the University Council. Members of the University Council select examiners. Selection of an examiner is made because a Member of the University Council wants him to be selected. Everything today in the Universities is manoeuvred and managed by the Members of the University Council and these Members of the University Council are in one way or another subject to the pressure and influence of the Ministers. The passing of a candidate or the merit of a candidate depends upon the pressure brought on the examiners. That is why the standard of education in the University has gone down. It is impossible to raise the standard of education by giving powers to the Grants Commission. Unless you reform the whole thing and clean up the whole thing from the bottom, unless the manner of appointment to the University Council and the various academic bodies is changed, unless the Universities are left to themselves, unless autonomy is restored to the Universities, unless there is less of interference on the part of the Government in University affairs, I do not think the University Grants Commission would be able to bring about a high standard of education in the Universities. I am certain that it will fail because the University Grants Commission may also become another instrument of interference in the affairs of the Universities. I feel strongly that the task of the University Grants Commission should be only distribution of funds and nothing else.

Some Members drew the attention of the House to the question of national purpose. It is very vague. What is the national purpose? What is the purpose of University education? Is the Minister thinking that the Universities should teach only those subjects which are approved by the conservative orthodox people? Or,

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does he mean that the Universities should also function as citadels of change? After all, nowadays, new values are coming up and new ideas are growing. Does the Minister want the Universities to teach only those 19th century and 18th century ideas, does he want that the Universities should function as citadels of change, as the media of change? If he wants this, I think the responsibility to fix the national purpose should not be left with the Government. The Universities themselves should judge which should be the national policy, which should be the correct type of education. By taking this power, what are we doing? We are only bureaucratising the educational system. We have bureaucratised so many things in this country. Through this Bill, we want to bureaucratise even our educational system and stifle it. We are taking away freedom from the Universities. After all, freedom should be the basis of University education or any kind of education. If freedom is not given, if autonomy is not assured to the Universities, I do not think we will be getting the right type of education. Today, the teachers are terribly afraid of expressing their opinions on great issues. I know of a particular instance. A University professor was asked to explain his conduct about why he spoke in a particular way in a meeting. That is how our university professors have been gagged continuously by the Ministers. It is unfortunate. Today there is no freedom of expression in the portals of the university, and the university teachers are not free to teach any good things they want to teach to the students; and everything is directed, everything is imposed, and the teachers are in the psychosis of fear. Academic freedom is a great freedom and it is a great virtue. If you want to raise the standard of university education, you cannot do so by giving power to this Grants Commission. You can bring about high standard in 'university education by' giving

greater freedom to the universities, to the teachers and to the taught. Unfortunately, they have got very little freedom in the university protals. That is our bane. That is the disease of our educational institutions.

3 P.M.

People complain that the standards of education have deteriorated. That is true. Some Member stated that everybody is complaining that the standard of university education has deteriorated but nobody gives a solution, nobody can give a correct analysis. I would say there has been too much interference by stupid and bureaucratic officials or misguided Ministers, and that is the main reason why the standard of university education has gone down. It will go down, and neither the University Grants Commission nor your Government will help to achieve the purpose for which the Bill is placed before us. I am sure many Members will agree with me that the greatest virtue of university education lies in freedom and freedom alone. If you give enough freedom to the academic people and if you take away all the pressures of communal intrigues and free the universities from continuous...

**Mr. Chairman:** All this is very interesting, but it has hardly anything to do with the Bill.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** I am pleading that the standard of university education can only be raised and maintained at a higher level by granting more freedom, not by taking away freedom from the universities. That is my point. I wish that this Bill is drastically altered and the function of the Grants Commission is limited to the bare purpose of granting the funds to the universities, the matter of co-ordination of university education being left to a different body. These are my views and I leave this question for the consideration of the House.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** The hon. Member wanted to know the page of the University Commission's Report from which I quoted.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Minister will get a chance and he can say whatever he has to say when his turn comes.

Now, it is already 3 O'Clock. Three hours were given for the consideration stage. They are practically over, and I have yet to call the hon. Minister. So, I am very sorry that I cannot call any more hon. Members. I have to call the hon. Minister at this stage. Those Members who are anxious to speak may kindly speak on the amendments or at the third reading stage.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** I have listened with great interest and attention to the debate which has followed my motion. A large number of hon. Members of this House have taken part in the debate and there can be no doubt that we have derived much benefit from their views.

A number of very important issues have been raised during the discussions which require careful consideration not only by Government but by this august House. I will take these issues one by one and try to place before hon. Members the considered opinion of the Government of India about each of them.

The most important question that has featured very prominently in the debate is the question of the autonomy of our universities. Hon. Members who dealt with this question in some detail seem to be divided in their opinion. Some speakers were staunch advocates of university autonomy and they were not prepared to give any authority whatsoever in the hands of either the Commission or the Government of India, except perhaps the authority of giving money. Although the provisions of this Bill as it has emerged from the Joint Committee ensure the fullest autonomy of our universities and have virtually reduced the University Grants Commission into an advisory, recommendatory body, many of my friends are not satisfied. On the other hand, there are hon. Members who think that enough power has not been given into the

hands of the Commission to enable them to discharge the duty which has been entrusted to them. It is not necessary for me at this stage of the debate to repeat the arguments on the one side or the other, but it may suffice to say that Government considers it expedient and desirable to be guided by the collective wisdom of the Joint Committee. Although no authority, no power has been given into the hands of the Commission, we hope that good sense will prevail upon our universities and friendly counsel, sincere advice and persuasion will win the day.

The House knows that the existing University Grants Commission was set up about two years back by a resolution of the Government of India. We have watched with keen interest the present University Grants Commission's working for nearly two years. This Commission has disbursed up till now Rs. 3½ crores to the different universities of our country. There has been no difficulty at all, no complaint from any quarter. Up till now the Grants Commission and the universities have worked together in perfect harmony, in complete unity. They have worked together in great harmony as a united team, inspired by a noble purpose—the development and well-being of our universities. The present Grants Commission has received the most sincere co-operation from the universities and our universities have never felt that their autonomy has been infringed upon. So, I assure this hon. House that although this Commission has been reduced by the Joint Committee to an innocuous, powerless body, there will be no difficulty at all in achieving our goal, in achieving the object for which this Bill has been brought before the House.

The next point that I propose to take is the question of the affiliated colleges. Nearly all the Members who have taken part in the debate have expressed great concern at the precarious financial condition of the affiliated colleges of our country. The



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Government of India agree to and fully share the views of the hon. Members. There can be no two opinions about the condition of our affiliated colleges. But the whole thing boils down to the question of the financial condition of the Government of India, i.e. the question as to what is the amount that the Government of India can place at the disposal of the University Grants Commission for disbursement. Under these circumstances, the Joint Committee have taken the wisest course. They have kept the door open for all affiliated colleges to come in wherever finances permit. If I have understood my hon. friend Shri T. S. A. Chettiar correctly, he said in his speech that it should be specifically mentioned in the Bill itself that the post-graduate colleges should be the first to come in. We say, let the universities and the University Grants Commission judge; let the discretion be placed at the hands of the universities and the University Grants Commission. If the universities and the University Grants Commission think it desirable to bring in the post-graduate colleges first, let them do so; there is nothing in the Bill to prevent them from doing so. We want that the door should remain open and therefore there will be no impediment in the way of the University Grants Commission to give grants to the affiliated colleges, if the financial condition permits. Let us hope that the finances of the Government of India will improve in the immediate future, and the Government of India will be able to place sufficient funds at the disposal of the University Grants Commission, so as to enable the Commission to include all the affiliated colleges in the country within the definition of universities and make them entitled to financial assistance from the Centre.

I now come to the composition of the Commission. More than one speaker has suggested that the Commission should be elected instead of

selected. I frankly admit that I fail to see any wisdom in this proposition, and there are weighty reasons as to why I say so.

**Shri K. K. Basu:** It is an unwise view.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** When you were a member of the Public Accounts Committee in 1952, you held a different view.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Opinions differ just like the opinions of the members in a democratic legislature.

Firstly, election in educational matters is not at all a healthy thing, and should be repudiated by all means.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Give more physical exercise.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** The Radhakrishnan Commission have rejected the idea of election in universities, and have condemned it in the strongest terms. I do not want to take up the time of the House by giving quotations from their report.

The second reason is that it is a common democratic principle that the person elected is responsible to the electorate only and not to the others. Now, the money that will be disbursed by the University Grants Commission will come from the Consolidated Fund of India.

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** From the people.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Yes, the Consolidated Fund of India gets its nourishment from the pockets of the people.

The money will come from the Consolidated Fund of India. The Central Government are responsible to this Parliament for proper expenditure of that money. Now, the members of the Commission will be elected by other people, and they will be entitled or authorised to spend this money. But if the members are elected by others, they will not be responsible either to the Central Government or to this

House. Then, what will be the condition of the Central Government? The Central Government will then be placed in a very precarious position; they will have no effective voice in the expenditure of that money, and yet they will be held responsible to this House.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Very fine logic.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Thirdly, the analogy of the U.K. University Grants Commission, where all the members are appointed by Government, is only an analogy and not an argument. Yet, we cannot deny the fact that the U.K. University Grants Commission is an ideal one, according to many of us.

