

**An Hon. Member:** That is inter-linked.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Now we shall proceed to the non-official business.

14-38 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

FORTY-FOURTH REPORT

**Shri Hem Raj (Kangra):** Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Forty-fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 5th May, 1964."

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

"That this House agrees with the Forty-fourth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 5th May, 1964."

*The motion was adopted.*

FORTY-FIFTH REPORT

**Shri Hem Raj:** Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House agrees with the Forty-fifth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 3rd June, 1964."

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

"That this House agrees with the Forty-fifth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 3rd June, 1964."

*The motion was adopted.*

14-39 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE. NATIONAL POLICY IN EDUCATION—contd.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now proceed with the further discussion of the following Resolution moved by Shri Sidheshwar Prasad on the 1st May, 1964:—

"This House is of opinion that a Committee of the Members of Parliament be appointed to go into the question of National Policy in Education in all its aspects, and to prepare a plan accordingly for the next three Plan periods, and also to suggest suitable machinery for its implementation."

The time taken is 22 minutes and the balance of time that remains is one hour and 38 minutes. Shri Sidheshwar Prasad may continue his speech.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Do we sit up to 5.10, Sir?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** All right.

श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद (नासदा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछली बार मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति के निर्धारण में शिक्षा के माध्यम का प्रश्न बड़ा ही महत्वपूर्ण है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं महात्मा गांधी के विचारों को सदन के विचारार्थ प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ। काफ़ी पहले गांधी जी ने कहा था :—

"वास्तविक शिक्षा विदेशी भाषा के माध्यम से हो ही नहीं सकती, क्योंकि शिक्षा वही है जो भाषा की अन्तर्निहित क्षमताओं का पूर्ण विकास कर सके और यह काम विदेशी भाषा द्वारा होना असम्भव है।

मेरे मत से वर्तमान शिक्षा-पद्धति दोषपूर्ण है। ये दोष तीन प्रकार के हैं जो इस प्रकार हैं :

(क) यह विदेशी संस्कृति पर आधारीत है;

(ख) यह हृद्गत और हस्तगत संस्कारों की उपेक्षा करती है; और

(ग) यह विदेशी भाषा के माध्यम से दी जाती है।”

श्रीमन् मेरा ऐसा खयाल है कि राष्ट्र जिन विचारों को लेकर चलता है, आगे बढ़ता है और बाद में चल कर राष्ट्र के नेता जिन विचारों के आधार पर राष्ट्र के दिशा निर्देश करते हैं, उन विचारों, सिद्धान्तों और मान्यताओं को जन्म देने वाली शक्ति का जन्म किसी भी देश में रोज रोज नहीं हुआ करता है।

अगर हम सबमूच महात्मा जी को राष्ट्र-पिता के रूप में स्मरण करते हैं, तो निश्चय ही हमें उन आदर्शों के अनुकूल चलने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए, जो कि उन्होंने इस राष्ट्र के निर्माण के लिए, इस राष्ट्र के गठन के लिए और इस राष्ट्र के विकास और उन्नति के लिए हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत किये थे।

इतना ही नहीं, मेरा यह भी खयाल है कि अगर हम प्राथमिक शिक्षा से लेकर विश्व-विद्यालय के स्तर पर भारतीय भाषाओं को शिक्षा का माध्यम मान कर चलते हैं, तो न केवल शिक्षा का स्तर ऊंचा उठेगा, बल्कि इस समय हमारे देश में शिक्षितों और अशिक्षितों के बीच में जो बहुत बड़ी खाई पदा हो गई है, उसे भी हम दूर कर सकेंगे। इसके अतिरिक्त हमारे देश में राष्ट्रीय एकता का जो अभाव पाया जाता है, निश्चित रूप से हम उस अभाव को भी दूर कर पायेंगे और इस प्रकार राष्ट्रीय एकता की दिशा में प्रगति कर सकेंगे। तब हमारा राष्ट्र हर तरह से, हर दृष्टि से, अधिक सशक्त, सबल और समर्थ हो कर अपने राष्ट्रीय उद्देश्य की पूर्ति में, राष्ट्र-निर्माण के कार्य में, अधिक तेजी से आगे बढ़ सकेगा।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं फ्रेड्रिक हार्विसन तथा चार्ल्स ए० मायर्स द्वारा लिखित “एडुकेशन,

मैनपावर एंड इकानोमिक प्रोग्रै” की कुछ पंक्तियां सदन के विचारार्थ प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ :

“The goals of modern societies, as we have already stressed, are political, cultural, and social as well as economic. Human resource development is a necessary condition for achieving all of them. A country needs educated political leaders, lawyers and judges, trained engineers, doctors, managers, artists, writers, craftsmen, and journalists to spur its development. In an advanced economy the capacities of man are extensively developed; in a primitive country they are for the most part undeveloped. If a country is unable to develop its human resources, it cannot develop much else, whether it be a modern political and social structure, a sense of national unity, or higher standards of material welfare. ‘Countries are under-developed because most of their people are under-developed, having had no opportunity of expanding their potential capacities in the service of society.’”

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): Will the hon. Member translate it into Hindi so that all of us can understand it?

श्री सिखोदर प्रसाद : इसलिए इन बातों को ध्यान में रख कर हमें इन समस्याओं पर विचार करने का कार्य करना चाहिए। अगर कहीं इन विचारों को भारतीय भाषाओं में अनूदित करने की आवश्यकता हो, तो प्रोफेसर दीवान चन्द शर्मा जैसे अनुभवी प्राध्यापकों का सहयोग हमें निश्चित रूप से प्राप्त करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए।

इसके अतिरिक्त मैं राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा-नीति के निर्धारण का प्रश्न इसलिए भी बहुत महत्वपूर्ण मानता हूँ कि निश्चय ही जब तक हम राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा-नीति सम्बन्धी अपने विचारों को स्पष्ट कर के आगे नहीं बढ़ते

## [श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद]

हैं, तब तक देश के आर्थिक और सामाजिक विकास का जो ध्येय तथा लक्ष्य हमारे सामने है, उस लक्ष्य की ओर हम तेजी से भागे नहीं बढ़ सकेंगे, क्योंकि जैसे जैसे हमारा सामाजिक और आर्थिक जीवन जटिल होता जाता है वैसे वैसे हमें अधिक योग्य प्रशासकों, उद्योग-पतियों, वैज्ञानिकों टैक्नीशियनों और हर क्षेत्र में अधिक से अधिक योग्य व्यक्तियों की जरूरत होती है। चूंकि अभी तक इस सम्बन्ध में हमारी नीति बहुत स्पष्ट नहीं रही है, इसलिए हमें जितनी तेजी से प्रगति करनी चाहिए थी, उतनी तेजी से प्रगति नहीं हो रही है। इसलिए मैं माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री का ध्यान इस बात की ओर खींचना चाहता हूँ कि वह शीघ्र से शीघ्र इस दिशा में निश्चित कदम उठावें।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं भारतीय इतिहास के दो अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण विश्वविद्यालयों का उदाहरण रखना चाहता हूँ। तक्षशिला और नालंदा का हमारे देश के इतिहास में बड़ा ही ऊंचा स्थान है। एक विश्वविद्यालय तक्षशिला था। जब विश्व-विजेता सिकन्दर ने आक्रमण कर विश्व-विजेता के रूप में इस देश में प्रवेश करने की कोशिश की, तो वहाँ के आचार्य और शिष्यों ने इस देश में ऐसा वातावरण पैदा किया कि उसे लाचार हो कर वापस लौटना पड़ा।

दूसरा विश्वविद्यालय नालंदा था। कई मानों में वह बहुत बड़ा विश्वविद्यालय था। दस हजार विद्यार्थी वहाँ पढ़ते थे। वहाँ पर शिक्षकों की संख्या काफ़ी बड़ी थी, और भी बहुत सुविधायें उपलब्ध थीं। लेकिन केवल अठारह घुड़सवारों ने नालंदा विश्वविद्यालय और उसके पुस्तकालय को नष्ट कर दिया, जिसकी पुस्तकें छः महीने तक जलती रहीं। उसकी वजह से इस देश में ऐसे शिक्षित वर्ग का भी विकास हुआ था, जिस का पुनर्प्राप्य में विश्वास नहीं रह गया था।

इसलिए मैं मानता हूँ कि अगर हम सचमुच चाहते हैं कि इस देश में प्रजातंत्र सफल हो और हमारी संबैधानिक मान्यताओं के प्रति साधारण जनता के मन में भी उत्साह और लगन हो, उसका भी सक्रिय सहयोग हम प्राप्त कर सकें, तो यह बहुत आवश्यक होगा कि शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में हम शीघ्र से शीघ्र किसी स्पष्ट नीति का निर्धारण करें।

काफ़ी पहले सरकार ने एक वैज्ञानिक नीति की घोषणा की थी। जिस प्रकार से एक औद्योगिक प्रस्ताव स्वीकृत किया गया था, उसी प्रकार से एक वैज्ञानिक प्रस्ताव भी स्वीकृत किया गया था। मैं माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री से यह निवेदन करूंगा कि वह इसी प्रकार से शिक्षा नीति के सम्बन्ध में कोई प्रस्ताव घोषित करने का प्रयत्न करें।

उन्होंने हाल ही में एक शिक्षा आयोग की घोषणा का प्रयत्न किया है, लेकिन उस शिक्षा आयोग के क्या कार्य होंगे, उसकी टम्बू फ्राफ़ रेकॉर्ड्स क्या होंगी और उसके सदस्य कौन कौन होंगे, इस सम्बन्ध में अभी तक कोई घोषणा नहीं की जा सकी है। मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि प्राथमिक, माध्यमिक, विश्वविद्यालयी और टैक्नीकल, इन सभी प्रकार की शिक्षाओं के सम्बन्ध में न केवल स्पष्ट रूप से उद्देश्य, लक्ष्य और कार्यक्रम की घोषणा की जायेगी, बल्कि स्पष्ट नीति की भी घोषणा की जायेगी, माननीय मंत्री जी ने शिक्षा में काफ़ी दिलचस्पी ली है और हम सब का-उन्होंने विश्वास प्राप्त किया है। इसलिए मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि इस सदन के सहयोग से वह इस देश को इस दिशा में उचित नेतृत्व प्रदान करने में सफल होंगे।

धन्यवाद।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Resolution moved:

"This House is of opinion that a Committee of the Members of Par-

liament be appointed to go into the question of National Policy in Education in all its aspects, and to prepare a plan accordingly for the next three Plan periods, and also to suggest suitable machinery for its implementation."

