REPORT OF THE
EDUCATION COMMISSION

COMMENTS AND REACTIONS

A Study

SABHA SECRETARIAT NEW DELHI

July, 1967/Sravana, 1889
P R E F A C E


The Report has been widely commented upon by all concerned, and the Government of India, after examining it in all its aspects, propose to present a statement on the National Policy on Education to Parliament for its approval.

This study seeks to present in a concise form information regarding the formation of the Education Commission, its working and principal recommendations, and the reactions of the Press, etc, and views of educationists, scholars and the like thereon. A summary of the Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament containing the Statement on the National Policy on Education, which was presented to Parliament on the 25th July, 1967, has been included in this study. A brief historical survey of the pre-and post-independence educational systems has also been given for information.

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NEW DELHI;

July 26, 1967

Sravana 4, 1889 (S. E.)

S. L. SHAKDHER,
Secretary.
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INTRODUCTION

In a science-based world, education and research are crucial to the entire developmental process of a country, its welfare, progress and security. This is more so in a developing country like India, where the need for an educational policy containing a built-in flexibility adjustable to the changing circumstance is imperative.

The origin of the system of education prevalent in the country today can be traced to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Thereafter, a number of committees and commissions were appointed from time to time by the Government in the pre-independence period to suggest appropriate changes in regard to the educational policy in view of the political and social changes taking place in the country. Education, however, acquired a new significance after Independence and both the planner and the administrator have felt the need for a national system of education not only rooted in the basic values and cherished traditions of the people but also suited to the needs and aspirations of a free and modern society. It was felt that education should play an important role in the economic and social development of the nation, in the building up of a truly democratic society, in the promotion of national integration and unity, and above all, for the transformation of the individual in the endless pursuit of excellence and perfection.

With these considerations in view, the Government of India appointed an Education Commission in 1964, to survey and examine the entire field of education in order to realise a well-balanced, integrated and adequate system of education capable of making an impact on all aspects of national life. The Commission submitted its report in 1966 and made important recommendations on the educational planning and policy of the country.

Before a study of the principal recommendations of the Education Commission can be made, a brief historical survey of the pre-independence and post-independence education systems appears to be desirable.
II

EDUCATION COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES IN RETROSPECT

Origin of the Present System of Education

The origin of the present system of education which is prevalent in this country today can be traced to the beginning of the nineteenth century when a controversy had been raging over the issue whether oriental learning and science should be spread through the medium of Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian or Western sciences and literature be spread through English as the medium of instruction. The Government conducted surveys of the then prevalent systems of education with a view to re-organising education to suit the needs of the times. Consequent on Macaulay's Minute regarding the educational policy of the future, Lord William Bentick's Government issued a communiqué wherein it was stated “that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone”. The Government Resolution, however, stated that provision should be made for the continuance of schools and colleges where indigenous learning was being imparted.

Wood's Despatch of 1854 on Education

By 1853 a number of problems concerning education in the country had risen which required immediate solution. As a result of an inquiry made by the Government, Sir Charles Wood, the then Secretary of State, sent a despatch popularly known as Wood’s Despatch to the Court of Directors of the East India Company in 1854. The despatch enunciated the aim of education as the diffusion of the Arts, Science, Philosophy and Literature of Europe. It laid down that the study of Indian languages was to be encouraged and that the English language should be taught wherever there was need.

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1 Macaulay rejected the claims of Arabic and Sanskrit as against English, because he considered that English was better than either of them. See also S. N. Mukherji, History of Education in India, 1966, P. 70.

2 Resolution of March 7, 1835.

3 The Despatch was considered to be the “Magna Carta of English Education in India”. It was the first authoritative declaration on the part of the British Parliament about the educational policy to be followed in India.
demand for it, and that both English and the Indian Languages were to be regarded the media for the diffusion of European knowledge; a scheme to establish universities was to be formulated, whose functions were to hold examinations and confer degrees. The despatch also recommended that a number of high schools should be set up. This eventually led to the establishment in the country of the first three universities in 1857.

The Education Commission of 1882

In 1882 the Government of India appointed a Commission, known as the Hunter Commission, "to enquire into the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such measures as it may think desirable in order to further carrying out of the policy therein laid down". The Commission, inter alia, recommended the gradual withdrawal of the State from the direct support and management of institutions of higher education. With regard to vocational and technical education, the Commission recommended that in the particular class of high schools there should be two avenues, one leading to the entrance examination of the University and the other of a more practical character intended to fit the youth for commercial, vocational and non-literary pursuits.

The Universities Commission of 1902

The recommendations of the Hunter Commission led to a rapid expansion of higher education during the next two decades, giving rise to problems which necessitated the appointment of a Commission on January 27, 1902, "to enquire into the condition and prospects of the universities established in British India; to consider and report upon any proposals which have been, or may be made for improving their constitution and working, and to recommend such measures as may tend to elevate the standard of university teaching, and to promote the advancement of learning". The Commission recommended the reorganisation of university administration; a much

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5These were the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

In spite of the specific recommendations of the Commission for fitting the youth for commercial, vocational or non-literary pursuits, neither the public nor the Government seem to have appreciated the value of suggestions with the result that the recommendations were practically ignored.
more strict and systematic supervision of the colleges by the university; and the imposition of more exacting conditions of affiliation; a much closer attention to the conditions under which students live and work; the assumption of teaching functions by the university within defined limits; substantial changes in curricula and in the methods of examination. As a result of the recommendations of this Commission secondary schools came to be more under the domination of the Universities: under the Indian Universities Act of 1904, schools had to be recognised by the Universities, and rules and regulations were framed for this purpose7.

Government Resolution on Educational policy in 1913

There was a growing popular demand in the country for mass education. A Government Resolution8 on education policy was issued in 1913, enunciating three cardinal principles:

(i) that the standard of existing institutions should be raised in preference to increasing their number;

(ii) that the scheme of primary and secondary education for the average scholar should be steadily diverted to more practical ends; and

(iii) that provision should be made for higher studies and research in India, so that Indian students might get enough facilities for higher work without having to go abroad.

Though the Resolution was immediately carried into effect, the outbreak of the World War I delayed the developments planned in the Resolution. However, some new universities were established9.

The Calcutta University Commission of 1917

The next important stage was the appointment of the Calcutta University Commission in 1917 under the Chairmanship of the late Sir Michael Sadler. This Commission went into the question of secondary education and held the view that the improvement of education Commission, Vol. i, op. cit., pp. 22-23 and Report of the Secondary Education Commission, op. cit., pp. 11-12. See also Mukherji, op. cit., pp. 167-68.

8The Government of India passed the Resolution on February 21, 1913.

secondary education was essential for the improvement of University education. The Commission made the following important recommendations:

(i) The dividing line between the University and Secondary courses should properly be drawn at the Intermediate examination than at the Matriculation Examination.

(ii) The Government should, therefore, create a new type of institution called the intermediate colleges which would provide for instruction in Arts, Science, Medicine, Engineering and Teaching etc; these colleges were to be run as independent institutions or to be attached to selected high schools.

(iii) The admission test for universities should be the passing of the Intermediate examination.

(iv) A Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, consisting of the representatives of Government, University, High Schools and Intermediate Colleges be established and entrusted with the administration and control of Secondary Education.

The Sadler Commission Report was a comprehensive one and many of the universities in India implemented its suggestions. It was also for the first time that a Commission had recommended the attachment of Intermediate Classes to the high schools and the setting up of a Board of Education to control High School and Intermediate Education.10

The Hartog Committee

In 1929, an Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, known as the Hartog Committee after its Chairman Sir Philip Hartog, was appointed to review the position of education in the country. In the opinion of this Committee, the Matriculation of the University still dominated the whole of the secondary course. In order to obviate this defect, the Committee recommended that a large number of pupils intending to follow certain avocation should stop at the middle school stage and there should be “more diversified curricula in the schools”. The Committee also recommended “diversion of more boys to industrial and commercial careers at the

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and of the middle stage, preparatory to special instruction in technical and industrial schools”. The Committee also reviewed the problems relating to the training of teachers and the service conditions of the secondary teachers

The Sapru Committee

The Sapru Committee appointed in 1934 by the U.P. Government to enquire into the causes of unemployment in U.P. came to the conclusion that the system of education commonly prevalent prepared pupils only for examinations and degrees and not for any avocation in life. The Committee suggested that—

(i) diversified courses at the secondary stage should be introduced, one of these leading to the University degree;

(ii) the intermediate stage be abolished and the secondary stage be extended by one year;

(iii) the vocational training and education should begin after the lower secondary stage; and

(iv) the Degree course at the University should extend over a period of three years.

The Abbot-Wood Report, 1936-37

In pursuance of the Resolution of 1935 of the Central Advisory Board of Education (an advisory body set up in 1921), two expert advisers, Messrs. Abbot and Wood were invited in 1936 to advise the Government “on certain problems of educational reorganisation and particularly on problems of vocational education”. The Abbot-Wood Report, submitted in 1937, suggested a complete hierarchy of vocational institutions parallel with the hierarchy of institutions imparting general education.

As a result of their recommendations “a new type of technical institution called the Polytechnic has come into existence”. The provinces also started technical, commercial or agricultural high schools conducting non-literary courses.

11 Ibid., p. 13.
12 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
In 1937, the Congress Ministry assumed responsibility of administration in seven major Provinces of India and concentrated their attention on educational reforms. In October 1937, an all-India National Educational Conference was summoned at Wardha under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi and the following resolutions were adopted:

1. That in the opinion of this conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale;

2. That the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue;

3. That the conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre around some form of manual and productive work, and that all other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child; and

4. That the conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of teachers.

The conference then appointed a committee with Dr. Zakir Hussain as its chairman. The Committee submitted its report on December 2, 1937, and the scheme of education suggested by it is popularly known as the "Wardha Scheme", the main features of which are as follows:

(i) A Basic Craft is to serve as the centre of instruction. The idea is not to teach some handicraft side by side with liberal education, but the entire education is to be imparted through some industry or vocation;

(ii) The scheme is to be self-supporting to the extent of covering teachers' salaries and aims at making pupils self-supporting after the completion of their course;

(iii) Manual labour is insisted on so that every individual may learn to earn his living through it in later life. It is also considered non-violent, since an individual does not snatch away the living of others with the help of a machine; and
(iv) Instruction is closely coordinated with the child’s life, i.e., his home and village crafts and occupations.\textsuperscript{16}

The Sargent Report

In 1944, the Central Advisory Board of Education submitted a comprehensive Report on Post-War Educational Development, known as the Sargent Report, visualising a system of universal, compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 14, the Senior Basic or the Middle School to be the final stage in the school career of majority of the pupils. The Report also recommended that at the Middle School stage, provision should be made for a variety of courses, extending over a period of five years after the age of 11. These courses while preserving an essentially cultural character should be designed to prepare the pupils for entry into industrial and commercial occupations as well as into the Universities. It was recommended that the High School course should cover 6 years, the normal age of admission being 11 years and that the High Schools should be of two main types (a) academic, and (b) technical. The objective of both should be to provide a good all-round education combined with some preparation in the later stages for the careers which pupils will pursue on leaving schools.\textsuperscript{16}

The University Education Commission of 1948

The era of educational reconstruction inevitably followed in the wake of social and economic reconstruction initiated by the National Government after 1947, education being the chief instrument for reconstruction and transformation of society. The first steps taken in the direction of educational reconstruction were the appointment of a series of commissions to survey, study, review and recommend improvements in the different sectors of education.

To look into the problems of University education, the University Education Commission was appointed by the Government of India in 1948 under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Central Advisory Board of Education and also of the Inter-University Board. The Commission made important suggestions for improving the standard of university education in the country. Introduction of a three-year degree course for the first university degree, greater use of tutorial system of instruction, formulation of new aims, emphasis on developing know-\textsuperscript{18}See also Mukerji, op. cit., pp. 218-19.\textsuperscript{19}Report of the Secondary Education Commission, op. cit., p. 15.
ledge and critical thinking rather than mechanical passing of examinations, establishment of Rural Universities and introduction of moral education were some of its salient recommendations. The Commission, however, thought it unfortunate that neither the public nor the Government had realised the importance of Intermediate Colleges in the Indian educational systems. To coordinate University Education in the country, the establishment of the University Grants Commission was also recommended. The Commission came into being immediately thereafter.

The Secondary Education Commission, 1952

The Radhakrishnan Commission had surveyed the field of secondary education in a passing manner and had admitted that ‘our secondary education remains the weakest link in our educational machinery and needs urgent reform’. This fact was the raison d’être of an All India Commission for Secondary Education appointed in 1952 under the Chairmanship of Dr. A. Lakshmanswamy Mudaliar. This Commission offered a number of suggestions to adjust secondary education with the new goals and needs of free India. The aim was now to train our youth for intermediate leadership and for democratic citizenship. Secondary education was to be a terminal stage for a large majority of the nation’s youth, who would take up their places in society after their school education and provide leadership to the general masses. The Commission was equally concerned with qualitative improvement of the schools. To develop individual talent, curricular offerings were extended and diversified. To achieve the new aims of education, changes in methods of teaching were suggested. New trends in examination, guidance and extra curricular work were brought into the school programmes. Multi-purpose secondary school was a new concept recommended by the Commission. Inclusion of craft, social studies and general science in the curriculum was aimed at orienting students towards an industrial and science-centred democratic life.

The following were the main recommendations of the Commission:

1. New Organization pattern.—(i) Secondary education should commence after four or five years period of primary or junior basic education and should include (a) the middle or senior basic secondary stage of 3 years, and (b) the

17 Ibid., p. 16; see also Mukerji, op. cit., p. 249.
higher secondary stage of 4 years; (ii) The present intermediate stage should be replaced by the higher secondary stage which should be of four years’ duration, one year of the present intermediate being included in it; (iii) As a consequence of the preceding recommendations, the first degree course in the university should be of three years’ duration; (iv) For those who pass out of the High School, there should be provision of a pre-University course of one year; (v) Admission to professional colleges should be open to those who have completed the higher secondary course, or have taken the pre-University course; (vi) Multi-purpose schools should be established, wherever possible to provide varied courses of interest to students with diverse aims, aptitudes and abilities.

2. Technical Education.—Technical schools should be started in large number either separately or as part of multi-purpose schools. Such schools should be located in close proximity to appropriate industries and they should function in close cooperation with the industry concerned.

3. Study of Languages.—(i) The mother-tongue or the regional language should generally be the medium of instruction throughout the secondary school stage, (ii) During the middle school stage, every child should be taught at least two languages. English and Hindi should be introduced at the end of the junior basic stage, subject to the principle that no two languages be introduced in the same year, (iii) At the high and higher secondary stage, at least two languages should be studied, one of them being the mother-tongue or the regional language.

4. Curriculum.—(i) At the middle school stage, the curriculum should include, (a) languages, (b) social studies, (c) general science, (d) mathematics, (e) art and music, (f) craft and (g) physical education. (ii) In the second year of high school or higher secondary stage, diversified courses of instruction should be provided. They should include following seven groups: (a) humanities, (b) sciences, (c) technical subjects, (d) commercial subjects, (e) agricultural subjects, (f) fine arts and (g) home science. (iii) A certain number of core subjects should be common to all
students whatever diversified course of study they may take. These should consist of (a) languages, (b) general science, (c) social studies and (d) a craft.

5. Miscellaneous.— (i) Educational guidance should receive much greater attention on the part of educational authorities; the services of trained guidance officers and career masters should be made available gradually and in increasing measure to all educational institutions. (ii) The number of external examinations and subjectivity in the essay-type tests should be minimised by introducing objective tests and also by changing the type of questions.

The Commission’s recommendations were integrated in the successive five-year plans and began to be implemented, both at the Centre and in the States, in 1954.19

The National Committee on Women’s Education, 1958

The problems of education of girls and women in the country acquired a new significance since the attainment of Independence. The Educational Panel of the Planning Commission, in July 1957, recommended that “a suitable Committee should be appointed to go into the various aspects of the question relating to the nature of education for girls at the elementary, secondary and adult stages and to examine whether the present system was helping them to lead a happier and more useful life”. The Conference of the State Education Ministers in 1957 also agreed that a special committee should be appointed to examine the whole question of women’s education20.