**Dr. Suresh Chandra:** It is not.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** It is an ideal one. They are working very beautifully, and they are serving as a model to us.

**Dr. Suresh Chandra:** But they are only a disbursing Commission.

**Shri Matthen (Thiruvellah):** Only you are not following the model.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Next, I come to the amendment of Shri Meghnad Saha. I am sorry he is not here at the moment.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** How much more should we be sorry because the Education Minister is not here?

**Dr. M. M. Das:** That is your business to be sorry for, not mine.

**Shri Matthen:** Certainly, it is our business, and not yours.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** It may be recalled that Shri Meghnad Saha was a member of the Radhakrishnan Commission. He was also a member of the Joint Committee on this Bill. But unfortunately the Committee was deprived of his wise counsels because owing to some other preoccupations he could not attend the meetings. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that had he been present at the meetings of the Joint Committee,

he would have made substantial contribution to the deliberations of the Committee, and perhaps influenced their decisions also.

It is impossible to deny the force of the arguments that have been advanced by Shri Meghnad Saha in support of his amendment. According to Shri Meghnad Saha's amendment—if I have understood it correctly—there should be four specialists of the rank of university professors, in addition to the chairman, and all the five will be full-time officers of Government. These five will form some sort of executive committee of the Commission. In addition to these five full-time members, there may be part-time members, as provided in the Bill, who will occasionally meet and discuss important questions. As I have said already, there is much to be said in favour of his amendment. But I am afraid that a Commission that will be set up according to Shri Meghnad Saha's amendment will be branded by my hon. friends as an appendage of the Central Government or as a department of the Central Government.

**Shri K. K. Basu:** It depends upon the type of people you nominate.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** And it will be resented to also by our vice-chancellors and university authorities. Under these conditions, in the teeth of opposition of my hon. friends and the universities, and to some extent, the vice-chancellors also, Government do not consider it desirable to accept in full the suggestions made by Shri Meghnad Saha.

**Shri Matthen:** You are accepting them in part.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** I shall come to that. Do not be impatient. But I can assure my hon. friend Shri Meghnad Saha that the mind of Government is already working in the direction which he has suggested. Shri Meghnad Saha himself knows that Government propose to set up panels of experts in the different

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branches of education to assist the Commission. He himself has been invited to serve on some of the panels, and in the future also he is sure to be invited. For the time being, we propose to meet Shri Meghnad Saha half way.

Government intend that the office of the chairman should be a whole-time salaried one. I understand that my hon. friend, Shri B. K. Das has given notice of an amendment to this effect. We are going to accept that amendment. Shri Meghnad Saha is not present here now, and therefore there is no good requesting him to withdraw his amendment, and probably he will not be here also to move his amendment.

**Shri K. K. Basu:** Why predict his future movements?

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Moreover, for the present, the work of the Commission is not so heavy as to warrant the appointment of five full-time officers. So far the time being, Government think that one full time Chairman, and other members will be enough to carry out satisfactorily the work of the Commission. Moreover, let us have the experience of the working of this Commission. Let us see for a year or two how things happen and then if we find—if the House finds—that there is a real necessity for having more than one full time officer as suggested by Shri Meghnad Saha Government will have no objection at all in bringing some amendment to that effect and amending the composition of the Commission.

Regarding the functions of the Commission, I have not much to say. If there is any dissatisfaction about the functions of the Commission, it is because many of the hon. Members here think that the scope of the Commission has been unduly restricted, has been unduly narrowed. Many hon. Members think that the powers and functions of the Commission are not enough for the discharge of their duties. There is another reason why the powers had to be

restricted. Many hon. Members—including Dr. Jaisooraya—wanted to give full powers about University Education in the hands of the Central Government. He is prepared to give the power; but Government are not prepared to take the power because the Constitution stands in the way. The House will remember that education is a State subject. This Parliament has got no constitutional authority behind it to legislate upon education except on one single item, item 66 of the Union List, about co-ordinate and determination of standards in institutions for higher education in the country. I have said that the Government of India have no constitutional sanction behind them to go beyond item 66 of the Union List. This is the reason why the functions of this Commission had to be restricted.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee asked one pointed question, why emphasis on determination of standards and not on expansion of education. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that the activities of this Commission will expand the scope of higher education in the country. But I am not at all ashamed to tell Shri H. N. Mukerjee and others that the primary object of this Bill is to discharge the responsibility placed upon the Central Government by our Constitution, namely, co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education.

Now I shall deal with some specific points that have cropped up. It is not possible for me to discuss all the points mentioned by hon. Members on the floor of the House, but only some of them. My hon. friend, Shri T. S. A. Chettiar, raised the question of the development of regional languages. He wants a specific provision to be incorporated in the Bill to this effect. My friend is afraid that the Government of India may interfere through the University Grants Commission with the medium of instruction in our Universities. This very

apprehension—fear, has been expressed by more than one Members coming from the southern part of our country. I remind Shri Chettiar and other friends who have expressed such apprehension—that on more than one occasion, the spokesmen of the Government of India, including a person no less than the Prime Minister, have said that all the 14 languages mentioned in the Constitution of India are national languages and it is not the policy of the Government of India—and it cannot be the policy of the Government of India—to give any preferential treatment to any one of these languages at the cost of the other, to the detriment of the other.

**Shri Veeraswamy:** We cannot speak in our regional languages in Parliament.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** It is the sincere desire of the Government of India to give all possible help for the development of all the 14 Indian languages. My hon. friend, Shri T. S. A. Chettiar, asked the Government of India one pointed question, whether the medium of instruction in the Universities can be regarded as a matter of national policy. I categorically say on the floor of this House; on behalf of the Government of India, under the direction of the Minister of Education, that the Government have no intention of making the media of instruction in our Universities a question of policy. The Government of India desire that our Universities will have the fullest independence with regard to their media of instruction; Government have no intention at all of interfering with the media of instruction of our Universities. We propose to clarify this point in the rules also framed under the Act.

My hon. friend, Shri D. C. Sharma, from Punjab, put me a specific question—why full responsibility for education is not taken up by the Central Government? My hon. friend is not here.....

**Shri Matthen:** He is very much here.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** I would like to tell him that I am simply amazed as well as amused by his question. My hon. friend is a professor of a celebrated University of this country. He is here in this House for about four years. I appeal to him to refresh his memory by a fresh reading of the Constitution.

**Shri Matthen:** You can have one more amendment.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** The Government of India cannot take the full responsibility for education because education is a State subject; it is not a Central subject.

**Shri Matthen:** You can bring in an amendment.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** We are amending the Constitution in so many ways, and I would ask the hon. Minister to take over the entire fabric of education. The Constitution can be amended in that respect also.

شکشا تہا پراکرتک سہسادیہن

اور ویگیا ناک گوشہ منقبری (مولانا آزاد):  
 ہاں یہ ایک الگ بات ہے - اس  
 سلسلے میں یہ بات نہیں آتی - اگر  
 آنریبل ممبر چاہتے ہیں کہ اس بارے  
 میں کانستٹی ٹیوشن بدلا جائے تو وہ  
 ترمیم کا بل پیش کر سکتے ہیں - مگر  
 یونیورسٹی گرانٹس کمیشن کے سلسلے  
 میں یہ سوال نہیں آتا -

[The Minister of Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research (Maulana Azad): Yes, this is a different thing. Such a question did not arise in this connection. If the hon. Member wants that the Constitution be changed in this respect, they can bring forth an amendment to this effect; but this question does not arise in connection with the University Grants Commission.]

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Many doubts have been expressed by hon. Members about 'national purpose'. What is a national purpose?—that particular question has been put to this House by more than one hon. Member. Even my lawyer friends here have found it very difficult to give a proper definition of what is a national purpose. But I think the University Education Commission presided over by Dr. Radhakrishnan has thrown some light upon it, which may be considered as enough for ordinary practical purposes. It may not serve the purpose of lawyers, but I have no doubt that it will serve the purpose of the Grants Commission. This is what the University Education Commission has said:

"In some subjects, there is felt to be the need, without imparting local initiative, for a coordinating power to be retained by the Centre—(a) to ensure that all provinces, States and Unions act within certain limits or observe certain minimum standards, (b) to ensure that where different units wish to develop different special activities, a coherent overall national policy emerges without glaring examples of unnecessary duplication on the one hand or unfilled gaps on the other, and (c) to enable joint planning by provinces, States and Unions where this is necessary".

Then, I refer to the speech of Dr. N. C. Chatterjee. He is not here. He waxed eloquent about the autonomy of the Universities and supported the amendment of Dr. Saha. Dr. Chatterjee.....