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee** (Calcutta Central): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am inclined to support this Resolution though I am not quite sure if a Committee of Members of Parliament would be the best instrumentality for the purpose of achieving the objective which my hon. friend, Shri Sideswar Prasad, has in view. I also know the allergy of the hon. Minister towards committees, perhaps particularly to committees of Members of Parliament who might be more likely to inject political matters in discussions on education.

**Shri Sideswar Prasad:** He is not against committees of Members of Parliament.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** Whatever the instrumentality might be, I think, a national policy for education has got to be formulated and expounded to the country for the purpose of implementation as quickly as ever it can be and Government already has got material and agencies enough. We have the Central Advisory Board of Education which, I am afraid, meets only once in a year to have necessarily desultory discussion. We have the education panel of the Planning Commission which meets once in four or five years, again to have the most desultory imaginable discussion. We have, of course, such specialised bodies as the University Grants Commission, but it does not seem to be the practice of Government or its desire to co-ordinate its work with the help of whatever agencies they have got already. That is a matter which, I think, ought to be done as soon as we ever can do so.

In regard to the main planks of the national policy of education, I am sure, it is better that we proceed as

quickly as we can. I was rather apprehensive—I still continue to be rather apprehensive—of the announcement of a new commission which the hon. Minister has told us about, a commission which will probably include a number of very eminent people of this country and abroad, which will go all over the place and take a very long time and produce an extremely recondite report after three or four years; and, possibly, after all that labour it would be docketed somewhere like the Radhakrishnan Commission Report has been docketed somewhere in the archives of the Education Ministry. I want things to be done much more quickly.

What are our basic objectives? The objectives are plain. We shall not get on the move, we shall not get straightway the most efficient system of education in this country.

We shall not be able to compete with Universities which have a different tradition, and with countries which have enormous resources with which our resources do not compare. It is no good merely talking about certain standards of achievement in certain other countries. I know that as far as the best in our country is concerned, it compares well with the best in every other country. But as far as generality of our educational system is concerned, I fear we have to be reconciled to the fact that we cannot turn it overnight into something which would compare very well with the system prevailing in certain very advanced countries. But we have to go fast because unless we do so, our country will suffer. We have to have education for all. In Madhya Pradesh, in Nagaland, in Himalayan foothills and somewhere in Toda areas, there are people of our own land who are denied access to education. Even in our great cities, like Calcutta or Bombay, you find statistics—they were placed very recently by some nonofficial agencies—which show that education is denied to most people or, if it is not denied at least people do not have the wherewithal to take

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

advantage of whatever facilities Government and other agencies are putting before them. We have to go ahead with education for all. It may not be the very finest type of education but a change in the quantity of education will in itself bring about a change in the quality of education. That is why we have to go faster in achieving those targets laid down in the Constitution which we are postponing for as long as we can. That is the practice which Government has got to shake off.

Then, my hon. friend has referred to the question of the medium of instruction. Some people might think that some of us here in Parliament as well as outside have a fixation about this question of the medium of instruction, that we want a change-over to our own languages, that we are rather fanatical about it. But I wish to say with all humility that there is no fanaticism about it at all. Why should we condemn the overwhelming majority of our people to denial of entry into the portals of education because we are doing so by keeping English as primarily the medium of instruction at the higher and more worthwhile stage? Why should we assume that our people are so congenitally bilingual or trilingual or multi-lingual that they can easily learn a very inalienably foreign language, like, English quickly enough to use it as the medium of instruction. I know it is quite easy for some Members to ridicule some of us for not being able to translate straightway some very distinguished writing in English by Gandhiji or whoever else it might be. That is neither here nor there. It is only on account of the heritage that we have inherited that we are not able to translate these things into our own words. If we cannot speak or write in our own languages, that is something to be ashamed about; it is not something to gloat over. That is a part of our past which we have got to erase as quickly as we can. If we

are going to have education for all, how can we have it without making our own languages the medium of instruction? I do not say that this can be done straightway. I do not say that this can be done only because we wish it. I do not say there are no very peculiar difficulties in the way. But the difficulties have to be faced strongly and courageously enough. That is not being done. I find, for instance, the publication of books in our own languages, particularly in the advanced courses, is a matter which is being postponed in a most tragic and unimaginable manner. I find agreements being entered into by Governments with publishers abroad so that their books can be available at a comparatively cheap price to our students and this sort of a thing is happening in order that dependence on books written in a foreign language would continue for even a longer period than we are prepared to envisage. This question of the medium of instruction has got to be tackled with much greater expedition and with some courage and with some imagination which I do hope our Minister will show. He has got that spirit in him but he is only too conscious of the difficulties in his way. But the difficulties are there in order to be confronted. We fall to rise and are determined to fight better. That is the kind of spirit with which we should proceed.

Then, there is one last point about the role of science in education. We have heard so much about it. Our late Prime Minister laid such great stress on it. This inter-relation of science and humanities is a matter to which our people, like, our Minister himself, have already given a great deal of thought and if that thought can be collated and coordinated and some programmes can be prepared quickly enough, we can go ahead much faster than the appointment of committees and commissions which will take a long time, which

will tour all over the place, which will go into the background and which will perhaps produce rather abstract reports. That sort of a thing should be discarded in favour of a more expeditious approach which this resolution suggests. In whatever manner the Minister might change the instrumentality which might be communicated to us but he might tell us that he is going to go head as quickly as he can with the formulation of the national policy on education and with the method of implementation.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We will close this resolution at 4-10 P.M. There are about 10 to 12 Members who want to speak. I would request the Members not to take more than five minutes each. Shri A. N. Vidyalankar.

**An Hon. Member:** The time should be extended.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We have allotted two hours for this. At the most, I can extend the time by half an hour. Shall we extend it by half an hour?

**Some Hon. Members:** Yes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** So, the time is extended by half an hour, I would request the Members not to take more than 6 to 7 minutes each.

**Shri A. N. Vidyalankar (Hoshiarpur):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I whole-heartedly support the Resolution moved by my hon. friend, Shri Sidheshwar Prasad. The education, at present, what we call education, is mere literacy and no education. What we are discussing today is the quality of education, not so much the quantity of education. So far as the quantity is concerned, our national policy is that we have to extend the area of education as far as possible and we are already doing so although I feel that more funds should be allotted and more expansion is needed in order to cover the whole area. But we are more concerned with the

policy with regard to the quality of education than the quantity of education. At present, there is a lot of talking, a lot of speech-making but a very little thinking on that issue. Every educationist, every leader and even our President and Prime Minister, when they speak about the present system of education with regard to its quality, generally express their dissatisfaction and they feel that there is a lot of scope for improvement. But, so far, within these 16-17 years, we have made very little improvement. I feel that, so far as the national policy of education is concerned, one reason might be that 'Education' is a State subject. It is not even a Concurrent subject. I wish that it should be a Concurrent subject. But still, at present, there is no definite policy.

15 hrs.

Now, take, for instance, the basic education. I say, we have paid lip-sympathy to basic education. The very author of basic system of education, our worthy Vice-President, has stated so many times that, at present, basic education, as it is being practised, is a fraud. Have we taken any notice of that statement that he made some three or four years ago? What have we done to improve basic education? From the point of view of theory, everyone would say that learning through activity is the natural and most psychological way of imparting education. But we are not doing so. At present, basic schools are just a farce. There is no basic education. There is no national policy. I have heard many D. P. Is, many of the State Ministers and many of the responsible officers saying the system of basic education cannot succeed and that basic education has been a failure. Then it should be discarded. If it is to be discarded, we should say so. But if it is our policy and we are going on paying lip-sympathy to basic education, we should improve upon it. Then the question is: What is education? What are the subjects that are taught? At present so many sub-

[Shri A. N. Vidyalkankar]

jects are being taught. We feel that the student should become a kind of encyclopaedia and that he should know many things. We impart him so much of information. What is the use of imparting that information if the student is incapable of utilising that information? By education we are preparing our citizens to take part in our democratic system from the panchayat up to the Parliament stage where they have to function. If an M. A. or a graduate in political science, having read all the constitutions, having gathered all the knowledge of the working of various constitutions in England, in France, in America and elsewhere and India, cannot function properly in a small municipality, then what is the use of his knowledge? They cannot function properly. At present we know that some of these local self-government institutions are failing. They are not coming out successful. If they cannot function properly, that means, there is some gap between learning and acting. Even those who have studied, politics, political science, constitution, everything, when they have to function, they cannot function properly.

We are developing our economy. We want that India should be prosperous. We want to build a prosperous India. For building India, we have to build up our men. When Lanka was built it was made of gold, but they did not have men there. We can build up a rich India, but we have to build up men also. Men will be built up by our education alone. Therefore I feel that certain other elements also are necessary. Morally, spiritually and socially we have to impart such type of education to our children.

Then so far as language issue is concerned, I quite agree with what my hon. friends have stated earlier. I will give you one instance because the time is up. At present there is

a division or institution to start cultivation in arid areas. In order to study the practice employed in other countries like Italy, Egypt, Israel, etc., they went there and they just got some kind of plants and grass here so that we might be able to grow them up here. They told the *Mali*: "Look here, we have brought these things from foreign countries; be careful and they should not be destroyed." The *Mali* said: "Babuji, in my cottage this kind of plant is there and this kind of grass is there." They are going to foreign countries to get these things. That is the attitude of our education. We just shut our eyes. What is grown in India, we just do not know. We should understand that attitude. The right attitude is lacking in India and we have to develop the right attitude

With regard to our national history, we have been trying for the past sixteen years, but yet we have not been able to write our true history, we have not been able to prepare the right type of history books. Our history books are still divided into Hindu period, Muslim period, Sikh period etc. and this creates an impression in the minds of the children that in India these various warring camps have always existed. Therefore, I fully support this Resolution and I feel that we should form a national policy and that national policy should be a vigorous policy, a dynamic policy, as otherwise we would not be able to build up the India of our dreams.

**Shri Muthiah (Tirunelveli):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I support the Resolution moved by my hon. friend Shri Sidheshwar Prasad. A national policy of education is quite essential today more than at any other time. Today in India we find so many anti-national, separatist, and subversive forces at work, impairing the unity of the people of the country. There

are various forces of casteism, communalism, provincialism and linguism which are raising their heads today. After the Reorganisation of States in 1955, linguism and regionalism have become quite pronounced. The concept of loyalty and devotion to India as one indivisible entity is becoming dim. To promote an all-India outlook, several measures are necessary and education is the most important of them all.

The boys and girls studying in schools and colleges today become citizens tomorrow, become the leaders of the country and become the architects of the country's destiny. So, all steps should be taken to strengthen nationalism and patriotism at the school level and at the college level. Absolute devotion to India as a whole and not to any particular province or State is most indispensable in view of the greatest danger from the two neighbours on our borders, namely, Pakistan and China. It is in this context, Sir, that we have to view the value of a national policy of education.

