

REPORT  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE OF MEMBERS OF  
PARLIAMENT ON EDUCATION  
(1967)

NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA



## FOREWORD

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

- (1) To consider the Report of the Education Commission;
- (2) To prepare the draft of a Statement on the National Policy on Education for the consideration of the Government of India; and
- (3) To identify a programme for immediate action.

We met on 7th, 24th, 25th, 26th and 27th April; 19th and 20th May; and 27th, 28th and 29th June, 1967. We also attended the Conference of State Education Ministers held at New Delhi on 28-30 April, 1967.

We constituted a Drafting Committee† from amongst our members on 24th April. It met on 25th and 28th April; 18th, 19th, 20th, 30th and 31st May; 1st, 7th, 8th, 9th and 27th June, 1967.

In view of our main terms of reference and their urgency, we did not think it necessary, at this stage, to examine all the recommendations of the Education Commission. We scrutinized only its major recommendations along with the comments of the State Governments and others thereon. It will be noticed that our general approach to the problem differs from that of the Commission in three important ways. Firstly, we have not accepted 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. We believe that better results can be obtained if we strive to maintain at least the minimum standards in all institutions and offer special additional assistance, on the basis of proper criteria, to those institutions

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\*The names of members are given in Appendix I.

†The names of members are given in Appendix II.

which show high-level performance and promise. Secondly, we have placed a greater emphasis on expansion of facilities than the Commission has done, especially at the school stage. We have therefore not agreed to the Commission's proposal that a system of selective admissions should be adopted at the higher secondary and undergraduate stages. We have 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 we believe that every effort should be made to provide admissions to institutions of higher education to all eligible students who desire to study further. Thirdly, we have not favoured several recommendations of the Commission whose main objective was to create certain new administrative structures or changes in the existing ones.\* In our opinion, such programmes will lead to increasing bureaucratization and increase in unproductive expenditure.

Subject to these observations, we found the Report of the Education Commission very useful and valuable. We have accepted several of its major recommendations, some with modifications or changes in priority. We have also added new recommendations in certain areas where the ground was not fully covered by the Report of the Commission. All these decisions have been incorporated in the following Statement on the National Policy on Education which also includes a programme for immediate action.

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\*Shri S. N. Dwivedy is of the view that the Indian Educational Service should be created at an early date to promote national integration.

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*Report of the Committee of Members of  
Parliament on Education  
(1967)*

NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION

## NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION

1. 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 rich diversity, proud of her cultural heritage and confident of her great future; and
  - emphasize science and technology and the cultivation of moral, social and spiritual values.

### TRANSFORMATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

2. 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**

3. 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.

4. All students should be given appropriate courses in citizenship which emphasize the fundamental unity of India in the midst of her rich diversity. These should include a study of the Freedom Struggle, the Constitution, the noble principles enshrined in its Preamble and the problems and programmes of national development.

5. National and social service, including participation in meaningful and challenging programmes of community service 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.

6. 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 main-



tenance of all-India institutions which bring together students from different regions.

7. 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**

8. To strengthen social unity and to provide equality of opportunity to the less advanced sections of the society, the unhealthy social segregation that now takes place between the schools for the rich and those for the poor 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. This sharing of life among the children of all social strata will strengthen the sense of being one nation which is an essential ingredient of good education. Moreover, the establishment of neighbourhood schools will induce the rich, privileged and powerful classes to take an active interest in the system of public education and thereby bring about its early improvement. 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**

9. 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 change-over should be brought about in five years. Adequate resources should be made available for this programme and the willing and enthusiastic cooperation of the academic community should be secured. 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. Admissions to these institutions should be so planned that students educated through any Indian language are not at any disadvantage. In addition, all such institutions should

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\*Shri Dinkar Desai and Shri S. N. Dwivedy are not sure whether under our Constitution, parents can be compelled to send their children to any particular school and suggest that this aspect of the neighbourhood school may be examined by Government.

maintain special departments which will provide intensive courses to the newly admitted students in Hindi/English to enable them to follow with ease the education given to them.

(b) The work of devising scientific and technical terminology should be expeditiously completed. This terminology should be adopted/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 literature in all Indian languages should be developed. This should be implemented mainly through the universities but should be Centrally planned, coordinated 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.

(f) Suitable safeguards should be devised to prevent any lowering of standards during the process of change-over. In fact, the desirability and success of the change should be judged in terms of the contribution it makes to raising the quality of education. But caution should not be equated to delay or inaction. It is meaningful only if it is part of a policy of determined, deliberate and vigorous action.