**An Hon. Member:** Not Dr. Chatterjee but Shri Chatterjee.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** I am sorry. Shri N. C. Chatterjee in his speech referred to the composition of the Commission and said that one whole-time salaried officer as Chairman and other members will give every power to the Government which will be detrimental to the interests of the

Universities. But, he supported the amendment of Dr. Meghnad Saha which proposes that an executive committee should be set up consisting of 5 members, all salaried whole-time officers of the Government. I think these two are contradictory to each other.

Lastly, I want to say a few words about the speech of my hon. friend Shri Gurupadaswamy.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** He is also not here.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** One point in his speech which attracted my attention was that the University Professors have nowadays under the Congress regime got no independence at all. Perhaps my hon. friend does not know about Dr. Meghnad Saha. He is the head of a very important department, the Department of Nuclear Science in the Calcutta University.

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** He is an exception.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** I have nothing more to say. At least these exceptions sometimes show the truth. My hon. friend said many other things misquoting scriptures like....

**Some Hon. Members:** Like?

**Dr. M. M. Das:** I do not want to refer to that again. I have taken a considerable portion of the time of the House and I think I have been able to cover most of the important points that have been raised by hon. Members.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** If you think so, it is all right.

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

"That the Bill to make provision for the co-ordination and determination of standards in Universities and for that purpose to establish a University Grants Commission, as reported by the Joint Committee, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

Clause 2-- (Definitions)

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** Sir, there are amendments to this clause.

**Mr. Chairman:** That is why I have placed the clause before the House. Otherwise how can there be an amendment?

There are three amendments to this clause, Nos. 5, 20 and 21. I want to know whether hon. Members want to move any of them.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I beg to move:

Page 2, line 7—

for "and includes any such institution as may" substitute:

"and includes any institution affiliated to a University and also such institutions as may"

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** I beg to move:

Page 2, line 7—

after "includes" insert:

"any institution undertaking post-graduate teaching and research and"

**Mr. Chairman:** Amendments moved:

Page 2, line 7—

for "any includes any such institution as may" substitute:

"and includes any institution affiliated to a University and also such institutions as may"

Page 2, line 7—

after "includes" insert:

"any institution undertaking post-graduate teaching and research and"

Anybody to move No. 21? None.

**Shri B. K. Das (Contai):** Sir, today a notice was given to move an amendment.

**Mr. Chairman:** The notice was given today? I am sorry, the hon. Member knows the rules. The hon. Member knows fully well that unless the hon. Minister is willing to accept

it, it cannot be moved. If he is willing to accept that. I will certainly allow it to be moved; if he does not accept it, then the rule is it cannot be allowed to be moved.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Is it necessary that we on our part must accept the amendment; otherwise, will he not be able to move it?

**Mr. Chairman:** That is the rule. If the hon. Minister is willing to accept it, then I will allow it to be moved.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Sir, I am not accepting the amendment.

**Mr. Chairman:** Then, I am sorry I cannot allow that to be moved.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I am glad that at least when all the Members have expressed their views and when the Parliamentary Secretary was coming to the end of his speech, the Minister of Education has chosen to be present in the House.

My amendment is a very simple one. I want the term 'University' to include certain other institutions which are affiliated to the University for certain specific reasons. We know that for years now the Government have been telling us that it is not possible, in view of very short finances at their disposal, to give the Universities grants which they deserve. Time and again we have been told that beyond what is now being done it is impossible to go. When the hon. Parliamentary Secretary was making his reply, I heard him repeat that once again. We do not say that overnight it will be possible; but we must also consider that in certain other matters, this Government has given large sums of money. For example, you will find that in the recent past about Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 crores have been given to the Tata Iron and Steel Company as grant and loan. You find that even without adequate provision being made in the Budget, a sum of Rs. 3 crores was given to a pharmaceutical firm which is in partnership with a

[Shri V. P. Nayar]

foreign firm and the amount of Rs. 3 crores was included only in a supplementary grant. When Government can run down the drain enormous sums of money, I do not think it is an excuse worth considering that it is not possible for the Government to accommodate the Universities with more money. I do not want to go into the question in detail either.

When I say that other institutions also should be included in the term 'University', I want to bring to the attention of the House, and especially to the attention of the hon. Minister of Education who is happily here now, certain happenings in some of the colleges affiliated to the University in the State from which I come. As you know, both from the point of view of school education and higher education, my State, Travancore-Cochin stands first in India. You will find that in almost every house out of four there is one person man or woman, sitting idle after University education. We have got 48 colleges, 6 affiliated to the Madras University and 42 to the Travancore University. In recent years, there has been a tendency for communal organisations trying their best to compete with each other in setting up colleges. In the last two or three years, we have several college set up; one college by a communal organisation known as the Nair Service Society; colleges by another communal organisation known as the S.N.D.P. Society. We have got colleges run by certain sections of Christians and we are going to have a college started by Muslims. That is a very peculiar position. They are private institutions affiliated to the University. For such colleges buildings always come up on account of liberal subscriptions by the public. The organisers of the college go about and collect from the public sums of money. They also collect in kind; they collect paddy, bananas and coconuts—everything—and sell them. The result is that even after all this, these colleges present to the students almost insurmountable difficulties in

the matter of continuing their education. I want the Education Minister to understand certain aspect of this and try to do anything he can in the matter of relieving the distress of the students.

Last year, in one of the private colleges affiliated to the Travancore University, a course was started for graduation in biology. That is a college run by the N.S. Society at Pandalam, and in this college a student seeking admission for a B.Sc. course in biology, has to give the college authorities a compulsory donation of Rs. 300. If you apply with a first class in the Intermediate and go to the college, you are given an interview by the Principal, but the Principal will see you only when you have with you a receipt for the deposit of Rs. 300 as your donation; and if you do not give that donation, admission is not given to you. This is not a very isolated case. Almost in every private college in my State, a student, who seeks admission in the Intermediate Class, has to give a bribe—I call it 'bribe' because it is not donation when it is made compulsory—of Rs. 50. In one college run by the Jacobites in Pattanam Thitta—my hon. friend Shri Matthen may be knowing it very well—last year every Intermediate student was called upon to pay Rs. 200 per year. In 1954 that college had over 2000 applications, and when this fee was raised to Rs. 200, this year they had hardly applications from about 500 students. When a Government college charges Rs. 120 per year, you find that in all these private colleges the student has to pay 25 per cent. more for B.A. or B.Sc. If the fee is Rs. 13-8-0 per month for eight months in a Government college, the private colleges have to be paid Rs. 16 or 17 per month. Besides the tuition fee, there is a laboratory fee when there is no laboratory. I know in the Intermediate Class some of our lecturers are very competent men because of their ingenuity to teach the students without the apparatus—holding a fountain-pen-cap they say that

supposing this is a test tube and when potassium chlorate is heated in the test tube, what happens in this. This is the kind of teaching that is going on, and I am not saying this in any jovial spirit, but this is what I am seeing in my State. This is not happening in private colleges alone but it also happens in Government colleges. Athletic fees are collected from students and I know there are colleges in my State where there is not even a single playground, but still the boys are called upon to pay Rs. 4 or so. There are library fees charged by certain private institutions where the library does not even have a hundred books in all.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** It is a matter for the State to look into.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** It may be for the State, but here we are considering how to control and finance certain activities and how to enlarge the scope of university education, and in this context my amendment becomes relevant and I cannot establish the necessity for my amendment unless I give some very concrete instances. Take the case of the N.S.S. College at Pandalam and I have the occasion to see it whenever I go to my State. About 1,000 students are taking up various courses and you will be surprised to know that in the whole compound of the college there is not even a single well, and all the students, the moment the bell is rung for the interval, rush to a market place which is a furlong way for water. This is what is happening in private colleges. I do not say that private colleges have done nothing for the cause of education, but at least in Travancore-Cochin today the communal organisations are trying to get hold of certain colleges, they are trying to increase their monopoly and it is about time that we cry halt to such nonsense which is practised on the students. I had occasion the other day to discuss this matter with the most representative body of the Travancore-Cochin students. When I was talking to them, I was amazed to find that in one of the private

colleges in Trivandrum, a man who passed out from the University with a B.Sc. in the third class in Physics was appointed as a physical director because the rules of the University prohibit the appointment of anybody without a Master's degree for teaching the subjects. It so happened that this fortunate gentleman had a chance to play for the class badminton side, not for the college but for the class team, and that was considered to be a qualification to appoint him as a physical director. And on appointment as physical director, he was taking physics for the Intermediate Class. This happens even today. My friend Shri Das may very well say that it is a matter for the Travancore Government.

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** Travancore University.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** But what can the University do? The students bring the matter to the notice of the University and if the University does not take any action, what should they do? Why I want these institutions also included in the definition of 'University' is that however limited the scope of the Bill may be, there is a provision for this Commission to inspect the universities. In such cases, the students of such private colleges....