The need for a uniform national policy of education has been stressed by the University Education Commission, Secondary Education Commission, Central Advisory Board of Education and the conferences of the State Education Ministers. To effectively implement a national policy of education the Emotional Integration Committee headed by Dr. Sampurnanand made the following recommendations:

"(1) In any matter of educational policy of an all-India character, the Centre on its own motion or at the instance of the States should confer with the State Governments and arrive at a decision in consultation with them. Such a policy arrived at by the majority decision shall then become an all-India policy and all States shall necessarily follow it;

(2) All necessary constitutional changes should be made to implement the above recommendations;

(3) There should be a common pattern of education in the country which will coordinate and maintain standards."

The Central Advisory Board of Education, at its meeting held at Pachmarhi on the 6th and 7th May, 1963, expressed its agreement with these recommendations.

This national policy of education should be implemented at all levels, in elementary education, secondary education and university education. Education is a State subject, but the Centre has got its own functions, its own duties and obligations under the Constitution in respect of education. The Central Government has obligations to implement the Directive Principles of State Policy embodied in the Constitution under Articles 45, 46 and 51.

The main task in the formulation of a national policy of education is to fix up a target date for realising the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution, that is, providing free, compulsory elementary education for all children in the age group of 6 to 14 and to prepare a phased programme for it.

The objective of elementary education, I submit, Sir, is not mere literacy. A national policy at the primary school level is intended to shape every child to be a useful and responsible citizen of India.

Basic education has been accepted as the national pattern of education for primary education, but unfortunately it has not made substantial progress because of the lukewarmness of educational officers, teachers and managements. Basic education should be expanded to cover all elementary schools in India.

[Shri Muthiah]

With regard to secondary education, I submit that the question of having a uniform pattern of secondary education in India was considered at the State Education Ministers' Conference in November, 1963. The Conference made certain recommendations:

(1) The country should move towards the ultimate goal of secondary education of 12 years' duration, and the standard attained at the end of such secondary education should be the standard of the old Intermediate course.

(2) The minimum age for admission of students for the degree course in colleges should be 16-plus.

(3) The syllabus should be science-oriented.

I wish to make a few more suggestions for implementing a truly national policy. Indian history and Indian geography should be taught as compulsory subjects and not as optional subjects as they are done in Madras State today. The three-language formula is to be earnestly and effectively implemented by all the States in the following manner, namely, (a) the regional language, Hindi, and English in the non-Hindi States and (b) the regional language, a modern Indian language other than Hindi, preferably a South Indian language, and English in the Hindi States.

Then, Sir, I come to University education. University education is a State subject. The universities are autonomous bodies. It is not feasible for the Central Government to enforce a rigid uniformity in all the universities in the country. But under the Constitution, under entry 66 in the Union list, Seventh Schedule, the Central Government is responsible for the co-ordination and maintenance of standards in the colleges and universities. To assist the Central Government in

this task, the University Grants Commission was established in 1956. The University Grants Commission is able to maintain standards in colleges and universities through its Review Committees, Standard Committees, and seminars and summer schools.

Now, at the college level and also at the high school level, we find so many differences among the States. Even in regard to the three-year degree course, we find that this has not been adopted by all the universities. There are differences with regard to secondary education also. Some States have a ten-year course, some have a eleven-year course, and some have a twelve-year course. If we want to have a national policy of education, then we must ensure some sort of uniformity, and we must see that such differences do not exist.

Finally, I would say that in adopting a really national policy of education, Government should see that a national outlook is formed in the minds of the students, and for that purpose, they will have to take a number of measures. All such measures as would really promote an all-India outlook and all-India approach and promote national integration and unity should be adopted.

**Shri Narasimha Reddy (Rajampet):** I am thoroughly in agreement with the resolution moved by my hon. friend, though I did not understand a bit of what he said. I know that my hon. friend knows English very well, and we would have appreciated it if he had spoken in the language which we all knew.

After Independence there has been a revulsion of feeling against English and a great enthusiasm to enthroned the regional languages, so much so that the linguistic States vied with one another in this linguistic phobia, with the result that immediately vernacular was introduced as the medium up to the highest form in the schools. All

sign-boards everywhere were in vernacular. The result is that there has been a complete craze in linguistic transformation of the States.

In this connection, I would like to narrate an experience of mine. I was at Vellore in Tamil Nad and I wanted to go by bus to Madras. But all the buses contained names written out in Tamil only, and there was not a single English indication. Then, I boarded a bus. The bus went about two miles, and the conductor asked me to buy the ticket. I asked him a ticket for Madras. He said that that bus was going somewhere else; then he blew the whistle, stopped the bus and asked me to get down, to go back to Vellore and take another bus. That was the trouble to which I was put in Mr. Kamaraj's State.

Of course, so far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned, it is a bit better, because the buses have names on one side written in Telugu and on the other side in English. I do not know what will happen in view of the growing intimacy of Mr. Sanjiva Reddy and Mr. Kamaraj and whether our State also may catch up with Tamil Nad.

I feel that the introduction of the vernacular medium in all the schools has done no good to us. When we are born, certainly we are born in particular surroundings, and the moment we are born, we begin to learn our own language. There is no need to lay emphasis on the regional languages and try to make *pundits* of us. After all, in our daily communication with others, when we talk to brothers or mothers or sisters or friends, we do not talk in high-flown Sanskritised language. We could have done better if instead of laying that great emphasis on the vernacular which we already knew, we had learnt other languages of the highly industrialised countries, like German, Russian, Japanese, and of course, English also.

The Madras State tried to introduce the regional language medium in the colleges, and I think they tried a

linguistic medium college in Coimbatore, and the result was a miserable failure. There were not applications enough from students to run the college. I see the Deputy Minister of Education smiling, and I feel sure she corroborates what I have said.

This sort of craze for the vernacular has done us no good except that it has taken us back to the middle ages. What is it that we have achieved under this present system of education so far? We have not become proficient either in our own regional language or in English or in Hindi, with the result that there has been a lowering of standards, and ideals have been trodden down into the mire, and we see the spectacle often of students assaulting teachers, going out in processions with placards and with slogans in all the highways and byways and often committing acts of violence. Even the noble profession of teachers has deteriorated with the general degeneration of standards, and it is on this aspect that the Education Ministry should lay the greatest emphasis, namely, how to produce a race of teachers, intellectual, efficient and well-informed, imbued with the culture of our country and able to instil a sense of discipline, a sense of duty and a dignified demeanour. I am afraid that the teachers who have been manufactured in these vernacular medium schools have not proved themselves up to the mark.

Another deficiency that I find in the present curriculum of education is the lack of religious teaching. No doubt, there are some people who may not believe in the existence of God or religion.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

**Shri Narasimha Reddy:** I have not even begun my speech, and I do not know how to finish what I have got to say and you are ringing the bell so quickly. After all, I have spoken only for five minutes, and I would request you to give me some more time.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There are others also waiting to speak, other parties and other Members too.

**Shri Narasimha Reddy:** Please give me five more minutes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** He may have two minutes more.

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf:** (Nominated-Jammu and Kashmir): I do not know how much time has been allotted for this resolution. The subject of the resolution is such that one can speak on it for even one hour, because it relates to the all-round policy on education. I do not know how many Members want to speak on this. I would, therefore, request that this resolution may continue for a couple of hours more.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** 2½ hours is the maximum time that we could allot, and we have given that much time for this resolution.

**Shri Narasimha Reddy:** How can a person express himself within five minutes on such an important matter? I am not even on the fringe of what I wanted to say.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** There are other resolutions also which are equally important.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We cannot extend it beyond 2½ hours.

**Shri Narasimha Reddy:** I have been saying that there is a lack of religious education in our schools. Some people may not believe in the existence of God or religion. But to the majority of the people in our country, religion has been a great elevating force, and it is in the name of religion that many people have risen to soaring heights of magnificent self-sacrifice in the service of the country. Our younger generation should not lose the benefit of this potent force of religion, and our Educational authorities should see that instruction in religion is introduced.

As regards the co-ordinated policy contemplated, I do not know whether it will be a complete success, so far as the Southern States are concerned. They feel a bit apprehensive that a Central direction in the matter of education in the whole of India may not be quite suitable to their views; they feel that nowadays there is a tendency to impose Hindi, and they are afraid that very soon there may be domination of Hindi in the whole of South India. The fact is that so far as South India is concerned, thousands of people have been learning Hindi and it was spontaneously developing itself into a national language. But when the question of imposing it as an official language came, it became a red rag to the people of the South. No doubt, as long as our present Education Minister is there, people of the South have no suspicion that anything deleterious to the solidarity and the unity of our country will be done. Shri Chagla is an enlightened man of wisdom, commonsense, vision and equipoise; but in the changing pattern of Government we do not know how long such people may continue or will be succeeded by similar-minded people. I am expressing to you the concern, the thoughts and apprehensions of the people of the South.

**Shri Man Singh P. Patel** (Mehsana): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I would like to support my friend's resolution with my own reservation whether a Committee of Members of Parliament will be of much use on a matter of national policy which has still not been evolved according to me for the last 17 years. Article 45 on Directive Principles in our Constitution lays down that primary education will be given for all children between the age group of 6 and 14, within a stipulated period of ten years. That period is now over. We are now thinking or considering whether with the present rate of development of education it will not be possible to provide primary education for our children by the end of 1981. If this is going to be the national policy or the pace of development especially with regard to

primary education, can it ever be called a national policy of a free country wherein the progress of the future generation is also fast evolving to a percentage of 2 per cent or so. We know that without education no citizen can develop himself fully. Not only that, he cannot be a useful citizen. Then the question of basic education came. It has been repeatedly said by the Government in different consultative committees that elementary basic education hardly covers one-fifth of the primary schools. Can it ever be called basic education? Is it not a fraud in the name of basic education? I am myself associated with primary and secondary education. Can some simple spinning or allotment of half an acre of land create agricultural bias? Is this the type of basic education ever going to be helpful to anybody? Does it indicate any faith in basic education? It has been said that this has been the accepted pattern all over the country. With some spinning or with some agriculture, this kind of basic education is described by educationists as a fraud. Is this going to be the national policy on basic education or is there going to be some fundamental change whereby some other formula will be evolved? Education should be at least up to Seventh standard to make our citizens useful citizens, worthy citizens and citizens who can contribute their share in the development of the country. It has been said that education is the only medium whereby emotional integration of different States can be evolved. In so many sub-committees it has been said that it may be the three-language formula, it may be at a particular stage. Hindi, or English may be introduced, whereupon integration may be evolved through education, etc. As regards secondary education, the States have got different notions of giving education either in English or Hindi and at what stages it should be done. I come from a State which was previously known as a bilingual State. Now it is divided into two States—Maharashtra and Gujarat. We had an idea that the medium of instruction should necessarily be the

regional languages and English education was to be given from eighth standard. I understand that in some of the States they begin it from the third standard and Hindi has not been made a compulsory subject upto the sixth or seventh standard. It has been said by some educationists that a child of 10 or 11 years has not got that calibre or mental make-up to learn three languages at a time. It is a job for the educationists or of the Government. By means of simple conferences and seminars this policy cannot be evolved. By making education a concurrent subject the problem cannot be solved because the Central Government cannot co-ordinate or keep a watch over this matter. I wonder whether a common pattern at the secondary stage can be evolved. What about university education? The position is the same there. What about technical education? Again the same position. My anxiety is that there must be a common pattern for every State whatever moral values the Central Government may have. I am not much in favour of education being made a concurrent subject. The University Grants Commission was formed to assist the Central Government in the matter of co-ordinating and supervising university education. If the universities can have their own syllabus and their own standards for examinations, why not have a Secondary Education Commission whereby some system can be evolved? By having a budget for education, a common pattern can never be evolved. Even a policy which has been accepted by the Education Ministers is not implemented. I am only concerned how we can evolve an integration of all the States. Speaking about integration through language, some friends in the South immediately get irritated when it is said that Hindi will be introduced. If it is said that Hindi will not be introduced, Hindi friends will feel concerned thinking that English will continue. I am only concerned at what stages languages are taught. I feel that every regional language should be taught upto the minimum