### **The Teaching of Languages**

10. 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. Adequate safeguards should be provided for linguistic minorities.

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 a 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**

11. In practice, Hindi is already largely in use as 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**

12. India has a special responsibility for the promotion of Sanskrit. Facilities for its teaching at the school stage should be provided on a liberal scale and its study encouraged. Where possible, composite courses of Sanskrit and the regional languages should be provided. A more important programme is to ensure its wide study at the collegiate stage. For this purpose, new methods of teaching should be evolved to enable college students to acquire an adequate and quick command of language, even though they may not have studied it at school. Universities should also examine the desirability of including a study of Sanskrit in those courses at the first and second degree where such knowledge is essential (e.g., courses in certain modern Indian languages, ancient Indian history, Indology, Indian philosophy). The traditional system of Sanskrit learning should be encouraged.

### **Science Education and Research**

13. 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**

14. Great emphasis should be placed on the development of education for agriculture and industry. The basic purpose of education for agriculture is to increase agricultural production by improving the competence of farmers and, to that end, to promote agricultural research and to train personnel needed for research, training and extension. 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. There is urgent need, in rural areas, for suitable centres or institutions providing extension services to farmers and giving part-time intensive courses to young persons who have left school and taken to agriculture.

15. 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. Technicians should be given a better status in industry and in society ; and institutions situated in industrial complexes should be involved intimately in their training and should specially strive to organize sandwich and part-time courses. Both technical education and research should be related closely 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.

### **Work-Experience**

16. Yet another means of relating education to productivity is to include work-experience which may be defined as participation in productive work in school, in the home, in a workshop, in a factory, on a farm, or in any other productive situation, as an integral part of general education at the school stage. This work with hands will help the young to develop insights

into productive processes and use of science and inculcate in them respect for manual labour and habits of hard and responsible work.

### **Character-Formation**

17. The formation of character should receive due emphasis in the total process of education. It is true that education alone cannot promote the appropriate moral, social and spiritual values which are generated by several institutions and organs of society. It must however contribute significantly to the moulding of the outlook and values of the youth and the strengthening of its moral fibre. The quality of reading materials, the stress on the proper study of the humanities and the social sciences, including the study of the great universal religions, the rendering of social service to the community, and participation in games and sports and hobbies, will contribute to the formation of right attitudes and values. Above all, the example set by teachers and elders will be decisive. Due attention should therefore be paid to these factors and activities in educational planning at all levels.

## **EQUALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES**

18. In spite of the rapid educational expansion achieved during the last twenty years, the existing facilities fall far short of national needs and expectations. Expansion will therefore have to continue and even accelerated at the school stage with a view to equalizing educational opportunity.

### **Pre-Primary Education**

19. Greater attention needs to be paid to the development of pre-primary education. Voluntary organizations conducting pre-primary institutions should receive encouragement and financial assistance, especially when they are working in rural areas, urban slums, or for children of the weaker sections of the community. Every encouragement should be given to experimentation, particularly in devising less costly methods of expansion.

### **Primary Education**

20. The provision of good and effective primary education, on a free and compulsory basis, is the foundation of democracy and national development. It 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.

21. 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. Success in this will depend upon the extent to which facilities are provided for pre-primary education, the qualitative improvement of primary schools, the adoption of the ungraded system\* in classes I and II (and if possible, even in classes I-IV) and the provision of facilities for part-time education for all children who cannot attend schools on a full-time basis.

22. The unfinished task in primary education varies immensely from area to area and is heavier in those which are poorer and more backward. At the State level, special assistance should therefore 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**

23. 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 variations necessitated by local conditions.

24. 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.

25. The national policy should be ultimately to make this period of ten years (which includes the primary and the lower secondary stages) 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. A large proportion of students who complete the primary course will proceed further to lower secondary education. But for those who leave school at the end of the primary stage and desire to learn some

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\*In this system, classes I-II will be treated as one unit and there will be no detention at the end of the first year.

vocational skills, suitable courses of varying durations—from one to three years—should be provided, both on full-time and part-time basis.

### **Higher Secondary Education**

26. The next stage in the educational structure is the higher secondary (or the pre-university). The duration of the academic course at this 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. It is desirable to treat this stage as a part of school education and to entrust its academic control to a single authority in each State on which the universities should have adequate representation. As a transitional measure, the attachment of these classes to colleges may be continued wherever necessary.