The National Committee on Women’s Education was accordingly set up by the Government in May 1958, with Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh as Chairman. The Committee, in its report published in 1959, recommended that the highest priority should be given to establishing a parity between the education of boys and girls and a bold and determined effort should be made by the Centre and the States to face the difficulties and magnitude of the problem. It recommended co-education up to the middle school stage but separate institutions for girls at the high school stage where more diversified curriculum suited to girls should be introduced. The Committee desired ample provision for school mothers, creches, training of women teachers and employment facilities for adult women. It also

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19 See also Mukerji, op. c.t., Pp. 246-47.
desired that suitable atmosphere should be created for greater enrolment of girls, for greater efforts by voluntary organisations, more provision for scholarships for girls at all stages and particularly at the university stage.\textsuperscript{21}

Some of the important recommendations of the Committee are given below:

1. The education of women should be regarded as a major and special problem in education for a good many years to come, and that a bold and determinate effort should be made to face its difficulties;

2. Steps should be taken to constitute as early as possible a National Council for the Education of Girls and Women;

3. A separate unit for Women’s Education, under a Educational Adviser, should be set up at the Centre;

4. In each State, a woman should be appointed as Joint Director and placed in charge of education of girls;

5. Lady teachers should be appointed in all schools where there are no women;

6. There should be identical curricula for boys and girls at the primary stage. At the secondary stage, there is need for differentiation of the courses;

7. Vocational training courses with ‘Primary’ as basic qualification may be conducted in school during the day, along side general education. Courses with ‘Middle’ and ‘Secondary as basic qualifications may be organised in vocational sections of middle and secondary schools, in multipurpose schools, in separate vocational schools, in apprenticeship classes, in training centres, in workshops and/or in continuation schools.

8. Educational facilities for adult women in the form of condensed courses (i) that prepare women for the middle

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 196-225.
school examination, and (ii) those that prepare them for the high school or higher secondary examination should be provided more extensively in all States; and

9. Part-time employment of women teachers should be encouraged as largely as possible in order to enable women to manage their responsibilities at home as well as to do some teaching work.

On the recommendations of the Committee, the Government of India has set up a National Council for Women's Education at the Centre.²²

²²See also Mukerji, op. cit., pp. 251-52.

²³⁰ (E) LS—2.
III

EDUCATION COMMISSION, 1964-66

In view of the important role of education in the national development and in building up a truly democratic society the Government considered it necessary to survey and examine the entire field of education in order to realise a well balanced, integrated and adequate system of national education capable of making a powerful contribution to all aspects of national life. To achieve these objectives speedily, the Government of India in October 1964, set up an Education Commission, under Resolution of July 14, 1964.

The Commission in particular was to advise the Government on the national pattern of education and on the general policies for the development of education at all stages—ranging from the primary to postgraduate stage and in all its aspects besides examining a host of educational problems in their social and economic context. The Commission was, however, not to examine legal and medical education.¹

The Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr. D. S. Kothari, Chairman, University Grants Commission, consisted of sixteen members; eleven being Indians and five foreign experts.² In addition, the Commission had the benefit of discussion with and advice of a number of internationally known consultants in the educational as well as scientific field.³

The Commission began its task on October 2, 1964, and submitted its report on June 29, 1966 to the Union Education Minister.

The Commission set up 12 Task Forces and 7 Working Groups. The ‘Task Forces’ were set up on the following:

(i) School Education;

¹ See the Resolution of the Government of India, setting up the Education Commission—No 41/3(3)/64—EI. Ministry of Education, July 14, 1964. For full text of the Resolution, see Appendix I.

² For details see Appendix I.

³ For details see Appendix II.
(ii) Higher Education;
(iii) Technical Education;
(iv) Agricultural Education;
(v) Adult Education;
(vi) Science Education and Research;
(vii) Teacher Training and Teacher Status;
(viii) Student Welfare;
(ix) New Techniques and Methods;
(x) Manpower;
(xi) Educational Administration; and
(xii) Educational Finance.

The 'Working Groups' were set up on the following:

(i) Women's Education;
(ii) Education of Backward Classes;
(iii) School Buildings;
(iv) School Community Relations;
(v) Statistics;
(vi) Pre-Primary Education; and
(vii) School Curriculum.
IV

PRINCIPAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE EDUCATION COMMISSION

A. Education and National Objectives

Education and National Development: The most important and urgent reform needed in education is to relate it to the life, needs and aspirations of the people and thereby make it a powerful instrument of social, economic and cultural transformation necessary for realisation of the national goal. For this purpose the following five-fold programme has been suggested:

(a) Relating education to productivity;

(b) Strengthening social and national integration through educational programmes;

(c) Consolidation of democracy through education;

(d) Development of social, moral and spiritual values; and

(e) Modernisation of society through awakening of curiosity, development of attitudes and values and building up certain essential skills.

(a) Education and Productivity: The following programmes are needed to relate productivity to education:

(i) Science education should be an integral part of school education and ultimately become a part of all courses at University stage;

(ii) Work experience to become an integral part of all education;

(iii) Every effort should be made to orient work experience to technology and industrialisation and the application of science to productive processes, including agriculture; and

(iv) Vocationalisation of secondary education and agricultural and technical education to be emphasized.
Social and National Integration: The following steps have been suggested to strengthen national consciousness and unity:

(i) Adoption of a common school system of public education as the national goal and its effective implementation in a phased programme spread over 20 years;

(ii) Organisation of social and national service programmes concurrently with academic studies in schools and colleges and to make them obligatory for all students at all stages;

(iii) Participation in programmes of community development and national reconstruction should be an integral part of all education from the primary to the under-graduate stage;

(iv) Continuance of N.C.C. on its present basis till the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan;

(v) Development of an appropriate language policy for the education system;

(vi) Adoption of regional language as the medium of instructions;

(vii) Energetic action for production of books and literature, particularly scientific and technical, in regional languages. This should be the responsibility of universities assisted by U. G. C.

(viii) Continuance of the use of English as the medium of instructions in the All-India institutions. The eventual adoption of Hindi to be considered in due course subject to certain safeguards;

(ix) Regional languages to be made language of administration for the regions concerned at the earliest possible time;

(x) Continuation of the promotion of the teaching and study of English right from the school stage. Special attention to be given to the study of Russian;

(xi) English language to serve as a link-language in higher education for academic work and intellectual inter-communication. Hindi to serve as the link language of the majority of our people and also adoption of all measures for the spread of Hindi in non-Hindi areas;

(xii) Combining two modern Indian languages at the B.A. and M.A. level; and
(xiii) Promotion of national consciousness through the promo-
tion of understanding and re-valuation of our cultural.
heritage and the creation of a strong driving faith in the-
future towards which we aspire.

(c) *Education for Democracy:* The following programme has-
been suggested for consolidation of democracy:

(i) Provision of free and compulsory education of good quality
for all children up to the age of 14 years as envisaged in
Art. 45 of the Constitution;

(ii) Promotion of programmes of adult education aiming not
only at liquidation of illiteracy, but also at raising the civic
and vocational efficiency and general cultural level of
the citizens;

(iii) Training of efficient leadership at all levels by expanding
secondary and higher education and providing equal op-
portunities for all children of merit and promise, irrespec-
tive of economic status, caste, religion, sex or place of
residence; and

(iv) Development of a scientific mind and outlook, tolerance,
concern for public interest and public service, self-discip-
line, self reliance, initiative, and a positive attitude to-
work.

(d) *Social, Moral and Spiritual Values:* The education system
should emphasise the development of fundamental, social, moral and
spiritual values. From this point of view the Centre and State
Governments should adopt measures to introduce education in moral,
social and spiritual values in all institutions under their (or local
authority) control on the lines recommended by the University
Education Commission and the Committees on Religious and Moral
Instruction.

(e) *Education and Modernisation:* The following has been sug-
gested in this regard:

(i) Awakening of curiosity, the development of proper in-
terest, attitudes and values and the building up of such
essential skills as independent study and capacity to think
and judge for oneself; and

(ii) Creation of an intelligentsia of adequate size and com-
pentence.¹

B. The Educational System: Structure and Standard

(1) Stages in Education and their Inter-relationship: In this regard the following has been suggested:

(i) The new educational system should consist of (a) one to three years of pre-schools education; (b) a primary stage of 7 to 8 years divided into lower primary stage of 4 to 5 years and a higher primary stage of 3 or 2 years; (c) a lower secondary stage of 3 or 2 years; (d) a higher secondary stage of two years of general education or one to 3 years of vocational education; (e) a higher education stage having a course of 3 years or more for the first degree and followed by course for the second or research degree of varying durations;

(ii) Age of admission to Class I ordinary not to be less than 6;

(iii) First public examination to come at the end of 10 years of schooling;

(iv) Secondary schools should be of two types—high schools providing a ten-year course and higher secondary schools providing a course of 11 to 12 years;

(v) New Higher Secondary course beginning in Class XI and XII to provide specialised subjects; and

(vi) Transfer of the Pre-University Course from the Universities and affiliated colleges to secondary schools by 1975-76 and the duration of the course to be lengthened to two years by 1985-86. The University Grants Commission should be responsible for effecting the transfer of all pre-university or intermediate work from university and affiliated colleges to schools.

(2) Reorganisation of the University Stage: The following has been recommended in this respect:

(i) Duration of the first degree should not be less than three years and the duration of the second degree to be 2 or 3 years;

(ii) Some universities should start graduate schools with 3 year Master Degree courses in certain subjects; and

(iii) Three-year special courses for the first degree which begin at the end of the first year of the present 3-year degree
courses should be started in selected subjects and in selected institutions.

(3) *Utilisation of Facilities:* The following methods have been suggested to make full utilisation of available facilities:

(i) Instructional days in the year to be increased to about 39 weeks for schools and 36 weeks for colleges and pre-primary schools; and

(ii) Standard calendar to be worked out by the Ministry of Education and the University Grants Commission in consultation with the State Governments and Universities respectively. Other holidays to be cut down to 10 in a year.

C. *Teacher Status*

The Commission has emphasised that the most urgent need was to upgrade the remuneration of teachers substantially, particularly at the school stage, and recommended that the Government of India should lay down, for the school stage, minimum scales of pay for teachers and assist the States and Union Territories to adopt equivalent or higher scales to suit their conditions. Scales of pay of school teachers belonging to the same category but working under different managements such as government, local bodies — private managements should be the same.

D. *Teacher Education*

The professional preparedness of teachers being crucial for the qualitative improvement of education, the Commission has urged that this should be treated as a key-area in educational development and adequate financial provision should be made for it. It further recommended:

(i) In order to make the professional preparation of teachers effective, teacher education must be brought into the mainstream of the academic life of the Universities, on the one hand, and of the school life and educational development, on the other;

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The Commission proposed certain scales of pay for teachers to be implemented in a phased programme over a period of five years.
(ii) The quality of the programme of teacher education should be improved;

(iii) New professional courses should be developed to orientate headmasters, teachers educators, and educational administrators to their special field of work;

(iv) The post-graduate courses in education should be flexible and be planned to promote an academic and scientific study of education and to prepare personnel for special fields of education, requiring special knowledge and initiation; and

(v) Improvement of teacher education institutions and expansion of training facilities should be undertaken.4

E. Towards Equalisation of Educational Opportunity

Observing that every attempt should be made to equalise educational opportunities or at least to reduce some of the most glaring inequalities which now exist, the Commission has stressed the need for the following programmes:

(i) The development of a common school system of public education in which no fees would be charged, where access to good schools will be open to all children on the basis of merit, and where the standard maintained would be high enough to make the average parent feel no need to send his child to an independent institution;

(ii) The development of adequate programmes of student-service at all stages which will include free supply of books and writing materials at the primary stage, the provision of book banks and text-books libraries in all institutions of secondary and higher education, the provision of transport, day-study centres or hostels, and the institution of guidance facilities and health services;

(iii) The development of a large programme of scholarships at all stages and in all sectors combined with a programme of placement and maintenance of quality institutions, to ensure that the brighter children at least will have access to good education and that their further education will not be handicapped on economic grounds;

4 Ibid., pp. 67—89.
(iv) Special encouragement to the education of girls and the backward classes;

(v) The reduction of imbalances in educational development between the different parts of the country-districts and States; and

(vi) The development of a comparatively small but effective programme for the education of the handicapped children.5

F. School Education Curriculum

(1) Essentials of Curricular Improvement: For the improvement and upgrading of school curricula, the following measures have been suggested:

(1). Essentials of Curricular Improvement: For the improvement taken by university Departments of Education, training colleges, State Institutes of Education and Boards of School Education; (b) Revision of curricula should be based on such research; (c) Basic to the success of any attempt at curriculum improvement is the preparation of text-books and teaching-learning materials; and (d) The orientation of teachers to the revised curricula through in-service be achieved through seminars and refresher courses.

(ii) Schools should be given the freedom to devise and experiment with new curricula suited to their needs. A lead should be given in the matter of training colleges and universities through their experimental schools;

(iii) Advanced curricula should be prepared by State Boards of School Education in all subjects and introduced in a phased manner in schools which fulfil certain conditions of staff and facilities;

(iv) The formation of Subject Teachers' Associations for the different school subjects will help to stimulate experimentation and in upgrading of curricula.

(2) Study of Languages: The following has been suggested for the study of languages at school stage:

(i) The language study at the school stage needs review and a new policy requires to be formulated particularly in view of the fact that English has been mostly used as an associated official language of the country for an indefinite period:

*ibid.*, pp, 109-143.
(ii) The modification of the language formula should be guided by the following principles:

(a) Hindi as the official language of the Union enjoys an importance next only to that of the mother tongue.

(b) A workable knowledge of English will continue to be an asset to student.

(c) The proficiency gained in a language depends as much upon the types of teachers and facilities as upon the length of time in which it is learnt.

(d) The most suitable stage for learning these languages is the lower secondary (Classes VIII-X).

(e) The introduction of two additional languages should be staggered.

(f) Hindi or English should be introduced at a point where there is greatest motivation and need.

(g) At no stage should the learning of four languages be made compulsory.

(3) Three Language Formula: The modified Three-Language Formula should include the following:

(i) The mother-tongue or the regional language;

(ii) The official language of the Union or the associate official language of the Union so long as it exists; and

(iii) A modern Indian or Foreign Language not covered under (a) and (b) and other than that used as the medium of instruction.

G. Educational Administration and Supervision

A sympathetic and imaginative system of supervision and administration is essential for initiating and accelerating educational reform. Educational administration should, therefore, be improved and strengthened through programmes like the following:

(i) Strengthening of the administration at the national level through the reorganisation of the Ministry of Education; the creation of the I.E.S.; the expansion of the Central and Centrally sponsored sectors and the provision of national leadership of a stimulating but non-coercive character in educational thought and programme;

4 Ibr’, pp, 183-209,
(ii) Strengthening and reorganisation of State Education Departments through improvement of service conditions and recruitment procedures of departmental staff;

(iii) Development of State Institutes of Education as academic wings of the State Education Department;

(iv) Adoption of the district as the principal administrative and planning unit and the creation of District School Boards to administer all education in the district below the university level;

(v) Strengthening of the offices of the District Educational Officers as the principal service and supervision centres for all the schools within the district retaining only a general coordinating and supervisory role with the State-level directorates;

(vi) Improvement of existing grant-in-aid codes and methods of financial assistants to private schools;

(vii) Provision of in-service education for all officers of the Department non-gazetted officers being trained at the State level in the State institutes of Education and the gazetted officers being trained at the national level in a National Staff College for Educational Administrators; and

(viii) Promotion of research and comparative studies in educational development with a view to vitalising and improving administrative procedures.  

H. Higher Education: Objectives and Improvement

(1) Establishment of Major Universities: The most important reform for higher education is the development of some major universities where first-class post-graduate work and research would be possible and whose standards would be comparable to the best institutions of their type in any part of the world. In this regard the Commission has suggested:

(i) The major universities are to be selected from amongst the existing universities and to include one of the I.I.T.s and one agricultural university;

7 Ibid., pp. 249-273.
(ii) These universities must make an effort to recruit talented students on an all-India basis and intellectually distinguished group of teachers and provide satisfactory conditions of work;

(iii) A national scholarship scheme combined with a placement programme should be organised, the scholarship being tenable at the major universities or advanced centres. They should be continued at its post-graduate level.