[Shri Man Singh P. Patel]

standard of university education. I will say that it should be taught even upto the stage of technical education. We have the experience of some Western States and some Asian States to show that language alone or the medium of instruction alone is not the material thing. It is the question of earnestness of the Government as well. It is a question of perseverance and money provided for education.

15.28 hrs.

[SHRI SONAVANE in the Chair]

It has been said that education is a State subject. I know that in my own State about 20 to 22 per cent of the total budget goes to education. Even then we really believe that we have to make progress at a much more faster pace. If we are going to provide primary education as universal education between 6 and 14 by the end of 1981, what will happen to the future generation? When will they reach secondary education level and university education level? I do not think our youngsters have that much patience to wait. Therefore, I will request earnestly that the hon. Education Minister, who has got sufficient tenacity, should see that more and more funds are allocated for education—for different types of education such as technical education, secondary education, etc. Apparatuses are not available. Technical education only in name is given at the stage of secondary education. If these students do not go to the university, they will simply become clerks. This kind of so-called technical education is of no use to them.

In the end, I would say that the spirit of my observations should be accepted by the Government and implemented at a faster and quicker pace, so that a very fruitful purpose will be served.

श्री बड़ (खारगोन) : समापति महोदय, हमारे मित्र ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है यह आयरली

ग्राफ फेट है कि उन्होंने कमेटी बनाने की बात उस में कही है जबकि हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री जी कमेटियों के विरुद्ध हैं। एक और कमेटी घोषे जाने की बात माननीय सदस्य ने कही है। मैं नहीं समझता कि यह प्रस्ताव मंत्री महोदय को मान्य होगा। मैं चाहता था कि रेजोल्यूशन ऐसा आता कि आज ही एक नेशनल पालिसी की घोषणा कर दी जाती और हमारी जो शिक्षा पालिसी है, उसको बदल दिया जाता। उसके लिए यह जरूरी था कि इस प्रस्ताव की शब्दावली दूसरी होती। फिर भी जो प्रस्ताव उन्होंने रखा है, उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ।

आपने मुझे पांच मिनट बोलने के लिए दिये हैं। जो शिक्षा नीति हो वह किस तरह की हो, इसके बारे में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ "सा विद्या या मुक्तये"। विद्या वह है जो विमुक्त कर देती है, विमुक्त कर देती है छष्टाचार से, विमुक्त कर देती है भ्रष्टाचार से, विमुक्त कर देती है बेरोजगारी से, विमुक्त कर देती है सब पापों से। वही विद्या स्कूलों और कालेजों में दी जानी चाहिये।

अभी तो जो ढांचा है वह सारे का सारा बिगड़ा हुआ है। स्टुडेंट्स यूनियन के चुनाव होते हैं और बहुत झगड़े पैदा होते हैं। वहां पर चुनाव में नारे लगाये जाते हैं। पालिसीज घोषित की जाती हैं, पेपर पालिसीज और सब प्रकार का छष्टाचार फैलता है जो चुनाव में होता है। छष्टाचार सब जगह फैला हुआ है। इस वास्ते जरूरत इस बात की है जो ढांचा है उसको बदला जाये। स्वतंत्रता के बाद आशा तो यह की गई थी कि यह बदलेगा लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हुआ है। मैंकाले साहब कहा करते थे कि हमें क्लर्क तैयार करना है और उन्होंने क्लर्क तैयार करने के लिए एक फॅक्ट्री सी खोल दी थी। वह फॅक्ट्री अब भी उसी तरह से चल रही है और हम क्लर्क तैयार करते जा रहे हैं। कोई निर्णायक उद्देश्य को

ले कर शिक्षा नहीं दी जा रही है। पुराने का पुराना सारा ढांचा चल रहा है।

राधाकृष्णन कमिशन की रिपोर्ट आई थी। वह एक पोथे का पोथा था। उस पर भ्रमल नहीं किया गया। उस में लिखा हुआ था कि एथिकलचरल यूनिवर्सिटी होनी चाहिये जिस में किसान लोगों के लिए कोर्स हों। वह किसानों के लिए हो। उसके साथ साथ उन्होंने कहा था कि टैक्नीकल एजुकेशन भ्रमल होनी चाहिये। उन्होंने यहां तक कहा था कि हैंड एंड हैंड, टूल्स और हेड ये दोनों शिक्षा के भंग होने चाहिये। लेकिन यहां जो शिक्षा दी जाती है उससे केवल सफेदपोश ही तैयार होते हैं, बसक ही तैयार होते हैं। टैक्नीकल विद्या लोगों को नहीं दी जाती है। जहां दी भी जाती है वहां टूल्स तो भ्रमल रह जाते हैं और ब्रेन भ्रमल रह जाता है। दोनों एक जगह कैसे आ सकते हैं, इस पर आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये।

आज मशीन का युग है। आज के युग को जबाहरलाल जी मशीन का युग कहा करते थे। आज सब मशीनों हो गई हैं। आज कहा जाता है कि फेक्ट्रीज ज्यादा होनी चाहियें, इंडस्ट्रीज ज्यादा होनी चाहिये। आज भादमी भी मशीन धीरे धीरे होता जा रहा है।

आजकल की शिक्षा का यह हाल है कि अगर कोई आदिवासी अपने लड़के को पांचवीं या छठी क्लास तक पढ़ा लेता है तो वह देखता है कि उसका लड़का किसानों से चला गया है, उसके हाथ से निकल गया है। वह कभी हल अपने हाथ में ले कर नहीं चलता है। वह बेती के लिये नालायक हो जाता है। किसान कहता है कि मेरा यह बड़ा लड़का जो कुछ सीखा नहीं है, स्कूल नहीं गया है, जो सिर्फ भ्रंगूठा ही लगाना जानता है, कैंसी उत्तम बेती करता है लेकिन यह जो लड़का शिक्षा ले कर आया है, यह नालायक निकला है, सिनेमा रोज देखता है, होटलों में रोज

बैठता है। इस प्रकार की शिक्षा से क्या लाभ हो सकता है, यह सोचने की बात है। आज के इस मशीन के युग में हाकिम तैयार हो रहे हैं। क्यों हाकिम तैयार होते हैं इसका कारण यह है कि एजुकेशन का उद्देश्य क्या है, यह बच्चों को नहीं सिखाया जाता है। क्या आप लोगों को देशभक्त बनाना चाहते हैं और अगर बनाना चाहते हैं तो उनको देशभक्ति की ही तालीम आपको देनी चाहिये, उनके लिए उस प्रकार के कोर्स प्रेसक्राइब करने चाहिये। अगर दूसरी प्रकार की शिक्षा देना चाहते हैं तो उस प्रकार के कोर्स होने चाहिये।

हमारे यहां मध्य प्रदेश में जो पहले दर्जे में किताब पढ़ाई जाती थी उस में "क" से कमल लिखा रहता था "ख" से कुछ और "ग" से गणेश। लेकिन बाद में कहा गया कि हमारी तो सैक्युलर स्टेट है और इस में "ग" से गणेश नहीं लिखा रहना चाहिये। क्योंकि इससे दूसरी जाति के लोग नाराज हो जायेंगे। इसलिए फैसला किया गया कि "ग" से गधा लिखा जाये। सभी किताबों को बदल दिया गया। सरकारी वे किताबें तो थीं सब में "ग" से गधा कर दिया गया। जब आप इस तरह से कहते हैं तो वे सब गधे के गधे हो जायेंगे। इस तरह की जो चीजें हैं, इनकी तरफ भी आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये।

एक जगह पर मंत्री महोदय गये और उन्होंने पूछा कि शिव का धनुष किस ने तोड़ा। किसी को मालूम नहीं था कि रामजी ने तोड़ा। मिनिस्टर साहब तो जानते थे। तब मास्टर साहब ने कहा कि लड़कों में से किसी से गलती हो गई है, मैं अभी रिपोर्ट कर देता हूँ और पता लगाता हूँ कि शिव का धनुष किसने तोड़ा और इसकी रिपेयर का इंतजाम करता हूँ। इस प्रकार से अगर आप लड़के तैयार करना चाहते हैं तो देश का कभी भला नहीं हो सकता है। लड़कों को आपको चरित्रवान

[ श्री बड़े ]

बनाना होगा, उनको हमारा इतिहास क्या रहा है, मालूम होना चाहिये। उनको चरित्रवान करना है तो कम से कम आप उनको पुराणों की शिक्षा दें, रामायण, महाभारत पढ़ायें, विवेकानन्द, महात्मा गांधी, लोकमान्य तिलक की किताबें पढ़ायें, उनके रास्ते पर चलने के लिए प्रेरित करें।