27. The duration of the vocational courses at this stage should vary according to their objectives (1-3 years). They should cover a large number of fields such as agriculture, industry, trade and commerce, medicine and public health, home management, arts and crafts, education, secretarial training, etc. Their organization should be elastic, allowing for full-time, part-time and correspondence courses and a large variety of institutional arrangements. The enrolment in vocational courses should be substantially increased to cover ultimately about half the total enrolment at the higher secondary stage.

28. 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. It is desirable to select the personnel even for the superior posts under Government or in the public sector at the end of the higher secondary stage itself and then train them further at State expense.

### **Higher Education**

29. The duration of the courses for the first degree in arts, commerce and science should be three years after the higher secondary stage. Where this is only two years at present, a phased programme should be prepared for the introduction of the longer course.

30. 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 is generally the case at present. Special efforts are also needed to promote inter-disciplinary studies.

31. 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 allowance should be made for the environmental handicaps of students from rural areas, from urban slums and from the weaker sections of the community. Facilities for study through morning or evening colleges and correspondence courses should be provided on a liberal scale. At the post-graduate stage, the selection for admission should be rigorous.

#### **Part-Time and Own-Time Education**

32. 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. These facilities will smoothen the transition from school to work, reduce the cost of education to the State, and provide opportunities to the large number of persons who desire to educate themselves further but cannot afford to do so on a full-time basis. In particular, greater emphasis has to be laid on the development of correspondence courses, not only for university students, but also for secondary school students, for teachers, for agricultural, industrial and other workers ; and facilities should be available, both to men and women, to study privately and appear at the various examinations conducted by the boards of education and the universities.

#### **Spread of Literacy and Adult Education**

33. The liquidation of mass illiteracy is essential, not only for accelerating programmes of production, especially in agriculture, but 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, especially 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.

34. 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. The development of extension services in universities is of great significance in this context. In particular, the universities should organize special extension programmes to train rural leadership.

### **Education of Girls**

35. In the post-independence period, the enrolment of girls, as well as the number of women teachers, has increased rapidly at all stages of education; and in most areas of study, girls have shown remarkable achievements and proved that they are at least equal to, if not better than, the boys. But in spite of all that has been done, there is still a wide gap in the enrolment of boys and girls at all stages. It is necessary to eliminate this gap at the primary stage, and to narrow it at the other stages. The education of girls should therefore 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 stages and especially at the primary stage.

### **Education of the Weaker Sections of the Community**

36. In spite of the increasing attention given, since independence, to the education of the weaker sections of the community, the gap between their level of educational development and the average for the society as a whole still continues to be very wide. It is therefore 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 preference for admission to good institutions at all levels will be necessary. Care must also be taken to ensure that the educated persons from these classes are suitably employed. Until these weaker sections catch up with the rest of the community, a system of reservation in employment opportunities would be justified.

37. The education of the tribal people also needs more intensive efforts. Here the problems of language and sparsity of population become great handicaps for the spread of education. Special measures, analogous to those specified in the foregoing paragraphs 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.

38. At present, the definition of 'backwardness' is based on birth. It is necessary to change this and to define backwardness in socio-economic terms and to extend educational concessions and assistance, similar to those now offered to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, to all socially and economically handicapped persons.

### **Education of the Handicapped Children**

39. 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. Every attempt should be made to develop integrated programmes enabling the handicapped children to study in regular schools. It is necessary to coordinate the activities of different agencies working in the field.

### **PROGRAMMES OF QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT**

40. Educational expansion which is so essential for national development and equalization of educational opportunity should not imply any lowering of standards. On the other hand, it should be accompanied by simultaneous efforts to raise substantially the standards of education and to keep them continually rising. At least in the crucial sectors, our standards should be internationally comparable.

### **Teachers : Status and Education**

41. Standards in education are primarily determined by the quality, competence and character of teachers. It is therefore necessary to make a sustained effort 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. An important step in this direction will be to improve the remuneration and conditions of work and service of teachers and to provide them with adequate opportunities of professional advancement. From this point of view, the following are some of the important programmes to be developed :

(1) There should be minimum national scales of pay for university, college and school teachers. An upward revision of scales applicable to the teaching profession in the context of general pay structure in the country is justified and should be carried out as soon as possible, and the whole position should be reviewed periodically. In particular, the existing wide gap between the salary scales for school and university (or college) teachers should be reduced; the principle of parity for salary and allowances should

be adopted at the school stage for all teachers in the service of government, local authorities or voluntary organizations.

(2) A uniform system of retirement benefits should be introduced for all public servants and teachers, the triple-benefit scheme (*i.e.*, a scheme to cover pension, provident fund and insurance) being adopted as a transitional measure. Appropriate welfare services should also be provided on a basis of joint contribution and management by teachers and government.