(2) Centres of Advanced Studies: Partly as a preparation and partly as a consequence of the establishment of major universities, the Commission observed that it was necessary to strengthen and expand the UGC programme for the establishment of Centres (Clusters) of Advanced Study. The Commission recommended that fifty such centres, some in modern Indian languages and one in education, should be established over the next five to ten years. The programme should be extended to agriculture, engineering, medicine and modern Indian languages, not covered under the scheme at present.

(3) Improvement of other Universities and Affiliated Colleges: The major Universities should be utilised to provide teachers of quality to the other universities and affiliated colleges. From this point of view the Commission has suggested:

(i) Talented students from the major universities should be induced to join the teaching profession and majority of them placed in universities and colleges other than their own so that they can help raise standards;

(ii) The U.G.C. should sponsor an identification and placement service to facilitate the recruitment of outstanding persons to the teaching profession;

(iii) The U.G.C. should make available fellowships to outstanding persons and send them to work in departments of universities; and

(iv) Strong inter-university ties should be formed among the major universities, advanced centres and outstanding affiliated colleges in particular fields of research, by encouraging conferences for presentation and constructive discussion of papers.
(4) **Medium of Education in the Universities:** The Commission has made the following recommendations with regard to the medium of education:

(i) The regional languages should be adopted as media of education at the university stage in a phased programme spread over ten years;

(ii) At the earlier stage of the under-graduate course, the bulk of the instruction may be given through the regional language while at the post-graduate stage, it may be in English;

(iii) In due course, all teachers in higher education should as far as possible, be bilingual and post-graduate students should be able to follow lecturers and use reading material in the regional language as well as in English;

(iv) The maintenance of college teaching through Hindi in the non-Hindi areas or of Urdu in any part of the country where there is reasonable number of Urdu-Speaking students should be permitted and encouraged;

(v) Centres of advanced studies should be established for the development of all modern Indian languages including Urdu;

(vi) The classical and modern Indian languages should be provided as elective subjects, no language being made a compulsory subject of study at the university stage; and

(vii) The teaching of important library languages other than English should be stressed, in particular the study of Russian on a large scale.8

**I. Adult Education**

(1) **Liquidation of Illiteracy:** The Commission stressed that every effort should be made to eradicate illiteracy from the country as early as possible and in no part of the country, however backward, the process should take more than 20 years. The Commission urged that the national percentage of literacy should be raised to 60 per

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8 Ibid., pp. 274-297,
cent by 1971 and to 80 per cent by 1976. As a first step to arrest the growth of illiteracy following measures have been suggested:

(i) Expansion of universal schooling of five years' duration to the age-groups 6—11;

(ii) Provision of part-time education to children of age group 11—14 who either miss schooling or drop prematurely out of the school;

(iii) Provision of part-time general and vocational education to the younger adults of the age group 15—30; and

(iv) Wide-spread correspondence courses should be organised for those who are unable even to attend part-time courses.

(2) **Role of Universities for Eradication of Illiteracy:** The Commission feels that the universities in India should assume a much larger responsibility for educating the adults. In order to have an efficient machinery for launching carefully planned adult education programmes, each university should establish a Board of Adult Education with representative from all departments involved in adult education programmes.

(3) **Organisation and Administrations** The Commission has recommended the establishment of a National Board of Adult Education on which all relevant Ministries and agencies should be represented. The Board would advise the Governments, at the Centre and in the States, on all matters relating to informal adult education and training and draw-up plans and programmes for their consideration. Similar bodies should be set up at the State and District level.

Voluntary agencies working in the field of adult education should receive every encouragement, financial and technical."
COMMENTS ON AND REACTIONS TO THE EDUCATION COMMISSION REPORT

The Report of the Education Commission received a wide coverage in the Indian Press and evoked a number of reactions and comments, both critical and appreciative from editors, eminent educators, research scholars, planners and the like. The Report also became a subject for discussion at a number of Conferences, and Seminars convened specially, for the purpose. An attempt has been made in the following pages to sum up some of these comments and reactions:

(1) Press Comments

(i) Newspapers

"Amrita Bazar Patrika", Calcutta, July 13, 1966:

The State Governments, Universities and Boards of Secondary Education will have a large share in implementing the Commission's recommendations, and however generous the Centre might be, the State Government's will have to meet a share of the additional expenditure. It would not be quite proper on the part of the Centre to impose any decision on the country without ascertaining their views. After all, education is a State subject and efforts to transfer it to the Concurrent List have not succeeded. The State Governments are entitled to claim proper weight for their views, and academic bodies like Universities and Boards of Secondary Education are entitled to consultation. Far reaching changes in the field of education should not be introduced in a hurry through orders from New Delhi.

"Assam Tribune", Gauhati, July 1, 1966:

An important feature of the recommendations is the totality of approach. Parts of the report are in the nature of a perspective plan—100 per cent literacy within 20 years and completely free education by the same date line; giving every graduate an offer of employment along with his degree or diploma; a target of Rs. 40,000 million for educational expenditure by 1985-86.
The recommendations for higher and uniform pay for teachers would be widely hailed. It is not clear, however, what concrete measures the Commission has suggested to upgrade the efficiency standards of the teaching staff. At present, the system of recruitment and promotion is vitiated by considerations other than those of pure merit.

The Commission's suggestions for overhauling the educational curricula and examination system are not un-exceptionable. One very much wonders if the idea of a text book publication in the public sector is sound. The proposed public corporation, though purporting to be autonomous, can hardly maintain the academic freedom that is of the very essence of progressive education. Similarly, the idea of abolition of the system of pass or failure and of merely stating the proficiency of the pupil in the different subjects on the basis of the examination and class records is not only too drastic but also of doubtful value.

The Commission has paid lip service to the cause of English. It is true that the Commission has stressed the study of English right from the school stage but with the mother tongue and the regional languages as medium of instruction in schools and colleges, English is bound to lose ground, almost to the point of extinction. After this step of undermining English, one hardly sees any point in having special institutions with medium of instruction in other foreign languages.

"The Deccan Chronicle," Secundrabad, July 1, 1966:

The Kothari system is very elaborate both with regard to the process of school education and examination. It provided for preschool education, a lower primary, a higher primary, a lower secondary and a higher secondary, culminating in a public examination at the end of ten years of schooling—the entire period being devoted to general education without specialisation.

Secondly, the examination is diluted in the Report. While an external public examination is recommended, it also provides for a Board or School certificate based on the internal performance of the student without specifying whether he passed or failed in any subject.
The public welcomes the free and compulsory education provision though serious efforts have not been made in the country to properly implement the free-compulsory primary education scheme ...... The salary scales proposed by the Kothari Commission are very attractive. But which state Government is prepared to find the wherewithal for meeting the increased expenditure though it is generally accepted that the teacher must have comforts and be an honoured member of society?

The financial implications are serious and without adequate thought as regards the economic resources of each State it will be a mere leap forward at a moment of irrespressible enthusiasm. Anything that is contemplated should be practical, popular and within the means of Government especially at a time such as the present, when the country is going through a serious crisis economically and politically.

"The Deccan Herald, Bangalore, July 1, 1966:

The recommendations on the status and service conditions of teachers are undoubtedly sound and wholesome. Full freedom for teachers to participate in public life is also urged.

The proposal that Hindi should take place of the jink language "in due course" is packed with harmful potentials in the present context of insidious executive measures being taken for imposing Hindi on the majority of the Indian people. Many are bound to differ from the Commission's view that the mother tongue and regional languages should be the medium of instruction in higher education. Such a policy in this technological age can only do dis-service to those who seek higher education. None of our regional languages can honestly claim to command the range and reach of the English language, so that proper books are bound to remain unavailable in the regional languages. Nor can translation keep pace with the rapid advance of knowledge. It is true that the Commission has recommended that English should continue to serve as the link language in higher education for academic work, and intellectual dialogue. If the Commission had been consistent in this approach, it would have appreciated the reasonableness of the proposition that English must for ever remain the medium of instruction in higher education which alone can make for maintenance of a uniformly high standard of higher education and ensure that the nation desires the full benefits and advantages of the cultural and scientific wealth of the world.
The Commission seeks the mother tongue or the regional language as the medium of instruction at all levels in different universities, the change over to be effected in ten years, while, in another breath, it wants all-India Institutions to continue English, probably indefinitely, as the medium of instruction. Also, in the already existing mess and muddle, caused by the bewildering multiplicity of languages, a new complication may well arise by the Commission's emphasis on modern Indian or European languages (why not Asian and African, one may ask) in the proposed modification of the three-language formula which, at any rate, is hopelessly limping in its operation in many States. Again, how can one reconcile the apparent concessions to different language zealots and its recommendation that "at no stage should learning of four languages be made compulsory in the suggested modification of the formula."

Again, what can one make of the delectable vagueness as in the suggestion that "Hindi or English should be introduced at the point of the greatest motivation and need" in regard to the suggested modification of the language formula? How on earth can this be implemented? Implementation is the crux of the problem. The path of education is already strewn with unimplemented recommendations by various commissions and committees.

Lack of progress in (various) directions is often ascribed to lack of finance. But both expansion and improvement in education will inevitably involve increasing expenditure and expenditure is "very low" in India even as compared to some developing countries.

On the whole it (Commission's Report) is bold and categorical. It has acted boldly in recommending higher pay for teachers of all categories with a promise to review their pay position after every five years and by linking their D.A. with those in Government Service.

It has been categorical in attempting to strengthen and enlarge school education by spreading it over 12 years and in retaining English. So far we were used to think of selective admission to University education only. The Commission has gone one step further and has recommended such admission even to H.S. education. This has been done to bridge the gap between demand and available resources.

The approach of the Commission has been realistic. It has realised the virtual absence of difference between a school teacher and a college
teacher with post graduate degrees and has prescribed the same scale of pay for both. It has cast aside the existing prejudice against correspondence courses and evening classes, appreciated the place of food in any economy and culture and advised the creation of one Agricultural University in each State.... Most of these recommendations can be implemented without much financial involvement and our seriousness about the report will be measured by the time we take for that.

"The Hindustan Times," New Delhi, July 1, 1966:

The much awaited report admirably fulfils all the high expectations entertained of it. It is a comprehensive, critical and constructive review of the educational system prevailing in this country. With the undoubted advantage derived from such a total and synoptic approach, the Commission is able to present a new and integral plan for the reform of the entire system at its various levels.

It will be for the Government to sift the recommendations and accept as many of them as it can at present but always with a view to moving towards the pattern recommended by the Commission. It is implicit in the very constitution and nature of such an expert body that its examination of problems should be exclusively in terms of the technical aspects of the question with no attempt to make concessions for political factors.

"Hitavada", Nagpur and Bhopal, July 2, 1966:

Unless the teacher is assured a reasonable salary and a fair measure of economic contentment, it would be futile to hope for any improvement in the standards of education. A radical change in the attitude of the planners towards education is necessary if funds are to be earmarked for implementing the recommendations of the Commission in respect of salaries of teachers. Finance is the main hurdle and it remains to be seen how Government propose to surmount it.

"Indian Express," Delhi, July 1, 1966:

The Commission's proposals are on the whole eminently sensible and certainly deserve to be accepted by the Government. This is particularly true of the proposals which are designed to make primary education more effective, to introduce work-experience as an integral element of general education, to vocationalise secondary education; to improve the quality of teachers at all levels and to provide teachers in sufficient strength, to strengthen centres of advanced studies and strive to obtain higher international standards in at least
some of the universities; to lay special emphasis on the combination of teaching and research in agricultural and allied sciences. The teaching of science needs to be introduced at an early stage in the students curriculum and it also needs to be strengthened at the secondary and higher levels both through the use of improved pedagogic methods and the provision of laboratory facilities. Additionally, there is an obvious case for linking it to agriculture in rural areas.

"The Indian Nation," Patna, July 2, 1966:

The national educational policy outlined by the Commission cannot be implemented by those who do not believe in purposeful education and national integration.... As to what exactly will bring about the desired change is more than we can say, but there is no doubt that education would already have come out of the ivory tower if politicians and educationists had learnt to place the interests of the country above their fads and ambitions. It is too much to hope that the Education Commission's report will revolutionise every one's mind and purify every heart.

It will be recalled that the system of assessment introduced in schools became discredited because teachers began to abuse the opportunity in various ways. Such innovations can succeed only when they are backed by a certain amount of honesty and loyalty on the part of teachers, or the authorities are in a position to take strong action against defaulters.

Attitudes and conventions, says the Commission, must be developed which will do justice to university autonomy and also recognise the valid claims of society, particularly in handling issues where universities have to share their decisions with lay agencies. The development policies of the universities as a whole should be adequately coordinated to meet national requirements for trained manpower and to ensure that there is no serious over-production or short-fall in any sector. They must also allow for the rising academic ambitions of the people. Our Universities are an integral part of the community, of society and the country as a whole. They have to come out of their ivory tower and let their feet feel the ground on which they have to rest. Some of the debates held at University bodies, whose time could be utilised more profitably, are not only socially wasteful but lead to avoidable bitterness. Universities will acquire new prestige if they recognise the claims of society.
"The Leader", Allahabad, July 2, 1966:

The report of the Commission is a monumental document, unique alike for its comprehensiveness, grasp of essentials and the desire to face the problems with courage and faith....A bold frontal attack on all points and at every stage has been made with the eye fixed all the time on the larger national and social objectives. It is one of the major qualities of the report that instead of losing itself in generalities it specifically states what needs to be done, at what stage, how and to what purpose.

The raising of the expenditure on education from Rs. 12 per capita to Rs. 54 by 1985 will involve financial outlays. The modification of the language formula to allow freedom of choice between English and Hindi will be criticised for the obvious political overtones the language controversy has acquired. Criticism will also be made that education is not to be brought under the concurrent list. Nevertheless the far-reaching proposals for change in the educational structure, the orientation towards science, the manifest desire to give higher education the autonomy it needs and the upgrading of teachers' salaries are features which can only be described as revolutionary.

"National Herald," Lucknow, July 2, 1966:

While the Commission has recommended a radical break with the past, its approach is undogmatic. It emphasises the importance of "a built in-flexibility", so that the educational system as it would emerge from the working out of the ideas presented in the report may be adjustable "to changing situations and requirements."

Whether the rise in expenditure on education envisaged by the Commission by 1985-86 is possible needs to be examined. The Commission says that even with the mobilisation of maximum resources, the funds will still be inadequate to meet even the minimum needs of education reconstruction. But by giving up "conventional techniques" involving large wastage and stagnation and by adopting measures of economy and efficient utilisation of resources, it should be possible to carry out the reforms suggested.

If what the Commission says is accepted as the last word on this subject, then the carrying out of whole scheme of reform would depend upon the degree of mutual understanding between the Centre and the States and on the persuasive power of the Union Education Ministry. This is one of those issues which take us beyond
the realm of education, specially if a new situation should arise in which the Congress Party is no longer in power both at the Centre and in all the States.

The Commission's formulation of the objectives of reconstruction is about the most comprehensive so far attempted....But some of the innovations need a degree of organisational and administrative skill which is by no means abundant at the state level and in which the resources at the Centre's disposal are by no means unlimited. It would be wise, therefore, to begin by building up a corps of men who can take charge of such things as combining work with the general education.

"Northern India Patrika," Allahabad, July 2, 1966:

A country's education should be patterned in consonance with the social order it strives to build up. India is pledged to the democratic ideal which is grounded in the belief in the inherent worth of the individual, in the maintenance of his dignity as the recipient of fullest social and economic justice. In order to attain that goal and prevent intellectual fragmentation, we have to place an equal emphasis on the study of humanities and avoid a lop-sided education system.