एजुकेशन की पद्धति क्या हो, इस पर आपको विचार करना होगा। कहीं पर तो ११वीं तक हायर सैकेंडरी होता है, कहीं बारहवीं तक और कहीं कहीं पर मेट्रिक ही चल रहा है। इस मामले में यूनिफार्मिटी तो होनी चाहिये। यहाँ दिल्ली में मैंने देखा है कि जो क्वेश्चन पेपर होते हैं वे इंग्लिश में होते हैं जब कि जो कॉर्सेस हैं वे हिन्दी में उनको पढ़ाये जाते हैं, टेस्ट बुक्स हिन्दी में होती हैं। इस तरह की जो बातें हैं आज भी कोई उनको सोचता ही नहीं है। जब मैंने एक स्कूल में पूछा कि ऐसा क्यों है तो मुझे जवाब मिला कि कोई सोचता ही नहीं है इस पर। उनको आर्डर चले जाते हैं और अगर वे उनके खिलाफ जाते हैं तो उनको नौकरी से हाथ धोना पड़ता है। आप देखें कि टेस्ट बुक्स हिन्दी में होती हैं, पढ़ाई हिन्दी में जाती है, लेकिन जो क्वेश्चन पेपर होता है, वह इंग्लिश में होता है।

अब आप अपनी बेसिक एजुकेशन को देखें। इसका बड़ा आपने प्रचार किया है। लेकिन यह है क्या? आप वहाँ पर लोगों को सूत कातने के लिये कहते हैं, आप चाहते हैं कि वे सूत कातें। अगर कोई सूत कातता है तो बेकार ही रहता है। हमारे यहाँ बूढ़ी औरतें मन्दिरों में रोज सूत कातती हैं और इस ध्यास से कि वे स्वर्ग में जायेंगी। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह जो बेसिक पद्धति है, इसकी ओर भी आपको ध्यान देना चाहिये, शुरू से लेकर सारे का सारा जो ढांचा है

वह बिगड़ा हुआ है और उसको आपको दुस्त करना होगा। लोक-मान्य तिलक ने कहा था कि शिक्षण नौकरी का धन्धा नहीं है, यह संस्था है . . . . .

सभापति महोदय : अब आप खत्म करें।

श्री बड़े : अन्त में मैं एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूँ। जो शिक्षा दी जाये गुरुकुल पद्धति पर दी जानी चाहिये। भगवान श्रीकृष्ण सांदीपनी में रहे थे, उन्होंने वहाँ रह कर शिक्षा प्राप्त की थी। उसी प्रकार आप भी यहाँ गुरुकुल पद्धति पर शिक्षा लोगों को दें, जहाँ पर अध्यापक और विद्यार्थी साथ साथ रहें। इस तरह के विद्यालय यहाँ पर अच्छे रहेंगे। धर्मशाला सरीखे इन स्कूलों को आप निकाल दें। इस तरह से सड़के चरित्रवान निकलेंगे। उनको पता चलेगा कि नीति क्या है, अननीति क्या है।

आप देखें कि दुनिया के जो दूसरे राष्ट्र हैं, वहाँ पर एजुकेशन पर कितना खर्च हो रहा है। सभी जगहों पर ज्यादा पैसा खर्च हो रहा है। जब बजट पर बहस हो रही थी तब मैं सारे आंकड़े लाया था और आपके सामने मैंने रखे थे। आज मैं उनको नहीं लाया हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब एजुकेशन के लिए ज्यादा पैसा दें।

सारा ढांचा आप बदलें, तब जाकर सुधार होगा। कमेटी नियुक्त कर देने से कुछ नहीं होगा। अगर कमेटी नियुक्त की जाती है तो जो उसकी सिफारिशें हों, उन पर आप अमल करें। नहीं तो होगा यह कि जिस तरह से राष्ट्राध्यक्षन कमिशन की रिपोर्ट आई और वह वैसी की वैसी पढ़ी रही, उसी तरह से इस कमेटी की भी रिपोर्ट आयेगी और यह रिपोर्ट भी धूल चाटती फिरेगी।

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore City): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this Resolution has been sponsored by my friend, Shri Sidheshwar Prasad, who himself is an educationist. It is therefore appropriate that we should discuss this subject in all its seriousness in the present context of things.

Education should receive a new fillip, a new impetus. Education should receive an amount of importance which has not been hitherto attributed to it for various reasons. We are going to have in a few days time a Prime Minister who is the son of a teacher. The President of the Union happens to be a teacher. The Vice-President himself is an educationist. This is a very good augury. Therefore, Sir, the respect this nation has paid to the tribe of teachers is fulsome. We are going to launch upon a new drive so far as our educational policy is concerned.

As many Members have emphasised, a new vision, a new outlook, a new enthusiasm is required in order to make the education policy fit into the pattern of our future growth. Sir, any education has to be taught through a language. In a country like India where we have more than 14 languages as national languages in order to determine the national policy we have to successfully and in a very determined manner solve the problem of language. In fact, we have solved it. Many members may entertain doubt that the problem has not yet been solved. The other day, when the then Home Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, sponsored the Bill relating to language, with his characteristic sweetness and spirit of compromise, he solved the problem of language once and for all. The future pattern of our language policy is one of bilingual pattern. English and Hindi are the two languages that are going to be used by our people, by our officers, by this Parliament and by the future generation. One is the national language, namely Hindi, and the other is the international language, namely English. We are living in a world 798(A1) LSD-7.

where one world government may become a possibility in a new age. Our President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, and our revered and respected former Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, have repeatedly made speech urging upon the world the desirability of one world-government. If we are true to the tenets enunciated by these two great men, we have to so pattern our educational system as to fit it into the picture they have envisaged for the whole world. To decry the importance of English is to condemn ourselves to isolation. To decry the importance of Hindi is to lose our self-respect for want of national language. Therefore, Sir, in the interests of the future as well as in the interests of our self-respect, we ought to develop these two languages. There is no question of one language being superior or inferior to the other. These two languages ought to be taught in the spirit of making every student proficient in these two languages. The other day an idea dawned in my mind. Once at the dinner table, Jawaharlalji asked me—this was about a year ago—whether I had learnt Hindi. I told him, “if you learn Kannada, I will learn Hindi”. That was the way I pointed out the difficulty of learning a new language. Lately, Sir, I purchased casually Tulsidas Ramayan published by the *Hindustan Times*. This paper has published the English translation in a poetic form side by side with Sanskrit slokas. When I read a few passages, it dawned on me what a great book this Tulsidas Ramayan was. If for nothing else, one ought to learn Hindi in order to know what Tulsidas Ramayan is. From that day onwards, what even the persuasion of the Prime Minister failed the reading of Tulsidas Ramayan has succeeded in making me a convert to Hindi language.

The people in North India may learn two languages or three languages. I am not for imposing on them the learning of a South Indian language. At any rate, we in South India are going to learn as many languages as possible. That will give us a wealth of know-

[Shri Himatsingka]

ledge which will ultimately stand us in good stead. It is to gain knowledge that we have to learn a language. No language should be imposed either on the North or on the South.

Secondly, this national policy requires uniformity in text-books, from the first standard text-book to the degree text-book and even post-graduate text-books. Let there be some good text-books written for all-India purposes in Hindi. They must be translated into every other language, the subjects being the same. There is an evil tendency that has already cropped up in various States. The text-books are being written by interested authors to please the powers that are in office. If a Chief Minister is there, his biography is included in the text-book, even while he is alive and whoever happens to be his caste Guru, his biography is also included in the text-book.

**Shri J. B. Kripalani** (Amroha): Was that the case with you also?

**Shri Hanumanthaiya**: As my reverend leader, Shri Kripalani says, even if that had been done, this is a confession that it should not be done. It is not that I did it.

Sir, this sort of caste and tribal feelings are coming into the fore because of our provincial set-up, because of our party politics, because of our group alignments. The adult franchise in India in the first instance has thrown up these caste feelings, even as the churning of the sea by the devas and asuras first threw up poison and not amrit. In order to prevent disintegration of the nation on caste and tribal lines, we have to write text-books on national level on subjects of national importance. Then, we must see that these very text-books are prescribed as text-books in every State, in translations in different languages.

I will make only one more point and close my speech. Many a time socialism is understood by many a Minis-

ter that more the power is vested in the Government or in the hands of Ministers or the bureaucracy the greater is the root taken by socialism in this country.

**Shri Nambiar** (Tiruchirapalli): A new definition of socialism.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya**: The other day the Minister of Finance was speaking in terms of controls. If prices have to be reduced, there are well-known economic principles and formulas that have to be applied and not take power into hands to manage by controls, which inevitably result in corruption on a wide scale. I would say that the abundant availability of free facilities to the people is the *sine qua non* of socialism. Education from top to bottom must be free to every student in this country if socialism is sincerely and wholeheartedly accepted. We must devise a scheme, especially when we are taxing to the extent we are doing to see that there may be no richmen in this country after some years, it is our duty to see that education is made available free to one and all.

**Shri Balgovind Verma** (Kheri):  
Sir....

**Mr. Chairman**: I request the hon. Members to finish within five minutes so that I can give five minutes to another hon. Member before I call upon the Minister.

**Shri Balgovind Verma**: It is difficult to conclude in five minutes.... (Interruptions). Mr. Chairman, Mr. Sidheshwar Prasad's resolution requires careful consideration at the hands of the Government. The attention that should be given is not being given to education. We have adopted a constitutional, parliamentary form of Government in our country. Democracy requires a high degree of education wherein every individual may get proper opportunity to develop himself fully, to develop his per-

sonality. But that is not being done here. We find there is misapprehension among the people that education is receiving casual treatment at the hands of the State and national Governments. Nothing is being done. If socialist pattern of society is the main aim, educational pattern must be the same everywhere. But it is differing and various types of institutions are coming in vogue in the country. There are some public schools, some unaided schools with some type of education and training. No equal treatment can be given to all the citizens of this country. The poorest cannot hope to get the biggest post which he is otherwise entitled to in a country which is wedded to socialism. This difference has got to be removed. Very little amount, in so far as percentage is concerned, is spent on education by the States or by the Centre. U.P. is the most backward State and other States of the Indian Union are also backward. The institutions in the country are starving of funds. Teachers are not getting their pay at the right time. If that is so, you can imagine the state of affairs about education. How will they take deep interest in teaching children? Government should give priority for education over all the other things. Private institutions also have got to be given proper funds so that teachers may take interest and boys may also get proper education. There is no proper co-ordination. So many subjects have been thrown upon the students that they are not in a position to do justice to them. Every day we see in the papers that the Union Public Service Commission, whenever they interview the boys, finds that students say things which appear to be fantastic in the eyes of the public. They do not know even the primary things which they should have known. Our Constitution provides that primary education should be free and compulsory. We had not achieved that in all the States nearly seventeen years after our Independence. When we want socialism in this country, every boy has a right to get education free up to the secondary stage but we have not been able

to do that. There is no laboratory worth in the name in many colleges. If there are any, they are ill-equipped. When grants are given to colleges, restrictions are imposed that an equal amount would be provided from the resources of the management. It is a strange way of doing a thing. But the management hardly spends anything from their pocket but they manipulate accounts to show that something is paid by them but do everything within the grant itself. As a result the institution does not get the benefit which should be there if things were done correctly. If you want that education should make further advances, you will have to consider whether this system of equal contribution should be continued.