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Then the autonomy of the universities will go.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** It is not merely a question of autonomy. You are providing here in the powers and functions of the Commission for them to go and inspect the university. Only the Commission will have to write to the executive head of the university. I want this to be extended to the private colleges affiliated to the university because that has become very necessary. I do not know what is happening in private colleges in other States. Without exception, it is the rule in the State of Travancore-Cochin, which has the highest education in the country, that every private college is putting the students to these hardships. Yet there is such heavy rush in all the colleges for admission.



[Shri V. P. Nayar]

There is a medical college in Trivandrum, an institution which is very imposing in sight, built up at a cost of not less than Rs. 50,00,000. I want to give a very concrete instance as an argument for my amendment.

**Mr. Chairman:** These things happen in every province. If the hon. Member goes on multiplying examples, that does not give much strength to his argument. What he has said is enough. He has described the condition as being simply deplorable. That will do, I think.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I described certain appalling conditions which obtain in private colleges. I want to give one instance of what is obtaining at a Government college which is also affiliated to the University. I do not want to multiply instances and I am not in the know of things in the private colleges in other States. There is a medical college, as I told you, which has consumed several lakhs of rupees. We have got very eminent surgeons there. I am giving you this very small instance. In the last few months or one year, that medical college, which has got very eminent surgeons of all-India reputation and doctors who have passed the F.R.C.S. and have had world tours, could not undertake such a simple operation as an operation for stones in kidneys. It so happened that the ex-Minister T. M. Verghese had gone there for having this operation done, but the doctors there would not take a risk with him although the college is run by Government and is affiliated to the University of Travancore. What I understood was that this institution which teaches the Medicoes how to become surgeons, which teaches the doctors how to administer for remedying diseases, does not have the most fundamental requirement of a qualified anaesthetist. As you know, the science of medicine has developed to such an extent that drugs like chloroform in anaesthesia have gone out of the pharmacopoeia.

I ask this question. These doctors are trained in this college which has an operation theatre without an anaesthetist. When the doctors who are qualified feel reluctant to undertake a very ordinary operation for want of an anaesthetist, what will be the effect of such teaching on the doctors of the future? How can they develop a sort of a confidence without seeing operations on human body when it is alive? It is not enough if they are shown things in the mortuary. It is not enough if they are shown or told: 'this is the way to do appendicectomy or this is the way to do gastro-jejunostomy'. My point is that it is not merely an evil confined to private colleges run by private individuals. You will find them in colleges run by State Governments—due to lack of proper perspective and lack of love for the cause of students, due to the complete ignorance of what the technical institutions have necessarily to incorporate in their administration.

The University Grants Commission, although it has a very limited purpose, will have one little opportunity to probe into such matters. It is, therefore, that I plead that Government may please accept my amendment and bring within the scope of this Bill the private colleges and Government colleges which are affiliated to the universities.

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** In moving my amendment which is of a limited nature, I want to include "any institution undertaking post-graduate teaching and research". The matter which was raised by Shri Nayar was earnestly considered in the Joint Committee and everybody was for it because we know that affiliated colleges of all kinds did require help. But the difficulty is, as the Minister pointed out, paucity of funds. It was felt by them that the conditions in the affiliated colleges should be made better. But at present their funds do not permit of such a large expansion. In this matter the Ministry would like

to go by stages and we appreciate that point of view. I hope the first stage will be with regard to post-graduate education. Today college education really means post-graduate education. We have so many thousands of graduates and the real standards of a university are set by post-graduate classes—the second degree courses—M.As., Honours and post-graduate courses. I would like to suggest that that should claim the first attention of the Government. Now they are giving help to universities which are only 31 in number of which four are Central universities. The rest are State universities. The programme is to extend it to other institutions. I would suggest that the next expansion should be for the post-graduate courses.

Shri Nayar referred to the loan to Tatas. To my mind that is not relevant in this connection because they grant a loan and finish with it. But these are recurring grants and they are of considerably long term nature because they have to be given every year. So, I would like the Government to choose whatever is most essential to begin with. I hope the Government will accept this suggestion that to begin with in giving help to affiliated or Government colleges it will be by selection of colleges providing for post-graduate courses. We have over 9,000 and odd colleges and the number of colleges which provide post-graduate instruction will be about 500 only. I think Government should be able to do it. I hope the Government will accept the idea contained in this amendment.

Shri Shree Narayan Das (Darbhanga Central): In clause 2, a university is being defined. So far as it goes it is good but I would like to draw your attention to a recommendation made by the University Education Commission. On page 552, they have said:

"In many countries of the world universities are set up not through Acts of legislature of their Parliaments, but through

charters granted by the head of the State. This course may also be adopted in our country, at any rate, with regard to the new universities which are established by the conversion of existing institutions. It may be thought necessary that such institutions be given provisional university status before they are recognised permanently as universities. Such charters may be granted by the head of the State on the recommendation of the University Grants Commission. The recommendation of that Commission should indicate the conditions and the time for which the provisional charter is granted. These charters may be made permanent if the Commission is satisfied about the staff, management and quality of work done."

This indicates that there is a necessity that the University Grants Commission should be empowered to make recommendations to the President for granting charters for new universities or for such of the institutions as are going to be made universities.

In the definition as has been given, it says that a university means such institutions established or incorporated by or under a Central Act, a Provincial Act or a State Act. But such institutions as are to be raised to the status of a university are not included. I think that it is the recommendation of the University Education Commission that this University Grants Commission when it is established with all the other powers should be granted this power also. When an existing institution—either affiliated or independent—has to be raised to the status of a university, it will not be done in the beginning by an Act of the Central Government but the President of the Union should be empowered to give charters to enable that institution to function as a provisional university.

Dr. M. M. Das: Clause 3 already does that.

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:** It reads; "The Central Government may, on the advice of the Commission, declare by notification in the Official Gazette that any institution for higher education other than a University, shall be deemed to be a University for the purposes of this Act.....clause (f) of section 2".

**Mr. Chairman:** Moreover, clause 12(e) also refers to the establishment of new universities and expansion of the activities of any university.

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:** My idea is this. The University Grants Commission without being asked to do so, if any application is made by the public or those who are conducting such institutions, if the Commission considers that to be a fit institution to be raised to the status of a university, it should have the power to recommend so to the President without making any enactment or law by the Central or State Governments. The President will give charters for the provisional functioning of that institution. That is not there in this Bill.

**Mr. Chairman:** This Commission is not supposed to make any recommendation to the President.

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:** I want that this should be done. According to the recommendation made by the University Education Commission, it should be granted this power also. This should be one of the functions. I would, therefore, suggest that its functioning should be enlarged in order that it may be able to cover what I have just said and what has been given in the University Education Commission's report. If the Government is not able to accept it, then it is for the Government to decide.

**Mr. Chairman:** Is there any amendment to this effect?

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:** I had submitted one amendment along with Shri B. K. Das but you were not pleased to allow it.

**Mr. Chairman:** How is it going to be implemented then?

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** When there is no amendment, there is no speech also.

4 P.M.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** I happen to agree with the remarks made by Shri V. P. Nayar and Shri Chettiar though I must admit that I am doing so for different reasons. I think Shri Chettiar's contention will be covered entirely if the amendment of Shri V. P. Nayar is accepted. I say this not because there are denominational institutions being run in some States or because the equipment there is not very good. I say this for the simple reason that in a University you cannot create two nations: one the actual university and the other affiliated colleges which constitute the university. There should be only one set of regulations and rules to govern all that is meant by a university. I know in some universities you have university departments and also affiliated colleges. Now you want that you should give money to those university departments and not to these affiliated colleges. I think this is highly discriminatory. The purpose of the University Grants Commission Bill, if I have understood it right, is to level up education and you cannot level up education at the post-graduate standard unless you raise the standard of education of degree standard or of under-graduate standard. Therefore I say that it is in the fitness of things that the affiliated colleges should be included along with the universities.

There are other reasons also. Sir, you must have read in the papers that in India we are now thinking in terms of city universities. Kanpur is going to have a university, Meerut is going to have a university and there are other big cities in India which are going to have universities of their own. Not only that. We are thinking of what you may call 'rural universities'. Of course, we may not have rural universities for some time to come but I can tell you that in

my own constituency there are three colleges which are run at rural centres, at small centres consisting of about 300 inhabitants. I tell you those degree colleges are serving a very useful purpose. I know of a degree college in my small constituency, Haryana, where about 400 students of the Harijan community are studying. These colleges, therefore, are serving a very useful purpose. Unless the University Grants Commission makes up its mind to be generous not only to the university departments but also to the centres of education at rural places and also to centres of education at congested cities I think the problem of education of India,—it would be solved no doubt by this Bill,—would be solved very imperfectly and very inadequately.

At the same time, we are now living in the context of a socialistic pattern of society and the socialistic pattern of society requires that we should give the same kind of treatment to all. We cannot discriminate between university departments and colleges which are affiliated to the Universities but which are not part and parcel of the Universities. I would, therefore, say that the affiliated colleges should also be included here.