"Patriot," New Delhi, July 2, 1966:

The Commission has attempted to strike a balance between permitting the gradual deterioration in standards to continue and introducing the radical changes necessary to make the system fit the requirements of a forward looking society and to enable the nation to take its rightful place among the more advanced. It has also struck a balance between crying needs and scanty resources.

"The Pioneer," Lucknow, July 1, 1966:

The Commission's call for a "drastic reconstruction, almost a revolution" of the present educational system to make it an effective instrument for the nation's progress, security and welfare may appear to be devoid of any pragmatic approach. Stripped of verbiage, the report is a masterly analysis of the educational problems of the country with suitable suggestions to solve them.

The new formula, if accepted, should dispel the linguistic fog which has caused so much confusion during the past two decades. About the propagation of Hindi, the Commission has wisely suggested a nation-wide, voluntary programme with no compulsion on unwilling
sections of the people. Meanwhile due emphasis has been laid on the study of English which is bound to play an important role for decades to come.

"Searchlight," Patna, July 1, 1966:

The Commission's suggestion for un-hindered expansion of education including immediate expansion of postal and part-time education as part of the recognised curriculum is all the more welcome. By making a point reference to the need to make education free and universal, the Commission has stressed the responsibility of the Government of the day in fulfilling its obligation to society.

The Commission's suggestions for a four-and-a-half time increase in the per capita expenditure on education during the next twenty years is timely and if given effect to, would undoubtedly contribute to the heightening of national efficiency and elevation of the national character through the expansion and intensification of education.

The rejection of the idea of placing education in the concurrent list is wise as is the suggestion for the setting up of a national board of school education at the Centre to advise the Government on matters relating to School education.

The recommendations for the reorganisation of the higher secondary course will be received with mixed feelings. The Commission has suggested the prolongation of the period of school education by raising the minimum age of entry in the primary school by one year and by adding one more year at the higher secondary stage. The net effect would be that nobody would come out of the higher secondary stage before the age of eighteen.

Creation of employment opportunities is a complex process and depends much more on the creative genius of the people which is likely to be furthered by the spread of education than on the efforts of any bureaucracy. The arguments against any further change in the pattern of school education are so weighty that a special justification is invariably called for if any change is to be proposed.
If the intention is to ensure a higher standard of comprehension on the part of high school graduates through the prolongation of the school course, the same objective could be promoted without disturbing the present set up by providing facilities for part time education whereby the intending school graduates could improve their knowledge and understanding.

"Sunday Statesman," New Delhi, July 3, 1966:

The Report is comprehensive to the point of being a diffuse collection of observations even on matters on which the Commission was hardly competent to pronounce. There are for example, recommendations not only on the medium of instruction but also on the choice of language for administration and general inter State communications. Many will resent the authoritative manner in which the Commission speaks about extra academic values which in its opinion should guide Indian society and hence be consciously injected into the content of education. Cultivation of moral and spiritual values may be a generally acceptable aim, but when the Commission goes on to suggest study and appreciation of religion as a part of general education, it treads on controversial ground.

The emphasis generally is on education as a social instrument rather than as an intellectual discipline, this may be a proper response to the needs of the times, but it tends to ignore the fact that only adequate intellectual development can sustain and guide the desired social and economic effort. The report has much to say about instruction in democratic values, development of a national consciousness and creation of a strong driving faith in the future. These are unexceptionable aims, but they can only permeate education when life reinforces their validity. There is certainly no harm in their pursuit in education, but excessive talk of lofty ideals, with little regard to the reality of the country’s social and economic conditions may only increase the prevailing cynicism among students, teachers and the general public.

"The Times of India", Delhi, July 3, 1966:

It is for the first time that a national commission has come out with a blueprint for thorough overhaul of the entire education system. The report of the Education Commission is not an academic exercise. It is a revolutionary plan designed to use education as a tool for the achievement of larger national goals. If it is carried out in earnest it will relate education to the life and needs of the people and to the social and economic targets set by the five Year Plans.... The report details the major changes that are needed to relate education to national aspirations, foster national unity and
promote democratic values. There must be a greater emphasis on the study of science and a more pronounced vocational bias at the secondary school level. What is more work experience and social service must form an essential part of general education. This is largely an extension of the idea of basic education.

To promote the emergence of an egalitarian society the Commission has suggested the setting up of common or neighbourhood schools to which all parents in the area will send their children. It rightly feels that there is urgent need to end the present system of segregation—the minority of private, fee-charging, better schools meeting the needs of the upper classes and the vast bulk of free, publicly maintained, but poor, schools being utilised by the rest.”

“Tribune”, Ambala, July 1, 1966:

The expansion in demand for education supposes a corresponding increase in the number of teachers and the Commission proposes not only to retain those who are already in but also to draw larger numbers to the profession with better salaries both in government and non-government institutions—increased expenditure is to be met with generous subsidies. While current salaries at the college and university stage are, in many cases not materially different from those proposed, the Commission’s recommendations for school teachers—the weakest link in the chain do constitute a fair deal for them. What is even better is the recommendation that teachers' salaries would be subject to review every five years so that they do not suffer because of any material rise in the cost of living.

(ii) Educational Journals

“National Solidarity” (Weekly), July 1966:

The whole educational set up needs to be not merely reformed but rebuilt. The Commission has confirmed this much felt need. But at the same time, it has not suggested a rash revolution or haphazardous building of an improvised new structure. The Commission envisages a twenty years’ revolutionary but at the same time orderly and systematic process. Its plan retains what is good and conducive in the present system and fully discards what is obsolete, injurious and retarding. The plan is neither too ambitious nor too inadequate, neither Utopian nor timid. It aims at a balanced and substantial effort not beyond the means of our nation.
"The Angles", New Delhi, September, 1966:

This is not quite a Magna Carta for our educational systems expectations—far from it. The very manner in which targets are expressed suggest lack of clarity in the minds of the formulators of these so called feasible though high principles. Yet without being unduly harsh it may be said that the Commission has rendered substantial service by at least bringing into open the failures of our superficialities, the main-drawback being our neglect of rural education programmes. Without being carried away with idealistic liberal policies, the aims ought to be guided by the one principle of economic feasibility. Surely our educational policy ought to be guided with a view to producing a labour force of tangible value to the economy for the needs to be fed with proper personnel. Unfortunately this facet of educational policy has not been touched by the Commission: it would be well to look into these issues. Considering the limitation of finances, the paucity of well trained and dedicated teachers, the objective of uniformity in the standard of education at the school level will remain a far cry for sometime.

Village schools with a wide choice in curricula are absolutely vital to attune the educational base to our essential needs. All told, a process of industrialising as it were of the villages, is an absolute must. Tapping resources in their own setting and using them to develop their local skills along modern lines is the prime need. Not much thought, sadly enough, has been given to this important aspect of the educational problems.

"The Educational India", July 1966:

The quality and the significance of a report like this have to be judged broadly from two points of view. One is that of its comprehensiveness and the other is that of the definiteness of the answers which it furnishes. From these comprehensiveness and the definiteness of its answers to the controversial questions of the day the Report should be regarded as one of the highest quality and significance. It is comprehensive in the sense that it deals with all grades and problems of education.

The recommendations on various other subjects like the length and duration of the school course, the setting up of new Universities, the development of half a dozen select Universities as centres of higher research, an increase in the allotment for education by five times in the course of the next twenty years, and ultimate provision for free education at all stages are of great value. The report is a
historic document and, in the words of its Chairman, it is the first step towards bringing about what may be called an educational revolution in the country.

"Bulletin of West Bengal Head Masters
Association, Vol. XV No. 7, July, 1966:

Stupendous was the task, for the terms of reference had elasticity potential \textit{ad in finitum}. Naturally, therefore, it could discuss anything and everything under the sun and on earth—for education as a social process starts right from birth and continues till death. The criticism that the Commission discussed things beyond its jurisdiction is, in the light of the above thesis, untenable.

The Commission feels that "Indian education needs a drastic reconstruction, almost revolution"……Well, it is a tall order, and unless a determined and large-scale action both at the State and national level is taken the revolution will be a grand fiasco. The Commission is very pragmatic when it says: "Tinkering with existing situation, and moving forward with faltering steps and lack of faith can make things worse than before by disturbing the old equilibrium."

(2) Reactions from the States

According to a statewise survey made by newspapers soon after the Report was made public, few of the States seemed hopeful of raising the necessary resources, although some were already thinking in terms of educational cess.

Although differences of opinion on the Report were noticeable, yet it was felt these would be thrashed out in course of time. Reactions from some of the States are summarised below:

GUJARAT

Majority of educationists in Gujarat generally welcomed the Report. Characterising the recommendations as "revolutionary" they felt that even if majority of Commission's recommendations were implemented, it would considerably improve the standard of education imparted at present. The emphasis on social and national activities in the report was considered a great step forward in our educational system.
Secondary teachers, while welcoming some rise in their pay scale, still felt that the scales recommended were wholly inadequate in the present context of high prices of essential commodities. They also contended that the report did not contain any directive about Centre’s contribution to the State Government to meet additional cost on teachers’ salaries. (see *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, July 17, 1966). Here are some of the views expressed by educationists in the State:

**Miss Indumati Chimanlal, Education Minister.**—The Commission appears to have upheld Gujarat’s stand that education should not be on the concurrent list. The decision to give Hindi second place after the mother tongue is welcome. Nobody can object raising the pay scales of teachers. But the States will be able to implement this suggestion only if the Centre gives adequate assistance.

**Shri L. H. Desai, Vice-Chancellor, Gujarat University.**—Our educational system treats all students equally. There is no provision to devote special attention to intelligent pupils. Unfortunately, the report makes no recommendation in this respect.

**Shri Ramlal Parikh, Registrar, Gujarat Vidyapith.**—The recommendation that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction at all levels is welcome. The stress on social work is a victory for the concept of basic education. A veritable educational revolution will result if the recommendations are implemented.

**Shri B. S. Shah, President, Ahmedabad Principals Association.**—It was not clear from the report at what stage the Commission wanted the teaching of English to start. It would be good if there was a uniform policy in this respect throughout the country.

**Shri Damodar Shukla, Member, Gujarat Secondary School Certificate Board.**—The report is not as revolutionary as one expected it to be. Most of the States are already doing what the Commission has recommended. As for the rest, it is not clear how the Centre can force to implement the suggestions made—*Leader, Allahabad, July 3, 1966.*

**Shri S. R. Bhatt, (eminent educationist and a member of the Gujarat University Senate and Academic Council).**—Shri Bhatt did not feel happy at the Commission’s reluctance to put education on the concurrent list while at the same time advocating a national policy in education. This was contradictory and will further add to the present difficulties, he felt.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, July 17, 1966.
The Vice-Chancellor of the Kerala University and the Chairman of the State Educational Advisory Board were of the opinion that the Commission's recommendations could revolutionise the whole educational system. Leading educationists in Kerala came out openly welcoming the important recommendations of the Commission especially those suggesting better remuneration for teachers and providing for larger number of scholarships. One principal of a local college characterised the Commission's report as a dynamic plan designed to use education as a tool for the achievement of larger national goals.

The stress laid by the Commission on importance of agricultural education and the emphasis on the study of science with more pronounced vocational bias at the secondary school level was according to the educationists in this State, symbolic of the Commission's realistic approach to the problems of Indian education. Everybody in Kerala was agreed that work experience and social service must form the integral part of general education. This reading of the Education Commission had special significance in Kerala where the number of educated unemployed was the greatest.

It was, however, pointed out that the cost should never come as an obstacle in the way of revolutionary reforms in the field of education. They felt that it was the Central Government’s responsibility to find funds for implementing the recommendations of the Commission. They suggested that it would not be wrong if education were made a central subject. This, according to them, would help speedy formulation and implementation of reform policies.—Amrita Bazar Patrika, Allahabad, July 17, 1966.

MADHYA PRADESH

Shri N. R. Dixit, former Education Minister.—The report is welcome. Some States, including M.P., would not be able to implement pay scales as suggested unless the Centre agreed to bear the additional expenditure in full.

The State spent more than 25 per cent of its annual budget on education and there was no scope for allocation of additional funds. The programme for the primary education suffered due to lack of funds. It is understood that if the State implements the proposed pay scales, an additional amount of more than Rs. 80,000,000 would be required annually.
Shri K. M. K. Shah, Member, Central Sanskrit Board: Sanskrit should have been given a better status in the educational scheme of things recommended by the Commission because it was an important factor in integration.—Leader, Allahabad, July 3, 1966.

MADRAS

The following reactions were available from Madras soon after the Report became public:

Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam, former Chief Minister.—Teachers in Madras are much better paid than those in other States and the Government does not propose to raise their salaries on the basis of the Commission’s recommendations.

Although the State Government fully approved the recommendations of the Commission regarding salaries, it could not pay them at the moment. The proposal that pre-university preparation should be transferred to secondary schools is unacceptable. There were about 2,000 high schools in Madras and only a third of the students passing out of them sought admission to colleges. He, therefore, thought it unfair to burden the other students with the cost of higher education.

Shri S. Natarajan, former President, South Indian Teachers Union.—The Commission could have defined more clearly the duration of primary education for all. This would have helped streamline primary education policy in the country. University teaching staff do not consider the recommendations ‘extraordinary’. While most college principals welcomed the transfer of the pre-University course to secondary schools, a few said that; already the standard at the high school level is poor. If a transfer is made the Govern-ment should see that the secondary schools are amply manned.—Leader, Allahabad, July 3, 1966.

MAHARASHTRA

Most educationists in Maharashtra were enthusiastic about the recommendations of the Commissions.

Welcoming the change in the Indian Educational Service too, most persons felt the changes were necessary, and showed an effort to link education with greater production in all spheres of economic activity and to make it more “development oriented”. Fullest praise of educationists, however, was reserved for the recommendation of higher salaries for teachers. These were some of the specific comments available:
Shri T. K. Tope, Principal, Government Law College, Bombay.—
The Education Commission has done a real service to the cause of education by emphasising its integrated nature. The Commission had given due importance to the role of teachers in the education system and also emphasised the need for paying them more. Legal education was not within the purview of the Commission’s report. I would suggest that the Government consider the desirability of setting up another commission to go into the system of legal education in the country.

Rev. Father Eduard D’Cruz, Principal, St. Xavier’s College, Bombay.—The Commission’s report visualises big changes along the whole spectrum of education from the primary to the University research level. The comprehensiveness of the scheme deserves all praise.

Regarding the proposal that all-India institutions should continue to use English as the medium of instruction, it was difficult to visualise how these institutions would link up with similar regional establishments of higher learning where the instruction was in the national language.

Miss S. Samtani, President, Bombay Headmasters Association.—Hailed the report but did not favour adoption of the mother tongue or the regional language as the medium of instruction at all levels, as the Commission proposed. She added: “The regional language should be the medium at the secondary level. Introduction of the mother tongue or the regional language as the medium of university education would injure the national interests and lead to disintegration”.

Dr. (Miss) Aloo Dastur, Head of the Department of Politics, Bombay University.—The proposal to bifurcate the larger universities was good as they had become unwieldy. But the new universities that would be formed should not be mere replicas of the present ones. The examination system should be replaced by a better gauge for academic talent. Introduction of the regional languages at the post-graduate and research level is not good. They should not be used beyond the intermediate stage. Only Hindi or English could spread the benefits of University education more widely—Leader, Allahabad, July 3, 1966.

Mysore

Shri S. R. Kanthi, the Education Minister said that the Commission’s recommendation on the three-language formula may cause some difficulty in his State. English and Hindi were both
compulsory in Mysore, where the three language formula was in force. The third language was either the regional language (Kannada) or the mother tongue. He added:

If we accept either Hindi or English as the compulsory language as being practised in some other States, there may be some difficulties. If you ask the students to choose one of the two he will naturally opt for English. That means the national integration will suffer.

On teachers salaries, Shri Kanthi said that everyone agreed that teachers must get more than what they were getting. The question would arise on who should bear the expenditure. It was not possible for the State Government to do so because the burden would be enormous.—Deccan Herald, Bangalore, July 1, 1966.

ORISSA

In Orissa the report had a mixed reception. Dr. P. Parija, the veteran educationist, expressed doubts as to how far the national objectives formulated by the Commission would be implemented. He however, found the ideals set forth to be praiseworthy.—Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, July 17, 1966.