Mr. Chairman, if you will permit me I will take a few more minutes.

Mr. Chairman: Your time is over; I have given you more than 7 minutes. I am calling Mr. Sheo Narain.

श्री शिव नारायण (बांसी) : सभापति महोदय, आपने मुझे इस शिक्षा के विषय पर जो बोलने का अवसर प्रदान किया उसके लिए मैं आपको बधाई देता हूँ ।

हिन्दुस्तान की जो जनता है और देश के जितने लोग हैं उन सब की नजर शिक्षा के मामले में सरकार के ऊपर लगी रहती है । लेकिन दूसरे मुल्कों में ऐसी बात नहीं और जनता अपनी ओर से भी शिक्षा के मामले में प्रयत्न करती है और स्कूल आदि चलाती है । मैं अपने मित्रों को बतलाना चाहूँगा कि इंग्लैंड में शिक्षा का काम पब्लिक सैक्टर में न चल कर प्राइवेट सैक्टर में चलता है । इंग्लैंड में शिक्षा के लिए गवर्नमेंट जिम्मेदार नहीं होती है । फौरन कंट्री में प्राइवेट नौग शिक्षा के इन्स्टीट्यूशंस आदि बन रहे हैं अलबत्ता गवर्नमेंट उनको उसमें प्रोत्साहन व सहायता देती है लेकिन वहाँ पर लोग शिक्षा के लिए केवल गवर्नमेंट का

## [श्री शिव नारायण]

ही मुंह नहीं ताकते हैं जैसा कि हमारे देश में देखने में आता है। हिन्दुस्तान में लोग चाहते हैं कि यह शिक्षा का कुल काम सरकार कर दे, यह नामुमकिन है।

अभी जैसा कि माननीय सदस्य ने बतलाया यहाँ वे स्कूल, कॉलेज व युनिवर्सिटी वाले सरकार पर आश्रित रहते हैं। जो रकम सरकार उन्हें अनुदान के रूप में देती है उसी से यह लोग अपने स्कूल व कॉलेज चलाना चाहते हैं। देखा यह जाता है कि जब तक उनको रैकगनीशन नहीं मिलता है जब तक उनके इंस्टीट्यूशन रैकगनाइज नहीं हो जाते हैं तब तक तो वे इधर उधर दौड़ घूम करते हैं और इंटरैस्ट लेते हैं लेकिन उसके मिलने के बाद बसकुल ल वाह हो जाते हैं और केवल बच्चों की फीस पर इंस्टीट्यूशंस चलाते हैं।

मैं फोरिन कंट्रीज में रहा हूँ। मेरी पैदाइश वहाँ का है और मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि फोरिन कंट्रीज में प्राइमरी टीचर्स को जो सेलरी दी जाता है हिन्दुस्तानमें उसके मुकाबले कुछ भी नहीं दी जाती है। उन मुल्कों में एजुकेशन पब्लिक सैक्टर का विषय नहीं है बल्कि यह प्राइवेट सैक्टर का विषय है और वहाँ की जनता एजुकेशन के मामले में अत्यधिक रुचि दिखाती है और धनी, मानी पैसा भी खूब खर्च करते हैं। कौन नहीं जानता कि हमारे देश में आज शिक्षा का क्या हाल हो रहा है? हमारे यहाँ प्राइमरी टीचर्स को ५० रुपया मासिक तनखाह दी जाती है। मैं तो आज अपनी सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप देश में राम, लक्ष्मण और अर्जुन सरीखे महापुरुष पैदा करना चाहते हैं तो आप यहाँ पर टीचर्स को गुरु द्रोणाचार्य जसा मान लियाइये, समाज में उनको एक इज्जत का दर्जा प्रदान कीजिये और उन अध्यापकों का वेतन जो कि आज बहुत ही कम है उस वेतन को बढ़ाइये तो आप का देश और समाज बनेगा

और प्रगति करेगा। लेकिन अगर आपने उनको मान नहीं दिया, उनका वेतन नहीं बढ़ाया और उनको अपराधी बना कर रखे रहा तो याद रखिये वह देश में अपराधी बच्चे ही पैदा करने वाले हैं। उस हालत में वह गुरु द्रोणाचार्य के समान अर्जुन देश को नहीं देने वाले हैं।

मैं एक बात बहुत साफ कहना चाहता हूँ और यह यह कि शिक्षा के मामले में राज्यों को जो आप पैसा देते हैं उसमें यह नहीं होना चाहिए कि किसी को कुछ पैसा दे देते हैं तो किसी को कुछ दे देते हैं। इसके क्या मायने हैं? सब को इस बारे में एक समान बर्तना चाहिए। आपने सही तौर पर इस देश में सोशलिस्टिक पैट्रन फ्राफ़ सोसाइटी कायम करने का ऐलान किया है तो उसके लिए सोशलिज्म आप हर जगह लाइये। धन का बंटवारा एक सा कीजिये। इसके अलावा जो बड़े बड़े पूंजीपति हैं, बड़े बड़े पैसे वाले हैं उनका पैसा लेकर सही मायने में इस्तमाल कीजिये। मुझे बड़ी ख़शी है कि यहाँ इस समय कृपलानी दादा बैठे हुए हैं जो कि एक बड़े शिक्षा विशारद रहे हैं। वह हम सब के गुरु रहे हैं। अगर उनको मौका मिलेगा, तो वह भी इस विषय पर अपने विचार प्रकट कर सकेंगे।

16 hrs.

मैं ईमानदारी के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज इस देश में शिक्षा पर मुनासिब और कायदे से खर्च नहीं किया जा रहा है। इस सम्बन्ध में न तो जनता का सहयोग है और न सरकार का। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट कहती है कि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट जाने और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स कहती हैं कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट जाने। यह घपले वाली बात शरफ़ होनी चाहिए। मैं चाहता हूँ कि मुल्क में यूनिफ़ॉर्मिटी लाने के लिए एन स्ट्रुक्चर्ड फ्राफ़ एजुकेशन रखा जाये।

हमारे आपदादा संस्कृत पढ़ते थे, वेद और कुरान कण्ठ करते थे। "सुबाचिन;

कुतो विद्या, विद्यायिन; कुतः सूखम् ।” आज कल कितने विद्यार्थी इस पर विश्वास करते हैं ? बाप तो चोरी करके, बेईमानी करके, ब्लैक-मार्केटिंग करके पैसा लाता है, लेकिन बेटा रात के बजे सिनेमा देखता है। इस अवस्था में वह क्या पढ़ेगा ? आप लखनऊ में देख सकते हैं कि प्रिंस सिनेमा के सामने नौ बजे रात को यूनिवर्सिटी के लड़के घूमते हैं। इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि लड़का थर्ड डिवीजन में इम्तिहान पास करेगा। फिर वह हमारे पास आता है कि रिकमेंड कर दीजिए कि “ही बीयार्थ ए गुड मारल कैरेक्टर।” इसके बाद जब वह आफिसर बनता है, तो चोरी करने लगता है। आज हमारे देश में शिक्षा की यह अवस्था है। इस शिक्षा से देश की उन्नति कैसे हो सकती है ? मैं गवर्नमेंट को कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह अपने को सम्माले और शिक्षा में सुधार करें।

मैं तो उस गरीब खानदान से आया हूँ, जिसको हरिजन कहते हैं, जो सबसे पस्त अवस्था में है। गवर्नमेंट हम पर ग्यारह पाई खर्च करती है, फिर भी लोग हम पर जुमले कसते हैं। गवर्नमेंट ने काश्मीर में कितना खर्च किया, केरल में कितना खर्च किया, आसाम में कितना खर्च किया ? गवर्नमेंट इस सम्बन्ध में डिस्टिक्शन करती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में ब्राह्मण से लेकर चमार तक के लिए एजुकेशन फ्री कर दी जाये, ताकि भेद-भाव का यह आरोप न लगाया जा सके। बड़ा कष्ट और तकलीफ़ होती है, जब कोई बड़ा आदमी कहता है कि चमार के लड़कों के लिए तो सरकार ने सारी एजुकेशन फ्री कर दी है। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि हमारे एट्टेन्स पास लड़के घूमते हैं और उनको कोई पूछता नहीं है, जबकि दूसरों के घर्षे डिवीजन वालों को जगह मिल जाती है सरकार की मशीनरी में गड़बड़ी और उसकी इन्प्रेथिटी में अन्तर है। मैं ईमानदारी के साथ कहता हूँ कि सरकार एजुकेशन को फ्री कर दे और फिर रैस में सब घोड़ों को छोड़ दे, लेकिन इस प्रकार का भेद-भाव आज नहीं चलना चाहिए।

मैं तो भुक्त-भोगी हूँ। जब मेरा लड़का पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन में जाता है, तो काला होने के नाते उसके साथ भेद-भाव किया जाता है। अगर मेरा लड़का प्रैक्टिस टैस्ट में टाप भी करता है, तो भी उस को कम नम्बर दिये जाते हैं। इस मुल्क का नेशनल कैरेक्टर बहुत नीचे है। मैं जमायका और क्यूबा में रह कर आया हूँ और खुद सब कुछ देख कर आया हूँ। वहाँ पर प्राइमरी टीचर्स को बैस्ट पे मिलती है। इकट्ठे धार नाट योइंग टू गिव बुड पे टू वि टीचर्स, यूधर एडुकेशन बिल नाट डेबेलप। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्राइमरी एजुकेशन का स्तर ऊंचा उठाना चाहिए और टीचर्स को अच्छी तनखाह देनी चाहिए। केवल गस्कल का नारा लगाने और रामराज्य की कल्पना करने से हमारी शिक्षा का स्तर ऊंचा नहीं होने वाला है।

हिन्दुस्तान में १९४२ में जब डू धार शर्मा का रेजोल्यूशन पास किया गया था, तो देश का नक्शा बदल गया था और सारे देश ने हमारा साथ दिया था। कांग्रेस के बड़े बड़े नेताओं ने देश का नेतृत्व किया था। आज भी हिन्दुस्तान में वही ही भावना की आवश्यकता है। गांधी चले गए, नेहरू चले गए। आज हमारा धार शर्मा का इम्तिहान है। इस इम्तिहान में पूरा उतरने के लिए एजुकेशन के स्टैंडर्ड को ऊंचा उठाना होगा। सारे देश में एक स्टैंडर्ड कर दिया जाये और एक लैम्बेज कर दी जाये—इंग्लिश। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार को बधाई देता हूँ कि उसने थर्ड क्लास से इंग्लिश की शिक्षा शुरू कर दी है। जब दक्षिण के लोग “हाय इंग्लिश, हाय इंग्लिश” कहते हैं, तो हम उनसे कम इंग्लिश पढ़ने वाले नहीं हैं। हमारे बच्चे भी इंग्लिश पढ़ेंगे।

आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि देश में युनानिमिटी लाने के लिए देश को एक सूत्र में बांधा जाये। सारा मुल्क एक हो जायेगा। संस्कृत को कम्पलसरी कर दिया जाये। मैं हिन्दी की वकालत नहीं करता हूँ। दक्षिण,

[श्री शिव नारायण]

उत्तर, पूर्व, और पश्चिम—देश के सब भागों के लोग संस्कृत का ज्ञान रखते हैं। वह सारे देश की भाषा है। वह हमारी मद्र लैंग्वेज है। इस देश को ऊंचा उठाने के लिए और एक करने के लिए संस्कृत, इंगलिश और हिन्दी को कम्पलसरी कर दिया जाये। जिसको कोई और भाषा पढ़नी हो, वह पड़े। मैं उर्दू और परशियन भी जानता हूँ। क्लियर बेयर इच्च ए बिल, बेयर इच्च ए बे। अगर कोई सीखना चाहे तो कोई भाषा सीख सकता है। हम ब्रापस में बिना मतलब लड़ते रहते हैं, जबकि देश के सामन बड़ी बड़ी प्राबलम्ब हैं। हम गम्भीरता-पूर्वक उन पर विचार करें और देश का कल्याण करें।

शिक्षा मन्त्री से मेरी प्रार्थना है कि वह एडुकेशन क क्षेत्र में युनानिमीटी लाने के लिए सारे देश में एक सिस्लेबस लागू करें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

**The Minister of Education (Shri M. C. Chagla):** Sir, I must congratulate the last speaker on the enthusiasm which he has shown. I am sure his enthusiasm will be endorsed by every section of the House. He said "Do or die!" We all agree we should have a national policy, a coordinated policy and as far as possible we should have unanimity. But I am sure my friend realises the difficulties before us.

In the first place, we have administrative difficulties. Education is not a concurrent subject. It is unfortunate; I think it is tragic that when our Constitution-makers wrote our Constitution, they did not think of the importance of education for national integration. They followed the British pattern. The British were not interested in education as a vehicle for national integration as we were. That is why they decentralised

education. They gave it the lowest priority. Unfortunately we have also followed in their footsteps. But the time has come when we should realise that education should have the highest priority. Education is important both for national integration and for investment in human beings. If we want to achieve our political, social and economic goals, we can only do so through education and therefore in order that education can help us to achieve these goals, education must be national in character.

Our first difficulty is the administrative difficulty. What are we to do? The constitutional position is that each State can say, "we will have our own educational policy". But I must say to the credit of our States—I have just been presiding over the conference of State Education Ministers—they have gone a long way to agree to a coordinated policy, without agreeing to a constitutional change. I am not interested merely in the constitutional change. I am interested in concurrence, in carrying the country with me, in all the States agreeing to the broad outlines of a national educational policy. I do not understand by national educational policy uniformity. It is not possible. At one time I thought it was possible to get uniformity, but it is not possible. Each State has its own local and regional problems, its own financial problems. So, a certain amount of flexibility must be permitted. But then there must be a clear conception of where we are going in education, what are we going to achieve? What are our objectives and what are our targets.

I take it that the objective, the target, we have is to have a unified, strong and powerful nation, a nation that believes in the secular ideal, a nation which believes in equality, a nation which believes in fighting poverty and in transforming a poor society into a prosperous society. If we all agree on these objectives, then it is not difficult to have a national educational policy.

I compliment the mover of this resolution for moving it, because it has evoked a very interesting debate and has drawn the attention of the Ministry to many shortcomings. But may I request him not to press this resolution? As I announced in the budget debate, I have already decided to appoint a national commission. It will go into the whole question of education in this country. As you know, I am rather allergic to committees. I think we have too many committees in this country, and I do not want to add one more. But the reason for appointing this commission was this. So long we never took an overall view of education. We considered education in fragments—fragmentary education. We have higher education, secondary education, primary education and technical education. When we had the Mudaliar Commission, we thought of secondary education and it gave a report on secondary education. We had the Dr. Radhakrishnan Commission which dealt with higher education. My view is, you cannot solve the educational problem, you cannot evolve a national policy, unless you look at education as a whole, unless you take an overall view of education. Therefore, I decided to set up this Commission (which) will look at all aspects of education. In this Commission we will have outstanding educationists from this country and I also hope to have outstanding educationists from the United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia and possibly Japan. The reason for getting these experts from outside is this: we, who are in the country, cannot take an objective view which people from outside can take. I want these people to come and tell us where we have gone wrong, where we could have done better, how we can improve; it will also give us an opportunity to compare our educational system with the systems in those countries.

श्री रामेश्वरानन्द (करनाल) : इस प्रायोग में आप विदेशियों को रखेंगे। उनको

आप रखें लेकिन अंग्रेजी शिक्षा के प्रारम्भ होने के पहले, विदेशी शिक्षा आरम्भ होने के पहले यहां जो शिक्षा चलती थी, क्या उस समय की शिक्षा के विद्यारथी को भी आप इस प्रायोग में रखेंगे।

श्री मु० क० चागला: वे भी उसमें रहेंगे। हम विदेशियों को बुला रहे हैं लेकिन मैं खेद अपनी चीजों को भी मानता हूँ और यह मानता हूँ कि अपने देश को आगे बढ़ना चाहिए।

So that, I assure my hon. friend the idea is not merely copying or imitating what is going on outside; the basis should be our own country, our own institutions. We should have our feet deeply planted in the soil of our own country. But we must not shut our eyes to what is happening outside.

Here the most important thing is science and technology. Our late Prime Minister attached the greatest importance to science and technology, and rightly so, because he felt that although we had missed the industrial revolution, our country should not miss the technological revolution. Therefore, it is necessary that we should know what is happening in Russia, in the United States, and, believe me, we will never be able to fight poverty in this country unless we have a technological revolution, unless importance is attached to science, unless our nation becomes scientifically-minded. Therefore, a revolution in our outlook is necessary.

My hon. friend in his speech made a statement today with which I am largely in agreement. He spoke in Hindi. My Hindi is rather bad. So I shall read out the translated version in English of what he said. He says that the government policy in regard to education for the last seventeen years has been very vague with

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

the result that the standard of education is falling every day; it has resulted in the lack of national integration, determination for rational belief and security of thought; the language problem, provincialism and communalism are the offshoots of this vague educational policy.

As I said, we have not given top priority to education. Whenever there is to be a cut, the first victim is education. We do not realise that education means investment in human beings. It is no use having steel mills and hydro-electric schemes if we have not got the human beings to run them. Therefore, education to my mind is more important than any other investment. And yet how much do we spend on education? I am shocked to find that our expenditure on education—I will give you the figures—is one of the lowest of any countries. We are spending 2.6 per cent of the national income on education, as against the minimum of 4 per cent recommended for the developing countries. I must say to the credit of the States that they are spending 20, 25 or 30 per cent of their budget on education. But the Centre, the Union, is not spending enough. Therefore, I want this House to support me when I make the demand from my hon. colleague, the Finance Minister, for more grants for education. When it comes to this House, after all, you are the masters; it is for you to decide the policy. If you say that Government shall spend more money on education, Government will spend it. And, believe me, Sir, the returns will be hundred-fold even from the financial point of view. If you spend more money on education, there will be more production, there will be less poverty. After all, what is the trouble with our country today? Why are the prices rising? Why is scarcity there? The scarcity is there because we are living in an economy of scarcity. If you want an economy of abundance—I will not be there but

many of you will be there to see it—that can be brought about only by education. More educated men means more production and more abundance.

Now, may I roughly say what are the problems which are facing us today, which this Commission will be able to tackle when it is appointed? Now there are difficulties in every sphere. Take elementary education. We have the problem of basic education and difference of opinion on that. We have the question of two-shift system—should there be one shift or two shifts. Then there is the problem of whether elementary education should be undertaken by the local authority, by the taluka, by the municipality and so on.

Then there is secondary education. We have laid down the target of 12 years of school education plus 3 years of degree course; 15 years in all. We have not been able to bring about uniformity. But here again I compliment the different Education Ministers of the States that we have agreed at least on this finally that in secondary education all school education should be imparted by schools and not by universities. The pre-university courses are important expenditures which should be done away with and ultimately our objective is 12 years school course plus a three-year degree course. Even with regard to the three-year degree course all universities have not agreed, but the majority have.

Then there is the question of teacher training which is the foundation of education. We are just starting with it. Without properly trained and equipped teachers we cannot go far ahead. We are doing our best to set up regional colleges to impart training to teachers.

Then there is the question: what is more important today—quantity or quality? I agree with my hon. friend there, and I think my hon. friend

from Gujarat said the same thing. It is our duty to give education to every one in this country. No citizen should be denied education. But let us not forget that we must also attach importance to quality. If we have to build up a great nation, we must have men of the highest stature, produced by our own educational institutions. Therefore, we have to attach importance to quality. Now, for the next few years we want to attach importance to quality. We will have Centrally-sponsored schemes which will pick out certain institutions and give them full support so that they could go to the top. I hope to see a day in India when the finest education can be imparted and a student will not have to go abroad. For that purpose, we want proper institutions. These are not pockets of privilege. People are against public schools. People are against good institutions. But we want the poorest students to go to these schools with the help of scholarships. I am entirely against the old idea that a public school or an institution of importance should be reserved for those who can afford it. No. The conception should be that your best men, your best students, whichever class they come from, should be in a position to go to these institutions. Therefore please do not think when I support public schools or I back institutions of high calibre that I am trying to build up pockets of privilege. No; I am entirely against privilege, but we must have men of quality in our country.

For the same reason we are attaching the greatest importance to post-graduate studies. That is the apex, but without that apex the foundation itself will be shaken. Today the trouble in India is that we are not having enough post-graduate students to supply teachers for our degree level studies, secondary schools and go on. That is why the University Grants Commission is financing many colleges to push ahead their post-graduate studies.

With regard to teachers my hon. friend there said, "Pay them well". I agree. I think, one of the tragedies of education in this country is that we have ceased to attract good men to the educational career.

**Shri Manu Manthaiya:** It is also the same in America. They also do not give good salaries to teachers.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** Quite right, but this country is much worse. There again, we have our University Grants Commission. As far as colleges and universities are concerned, they offer assistance for raising the salaries of teachers. All have not availed themselves of it. The Ministry has offered assistance to the States but they have not been able to avail themselves of it because these are matching grants and the State Governments say, "We cannot match it because we have not got the resources". One of the most important questions, therefore, is the question of finance, how to finance education from the Centre.