Again, as has been pointed out so many times on the floor of this House, we have to do something to improve the pay scales of teachers. I know everybody is agreed on that point. The Education Ministry also agrees on that point and Professor Humayun Kabir has been talking about it so many times. But, you cannot improve the pay scales of these persons; you cannot improve the equipment of these colleges and you cannot improve the educational facilities that are given by these affiliated colleges unless you say that they will receive also their share of the grant which will be given to the university departments. I cannot understand the logic that this University Grants Commission should be there for these 38 universities. What are these 38 universities if you do not have the

affiliated colleges? These 38 universities are merely a shell and the affiliated colleges are, I should say, the real body of the universities.

**Mr. Chairman:** The words here are:

“.....any such institution as may, on the recommendation of the University concerned, be recognised by the Commission in accordance with the regulations made in this behalf under this Act.”

My question is whether the affiliated colleges if they are recognised by the universities will not come under this?

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** If they satisfy the conditions mentioned in clause 3.

**Mr. Chairman:** Therefore, it is not a case of complete exclusion of such colleges. The only thing is that a condition is imposed on them that they must be recognised in accordance with the regulations made in that behalf.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** I think this is very self explanatory. By my amendment I want to add “and includes any institution affiliated to a university.”

**Mr. Chairman:** I know the trend of the amendment. I wanted only to know whether the affiliated colleges, if they are recognised, will come under this or not.

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** Only such affiliated colleges as are recognised by the Commission on the recommendation of the universities will come under this.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** What will happen is this. There will be a technical college, there will be a professional college, there will be a law college or there will be a medical college and the university may recommend that a particular sum of money may be given to a particular college. Therefore, what I say is, even

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

if they are included in this the ambiguity should be removed. If they are included in this I am happy, but I would suggest that the ambiguity should be removed and the whole thing should be made crystal clear. The words "affiliated colleges" should be put in so that university education is imparted in university colleges is treated in the same way as that of university departments. I know there are so many colleges which impart education to post-graduate students.

Therefore, this is a very innocuous amendment and I am sure the hon. Minister will accept it.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** We appreciate greatly the anxiety of the hon. Members for improving the conditions of the affiliated colleges in this country. The Government is fully conscious of the precarious conditions in which these affiliated colleges at present are. The Government would have been only too glad to give financial assistance to these colleges if their own financial condition permitted them. As I have said before the whole question of accepting these amendments boils down to the financial condition of the Government of India. We have not got sufficient funds at our disposal so that these affiliated colleges whose number will be more than 700 or 800 may be given substantial financial help which will really improve their condition. This question was discussed in great detail in the Joint Committee. The Joint Committee thought that the door should be open and that they should make such a provision that whenever financial condition permits the University Grants Commission to give monetary help to those colleges, it should be able to do it. So, what we thought better has been included in this provision. On the recommendation of the university concerned, the University Grants Commission will be able to give financial help to the affiliated colleges. It depends fully upon the financial condition of the University Grants Commission. The money that the University Grants Commission has got at its

disposal will be given to the affiliated colleges, if that money is sufficient. If it is not sufficient, it cannot be helped. But the door is open. So, I think, for the time being, the provision as it exists is all right.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** The door is closed.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Then, my hon. friend Shri T. S. A. Chettiar has raised a point regarding post-graduate colleges with which we are in sympathy. But our only difference is that on the side of Government, we want to give the discretion in the hands of the universities as well as the Commission. If the University Grants Commission feels and thinks it proper that the post-graduate colleges should be helped next to the universities themselves, they can do it. There is nothing in this provision to prevent it. So, every way is open. Full discretion lies with the University Grants Commissions and the universities,—both the parties. I think that the position as explained by me will satisfy the hon. Members.

**Mr. Chairman:** I shall put the amendments to the vote of the House.

The question is:

Page 2 line 7—

for "and includes any such institutions as may" substitute:

"and includes any institution affiliated to a university and also such institutions as may"

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

Page 2 line 7—

after "includes" insert:

"any institution undertaking post-graduate teaching and research and"

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill".

*The motion was adopted.*

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clause 3 and 4 were added to the Bill.

**Clause 5—(Composition of the Commission)**

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I beg to move:

Page 2—

(i) line 26, for "nine members" substitute "seventeen members";

(ii) after line 30, insert:

"(aa) not less than four members representing the faculties of engineering, medicine and technology;";

(iii) for lines 33 to 35, substitute:

"(c) four members from among persons of all India repute as educationists and with a minimum of fifteen years' experience in the field of education;"; and

(iv) after line 35, add:

"(d) one member to be elected by the Inter-Varsity Board;

(e) two members to be elected by the members of Lok Sabha from among themselves; and

(f) one member to be elected by Rajya Sabha from among themselves;"

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** I beg to move:

Page 2, line 29—

omit "not less than"

**Shri Matthen:** I beg to move:

Page 2, line 29—

for "not less than" substitute "not more than"

**Shri K. C. Sodhia:** I beg to move:

Page 2, line 29—

for "less" substitute "more"

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

(i) Page 2, line 29—

for "three members" substitute "five members"

(2) Page 2, line 30—

add at the end:

"to be elected by the Vice-chancellors themselves"

**Shri Matthen:**... I beg to move:

Page 2, line 31—

for "two members" substitute "one member"

**Shrimati Jayashri:** I beg to move:

Page 2 line 33—

after "the remaining number" insert: "of whom at least one shall be a woman"

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

Page 2, line 35—

add at the end:

"half of such members shall be elected by the members of Parliament and the other half to be elected by the Syndicates or the Executive Councils of the different Universities."

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I beg to move:

Page 3—

for lines 1 to 3 substitute:

"(3) The Commission shall elect from among its members a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and a Secretary."

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:** I beg to move:

Page 2, line 36—

for "one-half" substitute "two-thirds"

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

Page 2—

(i) line 36,

for "not less than one-half" substitute "not more than one-fourth"; and

(ii) line 37,

omit "not".

(2) Page 3, line 2—

after "Commission" insert "on its recommendation"

**Shri Matthen:** I beg to move:

Page 3, line 3—

after "State Government" insert:  
"or the Vice-Chancellor of a University".

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** I beg to move:

(1) Page 2, line 29—

for "Three members" substitute "four members"

(2) Page 2—

after line 32, insert:

"(bb) two members from among the members of Parliament; and"

**Mr. Chairman:** All the amendments are now before the House.

Now, we have already devoted one hour to one clause. I am afraid we take too much time on the clauses, and at this rate, we will not be able to dispose of all the clauses in time. We have very limited time at our disposal. We have been given four hours for this Bill and some time has already been taken by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education for his reply. So, in the limited time that we have got, we have to see that all the clauses are disposed of. Therefore, I request hon. Members to be brief.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** It is our anxiety to be as brief as possible and at the same time to try our utmost to find out common agreement, because it is a question which decides the fate of several thousands of our young men.

**Mr. Chairman:** I am also interested in seeing that as much time as possible should be given. It was at my suggestion that the Speaker was pleased to give four hours to this stage. But at the same time, we must see that all the clauses are reached within the time allotted.

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** We might fix five minutes for the speeches on each amendment.

**Mr. Chairman:** Hon. Members may themselves exercise a restriction on their speeches. I do not want to press on them this matter every time. Yes, Shri Chettiar.

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** This clause was a matter of considerable importance in the discussions in the Joint Committee. Our Constitution differs from the British Constitution in respect of the University Grants Commission. In Britain, we do not have vice-chancellors at all on the Commission. If the vice-chancellor is appointed, he resigns vice-chancellorship to make sure of the impartiality of the people who are getting the funds. In the circumstances of this country, it was felt that vice-chancellors should be given a definite representation. The idea was there must be at least three members. I have moved an amendment which says that there must be "not less than three members". That will mean that there can be scope for more vice-chancellors to be appointed to the University Grants Commissions. There are also other amendments moved. Shri Matthen has moved an amendment to say that there should be not more than three members. That will mean that there will be vice-chancellor not more than three. It may be three or even less. Among the 31 universities, it may happen that some of the best persons may not be able to come and join. I know it for a fact that one of the very prominent vice-chancellors was asked to take up the chairmanship of the Commission but he declined it because he could not leave his place. And so good persons may not be available. While three may be fixed as maximum, I would even accept Shri Matthen's amendment as better than mine. It says "not more than three".

Then there is the question of Government representation. There was a great deal of discussion about this Government representation, in the Joint Committee. The original clause was: "not less than two members". We thought it should be limited to two members so that the Government

representation need not be more than what is necessary. Probably, these two members will represent the Finance Ministry as well as the Education Ministry and the others are expected to be non-officials. In regard to the non-officials, a new amendment has been moved. The proviso under clause 5, as it stands, is as follows:

“...not less than one-half of the number so chosen shall be from among persons who are not officers of the Central Government or of any State Government”.

The Joint Committee has also made it sure that the chairman should not be a permanent official in the Central Government or any State Government. To my mind, this is a fairly satisfactory arrangement as it goes today, and I would request the House to accept the clause with the little amendments that we have suggested.