PUNJAB

Shri G. L. Chopra, retired judge of the Punjab High Court and Member of the Senate of the Punjab and Panjabi Universities: has generally welcomed the recommendations of the Commission, but disagrees on two issues. He says that the pattern suggested by the Commission for secondary stage—one of 11 years duration and the other of 12 years duration—was complicated and was not practicable. He favoured the old intermediate course.

Shri Chopra also expressed the view that Hindi had not been given a proper place in the three-language formula. Rather an option had been given to get away from Hindi. The nationwide programme for the study of Hindi suggested by the Commission should have been “obligatory” and not ‘voluntary’.

He welcomed recommendations for higher salary to teachers, uniform pattern of education, parity in service conditions of teachers serving in Government and privately managed schools, mass literacy campaign and co-relation of education with national needs.—Statesman, New Delhi, July 2, 1966.
Uttar Pradesh

Shri M. P. Tripathi, Associate Member of the National Executive of all-India Secondary Teachers Federation: has described the Report as a sweeping one. The report, according to him, fully vindicated the demand of parity between pay scales in private and Government schools, made by the U.P. Madhyamik Shikshak Sangh. He hoped that it would establish some sort of harmony in the educational system of our country and help in raising the standard of education.—The Pioneer, Allahabad, July 2, 1966.

West Bengal

All Bengal Teachers Association: The Commission had recommended a minimum starting salary of Rs. 220 a month for trained graduate teacher against the All India Secondary Teachers Federation plea for Rs. 275. The Association resents the retention by the Commission of the pay scales for professors which the Union Education Minister had announced earlier, though at the time of their announcement there were protests from University teachers that they were inadequate.

Prof. Dilip Chakravorty, General Secretary, West Bengal College and University Teachers Association: We feel disappointed at the recommendations. While laying down certain sound principles, such as the need to improve the calibre of teachers by giving them better pay, the Commission has suggested 'too meagre' scales for lecturers in colleges and universities. It was unfortunate that the recommendations of the National Educational Seminar which the Education Commission itself had organised had found no place among the Commission's proposals. We, however, commend the recommendation of the Commission that teachers should be free to exercise all civic rights and should be eligible for public office at all levels.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, National Professor, did not think that the implementation of the recommendations would drastically change the pattern of education.—Leader, Allahabad, July 3, 1966.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharjee, M.P.—When the country was passing through worst economic crisis, was it fit and proper for the Union Ministry of Education to come out with a utopian plan for education for a country like India. Before the country could fully recover from the series of shocks from the aftermaths of the Mudaliar Commission, the Kothari Commission had only administered the country another shock. I do not know how the country would react to this fresh shock therapy.
Devaluation of the rupee had already increased our burden on national economy. If the present recommendation implied more dependence on foreign assistance for our latest national plan for development of education, it would be better to cry a halt for a fresh thinking. We should bear in mind India's present social conditions and also assess the capacity of our national economy to bear this additional burden.

Shri Dharani Mohan Mukerjee, President, Head Masters Association: could not find any reason why the position of the heads of the schools had been left undecided by the Commission in its organised picture of a new Education Plan. When so much had been said for all categories of teachers why then this particular had been left out. Amrita Bazar Patrika, Allahabad, July 3, 1966.

(3) Educationists' Views

Views expressed by various educationists and experts in the field of education on various problems dealt with in the Education Commission Report, which appeared in some leading educational journals, are summed up in the following pages.

Dr. R. N. Mehrotra, Central, Institute of Education, Delhi.—The Commission is unique in its terms of reference, in the scope of its responsibilities. Probably no Commission in any part of the world has so far been asked to undertake the stupendous task of advising the Government on the general principles and policies for development of education at all stages in all aspects. That the Commission has, in fact, gone into the whole gamut of educational life in our country is evident from a look at the summary. Not only has it considered education at all stages in general terms of broad policies and principles, but it has also gone into small details in many cases.

The Commission was unique in membership. This has surely given it the benefits and the wisdom and experience of different nations, but probably this has also resulted in the Commission saying contradictory things.

The Report has been criticised as being (i) too general; (ii) too detailed; (iii) vague; (iv) having contradictions; (v) being oral and placid; and (vi) being too pedantic.

Although some of these criticisms might be tenable, some are frivolous and do not deserve a serious consideration.

The Commission has made a number of recommendations about improvement of research in universities. Since in the scheme of things
visualized by the Commission, education relating to research is to be an important subject of study in universities, all that has been recommended in other areas applies to educational research also. For instance, the Commission has supported the idea of Advance Centres of Study. The Commission has been wise in adding that “care should be taken to see that the centres do not become isolated from the rest of the university.”

Another recommendation which may be commended is that scholars and scientists from other universities or affiliated colleges should be invited to do research and to conduct seminars for stipulated periods at the centres of Advanced Study. I would like to add that these centres should not become more coordinators, organising seminars and conferences and inviting people in exchange. This type of thing can be overdone.

The Commission has very wisely recommended the setting up of a documentation centre and a national clearing house in educational research. The U.G.C., the N.C.E.R.T. and the State Institutes of Education have been asked to take steps to make available to universities, State education departments and schools and teachers, the findings of educational research. The documentation centre could undertake this responsibility.

Individual initiative and thinking is very important for successful research work. Research cannot be done to order. The researcher has to be fully involved in it at all stages. This applies not only to individuals but to groups or teams of research workers also. Therefore the recommendation of the Commission that “in deciding priorities in educational research, decentralisation of initiative should be emphasised” is welcome.

The Commission has also recommended an increase in the expenditure on educational research to about one per cent of the expenditure on education. It is not money which stands in way of more research. In fact, the present trend among research workers of waiting for money to start pouring in before they start research work is quite pernicious.

The Commission seeks to have much faith in conferences. It seeks to break the isolation of educational research workers through periodical conferences and it considers it necessary to bring together field workers and research workers in conferences for exchange of views on problems faced in the fields and on the findings of research and
investigations. Conferences should serve all these purposes, but unfortunately they do not. Often, the returns of Conferences are not commensurate with the amount of time, money and energy spent on them.—*The Alumnus*—Vol. I, No. 2, August, 1966; Journal of Alumni Association, Regional College of Education, Ajmer.

**Dr. G. S. Khair, Poona**—The task before the Commission was stupendous. All sides and all types of education, in short, every aspect of education came under its scrutiny. The implementation of the recommendations of this Commission’s report is circumscribed by the limitations of the Indian situation. The control and authority over education rests partly in the hands of the Central Government and mainly in the hands of the State Governments. The outline for the educational picture has been given. It is for the States to fill in the details and colours.

For the first time after the attainment of independence, the national objectives of education are specifically indicated by the Commission. Not that our education was not following any objectives but there was an absence of a clear-cut philosophy of education laid down by any authority. The Commission has given the first priority to economic development of the nation and to national integration.

During the last century every aspect of Indian education was influenced by whatever happened in the English system of education. The Committees and Commissions appointed in India consisted of persons who did similar work in England. Naturally, Indian education was to a large extent an imitation of the English system in many respects. This picture is gradually changing and if the recommendations of the Commission are implemented, we shall have a national system which would have incorporated in a modified form the best aspects of education from several other countries.

The pattern of school education and vocational education recommended by the Commission follows to some extent the model of Russian education. The pattern of higher education recommended follows the American pattern while the system of administration visualised by the Commission follows the English and the French patterns. This does not mean blind imitation of other countries but a selection in a modified form of the best practices and experiences available abroad and their incorporation into a system of education that is national as well as universal.—*The Progress of Education, Poona*, Vol. XLI, No. 2, September, 1966.

**Dr. Paul Leonard, Chief of Party of the Columbia Team in India**—The report represents the most complete and careful study ever
made on Indian education from primary classes through the University. The Commission has shown courage in proposing much-needed changes in the examination programme, emphasising the need for teacher evaluation of learning at all levels, the use of regularly administered tests to check progress in learning, and a commendable change in external matric examination and learning certificate. They wisely resisted recommending the use of the external examination below Class X.

The Commission has shown wisdom in giving priority to education for all from ages 6—14. The implementation of this programme must rest primarily with the States, the educational profession and various boards of education described in the report. Significant in this respect is the recommendation that the local community assume greater responsibility for local schools. People everywhere tend to give better attention to those things in which they have a part.

The Commission's Report is not an unrelated series of several hundred recommendations; rather it is a unified programme covering all areas of educational effort which need to be supported to achieve the goals of Indian education.

Secondly, it is not a revolutionary document of spectacular recommendations to make drastic changes in education; rather it is an evolutionary proposal to improve the present system to make it more effective in meeting the needs of a developing India to bring greater quality performance into the educational system. The Commission has taken cognizance of past criticism of school system, used them as a challenge and proposed a positive and a unified programme to meet them. They have made use of data and opinions, judgment and experience, advised wherever it was useful but have copied no country nor fallen victim to vested interests. The programme is an Indian programme designed for Indian conditions and needs.

No report of this character could possibly meet all opinions. Criticism in a democracy is a means to development and ample discussion should follow the reading of the report. The important question is not whether an individual agrees with it in all aspects, but whether in the judgment of the best informed and objective minds the proposals are sound and will meet the objectives of the report for after all the report should be judged in the light of the objectives set; it cannot be judged in terms of a different set of objectives.

It will take effort, hard work, goodwill and money devoted to education to implement it but, when realized, it will affect the lives of millions of children and the schools created thereby will do much
to accelerate the progress of national development—The Alumnus _op. cit._

P.K. Naidu—The Report of the Commission contains no clear definition of what is required in education except vague generalisations. It is stated that education “Science-based and in coherence with Indian culture and values, can alone provide the foundation as also the instrument for the nation’s progress, security and welfare”. The values so cherished were not stated anywhere in report. Whether and how science-based education may affect the values as stated in the scientific policy resolution of 1958 and _vice-versa_ remains to be clarified. Whether the education required “to increase productivity, achieve social and national integration, strengthen democracy, accelerate the process of modernisation” comes in conflict with “the social, moral and spiritual values”, already existing in this society or not, is nowhere discussed.

It is suggested that some universities should be converted into super-universities with better finances. Hereafter there will be graduates and graduates of super-universities, Ph.Ds. ordinary and Ph.Ds of advanced institutions of learning. This process without improving the existing situation introduces a caste system in degrees too. What is required in this country is not a handful of highly West-oriented scientists or humanists, which will further increase the diversity and introduce more conflicts but a rise in the general level of all citizens, all graduates and all scientists.

About teachers training, status and salaries, several proposals are made which no doubt should be implemented but the conditions have already deteriorated to the extent that these incentives alone are not sufficient to improve them. The U.G.C. has sufficient experience and they should have tried to evaluate whether teaching is better in the universities where better scales of pay are adopted.

Summer schools, symposia, refresher courses etc. are suggested to prevent obsolescence among teachers. These are piecemeal solutions trying to imitate the West, particularly the U.S.A. It is known that teachers and students do not put forth their best in fulfilling their duties, for reasons which are given no considerations at all in the report. It is beneficial to give additional training a teacher when he finds himself inadequate to fulfil his duties… The teacher needs refresher courses only after imparting to the students all that they
themselves know. Not many countries have made any progress so far by blindly imitating anybody else—Mainstream, November 5, 1966.

C. V. H. Rao—In an article entitled ‘Need for National Educational Policy’, Shri Rao said:

The special significance of the Commission’s report is the emphasis it lays on the need for a national educational policy. Such a policy has been the nation’s desideratum ever since independence; instead what we have had is a series of experiments with different aspects of education by different States. But as a sequel to the Commission’s recommendations, it is essential that the Central and State Governments, in co-ordination with one another, should evolve a national policy and embody it in a policy statement to be followed by an enactment of a National Education Act.

An essential ingredient of a national policy is that, though education is a State subject, it should be so administered as to subserve national purposes, such as promotion of national integration, inculcation in the young generation of attachment to and faith in the democratic ideology, and creation of high standards in higher education and research.

Educational policy, in the context of our national needs, should have three objectives. Firstly, the content of education at different levels should be related to the life, needs and aspirations of the nation. Secondly, standards of education should be so improved, as to make them internationally comparable, and thirdly, expansion of educational facilities should be on the basis of manpower needs and equalisation of educational opportunities.

If the need and importance of a national educational policy is accepted, its aim should be on integrated development of education “at all stages and in all aspects”. It should be a “package deal” to be taken up for implementation by the Central and State Governments, local bodies and private organisations.

What should be aimed at is a broad uniformity in curricula, standards and methods of instruction and work experience, making due allowances for differences in the language, the needs and requirements of different States. To facilitate the working of the national policy, nothing is more important and essential than the enactment of a National Education Act, laying down the objectives of education, the policies needed to attain them, the methods by which they can be achieved and assigning to different agencies their respective roles in their implementation.

With such an enactment on the Statute Book, different States can draw upon its provisions to formulate their educational programmes
for the Fourth Plan and also estimate for the next two plan periods, their costs and secure the necessity financial allocations in their Plans for them.

The inadequacy of financial resources is a serious stumbling block to the drawing up of the detailed programmes and putting them through, and there have to be compromises all the time. In this connection the progressive reductions effected in the allocation for education for the Fourth Plan are indeed regrettable.—Indian Express, New Delhi, April 9, 1967.

Dr. D. S. Reddi, Vice Chancellor of the Osmania University—The report of the Education Commission will undoubtedly rank as one of the most important documents that has been released in this country. Its recommendations have to be treated with great respect not merely because they have been made by a body which contained experts drawn from all parts of the world but because the Commission has viewed education as a whole and traversed the entire range from the pre-school to the post-doctor stage. Such a review has never been made in this country. For this reason the recommendations may have relevance even outside our own country—Deccan Chronicle, Hyderabad, July 17, 1966.

(4) Discussions at Seminars and Conferences

(i) Seminar on Education Commission Report held in New Delhi on September 16—18, 1966 by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, New Delhi and Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, Bombay*

In the opinion of the Seminar, the Report of the Education Commission was a landmark in the history of educational thinking in India. Certain points needed to be emphasised, modified or controverted in the interest of accelerated educational development in terms of quality and quantity in the years to come. In particular the priorities recommended by the Commission should be spelled out and stressed more clearly than had been done.

Given below are in brief some of the opinions and recommendations made by the Seminar on various aspects of the Commission’s Report:

(i) There should be maximum possible expansion of primary education and considerations of quality at this stage

*Some of the prominent educators who took Part in the Seminar were: Dr. D. S. Kohli (Chairman UGC); Shr. V. V. Johri (Rajasthan); Dr. D. S. Reddy (Hyderabad); Prof. A. D. Saha (Bombay); Prof. M. C. Mathur (Rajasthan); Dr. Sarup Singh (Delhi); Dr. Z. M. Qureshi (Delhi); Dr. A. C. Joshi (Planning Commission); (Late) Shr. S. G. Barve (Planning Commission); Shri A. H. Hemrajani (Planning Commission); and Dr. Amrik Singh (Inter-University Board).
should weigh only to the extent that they are compatible with the need of quantitative achievement;

(ii) At the higher level, quality should be the primary consideration. In order to improve standards of post-graduate teaching, it was imperative to strengthen the under-graduate base.

(iii) Radical improvement in the quality of the teacher—his technical competence, his attitude to work, his status and emoluments should be a high priority in all programmes of educational development. The system of monetary bonuses proposed by the Commission was derogatory to the dignity of the profession and should be replaced by more imaginative rewards.

(iv) The vocationalization of secondary education should be implemented effectively and without any delay. Considerations of the structure and duration of the secondary course, as stated by the Commission, should not be given too much importance. It is not proper to keep the last two years of higher secondary education exclusively in the school sector. In certain situations, independent two-year colleges could continue to be part of a degree college, but whenever possible, these should be located in the schools.

(v) It is agreed that during the next few years an appropriate proportion of the valuable resources should be earmarked for the development of ten per cent of educational institutions at all levels as centres of excellence.