**Shrimati Laxmi Bai (Vicarabad):** What about girls' education?

**Shri Sidheshwar Prasad:** They are also a part of the nation.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** Women are not only a part of the nation but to my mind they are the most important part. No nation can be considered educated unless its women are educated. I agree today, looking to the figures, women's education has not advanced as much as it should. But there again we are doing our best to help women's education. There are many difficulties, social and otherwise, but I assure the hon. lady Member that whatever help the Ministry can give to finance women's education we will give. We are giving money for hostels, for new schools for teachers, and we will do everything.

**Shri M. Malaichami (Periyakulam):** What has been done to improve the standard of teachers?

16.23 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** We have set up regional colleges; we are having seminars, summer schools; we are increasing their salaries. We are doing everything possible. Yet, we are short of teachers. We want better equipped teachers; we want more people to join the teaching profession.

**Shri Hanumanthaiya:** You must have recourse to radio and television facilities.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** I agree. That is one of the things which we are going to undertake. I wish, we had television in this country; we have not got it. Mr. Wilson, the Leader of the Opposition in UK, talked of the university of the Air. If we had television here, we could educate our boys. But we are going to undertake correspondence course in a large way and in that way give in-service training to our teachers and also teach some of our students who cannot afford to go to colleges. There are various ways, apart from universities, in which students can be taught.

I had no right to intervene at this early stage but I did so with your permission because I have got to go and vote in the Rajya Sabha. I will deprive myself of the pleasure and the opportunity of listening to the criticism of Members which I value very much. I only appeal to the hon. Member to withdraw this Resolution because in as much as a commission is being set up a committee of Members of Parliament will serve no purpose. This commission will look at education from the national point of view. I think, he has rendered a great service to the cause of education by bringing this Resolution before the House. But no useful pur-

pose will be served by pressing it to a division.

**श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिन माननीय सदस्यों ने इस बहस में भाग लेकर इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन किया मैं उन सभी के प्रति अपना आभार प्रकट करता हूँ। मेरा ख्याल है कि शिक्षा मन्त्री जिस आयोग का गठन करेंगे उसमें संसद् के सदस्यों को भी जरूर जगह देने पर वे विचार करेंगे क्योंकि उनका भी राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति के निर्धारण में एक महत्वपूर्ण स्थान होना ही चाहिए।

जैसा कि स्वयम् श्री माननीय शिक्षा मन्त्री ने स्वीकार किया, इस महत्वपूर्ण विषय की स्वराज्य के बाद से ही जो उपेक्षा होती रही है उसका हमारे देश के जीवन पर बड़ा ही दुखद, अनिष्टकार और अहितकर प्रभाव पड़ा है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में जितनी जल्दी सरकार शिक्षा आयोग का गठन करके राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति संचालन के प्रश्न को सुलझाने का प्रयत्न करे उतना ही हमारे देश के लिये हितकर होगा। लेकिन इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ कि केवल राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति का निर्धारण ही काफी नहीं है। यह भी बहुत आवश्यक है कि जो भी शिक्षा नीति निर्धारित की जाये उस शिक्षा नीति को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये यदि संविधान का परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता हो तो सरकार उसे भी बगैर हिचकिचाहट के शीघ्र करे, यदि प्रशासनिक ढंके में परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता हो तो उसके लिये भी सरकार को तैयार रहना चाहिये।

इसके साथ साथ यह भी आवश्यक है कि जब तक राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये हम उचित वातावरण का निर्माण नहीं करते हैं तब तक हमें इसमें बहुत दूर तक सफलता नहीं मिल सकती है। लेकिन दूसरी तरफ यह भी सच है कि जब तक हम ऐसी राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति का निर्धारण नहीं करते हैं तब तक जो कुछ हम

करना चाहते हैं उसके लिये न तो हम देश में उपयुक्त वातावरण बना सकते हैं और न उसके लिये हम योग्य व्यक्तियों को प्रशिक्षित कर सकते हैं। जैसा स्वयम् अभी माननीय शिक्षा मन्त्री ने स्वीकार किया, वह बहुत ही व्यापक दृष्टिकोण से इस प्रश्न पर विचार कर रहे हैं, मैं उसका दिल से स्वागत करता हूँ। यह बड़ी प्रसन्नता की बात है कि इस गम्भीर विषय पर विचार करने के लिये अमरीका, रूस, इंग्लैण्ड, फ्रांस जैसे देशों के सुविज्ञ शिक्षा विशारदों की सेवायें और सहायता लेने का वे प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में मेरा एक ही निवेदन होगा कि वे जल्दी से जल्दी इस भायोग की घोषणा करें और इस भायोग से मांग करें कि जितनी जल्दी हो सके वह अपनी रिपोर्ट दे और शीघ्र से शीघ्र सरकार इस सम्बन्ध आश्वस्त करे कि वह इस शिक्षा नीति को निर्धारित करके उसको कार्यान्वित करने का प्रयत्न करती है।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं ने बांडी देर पहले इस पुस्तक के उद्धरण पेश किये थे, उस की कुछ और वक्तियों का मैं सरकार के विचार के लिये प्रस्तुत करना आवश्यक समझता हूँ :

"Inertia; lack of conviction, and political immorality are perhaps the main obstacles to accelerated growth. The world is full of plans which are never implemented and excellent programmes which have died because, of lack of popular support. Development in practice, as distinct from development of plans, demands that a people and their leaders become energized and committed to attainment of common goals."

अभी जैसा कुछ वक्तियों ने बतलाया था, कई भायोग बनाये गये माध्यमिक शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में, विश्वविद्यालय की शिक्षा

के सम्बन्ध में। इसी प्रकार से भावात्मक एकता समिति की रिपोर्ट भी सामने पड़ी हुई है, लेकिन उन की सिफारिशों को कार्यान्वित करने की ओर उचित रूप से ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। जैसा कि स्वयं माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री ने स्वीकार किया, इस का एक बहुत बड़ा कारण यह है कि अभी तक हम शिक्षा के ऊपर बहुत कम धन खर्च करते रहे हैं। किसी भी दूसरे देश में राष्ट्रीय आय के ४ प्रतिशत से कम खर्च नहीं किया जाता है। कुछ रोज पहले खर समिति ने सिफारिश की थी कि राज्य सरकारों को अपनी आय का २० प्रतिशत और केन्द्रीय सरकार को अपनी आय का १० प्रतिशत शिक्षा पर खर्च करना चाहिये। कुछ एक अपवादों को छोड़ वही करीब करीब सभी राज्य सरकारें अपनी आय का २० प्रतिशत शिक्षा पर खर्च कर रही हैं हैकिन यह बड़ दुख की बात है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार का इस बात की तरफ उचित ध्यान नहीं गया है और इस विषय में अभी तक उदासीनता दिखाई जाती रही है।

अभी शिक्षा मंत्री जी ने कहा कि यदि ये शिक्षा सम्बन्धी बजट की मांग को ले कर इस सदन में आयेंगे तो सदन को उन का समर्थन करना चाहिये। मैं माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री जी को विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जब भी ये शिक्षा के लिये जितनी धनराशि की मांग करने इस सदन में आयेंगे तो निश्चित रूप से यह सदन राष्ट्रीय हित को ध्यान में रखते हुए उन का सहर्ष स्वागत करेगा, समर्थन करेगा और उन की मांग यथाशक्ति पूरी करने का प्रयत्न करेगा।

सरकार का ध्यान इस सम्बन्ध में मैं इस बात की ओर भी ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये यह इस बात की भी आवश्यकता अखिल भारतीय शीघ्र ही अनुभव करेगी कि शिक्षा सेवा का गठन किया जाय। सरकार इस प्रकार सचेत हो और इस तरफ जो आवश्यक

[श्री सिद्धेश्वर प्रसाद]

कदम उठाने की जरूरत है उस के लिये प्रयत्नशील है।] इस लिये जब कि माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री ने मेरे इस सेकल्प की बुनियादी बातों को न केवल स्वीकार कर लिया है बल्कि वह आवश्यक कदम उठाने के लिये तत्पर भी है तो मैं ऐसी स्थिति में यह उचित मानता हूँ इस प्रस्ताव को वापस ले लूँ। जिन वक्ताओं ने इस प्रस्ताव पर अपने अमूल्य सुझावों से हमें लाभान्वित करने का प्रयत्न किया है मैं उन सभी का धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

चूँकि इस प्रस्ताव का सभी वक्ताओं ने एकमत से समर्थन किया है वे चाहे सदन के इस ओर के हों अथवा उस ओर के हों इसलिये मैं यह अनुभव करता हूँ कि सरकार इस राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति के निर्धारण के प्रश्न को पूरी गम्भीरता के साथ ग्रहण करेगी और इस के लिये जो भी कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता होगी उसे पूरी तडपरता के साथ उठायेगी। इसलिये मैं अपने प्रस्ताव को वापिस लेते हुए और आप को धन्यवाद करते हुए अपना स्थान ग्रहण करता हूँ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I take it that he has the leave of the House to withdraw his Resolution.

**Some Hon. Members:** Yes.

*The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.*

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Shri B. K. Das . . . absent. Shri S. M. Banerjee:

16.31 hrs.

**RESOLUTION RE: RISE IN PRICES OF ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES**

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Sir, I beg to move:

"In view of the growing discontent among the people of this country against Government's

failure to check abnormal rise in prices of all essential commodities, this House recommends to Government the following for immediate adoption and implementation:—

- (i) State Trading in foodgrains;
- (ii) ban on speculation in foodgrains;
- (iii) exemplary punishment to hoarders and black-marketeers; and
- (iv) formation of a Price Stabilisation Committee."

Sir, yesterday, the hon. Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari in reply to a question said this. Before I read it, I must congratulate Shri T. T. Krishnamachari for his bold and firm stand which he took during the Question Hour. He said:

"The mere existence of a Price Stabilisation Board—there is one which does exist in my Ministry today, the Price Committee of the Secretaries—does not seem to do any good. It is a matter which has to be considered in conjunction with the Chief Ministers, and it seems to my mind—it does not bind either the Government or the Chief Ministers at the moment—that it is almost inescapable that there will have to be a rigorous system of State trading and rigorous control over retail distribution, but this cannot be done by the Central Government because the Central Government has neither the agency nor the competence for the purpose, without the collaboration of the States."

He made a definite statement and I hope he came to the conclusion that State trading was the only solution now in the present situation of the country. I hope our Finance Minister, in consultation with the Food Minister and his Cabinet colleagues.