(3) 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.

(4) 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. Its scope should include all matters relating to conditions of work and service and welfare services of school teachers and improvement of education.

(5) With the upgrading of remuneration, there should be a corresponding improvement in qualifications, quality and work of teachers. Adequate qualifications, both in general and professional education, should be prescribed for teachers at different levels. The procedure for recruitment should also be improved and should be similar in all institutions, irrespective of their managements.

(6) 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.

(7) 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 civic 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.

42. The improvement in the status of teachers should be accompanied by a corresponding deepening of their awareness of the crucial role which they have to play in moulding the life and character of the rising generation and ultimately of the nation itself. Teachers should pursue learning and

excellence with dedication and devotion, bear unstinting loyalty to their institutions and strive for the welfare and all-round development of the students entrusted to their care. Teachers' organizations should evolve codes of conduct for teachers which should be zealously guarded by the profession itself.

### **New Methods of Teaching**

43. The improvement in the quality of teachers and their professional preparation should help to revolutionize the process of education by the adoption of modern methods of teaching whose chief aim is to build up proper interests, attitudes and values and whose accent is on the dignity and freedom of the individual, awakening of curiosity and promoting love of learning, habits of self-study, capacity to think and judge for oneself and problem-solving ability. This development which is the essence of progressive and modern education should be facilitated through other programmes of qualitative improvement such as revision and upgrading of curricula, adequate supply of high-quality teaching and learning materials, examination reform, organization of a nation-wide programme of institutional development, provision of adequate student services and the discovery and development of talent.

### **Curricula and Textbooks**

44. 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.

45. High priority should be given to the organization of a rich and varied programme of co-curricular activities for students at all stages. Games and sports should be developed on a large scale, and on a priority basis, with the object of improving the physical fitness and sportsmanship of the average student rather than only for training champions. There should be a great emphasis on the provision of playing fields and on the fullest use of stadia by educational institutions. Coaches should be provided in schools and colleges. Special efforts should be made to develop hockey in which we excel, football, volleyball, wrestling and Indian games like Kabaddi or Kho-Kho which cost little but provide vigorous physical exercise. Hiking and mountaineering need special encouragement.

46. 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. But they should not claim a monopoly therein and should enlist the cooperation of the private sector. In each class and for every subject for which a textbook is needed, there should be at least three or four approved books and a school should be free to choose the books best suited to it.

47. 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 on different topics of national interest. These should be written by the most competent persons in the field, translated in all Indian languages, priced exactly the same in every language and made available in the library of every school.

48. The expenditure that parents have to incur on textbooks should be kept within reasonable limits by avoiding frequent changes in textbooks, by reducing the number of prescribed or recommended books and by keeping their prices to the minimum. A careful study should be made of the anticipated demands for paper and printing capacity during the next fifteen years and early steps should be taken to ensure that the production of paper and increase in printing capacity in the Indian languages keep pace with the expansion of education.

### **Examination Reform**

49. 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.

50. 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.

51. 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 National Board should also make arrangements to evaluate the standards actually attained on a school, district, State and national basis.

52. 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. The final examinations of schools and colleges should be completed and their results declared within a given time each year so that the students seeking admission to all-India and other important institutions do not lose a year as often happens at present.

53. 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. These results should be kept separate and shown side by side in the final certificate issued after external examinations. Every year, a careful review should be made of the correlation between internal and external assessment separately for each institution and action should be taken against those which tend to over-assess their students.

### **A Nation-wide Programme of Institutional Improvement**

54. 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.

55. Minimum requirements should be prescribed for each category of institutions and an attempt should be made to provide these through the assistance of local communities and an adequate system of maintenance grants. In addition, special encouragement grants should be available to institutions on the basis of their performance and promise.

56. These attempts at institutional improvement at the school stage can be strengthened by creating 'school-groups' for purposes of planning and development. Each school-group should consist of a secondary school with some higher primary schools within its immediate neighbourhood, each higher primary school being, in its turn, the centre for some lower primary schools near it. The immediate responsibilities entrusted to a school-group should include the sharing of facilities in common and the preparation and implementation of plans of educational development, additional powers and responsibilities being given on the basis of competence and performance. Wherever possible, colleges should be linked to secondary schools for similar programmes and the universities should be encouraged and assisted to participate in the improvement of schools.

57. 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 of 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 disciplines which strengthen and support one another.

58. 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.

### **Student Services, Welfare and Discipline**

59. 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. Simple uniforms should be prescribed, subsidies being available to poor and needy students. School meals and health services should be provided to the extent funds permit. School buildings should be utilized, before and after school hours, as day-study centres for children who do not have such facilities at home.