(vi) The Commission has recommended that during the next 10 years about 6 universities should be developed as ‘major universities’. Such a development could initiate break-through in the almost stagnant university system of India. It is hoped that it would be implemented regardless of any real or hypothetical defects.

(vii) The teaching of languages should be spread over three stages in elementary and secondary education of a student. However, the student should study two languages till the end of Class XII so as to develop high communication skill in sufficient measure. Also, the teaching of Hindi and English at the college level should be primarily from the stand-point of teaching language instead of literature.
(viii) Persons having equivalent qualifications and doing the same type of work should have the scales of pay regardless of whether they work in education or the administration, as recommended by the Commission.

(ix) An unduly large amount of time and energy of senior scholars, including heads of departments, is wasted in routine administration. It is recommended that once the academic policy of a department was laid down by a representative committee of the faculty members belonging to the department, the routine administration should be left to a comparatively junior member.

(x) There need not be only one type of affiliating university. Different patterns could be developed in response to the varying nature of the situation and problems characterising the university and colleges affiliated to it.

(xi) The recommendation on autonomous colleges is perhaps the most significant one and the Government and Universities should implement it without reservation.

(xii) In the development of a university, the Vice-Chancellor has to play the role of the right type. The choice of the Vice-Chancellor should be governed solely by his competence and sense of dedication to the values of the university.

(xiii) The growing threat to university autonomy causes anxiety and there is need to preserve it not only in the interest of the university but also that of the community. It is strongly recommended that universities should devise formal and informal methods for making possible the participation of teachers in academic decision-making.

(xiv) There are serious reservations with regard to the Commission's recommendations regarding the place of work, experience and social service education. It is felt that there were severe limitations, both of resources and human nature, in making work experience and social service obligatory on a large scale in any meaningful sense. It is, therefore, recommended that they should not be compulsory either at the school or at the college level.

(xv) It is recommended that the Commission's recommendation for formal classes in moral instruction should not be made obligatory.
(xvi) It is felt that the role of education in modifying the inherited social structure and cultural tradition should be emphasized more clearly than has been done by the Commission. For this purpose those who work in the field of education should realize that it is not necessary to present one history as perfect in every respect. It should be possible for students to treat our successes and failures in the past as part of our heritage. What is necessary is to inculcate love for the country and the spirit and urge to contribute one's part to its development.

(xvii) While recognizing the fact that for a number of years to come, resources would remain inadequate, it is felt that industries might be made to contribute to the costs of technical education in a more systematic manner. It is believed that a levy on certain industries for this purpose would be a good source of finance for technical education.

(ii) The Seventh Punjab Education Conference, Chandigarh, October 15–17, 1966

The Conference came to the following conclusions with regard to the Report of the Education Commission:

Duration of School Period.—The recommendation regarding the increase in the duration of the school period from 11 to 12 years is not acceptable.

Indian Education Service.—The suggestion for the formation of Indian Education Service, the establishment of comprehensive colleges for teacher-training and the proposals of correspondence courses for training untrained teachers is welcomed.

Higher Secondary Education.—The higher secondary system, as operating today, has not been successful and if the course is now extended by one more year as suggested by the Commission, it would result in a further deterioration of educational standards. Consolidation of the existing higher secondary schools by downgrading the sub-standard higher secondary schools to high schools and by not shifting the pre-university classes to schools from colleges is recommended instead.

Examination Procedure.—External examination system should be progressively replaced by some kind of internal examination system. The present middle standard examination should be abolished.
and replaced entirely by internal assessment. The first public examination should be held at the end of the 10 years of school education.

**Language Policy.**—Adoption of different regional languages as media of instruction at the university level, as recommended by the Commission, would distinintegrate the country. It is suggested that there should be one common medium of instruction at this stage in the entire country.

**Hindi.**—Period of three years for compulsory study of Hindi is not sufficient. Its duration should be raised to six years in the interest of national integration.

**Student Unrest.**—Some machinery in each institution should be evolved to tackle this problem and students should be associated with it.

**Teachers' Salaries.**—No improvement in education can take place unless the scales are improved. The pay-scales recommended by the Commission should be immediately introduced.

**District Education Boards.**—The formation of district education boards, as recommended by the Commission will only make educational administration more complex instead of simplifying it.

There should be better cooperation between the school and the community, and for this purpose people from all walks of life and every strata of society should be given sufficient representation on the school board.—*Hindustan Times, New Delhi*—October 19, 1966.

(iii) **Conference of State Education Ministers, New Delhi, April 28—30, 1967**

The Conference appointed a nine-member steering Committee to report on the controversial question of revising the present three-language formula.

The Conference also made the following recommendations:

(i) Regional languages should be introduced at all levels of education

(ii) A new pattern of education should be adopted according to which a student should complete high schooling after 10 years but the student will have to spend two more years at the higher secondary stage if we wants to go in for university education. At the university he will need to put in only two years if he wants a simple degree. But
to get an honours degree he will have to spend three years. The post-graduate will take two more years after a three-year honours degree.

(iii) A student should either opt for N.C.C. or the National Service Scheme. The students having a regular attendance in sports could, however, be exempted.

(iv) Proposals made by the Commission to improve the remuneration of teachers is approved. The Central assistance to this effect should be made available to the States outside the Plan in the proportion of 80:20 as approved by the Government of India in the case of university and college teachers.

(v) The recommendations of the Commission relating to the status of teachers and education are accepted. These include appointment of joint teachers' councils, appointment of State boards of teachers education, in-service education of teachers and improvement of training institutions.

(vi) The Commission's views regarding the adoption at the primary stage of the neighbourhood school system deserves support.

(vii) A very high priority should be accorded to the programme of relating education to productivity. The programme of work experience should be developed as an integral part of general education and a beginning should be made in selected schools.

(viii) The following programmes need high priority in respective stages of education:

(a) Primary Education: Provision of free primary education, that is from Class I—VII or I-VIII as the case may be; supply of free text books to the needy children; special programmes for the reduction of wastage and stagnation; and organisation of part-time education for children in the age group 11—14 who cannot attend schools on economic grounds.

(b) Secondary Education: Vocationalization and diversification of the programme for the discovery and development of talent.

(c) Higher Education: Post-graduate education and research; development of centres of advanced study; and creation of clusters of such centres in each of the universities.
(d) **Student Service**: Youth welfare activities, building up of libraries of text books in secondary schools, college and universities; placing an adequate allocation at the disposal of the UGC to implement the programmes recommended by the Education Commission and adopted by the Vice-Chancellors' Conference and appointment of joint committees of teachers and students in colleges and universities to deal with day-to-day problems.

(e) **Science Education**: The study of science should be made an integral part of general education for all students till the end of Class X.

(f) **Selective Development of Educational Institutions**: As a first step in the intensive effort to improve standards in all educational institutions, about 10 per cent of the primary schools, suitably distributed over each district, should be improved to optimum levels. A similar effort should be made to improve one secondary school in each community development block and one college in each district. It would be the special responsibility of the schools which are selected for such development and are given additional grant, equipment and resources for that purpose, to give the benefit of these additional facilities to neighbouring schools by arranging programmes.

(g) **Educational Administration**: Strengthening of the district level administration, particularly for inspection and supervision; organisation of school complexes; and training of educational administrators, both at the State and national levels.

It should be the responsibility of the Government of India to draw up schemes for the implementation of this priority programme in consultation with the States and place at the disposal of the States the required financial assistance. *Stateman*, New Delhi and *Tribune*, Ambala, May 1, 1967.
NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION: REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

The Committee of Members* of Parliament on Education was constituted by the Government of India on 5th April, 1967, with the following terms of reference:

(i) To consider the Report of the Education Commission;

(ii) To prepare the draft of a statement on the National Policy on Education for the consideration of Government of India; and

(iii) To identify a programme for immediate action.

The Committee scrutinized only the major recommendations of the Education Commission along with the comments of the State Governments and others thereon.

The Committee's general approach to the problem differed from that of the Commission in three important ways. First, the Committee did not accept the recommendations of the Commission for the creation of five or six 'major' universities or for upgrading 10 per cent of the institutions at all levels to optimum standards. The Committee believed that better results could be obtained if efforts were made to maintain at least the minimum standards in all institutions and offer special additional assistance, on the basis of proper criteria, to those institutions which show high level of performance and promise. Secondly, the Committee placed a greater emphasis on expansion of facilities than the Commission had done, especially at the school stage. The Committee, therefore, did not agree to the Commission's proposal that a system of selective admission should be adopted at the higher secondary and undergraduate stages. The Committee suggested methods for diverting a large proportion of

students into different walks of life at the end of the higher secondary stage which will necessarily reduce pressures on access to higher education. But the Committee desired that every effort should be made to provide admission to institutions of higher education to all eligible students who desire to study further. Thirdly, the Committee did not favour several recommendations of the Commission whose main objective was to create certain new administrative structures or changes in the existing ones. In the opinion of the Committee, such programmes will lead to increasing bureaucratisation and increase in unproductive expenditure.

Subject to the above observations, the Committee accepted several of the major recommendations of the Commission, some with modifications or changes in priority. The Committee also added new recommendations in certain areas where the ground was not fully covered by the Report of the Commission.

The Committee's decisions have been incorporated in a Statement on the National Policy on Education together with a programme for immediate action. Nine members have, however, accepted the Statement subject to their Minutes of Dissent*, particularly on the language issue, neighbourhood schools, lack of provision for religious education, co-education and concessions to "Nav Boudhas" (neo-Buddhists). The following is the summary of the "Statement."

A. National Policy on Education

Education is a powerful instrument of national development—social, economic and cultural. The highest priority should therefore be accorded to the development of a national system of education which will—

—accelerate the transformation of the existing social system into a new one based on the principles of justice, equality, liberty and dignity of the individual, enshrined in the Constitution of India;

—provide adequate and equal opportunity to every child and help him to develop his personality to its fullest;

—make the rising generation conscious of the fundamental unity of the country in the midst of her cultural heritage and confident of her great future; and

—emphasize science and technology and the cultivation of moral, social and spiritual values.

*For Excerpts from the Minutes of Dissent, see Appendix III.

830(E) LS—5.
(A) **TRANSFORMATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM**

From this point of view, the most important and urgent reform needed is to transform the existing system of education in order to strengthen national unity, promote social integration, accelerate economic growth and generate moral, social and spiritual values.

**Strengthening National Unity**

Education should deepen national consciousness, promote a proper understanding and appreciation of our cultural heritage and inspire a faith and confidence in the great future which we can forge for ourselves. These objectives should be achieved by a carefully planned study of Indian languages, literature, philosophy and history and by introducing students to India's achievements in the positive sciences, architecture, sculpture, painting, music, dance and drama.

All students should be given an appropriate courses in citizenship. These should include a study of the Freedom Struggle, the Constitution, the principles enshrined in its Preamble and the problems and programmes of national development.

National and social services, including participation in meaningful and challenging programmes of community services or national reconstruction, should be made an integral part of education at all stages; and suitable projects for this purpose should be designed and carried out in the context of local conditions and available resources.

Efforts should be made to promote greater knowledge understanding and appreciation of the different regions of India by including their study in the curricula; by the exchange of students and teachers and by giving them opportunities and facilities for educational and study tours; and by the maintenance of all-India institutions which bring together students from different regions.

Curricular and co-curricular programmes should include the study of humanism based on mutual appreciation of international cultural values and the growing solidarity of mankind.

**The Neighbourhood School**

To strengthen social unity and to provide equality of opportunity to the less advanced sections of the society, the unhealthy social segregation should be ended and the primary schools should be made the common schools of the nation by making it obligatory on all children, irrespective of caste, creed, community religion,
economic condition or social status, to attend the primary school in their neighbourhood. In implementing the programme, the rights of linguistic minorities should not be adversely affected, and the transition to the new pattern should be carefully planned and implemented with a view to improving amenities and standards of all schools.

Adoption of Indian Languages as Media of Education at all Stages

The development of a proper language policy can greatly assist in strengthening national unity. The key programme will be to develop all Indian languages and to adopt them as media of education at all stages. Unless this is done, the creative energies of the people will not be released, standards of education will not improve, knowledge will not spread to the people, and the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses will continue to widen. This changeover should be brought about in five years. In implementing this reform, the following important points will have to be kept in view:

(a) All-India institutions (i.e., those which admit students from all regions of the country) should use Hindi and English as media of education, having regard to the needs of students. Admission to these institutions should be so planned that students educated through any Indian language are not at any disadvantage.

(b) The work of devising scientific and technical terminology should be expeditiously completed. This terminology should be adopt/adapted in all Indian languages.

(c) Steps should be taken side by side to ensure that students who have been educated through the medium of Indian languages are not deprived of opportunities of good employment. These would include the adoption of Indian languages for all administrative purposes in the States and their use in the UPSC examinations.

(d) Adequate safeguards should be provided for linguistic minorities.

(e) A large-scale programme for the production of necessary literatures in all Indian languages should be developed. This should be implemented mainly through the universities but should be centrally planned, co-ordinated and financed. The objective should be to produce, within
five years, most of the textbooks required for this pro­gramme in all subjects and at all levels.

The Teaching of Languages

For the teaching of languages, the following principles should be kept in view:

Classes I—X: The parent has a right to claim primary education in the mother tongue of his child. Every effort should be made to meet this demand. At the secondary stage, the regional language should ordinarily be the medium of education.

Only one language, viz., the medium of education, should ordinarily be studied in the first sub-stage of school education covering four or five years. Facilities should be provided, on an optional basis, for the study of regional language when it does not happen to be medium of education. A second language should be introduced, on a compulsory basis, ordinarily at the beginning of the next sub-stage. This may preferably be a language included in Schedule VIII, of the Constitution, or English or any other language; the study of this language should be continued till the end of Class X. A pupil may begin the study, at his option, of any third language, ordinarily from Class VIII provided that a pupil who has not studied either Hindi or English in the earlier classes shall be under an obligation to study one of these two languages at this sub-stage. However, it is desirable that pupil should, before he completes his school education, acquire some knowledge of three languages—regional language/mother tongue, Hindi, and English or any other language.

Classes XI-XII: At this sub-stage, a pupil shall study at least one language of his choice in addition to the medium of education.

University Stage: While facilities to study languages, on an optional basis, should be adequately provided at the university stage, the study of no language should be made compulsory unless such study is an essential part of a prescribed course.

Hindi, the Link Language

In practice, Hindi is already largely in use a link language for the country. The educational system should contribute to the acceleration of this process in order to facilitate the movement of students and teachers and to strengthen national unity. The special emphasis on the study of Hindi is also justified on account of the fact that it will become the sole official language in the future when the non-
Hindi areas accept it as such. It is also recognized as one of the official languages of UNESCO, signifying its importance as one of the major languages of wide dissemination in the world.

**Sanskrit**

Facilities for teaching of Sanskrit at the school should be provided on a liberal scale and its study encouraged. Its wide study at the collegiate stage should also be ensured. The traditional system of Sanskrit learning should be encouraged.

**Science Education and Research**

With a view to accelerating economic growth, science education and research should be developed on a priority basis. Science and mathematics should be an integral part of general education till the end of Class X; the quality of science teaching should be improved at all stages and scientific research should be promoted, particularly in the universities, and related closely to the development of agriculture and industry. In order that the Government of India should have competent, impartial and objective advice on science research policy, the Scientific Advisory Committee to the Cabinet should include, not only the heads of major agencies concerned with scientific research, but also economists, social scientists, industrialists and distinguished persons from public life, including social workers. The Committee should carry out, from time to time, objective studies of the investments made in scientific research and the results obtained.

**Education for Agriculture and Industry**

Great emphasis should be placed on the development of education for agriculture and industry. In each State there should be at least one agricultural university which will develop integrated programmes of research, extension and training, and where necessary, strong agricultural faculties should be established in other universities. Agricultural polytechnics providing different courses needed for agricultural or agro-industrial development should be established.