There is one other matter and that is with regard to the election. It has been a matter which has been discussed very often. The Radhakrishnan Commission after going through this matter, suggested that elections, as far as possible, may be avoided in the university circles. My own experience of elections is that elections create a lot of difficulties and they should be avoided in academic circles. We thought about amending the Madras University Act itself to avoid elections which have created a lot of difficulties. Many hon. Members have pleaded that elections should be introduced, but I am emphatic in my opinion that elections should not be introduced into this academic sphere. I am sure that if the Government nominates the members, it will nominate only proper persons. We can expect the Government to do their job properly.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I do not propose to go into the controversy about details; but I want to submit that if I had the opportunity or right of sending amendments this morning instead of last evening, I should have certain-

ly put in an amendment to clause 5(2) (a). In this morning's papers, we find that a nomination has been made by the Government to the Commission and that nomination has been given to a person by name Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar.

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** Has he been made Chairman?

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** No; he has been nominated as a member of the University Grants Commission. Clause 5(2) (a) at present says:

“(a) not less than three members from among the Vice-Chancellors of Universities.”

That is what you have now. The point is, in the university where I studied, I happen to know what the Vice-Chancellor, as the self-appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Travancore University, had given to the students.....

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** Mr. Chairman, may I raise a point whether references to individuals can be made in this House?

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** This morning's papers announced, that a particular gentleman has been appointed to the Commission.

**Mr. Chairman:** In the first instance, there is no amendment with regard to this; and secondly, the House cannot discuss the name of a person who has been appointed to the University Grants Commission now existing. In future the personnel of the Commission would be decided according to the provisions of this Act. No one has a right to refer to any person by name and describe his qualities or want of qualities. At this stage I do not know what the hon. Member is about. If he only wanted to say that an announcement has been made this morning, it is enough. I would request him kindly to desist from making any reference to an individual unnecessarily.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I was only submitting that while we are discussing this Bill, we have been forestalled by



[Shri V. P. Nayar]

an announcement about the nomination of a particular gentleman with a well established disrepute. I do not refer to him by name. The point which I wanted to say was that if such an appointment was known yesterday, I would have sent in an amendment. When amendments are being discussed, we can also discuss the clauses of the Bill. Instead of saying "not less than three members from among the Vice-Chancellors of Universities", I would have sent in an amendment saying that between the word "Vice-Chancellors" and "Universities", we should add the words "having an all-India repute".

**Mr. Chairman:** If the hon. Member wants to move an amendment orally, it cannot be done. What is the use of discussing this now?

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I am only suggesting for the consideration of the Government a modification which is absolutely essential in the context in which we are discussing the Bill today.

**Mr. Chairman:** As a matter of fact, there is a reservation even there. The hon. Member's point of objection is that such and such a person is not a man of all-India repute. I therefore request the hon. Member to desist from any personal reference either directly or by insinuation.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I am the last person to judge whether there is any indirect meaning in what I say, because the implication is more striking to others. I do not feel anything.

**Mr. Chairman:** If the hon. Member cannot see anything in his remarks, he ought to accept the advice of the Chair.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I do take your advice with the greatest respect.

**Shri Matthen:** Is reference to a disreputable person to be avoided?

**Mr. Chairman:** There is no question of personal reference to any person, whether reputable or otherwise, because the man is not here to defend

himself and it becomes a question of very keen controversy whether such things can be discussed by any Member.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I am not referring to that gentleman by name; but I wish to submit that when we have a provision saying that only three members can be taken from among Vice-Chancellors, I want to say something about Vice-Chancellors in general. For example, we know that being a Member of Parliament is a whole-time job. I have the greatest respect and affection for my friend who happens to be a Vice-Chancellor of one of the best universities but I also want to pose this question to him, namely, whether he has chosen the Vice-Chancellor's job as a part-time job or the Membership of Parliament as a part-time job. Besides my friend Shri Syamnandan Sahaya, in the upper House there are two Vice-Chancellors, Dr. Zakir Hussain and Dr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar. There are other Vice-Chancellors and I do not wish to refer to them by name.

**Shri Syamnandan Sahaya:** Vice-Chancellors are great intellectual beings who can handle two things at one time.

**Mr. Chairman:** So far as the law goes, we have passed a Bill in this House saying that a person who holds the office of the Vice-Chancellor is not debarred from becoming a Member of Parliament; but at the same time, the hon. Member knows that a committee was appointed by the Speaker to go into this matter. This matter is not to be discussed here.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** My friend Mr. Syamnandan Sahaya was saying that Vice-Chancellors have capacity for doing both jobs. With what little knowledge of biology I have, I know that all human brains have a cerebrum and a cerebellum and their functions also are different. It does not need a person to be a Vice-Chancellor to say that two things can be done at the same time. My question

is whether we should not leave it to those who are full-time Vice-Chancellors. In several universities, there are part-time Vice-Chancellors. There are Vice-Chancellors in central universities who make it a point to come to the university only when there is a meeting of the Senate or the Syndicate. In the university of my own State, we have a Vice-Chancellor who is a foreigner to the State. He seldom comes to the State; he comes only to preside over the meetings and all the executive job is being entrusted to another person who is called the Pro-Vice-Chancellor. If at all Vice-Chancellors are to be taken, I want this qualification to be laid down that a Vice-Chancellor claim to serve on this Commission shall be considered only if they are devoting their entire time as Vice-Chancellors and do not dabble with politics or religious matters or with something else.

Coming to the next point, I want this Commission to be enlarged. As you find, it has only 9 members. From among the 9 members, Government can have their own 'yes' men planted in this Commission because you find that all of them are nominated. Supposing there are 25 Vice-Chancellors, all very competent men, all of very great all India reputation, none with any disrepute, and all men of great learning and erudition, it is open to the Secretary in the Education department to say that this is the particular Vice-Chancellor who has to go. I can give out a challenge here. Even without the announcement of the Commission, I can write down a list of those persons who will become members of the Commission on account of their position as Vice-Chancellors who will represent the Government, and give it to you. When the Commission is announced, you can compare this list and you will find that I am correct 90 per cent. We know; we have been seeing the activities of the Education Ministry for quite a long time. We know for certain that the Government will fix upon so and so, so and so for these three names. If I give three names of three Vice-Chancellors

I am positive I won't err even in one name. It becomes all the more important.....

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** Give the names.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I can tell you.

**Mr. Chairman:** May I just bring to the notice of the hon. Member that it is already 4-30 and I propose to finish this clause by 5 o'clock?

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** The University Grants Commission will have certain grants from the Government of India. No grant can be sanctioned unless Parliament gives its technical approval.

**Shri Syamnaanand Sahaya:** Why technical? Full approval.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Technical because the party in power can get it at any time. The fact remains that we are here to record our votes for disbursing any funds from the Consolidated Fund of India. I pose this question to the Government. Why not have confidence in this House and take two Members from this House? There are so many educationists in this House. It is not as if these two places are reserved for the Lok Sabha, V. P. Nayar or M. S. Gurupadaswamy will run for that office. There are very eminent educationists in this House and very eminent educationists in the other House. Why not have two Members from the Lok Sabha and one from the Rajya Sabha?

**Mr. Chairman:** Much more for the reason that the hon. Member himself has advanced that two jobs cannot be combined in one man.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** They are not going to function as wholtime officers.

**Shri Achuthan:** Where is the answer to this?

**Mr. Chairman:** Membership of the Commission confers powers of patronage.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** We are functioning in so many Commissions. In the Delimitation Commission which is a very important Commission there are Members of Parliament. In all other commissions, we have Members of Parliament. Why exclude this? Is it because no Member of Parliament, however eminent he may be in the field of education, is competent to be a Member of the Commission? If that is the case, I have no argument.

From the other amendments which I have tabled, you will find that I have suggested that the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the Secretary should be whole-time officers. In that context, this becomes relevant also. I would go to the extent of giving nomination to a member of the Inter-university Board if there is an effective organisation like that. My object is to see that really and truly this Commission should function as a body independent of the Government and independent from the secretariat of the Government. They cannot pull strings and make one member Vice-Chancellor agree to that. Another Vice-Chancellor Mr. B. will point out this. There is also this danger. I have also suggested that the Commission should elect its Chairman. The reason is very simple. Supposing my friend happens to be the Chairman of this Commission, it is very natural, it is a human weakness that he will have a partiality for his own University. Is it not? Supposing for example, the Vice-Chancellor of Banaras University happens to be the Chairman, if a proposal is made for certain grants being enhanced to the Banaras University, he being the executive chief of the Commission, will necessarily have a human weakness which we want to avoid. The Government may nominate one Vice-Chancellor as the Chairman. We want to avoid such contingencies. We want to ensure that the members who are selected, among whom are also celebrated Vice-Chancellors, should be given the power to elect their Chairman. I think these are not very revolutionary amendments. These are

just ordinary amendments which my hon. friend the Deputy Minister for Education can very easily understand. I submit that these amendments will certainly make this Commission function a little more effectively, and a little more to the satisfaction of the people. We have an immense problem to tackle. I do not diminish its importance. The question is whether by this we can create in the tens and thousands of our teachers and students a feeling that the Government of India are having a new approach and that the Government of India will not continue the old approach of preserving our education in the colonial pattern and that they are going to entrust competent people with the job of re-orientating our University education. I believe that the Government will cast away its moorings and try to accept some of these amendments which will be found to have a very good effect on this Commission, and which will raise the Commission in status, especially in the minds of the people.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** According to the scheme suggested by the Bill, the University Grants Commission would consist of 9 members, 3 from among the Vice-Chancellors, 2 from the departments and the remaining from among persons with academic distinctions. I have proposed 12 instead of 9.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I suppose you have no objection to 17?