60. 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 cafeterias and essential health services. Day-study centres and hostels should be provided on a liberal scale. Hostel costs should be kept down to the minimum and students should be required to participate in the management and to practise self-help.

61. At both school and university stages, private tuitions should be discouraged and institutional arrangements should be made to assist retarded or under-achieving students by entrusting the responsibility to teachers who should be suitably remunerated for the purpose or by devising plans in which the more advanced students would help the backward ones.

62. 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. This assumes an even greater importance at the university stage where the students have to be treated as adults and increasingly associated with the maintenance of discipline. 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 lines.

63. It is a matter for serious concern that incidents of student unrest have shown a tendency to greater frequency and violence in recent years. The causes of this malaise are complex and deep-seated and an effective cure goes beyond the educational system. But the situation can be remedied considerably if the educational system is transformed, strengthened and made more effective on the broad lines indicated here. The programmes of developing national consciousness and of involving students in challenging and worthwhile projects of national reconstruction and the appointment of joint committees of teachers and students will also be of great help. It is however essential to emphasize that violence has no place in any civilized society and especially in an academic community. If its members find it necessary to assert their democratic rights, it should be done in a peaceful, orderly and dignified manner.

#### **Scholarships : Discovery and Development of Talent**

64. 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.

65. The administrative procedures for the award of scholarships should be streamlined and payments should be arranged promptly, preferably from month to month.

66. 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.

67. Scientific techniques should be developed, especially at the secondary stage, to discover and develop talent of all kinds. The universities can play a useful role in this. In view of the importance of the subject and our own great traditions, special emphasis need to be placed on the nurturing of mathematical talent. In the case of exceptionally gifted children, the State should assume total responsibility for their full education. The rules and regulations regarding courses, duration of studies, admission qualifications, etc. will also have to be suitably relaxed.



## ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

68. Education is, by and large, a State subject. But in its organization, universities, voluntary agencies, local authorities and the Government of India play important roles. These roles have to be properly defined and harmonized.

**The Universities**

69. 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.

70. The proper sphere of the university autonomy which should be exercised within the broad framework of national policy lies in three fields: the selection of students; the appointment and promotion of teachers; and the determination of courses of study, methods of teaching and the selection of areas and problems of research. Among the measures needed to safeguard this 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.

71. 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.

72. 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. Wider administrative and financial powers should be delegated to the departments of the universities; and each department should have a committee of management consisting of all professors and some readers and lecturers.

**The Voluntary Effort in Education**

73. Voluntary organizations have played a very important role in the development of education in the past. In the days ahead also, they can make

a useful contribution at the secondary and university stages and within the framework of the neighbourhood school system, even at the primary stage. It should therefore 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.

74. 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**

75. Educational institutions conducted by minorities have a special place in the national system of education. Specified safeguards are provided in the Constitution under Articles 29(1) and (2) and 30(1) and (2); in addition, Article 350A has been included as a special directive.

76. The Central and State Governments have also indicated in certain resolutions and statements the administrative procedures which should be adopted in respect of minorities. Thus, the Provincial Education Ministers' Conference in August 1949 passed a resolution (accepted by the Central Advisory Board of Education and the Government of India) which laid down detailed provisions for imparting both primary and secondary education to linguistic minorities through the medium of their mother tongue.

77. After taking into consideration the recommendations in the report of the States Reorganization Commission in respect of linguistic minorities, the Government of India in consultation with the Chief Ministers of States prepared a memorandum which was placed before both Houses of Parliament in September 1956. The memorandum deals, among other things, with educational safeguards at the primary and secondary stages and the affiliation of institutions using minority languages, for purposes of examination.

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

### **The Local Authorities**

79. 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 authorities in the area and about an equal number of persons interested in education. Their functions should be to help in improving the facilities in the schools under their charge and particularly to be responsible for the non-teacher costs. Each school committee should have a fund of its own consisting of (a) amounts placed at its disposal by the municipality or the village panchayat in the area; (b) donations and contributions voluntarily made by the parents and local community from time to time; and (c) grant-in-aid given by the State or other appropriate authority to stimulate local collection on some basis of equalization.

80. The ultimate objective should be to create specially constituted education boards for each district and for the bigger municipalities and to entrust them with the administration of all education at the school stage. Inspection and coordination should however be invariably reserved with the Government.

81. 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, grants-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. In urban areas, the municipalities may be suitably grouped and grants so arranged that the poorer local authorities get larger assistance. In rural areas, the grants-in-aid should include all teacher costs and an additional amount, on the basis of equalization, for other expenditure.