In technical education, programmes of qualitative improvement should be stressed. Practical training in industry should form an integral part of the various courses. The existing institutions for the education of engineers should be consolidated and strengthened with special emphasis on the provision of project work to be done by the students who should also be initiated into the methodology of research by diversifying the courses and offering suitable electives. Both technical education and research should be related close-
ly to industry, encouraging the flow of personnel both ways and continuous cooperation in the provision, design and periodical review of training programmes and facilities. Government should give all encouragement and assistance to industry for starting research and training programmes within the industry.

Character Formation

The formation of character should receive due emphasis in the total process of education which must contribute significantly to the moulding of the outlook and values of the youth and the strengthening of its moral fibre.

(B) Equalization of Educational Opportunities

Primary Education

The provision of good and effective primary education, on a free and compulsory basis, should be given the highest priority and implemented in two stages. In the first stage, universal education should be provided for all children till they reach the age of eleven years; and in the second, this age-limit should be raised to fourteen years.

Primary education should be made immediately free in all parts of the country and facilities for it should be universalized within five years, i.e. a primary school should be available within a walking distance from the home of every child. Intensive efforts should be made to enrol girls and children from the weaker sections of the community through parental education and incentives. Strenuous efforts should be made to reduce wastage and stagnation and to ensure that every child enrolled in schools passes regularly from class to class and remains in school till he completes the primary course.

At the State level, special assistance should be made available to under-developed areas for the expansion and improvement of primary education and the Government of India should make special assistance available to the less advanced States.

The Ten-Year School

It will be advantageous to have a broadly uniform educational structure in all parts of the country. The first step is to create the Ten-Year School providing a common pattern of general education for all children. The standard to be reached at the end of this stage should be broadly similar to that which is now reached at the secondary school-leaving certificate examination. The division of this stage into sub-stages—lower primary, higher primary and lower
secondary—should not be rigid and should allow for variation necessitated by local conditions.

There should be a common course of general education for all students at this stage. This will include language(s), science and mathematics, social studies (which at later stages will be studied as separate disciplines of geography, history and civics), work experience, social or national service, physical and health education and education in moral and social values. There need also be no essential differentiation between the curricula for boys and girls.

The national policy should be ultimately to make this period of ten years free and compulsory for all children. This will be achieved in stages, beginning with making lower secondary education tuition-free and providing facilities for it in all areas. For those who leave school at the end of the primary stage and desire to learn some vocational skills, suitable course of varying durations from one to three years—should be provided, both on full-time and part-time basis.

Higher Secondary Education

The duration of the academic course at the higher secondary stage (or the pre-university) stage should be uniformly raised to two years in all parts of the country under a phased plan. The curriculum should include two languages, three subjects selected from a prescribed list, work-experience and social service, physical and health education, and education in moral and social values. The academic control of this stage should be entrusted to a single authority in each State on which the universities should have adequate representation.

The duration of the vocational courses at this stage should vary according to their objectives (1—3 years). They should cover a larger number of fields such as agriculture, industry, trade and commerce, medicine and public health, home management, arts and crafts, education, secretariat training, etc.

Education at this stage should be largely terminal so that a majority of students who complete class XII enter different walks of life. From this point of view, the recruitment to the lower administrative services and posts should ultimately be made from amongst those who have completed the higher secondary stage and recruitment of graduates to these posts should be discouraged by prescribing a lower age for appointment.
Higher Education

The duration of the courses for the first degree in arts, commerce and science should be three years after the higher secondary stage.

Immediate and effective steps should be taken to reorganize courses and to revise and upgrade curricula at the university stage. The link between the subjects taken at the school stage and those at the first degree should be less rigid and combinations of subjects permissible for the first and the second degrees should be more elastic than in generally the case at present. Special efforts are also needed to promote inter-disciplinary studies.

The universities should define the conditions for eligibility for admission to different courses at the undergraduate stage, ineligible students being allowed to re-appear at the relevant examination to earn eligibility. Similarly, the number of full-time students to be admitted to each college or department of a university should be determined with reference to teachers and facilities available. Adequate resources should however be provided to ensure that all eligible students who desire to study further get admission to higher education; and in order to secure social justice, some allowances should be made for the environmental handicaps of students from rural areas, from urban slums and from the weaker sections of the community.

Part-Time and Own-Time Education

Part-time and own-time education should be developed on a large scale at every stage and in all sectors and given the same status as full-time education.

Spread of Literacy and Adult Education

As the liquidation of mass illiteracy is essential, for quickening the tempo of national development in general, plans to accelerate the spread of literacy should therefore be prepared and intensively implemented on several fronts. With a view to reducing new additions to the ranks of adult illiterates, part-time literacy classes should be organized for grown-up children (age-group 11-17) who did not attend school or have lapsed into illiteracy. All employees in large commercial, industrial and other concerns should be made functionally literate within a prescribed period of their employment and a lead in this direction should be given by the industrial plants in public sector. Similarly, teachers, students and educational institutions should be actively involved in literacy campaigns, especial-
ly as a part of the social or national service programme. The achievement of literacy should be sustained by the provision of attractive reading materials and library services to the new literates.

Adult or continuing education should be developed through facilities for part-time or own-time education and through the expansion and improvement of library services, educational broadcasting and television.

*Education of Girls*

The education of girls should receive special emphasis and the funds required for its advancement should be provided on a priority basis. Suitable measures for speedy implementation should be devised particularly taking into account the needs of the rural areas. The appointment of women teachers should be encouraged at all stage and especially primary stage.

*Education of the Weaker Sections of the Community*

It is necessary to expand and extend the existing special educational facilities and concessions to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes including Nav Bouddhas converted from the scheduled castes whose social and economic conditions and position continue to remain unchanged. Special efforts in affording financial relief and some reference for admission to good institutions at all levels will be necessary.

The education of the tribal people also needs more intensive efforts. Special measures are necessary, emphasis being placed on Ashram schools, the development of carefully trained cadres of workers for tribal areas, ultimately derived from the tribals themselves and simultaneous development of programmes for their economic improvement.

'Backwardness' should be defined in socio-economic terms and not on the basis of birth. Educational concessions and assistance, similar to those now offered to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes should be extended to all socially and economically handicapped persons.

*Educational of the Hindicapped Children*

The facilities for the education of the physically and mentally handicapped children should be expanded; and at least one good institution for the education of the blind and deaf children should be established in each district.
(c) Programmes of Qualitative Improvement

Teachers: Status and Education

A sustained effort should be made to attract to the teaching profession a significant proportion of talented young men and women who leave the schools and universities every year and to retain them as dedicated, enthusiastic and contented teachers. From this point of view, the following *inter alia* are some of the important programmes to be developed:

1. There should be minimum national scales of pay for university, college and school teachers. The existing wide gap between the salary scales for school and university (or college) teachers should be reduced.

2. The conditions of work and service of teachers should be improved and should be uniform for teachers under different managements. Steps should be taken to ensure security of tenure to teachers in non-government service. Adequate residential facilities should be provided to teachers at all stages.

3. Teachers' organizations should be encouraged and recognized. In each State, there should be an advisory council consisting of the representatives of the organizations of teachers, voluntary agencies conducting educational institutions and officers of the Education Department.

4. The training of school teachers should be brought within the broad stream of university life and the isolation of training institutions from the schools should be ended. Schools of education should be established in universities. Each State, should prepare and implement, on a priority basis, a plan for the expansion and improvement of teacher education at all stages.

5. The academic freedom of teachers to pursue and publish their studies and researches and to speak and write about significant national and international issues should be protected. Teachers should be also free to exercise all civil rights including the right to participate in elections; and when doing so, they should be entitled to and take leave of absence from their substantive posts.
Curricula and Textbooks

There is an urgent need to upgrade and improve school curricula, to increase their knowledge content and to provide adequately for the development of skills and the inculcation of right interests, attitudes and values. Similar steps are also needed at the university stage.

The quality of textbooks should be kept at the highest level by attracting the best talent available through a liberal policy of remuneration and by giving special encouragement to outstanding teachers. The Government of India should take immediate steps for the production of high-quality textbooks which may be adopted/adapted in the States. The State Governments should set up autonomous corporations, functioning on commercial lines for the production of textbooks.

It is essential that an increasing number of common books should be read by all school students in the country. For this purpose, the Government of India should undertake, sponsor or promote the production of a series of books written and translated by the most competent persons in the field on different topics of national interest.

Examination Reform

Attention should be concentrated on three major areas: reduction of the dominance of external examinations; the introduction of reforms which would make them more valid, and realistic measures of educational achievement; and the adoption of a good system of internal evaluation.

At the school stage, there should be only two public examinations—the first at the end of class X and the second at the end of class XII (or class XI in the transitional period). Each State should have a Board of School Education (with sub-boards, where needed) to conduct these examinations and to define the standards to be reached. The examination certificate should give the candidate's performance in different subjects for which he has appeared but should not declare him to have passed or failed in the examination as a whole; and his eligibility for admission to courses at the next stage should be dependent upon his performance with reference to the requirements prescribed for the course he desires to study. It should be open to a candidate to appear again for these examinations, either in part or as a whole, in order to improve his performance.

It is necessary to coordinate, at the national level, the standards prescribed for attainment by the State boards of education at these
examinations. This should be done by a National Board of School Education, to be established by the Government of India, which should indicate the 'national standards' below which no State should ordinarily fall.

The public examinations, both at the school and university stages, should be improved by employing the latest methods and techniques. The time-lag between the holding of the examination and the declaration of results should be reduced and in no case should be longer than about eight weeks.

A comprehensive system of internal assessment covering all aspects of a student's growth should be introduced in all educational institutions and should be used for improvement as well as for certifying the achievement of the student.

A Nation-wide Programme of Institutional Improvement

A nation-wide programme for raising standards in all educational institutions should be developed. Each institution should be treated as a unit by itself and helped to grow at its pace by preparing and implementing its own developmental plan.

In the universities, a concentration of resources—both human and material—is essential for raising standards. Each university should therefore strive to develop some centres of excellence within itself, which could ultimately be raised to the status of a centre advanced study. In addition, the University Grants Commission should strive, where the necessary potential is available, to create clusters of centres of advanced study in related discipline which strengthen and support one another.

Special steps should be taken to improve educational institutions in rural areas and to reduce the wide gap in standards that now exists between urban and rural institutions.

Students Services, Welfare and Discipline

It is desirable to develop programmes of student services and welfare at all stages. At the primary stage, provision should be made for free supply of textbooks to all students, and in secondary schools, textbook libraries should be established. At the university stage, textbook libraries should be established in all colleges and university departments and provision should be made for low-cost or subsidized cafetarias and essential health services.

In order to create a sense of responsibility and to provide civic training, students should be associated with the management of their
institutions in a manner suited to their age and maturity. At the school stage, pupil-self-government should be an integral part of the instruction in every institution. Joint committees of teachers and students should be established in each university department and in every college to serve as a forum for the discussion and, where possible, for the solution of common problems and difficulties. Students’ associations should also be developed on proper line.

The incidents of student unrest can be remedied considerably if the educational system is transformed, strengthened and made more effective on the broad lines as indicated.

Scholarships: Discovery and Development of Talent

Both in secondary and higher education, the scholarships programme should be expanded and the amount of scholarships increased, broadly to cover all costs. Other forms of student-aid which need attention are, provision of transport facilities where necessary and feasible, grants for books and examination fees and creation of facilities to earn and learn. There is also need for loan scholarships at the university stage. In order to encourage good students to join the teaching profession however, a person who has received a loan scholarship should be entitled to a remission of one-tenth of the loan for each year of service as a teacher.

At present, most scholarships are awarded on the basis of marks obtained in some public examination; and as these tend to favour students from the well-to-do homes or good urban schools, potentially talented students whose preparation has remained inadequate through no fault of theirs are often left out. There is thus urgent need to evolve a more equitable and egalitarian basis for the award of scholarships and grant of admissions to important institutions of higher education.

(d) Organization and Administration

The Universities

The universities should develop themselves into autonomous communities of teachers and students who are untiringly and devotedly engaged in the pursuit of learning and excellence.

Among the measures needed to safeguard the University autonomy, the most important is to appoint the right persons as vice-chancellors who should be distinguished educationists or eminent scholars in any of the disciplines or professions with high standing in their fields and adequate administrative experience. An exception may only be made in the case of very outstanding persons whose association with the universities would be desirable.
Adequate provision should also be made for the financial needs of universities and to devise a suitable system of grant-in-aid, preferably a rolling system of block-grants to be revised every three to five years.

It is necessary to amend and modernize most University Acts in India. The Ministry of Education, Government of India, in collaboration with the University Grants Commission, should initiate discussions with the State Governments concerned and complete the whole programme in the next two or three years. A convention should also be developed whereby State Governments discuss their proposals for new or amending legislation in respect of universities with the Ministry of Education and the University Grants Commission before they are introduced in the legislatures.

The principle of autonomy should be extended within the university system itself. The administration of universities should be so organized that it becomes a service agency for the promotion of academic life.

The Voluntary Efforts in Education

It should be an objective of educational policy to encourage and to make full use of all assistance that can come through the voluntary efforts of the people.

The policy of the Government towards schools conducted by voluntary organizations should be selective rather than uniform. The system of grant-in-aid should be revised, simplified and made more liberal. All recognized schools should be eligible for grant-in-aid on some egalitarian basis which will help them to maintain proper standards. In addition, there should be provision for penal cuts for gross failure or special grants for good and outstanding work.

The Educational Institutions Conducted by Minorities

The administration of the Centre and in the States should not only respect the rights of minorities but help to promote their educational interests.

The Local Authorities

It is desirable to bring the school and the community together in a programme of mutual service and support. The immediate plan to be adopted in all parts of the country is to associate the village panchayats and municipalities with the primary schools in their areas through the creation of local school committees. These committees should consist of the representatives of the local autho-
rities in the area and about an equal number of persons interested in education.

Local authorities associated with the administration of education should levy an education cess. A minimum cess should be obligatory and in order to stimulate the raising of funds, grant-in-aid should be given to match all levies above the minimum rates. The other grants-in-aid to local authorities should be so designed as to secure equalization.

The Government of India

The Government of India should provide stimulating national leadership in educational development. For this purpose, it should promote educational research, especially in the universities. Financial assistance from the Centre should also be available, both to State Governments and voluntary organisations, for pilot projects or other experimental work of national significance. Professional organizations in the different fields, and especially national organisations of teachers striving for improvement of education in different areas, should receive encouragement and Central assistance. The Government of India should formulate the National Policy on Education and revise it from time to time. This will provide the broad guidelines for educational development in the States and form the basis of Central grants for education.

The Government of India should provide financial assistance for educational development and increase the Central investment in education very considerably and channel it into three programmes namely:

(i) to expand the Central sector to a very great extent for the expansion of national scholarships, development of agricultural, engineering and medical education, promotion of educational research and Sanskrit studies, establishment of institutions specializing in social sciences and humanities and increasing the allocations to the University Grants Commission for centres of advanced study, schools of education, post-graduate education and research, maintenance grants to State universities, qualitative improvement of higher education and provision of student services and amenities;

(ii) to supplement the Central sector by providing earmarked Central grants to State Governments for the development of selected schemes of high priority; and
(iii) to share in some agreed proportion the total expenditure incurred on the salaries and allowances of teachers by the Centre and the States. This will enable the Centre to give effect to a national policy regulating the remuneration of teachers which is so crucial to the quality of education.

The State Governments

States should provide a statutory basis for education by enacting comprehensive Education Acts which will replace all the miscellaneous laws and executive orders (e.g., grant-in-aid code) which now exist.

Departments of Education in the States should be strengthened considerably. The administrative structure and procedures should be reformed to emphasize variety and elasticity rather than rigidity and uniformity.

It is desirable to adopt the district as the principal unit for educational planning, administration and development in States. The district education officer should be given adequate status and delegation of authority, the main responsibility of the State-level Directorate being general coordination and policy.

(E) A Programme for Immediate Action

Priorities

The following programme for immediate action for educational development and Planning is suggested:

(1) The Indian languages should be adopted as media of education at all stages and in all subjects in five years.

(2) The neighbourhood school system should be universalized at the primary stage. Primary education (classes I—VII or VIII) should be made free immediately and free books should be provided to all pupils. An intensive programme should be launched for reduction of wastage and stagnation. Good and effective primary education of at least five years’ duration should be provided for every child in all parts of the country as early as possible and at any rate within a period of ten years.