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** Of course, in dealing with numbers, one has to be arbitrary. I feel that even the suggestion of the Government, Nine, has also been arbitrarily decided. Which is the best number is a matter that has to be decided by this hon. House. According to Radhakrishnan Commission's report, it is suggested that 5 would be the best. They have also said that it should not, in any case, exceed 7. Even there they have just taken an arbitrary decision. It has to be arbitrary by its very nature. We have to see which number is the best.

The reason why I have moved this amendment is this. This Commission is entrusted with two broad functions. One has to decide the question of grants to the various Universities whose numbers are very many. I think the number of Universities is more than 30. Secondly, its task is to co-ordinate and maintain and determine standards of University education. The function and responsibilities entrusted to this Commission are very many. Therefore, I feel that the number that is to be suggested for this Commission should neither be too big nor too small. The hon. Minister may say that nine is quite adequate. My hon. friend Shri V. P. Nayar has suggested, and Dr. Saha has also suggested that the number should be increased to more than a dozen. But I have taken a *via media* line, and I have suggested a medium-sized membership, and I would request the non-Members of this House to agree to this amendment.

By another amendment I have suggested that two Members of Parliament should be Members of this Commission. My hon. friend who spoke just now made a point that there are people in this House and the other House who are as competent as any others outside who could serve effectively on this Commission.

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar:** They are not barred.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** Of course, under sub-clause (c) Members of Parliament may be included, but my amendment makes the position clear, and it gives a definite number to the Houses of Parliament, and I expect that the hon. Minister would agree to my suggestion, and I hope that all the hon. Members here would endorse my suggestion.

There is one thing more I must say that is that the composition of the Commission should be such that there should not be too much of official element in it. I have not altered the number as suggested in the Bill. I

agree with that number. Only two members should be drawn from the departments of the Government. One may be from the Finance department and another from the Education department, and it should not be more than two. The non-official element should be very predominant.

So, I would request the hon. Minister and my colleagues to accept my amendment, and I feel my scheme of things is much better than what is proposed in the Bill.

**Shri Matthen:** My amendment is very simple. In line 29, instead of "not less than three members, from among the Vice-Chancellors", I want it to be "not more than three members".

I want to make it very clear that I have the greatest respect for the Vice-Chancellors, several of whom are personal friends of mine. I have very great respect for them, almost all of them except perhaps one for whom I am sure no responsible person in India including the hon. Minister for Education will give a character certificate. I hope that such notorious characters will be avoided.

My point is they the Vice-Chancellors should not be here on the Commission because they are interested parties. They are interested parties in being the principal applicants for the grants.

The Parliamentary Secretary mentioned at the beginning of his speech that the U.K. Commission is an ideal one. He meant, I believe, that it would be a model for him and his Ministry also. The only reason why they should not be there it is because, as Dr. Saha said yesterday, however honest and good they may be, they are human. Secondly, there is an Inter-University Board. If the Commission want to make any reference, they can very well ask them. There is no dearth of Vice-Chancellors. Advice is available.

I shall be glad if all the three are avoided, but, at any rate, if it is "not

[Shri Matthen]

less than three," they can make it more. I do not want even one more than three.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Would the hon. Member lay it down that Vice-Chancellors so selected should be men of unquestionable integrity and of very sound character?

**Shri Matthen:** I say they should not be notorious characters. That is all. It is a very difficult question otherwise about character.

The most embarrassing thing is about the secretariat of the Commission—the secretariat appointed by the Commission. Suppose, for example, as the Aligarh University, some note about the University's irregularities has to be written and that they do not deserve a grant; if the Vice-Chancellor is on the Commission, it would be very embarrassing for the Secretary to write anything against the university concerned.

I think now there are four Vice-Chancellors on the Commission. The hon. Parliamentary Secretary may correct me if I am wrong. Three of them are of Central universities. Out of nearly Rs. 5 crores grants that is distributed, more than half is given to four Central universities, rather I would say three, I do not think Vishva-bharatis getting much.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** They are getting maintenance grants directly from the Centre. So far as development grants are concerned, the University Grants Commission is giving them.

**Shri Matthen:** At least half the grant is being distributed to three Central universities, and three of the Vice-Chancellors are on the Commission. If there are three it does not matter. My point is when I say "not more than" I would also add "at least not more than one from the Central Universities".—Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, or Dr. Matthalai, anybody for that matter is different. After all, that university will get only 1/70.

That is the only object. Interested parties to be the deciding body will be like the client being the judge, and it would be extremely unfair. If, as the hon. Parliamentary Secretary said the U. K. Commission is the ideal one. I cannot understand why he does not follow this. In fact, a very eminent educationist of the United Kingdom—I do not mention the name—said about this Bill that the Government is committing a cardinal blunder by keeping the Vice-Chancellors on the Commission. The words are not mine, I am only quoting.

So, I hope as the hon. Parliamentary Secretary said, if he wants respect, fairness, objectivity, if he expects an efficient, honest secretariat, he would not exceed the number three, and not have many Central universities Vice-Chancellors.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** rose—

**Mr. Chairman:** May I just inform him that I propose to finish this clause at 5. He may kindly be brief.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** I fail to understand what kind of authority the Ministry of Education wants to bring into being by acting upon clause 12. Do they want a deliberate body? If they want this. They have got a body like the Inter-University Board, or the All-India Council for Secondary Education. That is the pattern for them. Do they want an executive body? Then surely I say this is not the pattern for an executive body. I think the right pattern for an executive body has been given in the University Education Commission's Report. Why have they deviated from that? I cannot understand that. I think that if they have deviated from the University Education Commission's Report, they have done so to the detriment of university education in this country. I think this body should consist of persons who have to have a kind of judicial authority. It should be a body which should have the title of judicial-mindedness attached to it.

Three Vice-Chancellors are going to be on it. Our Ministry of Education is going to create a new class of super Vice-Chancellors. They will be super Vice-Chancellors because they will be in a position to give money to everybody. A very wise man has said—I do not mention his name—that nobody who has money to distribute ever omits himself. If a Vice-Chancellor is going to distribute money, I do not think he will forget, being human just like you and me, his own university, or his own case or his own interest. I therefore think that the most grievous blunder that the Ministry of Education is going to make is this, namely that they are going to have three Vice-Chancellors on this body. And what will these Vice-Chancellors do? I need not go into the arguments which have been advanced in this connection by so many friends of mine already. My hon. friend Shri Matthen said that he liked and respected all Vice-Chancellors excepting one. So far as I am concerned, I respect all Vice-Chancellors. I respect even that Vice-Chancellor in whose case he made an exception. But surely I do not want them on this Commission. They have their place somewhere else.

So far as sub-clause (2) (b) of clause 5 is concerned, I have no objection to it. Let there be two members from among the officers of the Central Government to represent that Government. So far as sub-clause (2) (c) is concerned, it is provided that educationists of repute will also be on this Commission. But we do not know who an educationist of repute is. For instance, the headmaster of a school can be an educationist of repute, or the principal of a girls' *mahavidyalaya* can be an educationist of repute. But that is not the type of persons that we want. We want this Commission to be a body of experts, who will be able to sit in judgment over various proposals, and will also be able to outline the policy of Government so far as educational development is concerned, for he who pays the piper calls for the tune. The

University Grants Commission is now going to lay down the policy in regard to educational development in the university field. I therefore think that these vague phrases like 'educationist of repute' will not carry us very far. I would say that there should be only seven members on this Commission. The Chairman should be a whole-time person. To this, the hon. Parliamentary Secretary has already agreed. Then, there should be two members to represent the Central Government. The remaining four persons should be persons of international reputation, who have won their laurels not merely in South India or North India or Punjab, but who are persons known all over the country and abroad for their eminence in the field of education, scholarship and learning. Otherwise, I feel that this Commission will only create a great deal of scramble amongst the different persons.

Of course, to tell you the plain truth, I am not opposed to the principle of election at all. Some of my hon. friends have not agreed to the principle of election. They themselves have been elected to the House, and yet they speak against the principle of election. I do not know now they can do so. I am out and out for the principle of election, and I would not mind at all if all these persons are elected.