### **The Government of India**

82. The Government of India has large responsibilities in education, some directly specified in the Constitution and others implied. The Constitution makes the Union Government directly responsible for the Central Universities, for all institutions of national importance, for the enrichment, promotion and propagation of Hindi, for the coordination and maintenance of standards in higher education, for scientific and technological research and for education in international relationships which includes welfare of Indian students abroad and cultural and educational agreements with other countries. The vocational and technical training of labour is a concurrent responsibility; and so is social and economic planning which includes educational planning. The Centre also has special responsibilities for the education of the scheduled castes and tribes.

83. Its indirect or implied responsibilities however are greater still. The first is to serve as a clearing-house for educational information. The annual

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\*Where neither of these local authorities exist, parent-teacher associations may be formed to discharge the responsibilities proposed here for the school committees.

survey of the development of education in the country which the Government of India now brings out should be supplemented by studies of important educational problems, either on a regional or a national basis. These studies should follow a well-planned schedule and be repeated periodically. In addition, it is also a responsibility of the Centre to promote the exchange of educational experience among the States and to co-ordinate the work of different agencies for educational development functioning at the State level.

84. Another responsibility of the Government of India is to 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 organizations, for pilot projects or other experimental work of national significance. Professional organizations in the different fields, and especially national organizations 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.

85. Yet another responsibility of the Government of India is to provide financial assistance for educational development. It is necessary to increase the Central investment in education very considerably and to channel it into three programmes. The first is 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.

86. The second programme of Central aid is to supplement the Central sector by providing ear-marked Central grants to State Governments for the development of selected schemes of high priority. It may be desirable to divide the total funds available with the Government of India for giving ear-marked grants to State Governments into two parts. One part should be utilized for giving ear-marked grants to State Governments for schemes of national significance (e.g., the adoption of Indian languages as media of education at all stages) and the second part should be distributed to State Governments on some egalitarian basis and ear-marked for such priority schemes as would be selected by the State Governments themselves.

87. The funds thus allocated to ear-marked grants should be voted separately by Parliament. There should be adequate machinery to see that

these are utilized for the purpose for which they are granted and a report on their utilization and the results achieved should be laid annually before Parliament.

88. The third programme of Central aid is that the Centre and the States should annually share, in some agreed proportion, the total expenditure incurred on the salaries and allowances of teachers. 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**

89. Education being a State subject, State Governments will have to develop several important programmes to discharge their responsibility in this field effectively.

90. They should prepare long-term and short-term plans of educational development in their areas within the broad framework of the national policy on education.

91. They 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.

92. 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. The quality of personnel should be improved through an increase in the number of posts at the higher levels, reform in recruitment procedures and provision of pre-service and in-service training. The basic scales of pay in the administrative and teaching wings should be made the same in order to make a free flow of personnel between the teaching and administrative wings possible.

93. A centralized educational administration may not be effective in many States. Besides, there are immense variations of educational development between the districts. It is therefore desirable to adopt the district as the principal unit for educational planning, administration and development. 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.

94. The bulk of the finances needed for educational development will also have to be raised by the State Governments. At present, the State Governments raise 60 per cent of the total educational expenditure which comes to about 22 per cent of their total resources, the individual variations ranging from 16 to 39 per cent. In future, the total educational expenditure of the State Governments will be much larger and may come to about one-third to one-half of their total resources.

## A PROGRAMME FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

**Priorities**

95. In developing societies, the gap between educational needs and resources available for educational development is distressingly wide so that educational planning becomes essentially a decision on priorities. Within the broad framework of the long-term policy of educational development indicated here, it is therefore necessary to identify a programme for immediate action, that is, for the next five to ten years. The following is suggested from this point of view :

- (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 an 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 education, and the 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, organization and human effort rather than money, *e.g.*, promoting national consciousness, character-formation, intensive utilization of existing facilities, reorganization of courses, improvement of curricula, adoption of dynamic methods of teaching, examination reform and improvement of textbooks should be developed in a big way and 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 organization of a nation-wide programme of improvement of educational institutions through preparation and implementation of individual plans.

### **Total Expenditure on Education**

96. It will be necessary to increase considerably the total expenditure on education if this massive and urgent programme of educational development is to be implemented. For this purpose, the best financial effort should be made by all the agencies involved—the Government of India, the State Governments, the local authorities and the voluntary organizations and the support of the local communities should be stimulated and fully utilized.