(3) The ten year school, with a common curriculum of general education, should be adopted in all parts of the
country. The new educational structure should be adopted as early as possible in all areas where the total duration of school and college education leading to the first degree in arts, commerce and science is 15 years or more. Where addition of a year of schooling is involved, a phased programme should be drawn up for the implementation of the proposal.

(4) Teachers' status should be improved and the remuneration of all teachers, particularly at the school stage should be upgraded. Programmes of teacher education should be improved and expanded.

(5) Agricultural research and education at all levels should be developed on a priority basis. Both technical education and technological research should be taken closer to the industry; and a better status in society and industry should be given to the technician and his training improved.

(6) Work experience and national and social service should be introduced as an integral part of all education. A beginning may be made in about five per cent of the institutions immediately and the programme should be universalized in a period of about ten years.

(7) Science education should be emphasized and scientific research should be promoted. In a phased programme spread over about ten years, science and mathematics should be made an integral part of general education till the end of Class X.

(8) Emphasis should be laid on the development of essential student services e.g., development of programmes of sports and games; building up of textbook libraries in secondary schools, colleges and universities, and appointment of joint committees of teachers and students in colleges and universities to deal with day-to-day problems.

(9) Post graduate education and research should be improved and expanded. The programme of the centres of advanced study should be developed further and clusters of centres in related disciplines should be created wherever possible.
(10) The provision of facilities for part time and own time education should be expanded generously at all stages.

(11) The programmes for spreading education among girls and the weaker sections of the community should be expanded.

(12) Intensive efforts should be made to spread literacy, particularly in the age-group 15—25.

(13) The recruitment policies of government should be revised to reduce the pressures on higher secondary stage of education should be vocationalized to divert young persons into different walks of life.

(14) In admissions to higher education, some allowance should be made for the environmental handicaps of students coming from rural areas, urban slums and weaker sections of the community, and a more equitable and egalitarian basis should be evolved for the award of scholarships or grant of admissions to important institutions of higher education.

(15) Programmes which need planning, organisation, and human effort rather than money, e.g., promoting national consciousness, character-formation, intensive utilisation of existing facilities, reorganisation of courses, improvement of curricula, adoption of dynamic methods of teaching, examination reform and improvement of text-books should be developed in a big way on a priority basis.

(16) Emphasis should be placed on the improvement of educational administration and especially on the adoption of the district as the principal unit for planning, administration and development of education, the system of school groups, the modernization of the system of school supervision, and the organisation of a nation-wide programme of improvement of educational institutions through preparation and implementation of individual plans.
APPENDIX I

Resolution of the Government of India setting up the Education Commission*

The Government of India, ever since the attainment of independence, have given considerable attention to the development of a national system of education rooted in the basic values and the cherished traditions of the Indian nation and suited to the needs and aspirations of a modern society. While some advances have been made in these directions, the educational system has not generally evolved in accordance with the needs of the times, and a wide and distressing gulf continues to persist between thought and action in several sectors of this crucial field of national activity. In view of the important role of education in the economic and social development of the country, in the building of a truly democratic society, in the promotion of national integration and unity, and above all, for the transformation of the individual in the endless pursuit of excellence and perfection, it is now considered imperative to survey and examine the entire field of education in order to realize within the shortest possible period a well balanced, integrated and adequate system of national education capable of making a powerful contribution to all spheres of national life.

(2) The attainment of independence ushered in a new era of national development founded upon the adoption of a secular democracy, not only as form of Government but also as a way of life; the determination to eliminate the poverty of the people and to ensure a reasonable standard of living, for all, through modernization of agriculture and rapid development of industry; the adoption of modern science and technology and their harmonizing with traditional spiritual values; the acceptance of a socialistic pattern of society which will secure equitable distribution of wealth and equality of opportunity for all in education, employment and cultural advancement. Greater emphasis came to be placed on educational development because of the realization that education, especially in science and technology, is the most powerful instrument of social transformation and economic progress and that the attempt to create a new social order based on freedom, equality and justice can only succeed if the traditional educational system was revolutionized, both in content and extent.

*No F. 41/3 (3)/64-E. I. Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi, the 14th of July, 1964 as finally modified.
(3) Quantitatively, education at all levels has shown a phenomenal development in the post-independence period. In spite of this expansion, however, there is widespread dissatisfaction about several aspects of educational development. For instance, it has not been possible to provide free and universal education for all children up to 14 years of age. The problem of mass illiteracy continues to be immense. It has not been possible to raise standards adequately at the secondary and university stages. The diversification of curricula in secondary and higher education has not kept pace with the times so that the problem of educated unemployment has been intensified on the one hand while, on the other, there is an equally acute shortage of trained manpower in several sectors. The remuneration and service conditions of teachers leave a great deal to be desired; and several important academic problems are still matters of intense controversies. In short, qualitative improvements in education have not kept pace with quantitative expansion, and national policies and programmes concerning the quality of education, even when these were well conceived and generally agreed to, could not be implemented satisfactorily.

(4) The Government of India are convinced that education is the key to national prosperity and welfare and that no investment is likely to yield greater returns than investment in human resources of which the most important component is education. Government have also decided to mobilize all the resources of science and technology which can only be done on the foundation of good and progressive education and, to that end, to increase considerably their total investment in the development of education and scientific research. The nation must be prepared to pay for quality in education, and from the value attached to education by all sectors of the people it is clear that they will do so willingly:

(5) It is desirable to survey the entire field of educational development as the various parts of the educational system strongly interact with and influence one another. It is not possible to have progressive and strong universities without efficient secondary schools and the quality of these schools is determined by the functioning of elementary schools. What is needed, therefore, is a synoptic survey and an imaginative look at education considered as a whole and not fragmented into parts and stages. In the past, several commissions and committees have examined limited sectors and specific aspects of education. It is now proposed to have a comprehensive review of the entire educational system.

(6) While the planning of education for India must necessarily emanate from Indian experience and conditions, Government of
India are of the opinion that it would be advantageous to draw upon the experience and thinking of educationists and scientists from other parts of the world in the common enterprise of seeking for the right type of education which is the quest of all mankind, specially at this time when the world is becoming closely knit together in so many ways. It has, therefore, been decided to associate with the Commission either as members or as consultants, some eminent scientists and educationists from other countries. The United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation has provided three members for the Commission viz., Mr. Jean Thomas, Inspector General of Education, France, and formerly Assistant Director General of UNESCO, Prof. Shumovsky, Director, Methodological Division, Ministry of Higher and Special Secondary Education, RSFSR, Moscow, and Professor of Physics, Moscow University, and Prof. Sadatoshi Ihara, Professor of the First Faculty of Science and Technology, Waseda University, Tokyo, who have since joined the Commission. It is expected that the collaboration of some eminent scientists, and educationists as consultants, with the work of the Commission, will also be forthcoming. Negotiations are in progress with some more specialists and additions of names of foreign consultants will be notified from time to time. In addition, the Commission has been authorized to invite from time to time such other consultants in India in relation to any aspect of its enquiry as it may consider necessary.

(7) For the purposes outlined in the foregoing paragraphs, Government of India have decided to set up an Education Commission consisting of the following members:—

**CHAIRMAN**

1. Prof. D. S. Kothari, Chairman, University Grants Commission, New Delhi.

**MEMBERS**


3. Mr. H. L. Elvin, Director, Institute of Education, University of London, London.

4. Shri R. A. Gopalaswami, Director, Institute of Applied Manpower Research, New Delhi.

5. Dr. V. S. Jha, Former Director of the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit in London.

7. Prof. M. V. Mathur, Professor of Economics and Public Administration, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

8. Dr. B. P. Pal, Director, Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi.

9. Kumari S. Panandikar, Head of the Department of Education, Karnataka University, Dharwar.

10. Prof. Rogar Revelle, Dean of Research, University of California, U.S.A.


12. Dr. T. Sen, Rector, Jadavpur University, Calcutta.

13. Mr. Jean Thomas, Inspector General of Education, France, and formerly Assistant Director-General of UNESCO.

14. Prof. S. A. Shumovsky, Director, Methodological Division, Ministry of Higher and Special Secondary Education, RSFSR, Moscow, and Professor of Physics, Moscow University.

15. Prof. Sadatoshi Ihara, Professor of the First Faculty of Science & Technology, Waseda University, Tokyo.

**MEMBER-SECRETARY**

16. Shri J. P. Naik, Head of the Department of Educational Planning, Administration & Finance, Gokhale Institute of Politics & Economics, Poona.

**ASSOCIATE SECRETARY**

17. Mr. J. F. McDougall, Assistant Director, Department of School and Higher Education, UNESCO, Paris.

(8) The Commission will advise Government on the national pattern of education and on the general principles and policies for the development of education at all stages and in all its aspects. It need not, however, examine the problems of medical or legal education, but such aspects of these problems as are necessary for its comprehensive enquiry may be looked into.
(9) The Commission will submit its final report as early as possible and not later than the 31st March, 1966. Where immediate implementation of certain programmes is necessary the Commission may also submit, from time to time, interim reports dealing with limited sectors on problems of education. Government are anxious that the implementation of agreed recommendations about specific matters of importance shall on no account be held up until the completion of the Commission's work. On the other hand, its expert advice and guidance should be continuously available to those charged with the responsibility for implementing educational programmes and policies.

Ordered that a copy of the Resolution be communicated to all State Governments and Administrations of Union Territories and to all Ministries of the Government of India.

Ordered also that the Resolution be published in the Gazette of India for information.

PREM KIRPAL,
Secretary,
to the Govt. of India.
APPENDIX II

Consultants to the Education Commission

1. Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., Commissioner, State Education Department, and President, University of the State of New York, New York, USA.

2. Dr. C. E. Beeby, Visiting Professor, Centre for Studies in Education and Development, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.

3. Prof. P. M. S. Blackett, President of the Royal Society, U.K., Professor of Physics, Imperial College of Science and Technology, University of London, London.

4. Recteur J. J. Capelle, Professor, University of Nancy, and former Director-General of Education in France, Paris.


7. Prof. Andre Daniere, Centre for Studies in Education and Development, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.

8. Prof. S. Dedijer, Institute of Sociology, University of Lund, Sweden.

9. Dr. Nicholas DeWitt, Director, International Survey of Educational Development and Planning, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, USA.

10. Dr. John Guy Fowlkes, School of Education, University of Wisconsin, Madison, U.S.A.

11. Sir Willis Jackson, Head of the Department and Professor of Electrical Engineering, Imperial College of Science and Technology, University of London, London.

12. Dr. J. Paul Leonard, Professor of Education, Columbia University, Teachers' College, and Chief of Party,
13. Dr. Gordon N. Mackenzie, Professor of Education, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, USA.


15. Prof. S. Okita, Executive Director, Japan Economic Research Centre, Tokyo and Special Adviser to the Minister of Economic Planning Agency, Government of Japan.


17. Lord Robbins, Professor Emeritus, London School of Economics, and Chairman of Financial Times, London; Recently Chairman of the Committee on Higher Education, UK.

18. Professor Edward A. Shils, Professor of Sociology and Social Thought in the Committee on Social Thought, University of Chicago, USA, and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, UK.

19. Dr. Frederick Seitz, President, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, USA.

20. Professor W. C. Smith, Professor of World Religions and Director, Centre for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.
APPENDIX III

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ON EDUCATION, 1967—NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION

Excerpts from Minutes of Dissent

I. By Shri R. K. Amin and Shri A. K. Chanda:

The common school system is... desirable. But it should be developed through persuasion and improvement of standards in the common schools and not by resort to compulsion.

II. By Shri K. Anbazhagan:

It is a completely baseless premise that Hindi is a link language.

The language policy on education should not be utilized as a back-door method to implement or to introduce the official language which is under question.

There is a genuine feeling among the people of non-Hindi areas, that the official language policy requires reappraisal and unless all the regional languages, i.e. languages in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution are given equal status as official languages, the language controversy will not be settled. The people of non-Hindi areas strongly feel that English is enough to serve as a link language between one State and another, the Centre and the States, and with the foreign countries.

On the teaching of languages for classes I to XI at the school stage, the formula adopted by the Government of Tamilnadu (Madras) State) is found to be a suitable one in the present contexts.

The Statement of the Committee on devising a common scientific and technical terminology ignores the basic structure of the Indian languages. The basic and root words of the Dravidian languages and those of the North-Indian languages differ so widely that a common root in one group may not satisfy or fit in the other group. As such, a common terminology of technical terms based upon North-Indian languages cannot be adopted in Tamil and other Dravidian languages.

The Minister for Home Affairs has stated that the UPSC examinations will be conducted in all the fourteen languages and their introduction will be simultaneous.
The same kind of principle should guide us in choosing the medium of instruction in institutions of all-India character and importance and until such an arrangement is accepted, the status quo, that is, English should continue as the medium in the all-India institutions.

III. By Shri A.E.T. Barrow:

In my position, this (the common or neighbourhood schools) is the very negation of democracy and a wholly regrettable assertion of totalitarianism. In every democratic society, the right of the parent to decide the kind of education his child will receive is sacrosanct.

The Common Schools system enforced by this totalitarian method can be a dangerous invasion of the cherished right of liberty of thought.

The recommendation will lead to their use as the exclusive media of education at the university stage. The report does not make provision specifically and categorically, for the use of a 'link medium' which is necessary not only for the maintenance of standards in higher education but crucial for India's unity.

It is the duty of the Centre (Item 66 of List I of the Constitution) to determine and coordinate standards in higher education and this can only be achieved by the use of English, at present, as the 'link medium'. I am convinced also that the interchange of teachers and the migration of students from one university to another, will be impossible if universities constitute themselves into linguistic enclaves. I believe it is only a 'link medium' that can encourage a communion of minds and inspire national integration.

I am convinced that moderation and standardization between multiplicity of languages, disparate in their content and development, will seriously militate against the reliability and validity of such examinations. My fear is that one result of a multiplicity of media will be competition, perhaps unwittingly, in mark-giving between examiners in the different languages with the result that the quota-system will inevitably emerge. All semblance, therefore, of any maintenance of standards in these all-India services will disappear.

Hindi is, in fact, not the link language of education in India and is not likely to be accepted by the universities in non-Hindi areas. English is the de facto link language in higher education and will continue to be so, as it is a language of international importance and in India, the key to science and technology and therefore essential for higher academic studies and intellectual communica-
tion. Hindi cannot even be regarded as a link language from the point of view of its use as a spoken language. The 1961 census shows that more than 11 million people have returned English as their second language, whereas barely 9 million people have Hindi as theirs.

IV. By Shri V. M. Chordia:

The recommendations do not give any importance to the Constitutional provisions that in 1965 Hindi has become the official language of the Union.

To ignore both, the Constitutional provisions and the realities in this matter, is illegal, inappropriate and impracticable. Without due recognition of these facts it would be impossible to lay down the correct national languages policy.

The need of teaching Hindi as a compulsory subject throughout the country will become all the more important after the switch-over to regional languages as media of instruction and administration.

To put English on the same footing as Hindi would be wrong and will undermine not only the growth of Hindi but also the growth of regional languages which are intimately connected with the growth of Hindi.

V. By Shri Digvijai Nath:

From the very elementary stages of education, all students must be imparted religious instruction in the sacred books of the Hindu, including the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Gita and other scriptures, so that when the children grow up as citizens, they may have a thorough knowledge of the background about the great past of this ancient land. It is here that Macaulay's work of denationalizing the people has to be undone and undone with a strong hand. Until this is done, no system of education, however scientific in Western sense, imparted in our schools and colleges, can make them first-rate citizens....

Sanskrit is the treasure-house of vast knowledge in every field of knowledge, including the sciences. The people of this country cannot become first-rate scientists until and unless they have a proper grounding in ancient Indian sciences in Sanskrit.... Sanskrit being the mother of all Indian languages, and of all sciences, its study should be made compulsory for all students from the very beginning, so that students... grasp the modern scientific discoveries and inventions, as they are merely the continuation of the knowledge about our sciences contained in Sanskrit.
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