But if you do not want to have elections, then at least give us a body of experts, which will be homogeneous in character, and harmonious in outlook, which will not be too unwieldy and which will not also be a conglomeration of conflicting interests or an aggregate of those persons who are themselves involved in getting some money from the Commission. I would say: Let not this Commission be known by its lack of integrity. The moment you bring in vice-chancellors, people will begin to say, this is a kind of body where one man helps the other, or the right hand is helping the left hand. I do not want that kind of remark to be made about this Commission.

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

I would therefore request the hon. Minister to change the composition of the Commission, so that the University Grants Commission will be born under an auspicious star and my hon. friends like Shri V. P. Nayar will not be able to say that they can forecast the names of the persons who will be appointed to serve on this body. I want that this body should never have that kind of a stigma attached to it.

The House will be rising for today in just a few minutes, and I would request the hon. Parliamentary Secretary to think over the matter, consult his colleagues, and then come tomorrow with the proposal that the composition of the Commission will be as the Members of the House have desired.

**Shri K. K. Basu:** As the time is short, I shall be very brief in my remarks. I want to draw the attention of the House to only one aspect, and that is regarding the appointment of the Commission by election. I have tabled some amendments in this regard. By my first amendment, I have sought to increase the number to 15, of whom 5 shall be Vice-Chancellors to be elected from among themselves; 8 shall be persons who are eminent in the field of education in the different branches,—of these 8, 4 will be elected by Members of Parliament and the other 4 will be elected by electoral colleges or whatever they may be. We have in our country today about 30 to 35 Vice-Chancellors, and they could easily elect five from among themselves to serve on this Commission. It is said that election will create bickerings among the Vice-Chancellors. But I do not think that the Vice-Chancellors who were supposed to be persons of great eminence in the field of education, and who are in charge of the education of a large section of the future citizens of India and possibly also of the future parliamentarians and the future Secretaries, Joint Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries of the Government of India who are going

to lay down the policies, will stoop so low as to have bickerings and quarrels among themselves. We know from experience that the Ministers are more or less just signing machines; they simply put a rubber-stamp on the decisions made by the administration. That being the position, I do not want that the Vice-Chancellors should be appointed by Government. It is true that there may be persons in the administration who are interested in the field of education, but on the whole, our administration is just a continuance of the old administration consisting of the I.C.S. people and their successors, the I.A.S. people. I therefore feel that it should not be left to Government to nominate the Vice-Chancellors.

There is no point in saying that there will be too much bickerings if there is election. When we are asking the Vice-Chancellors to be in charge of universities where large sums of money are involved and where the education of so many students is involved, I do not think that if they are asked to have an election from amongst themselves, they will stoop so low as to indulge in politics or bickerings or things of that sort.

I have suggested also that there should be eight persons who should be men of eminence in the field of education in the different branches, such as technology, humanities, classics and so on. Of these eight, half the number should be nominated by special method and the other half should be elected by Members of Parliament. As you, Sir, are aware, I happen to be a member of a committee of which you are the Chairman. You have suggested therein that Members of Parliament should not be elected to serve on bodies such as this. But I personally do not subscribe to that view, because in our country as democratic institutions take stronger roots, Members of Parliament will each have to devote their whole time to the service of the seven and a half lakhs of voters who elect

them to that honourable position. So, it is not possible for Members of Parliament to serve on this Commission. But they can elect others to serve on it. I feel that there should not be any nomination by Government at all, so far as the appointment of persons of eminence is concerned. For, somebody in the administration may feel that X or Y or Z is an eminent man and therefore he should be nominated, but in reality, that man may not really be an eminent man. Some of my hon. friends have already stated their experience in this connection and pointed out that sometimes the persons who are appointed as Vice-Chancellors do not deserve to be in that honourable position. My hon. friend Shri V. P. Nayar has suggested that persons who take little or no interest in the university, or persons who are in bad repute, should not be chosen as Vice-Chancellors.

I feel therefore that this sovereign Parliament should have a say in the matter. At least a certain percentage of the members of the Commission should be elected by Parliament. Otherwise what will happen is this. Government will nominate their own persons, and once they are nominated, they will continue for a period of six years, and we shall have no say in the matter. But if Members of Parliament have a say in the matter they will be able to do justice to the regional viewpoints, about which there has been so much of discussion in this House.

There is nothing wrong in having election of a certain percentage of the members. After all, how is the Vice-Chancellor of a university appointed? A panel of three or four names is elected, and the Chancellor of the university, who generally happens to be the head of the State nominates one person from that panel. So, the argument that the question of bringing in election in regard to the Vice-Chancellor members of the Commission will affect the morale of the Vice-Chancellors does not hold water. I would go a step further and say that

the Chairman of the Commission should also be an elected person, and he should not be nominated by Government. We expect eminent men of our country to come into this body. Do we think that nine or ten or fifteen persons will not be in a position to elect the correct person to be their Chairman? Therefore, it should be left to that body to elect its own Chairman; it should not be left to the Government. That is the only point I want to urge upon Government.

5 P.M.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** I have heard with great interest the suggestions put forward by hon. Members. When I was listening to their speeches, I was reminded of a story in the Aesop's Fables which I read in my childhood days.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** How do you spell Aesop?

**Dr. M. M. Das:** The moral of the story is this: he who tries to please everybody pleases none. I find myself in a most unenviable position. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Chairman:** Why does he try to please anybody? Let him look at the merits of the case and decide.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Every Member has his own plan, his own scheme. Different speakers have put forward their suggestions; each one of them has got a different scheme as to how the composition will take place. Moreover, if you go through the Minutes of Dissent, you will find suggestions coming from the Members of the Joint Committee also. Shri H. N. Mukerjee says that there should be 17 members, of which 10 should be elected by the research workers and teachers of Universities and so on. Shri Meghnad Saha has got his own scheme. Every one of the hon. Members who has preceded me just now has got his own scheme.

**An Hon. Member:** You have your own?



**Shri V. P. Nayar:** The only person who has not a scheme is yourself.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** In my bewilderment. I prefer to accept the suggestion made by the Joint Committee.

As regards the different amendments that have been moved to this clause, Government propose to accept only one, that is, amendment No. 2 of Shri K. C. Sodhia's. I do not know whether he has moved it.

**Shri K. C. Sodhia:** I have moved it.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** The amendment reads like this:

Page 2, line 29—

for "less" substitute "more".

Other amendments have been moved to the same effect, but his appears to be the first.

**Mr. Chairman:** So amendment No. 2 is accepted.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** Yes.

**Mr. Chairman:** I shall put the amendment to the vote of the House.

The question:

Page 2, line 29—

for "less" substitute "more".

*The motion was adopted.*

**Mr. Chairman:** Amendment No. 26 is the same as amendment No. 2 accepted by the House and is thus barred.

**Shri Shree Narayan Das:** I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment No. 7.

*The amendment was, by leave withdrawn*

**Mr. Chairman:** I shall now put all the other amendments to clause 5 to the vote of the House.

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

Page 2—

(i) line 28, for "nine members" substitute:

"seventeen members";

(ii) after line 30, insert:

"(aa) not less than four members representing the faculties of engineering, medicine and technology";

(iii) for lines 33 to 35, substitute:

"(c) four members from among persons of all India repute as educationists and with a minimum of fifteen years' experience in the field of education:"; and

(iv) after line 35, add:

"(d) one member to be elected by the Inter-Varsity Board;

(e) two members to be elected by the members of Lok Sabha from among themselves; and

(f) one member to be elected by Rajya Sabha from among themselves:".

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

Page 2, line 29—

omit "not less than".

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

Page 2, line 29—

for "three members" substitute "five members".

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

Page 2, line 30—

add at the end:

"to be elected by the Vice-Chancellors themselves".

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

Page 2, line 31—

for "two members" substitute "one member".

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

Page 2, line 33—

after "the remaining number" insert "of whom at least one shall be a woman".

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:  
Page 2, line 35—  
add at the end:

“half of such members shall be elected by the members of Parliament and the other half to be elected by the Syndicates or the Executive Councils of the different Universities.”

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:  
Page 2—

(i) line 36,—

for “not less than one-half” substitute “not more than one-fourth” and

(ii) line 37,—

omit “not”.

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:  
Page 3,—  
for lines 1 to 3, substitute:

“(3) The Commission shall elect from among its members a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and a Secretary.”

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:  
Page 3, line 2—

after “Commission” insert “on its recommendation”.

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:  
Page 3, line 3—

after “State Government” insert:  
“or the Vice-Chancellor of a University”.

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:  
Page 2, line 29—

for “three members” substitute “four members”.

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:  
Page 2—

after line 32, insert:

“(bb) two members from among the members of Parliament; and”

*The motion was negatived.*

**Mr. Chairman:** The question is:

“That clause 5, as amended, stand part of the Bill”.

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 5, as amended, was added to the Bill.*

5-05 P.M.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 25th November 1955.*