### **Essential Conditions for Success**

97. Even with the maximum mobilization of resources for education however, the available funds will still be inadequate and for some years to come, the development of education will have to be brought about under conditions of comparative scarcity. Several measures will have to be adopted to overcome this severe handicap. For instance, the utmost economy should be practised in everything. In particular, the expenditure on buildings should be reduced to the minimum by using locally available materials and by adoption of austere and utilitarian rather than ostentatious standards. The cost of equipment also should be reduced to the utmost by better designing, large-scale production, improvization and careful handling to increase its life. Wherever possible, facilities should be shared in common by a group of schools; and when equipment becomes costly and sophisticated, it should be intensively and cooperatively utilized for the largest part of the day and throughout the year.

98. Every effort should be made to utilize existing facilities most intensively so as to obtain full return on all the investment made in education. The number of working days should be increased and the working day should be longer. The vacations should be adjusted to meet the requirements of the institution and students or to enable a better organization of programmes of work-experience or national and social service. The libraries, laboratories and craft sheds should be open all the year round and for at least eight hours a day, if not longer. All educational buildings should be put to intensive use and utilized even in the vacations by designing suitable co-curricular programmes.

99. There is urgent need for the proper planning of educational institutions to avoid overlapping and duplication and to create larger institutions which tend to be less burdensome in cost per student. Well-considered criteria should be prescribed for schools of all categories and, on their basis, careful plans of perspective educational development, spread over the next 10-15 years, should be prepared separately for each district. This becomes even more important in higher education which is costlier and where the required resources in men, money and materials are even more scarce. It should therefore be an objective of policy to plan the location of colleges



carefully and to establish bigger affiliated colleges, exceptions being made only in the case of educationally under-developed areas or in the initial years of the life of a new institution. Similarly, careful coordination is needed in the organization of courses, training facilities and research programmes in universities also. Considerable restraint is needed in establishing new universities. Adequate preparation should be made for the purpose, and the general policy should be to establish university centres in the first instance and to develop them into universities in due course. No new university should be started unless the consent of the University Grants Commission has been obtained and adequate provision of funds has been made.

100. It will also be necessary to adopt new and unorthodox techniques which give quick results or reduce costs. Emphasis should be laid on such measures as the large-scale development of part-time and own-time education, the use of mass media and modern techniques, programmed instruction and the utilization of advanced students for teaching the more backward ones.

101. Perhaps the most important measure to overcome the handicaps of an 'economy of scarcity' is to create a climate of dedication and sustained hard work so that students, teachers and administrators invest 'themselves' in their tasks to make up for the shortcomings in material resources. There seems to be a pervading atmosphere of cynicism at present. But a developing country like ours cannot afford such luxuries. Idealism—for there is no better word—is needed in our country, now more than ever, in every sphere of life, and especially in education. The reconstruction of education thus presents a supreme challenge to all of us who are now called upon to create a system of education related to the life, needs and aspirations of the people and to maintain it at the highest level of efficiency. It is upon our response to this challenge that the future of the country depends.

R. K. AMIN\*  
 BHAGWAT JHA AZAD  
 K. ANBAZHAGAN\*  
 ANUP SINGH  
 A. E. T. BARROW\*  
 R. D. BHANDARE  
 A. K. CHANDA\*  
 T. CHENGALVAROYAN  
 V. M. CHORDIA\*  
 DINKAR DESAI  
 DIGVIJAI NATH\*  
 R. R. DIWAKAR

S. N. DWIVEDY  
S. M. JOSHI  
KAMLA KUMARI  
C. M. KEDARIA  
M. R. KRISHNA  
HIREN MUKHERJEE  
BAL RAJ MADHOK  
TARKESHWAR PANDE\*  
DAHYABHAI V. PATEL\*  
SADIQ ALI  
ANANT TRIPATHI SARMA  
D. C. SHARMA  
MADHO RAM SHARMA  
SHER SINGH  
SAVITRI SHYAM\*  
GANGA SHARAN SINHA  
TRIGUNA SEN  
S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN\*

NEW DELHI  
24th July, 1967

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\*Subject to a minute of dissent reproduced in the following section.

***MINUTES OF DISSENT***



## MINUTES OF DISSENT

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

We record our thanks to the members of the Committee for their efforts to arrive at the greatest common measure of agreement. Our differences with them are only with regard to the recommendation on the Neighbourhood Schools.

2. We agree that it is necessary, for a stable democratic society, to have a common set of values. The common school system is therefore desirable. But it should be developed through persuasion and improvement of standards in the common schools and *not* by resort to compulsion.

3. Sometimes, in the hope of something 'better', what is already 'good' is destroyed and the promised 'better' does not ultimately materialize. We are afraid that the recommendation, as formulated, may have this very result : it may shut out scope for experimentation and destroy the few good schools that now exist, especially some of the Public Schools located at the hill stations and the Sainik Schools.

4. We may also point out that the Neighbourhood School is not the only means to achieve social unity. In fact, it may hinder efforts at such unity, especially in areas where only rich persons or only people belonging to a single caste reside.

R. K. AMIN

A. K. CHANDA

### II. By Shri K. Anbazhagan

I do appreciate the strenuous effort made by the Committee to find a suitable solution for the education-*cum*-language problem of the country. Yet I cannot but differ from the views expressed in the report of the Committee on certain basic issues such as link language.

2. The report states that "In practice, Hindi is already largely in use as a link language for the country". It is a completely baseless premise that Hindi is a link language. It is based on the wish and assumption that, as stated in the report, "Hindi will become the sole official language of India in the future, when the non-Hindi areas accept it as such."

3. In our anxiety to formulate a language formula, we should not forget that the official language question is not settled as yet. 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. While there can be no two opinions that there should be unity among the diverse groups in India, it should be clear that unity is not to be confused with uniformity, and link language is a question to be decided by the people and shaped by time in the process of evolution.

4. 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.

5. The view that Hindi should replace English as link and official language is based on sentiment and not on reason. To us the sentiment does not appeal. Sentiment would be satisfied only when proper recognition and position is accorded to our regional languages (such as Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Bengali and Marathi). I find no reason why Hindi should be accorded undue status in preference to other languages which are entitled to equal treatment.

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

(a) The first language taught and the medium of instruction is the mother tongue, which, by the way, is also the State official language.

(b) English or any other foreign language is the second language which is taught from the third year of primary education.

(c) In the third stage, Hindi or any other Indian language is taught in classes IX, X and XI. The progress in the study of the third language is not taken into account for promotion. The provision of teaching Hindi is made in all the schools. This arrangement was followed by the earlier Congress Ministry of the State and the present Ministry has included the first (regional) language and literature of a higher order as an option in the hours allotted for the third language to suit the requirements of those who wish to specialize in the language and to provide real option in choosing a third language. This has been enunciated by the present Education Minister of Madras on the floor of the State Legislative Assembly on 1-7-67.

This formula will be of much use if adopted in other States and especially in the Hindi region, as the study of the actual present link language (English) gets priority next to their respective mother tongue (regional language).

7. I would like to quote from "The Report of the Education Commission" (page 15—para 1.60) in this context :

"Hindi (or any other Indian language for that matter) must be greatly developed and enriched before it can attain the status of a library language, that is a language which can serve as a vehicle for acquiring a substantial part of the current and rapidly expanding stock of world knowledge. This has to be taken into account fully in determining our language policy. This implies, as stated earlier, that every graduate will need to acquire a reasonable proficiency in a library language, which will be *English* for most students. It will thus serve as a link language in higher education for academic work and intellectual inter-communication".

8. 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.

9. About all-India institutions, it is stated "they should use Hindi and English as media of education having regard to the needs of students". As the Committee has rightly suggested, the medium of instruction for higher education should be the respective regional languages and it should be implemented within a period of five years, the proper medium for the all-India institutions would be only the languages of the respective areas where they are situated.

10. It is pertinent here to point out the decision announced by the Union Government on the medium of the UPSC examinations. 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.

11. 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. I wish to quote the following from the Report of the Education Commission (page 14, para 1.55) on the above view and to caution the introduction of Hindi medium in Central institutions:

"There will however be one important exception to this general rule (that is, that regional languages shall be the media of education at all stages), namely, all-India institutions which admit in reasonable numbers students from different parts of the country. These institutions now use English as the medium of education which should continue undisturbed for

the time being. A change-over to Hindi may be considered in due course *provided* two conditions are fulfilled. The first is the effective development of Hindi as a medium of education at this level. This is a matter which can be left to U. G. C. and the institutions concerned to decide. The second is the equally important political consideration, that in such a change-over, the chances of students from non-Hindi areas should not be adversely affected and the proposal should have the support of non-Hindi States. The latter principle has been already conceded by the Government of India even in the larger sphere on the use of Hindi in official communications between the States and the Centre."

K. ANBAZHAGAN

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

In writing this minute, I must record my thanks to the Chairman and my colleagues on the Committee for their efforts to reflect in this report the greatest measure of agreement. My differences however are basic in respect of certain matters.

2. *Common (or Neighbourhood) Schools* : My colleagues are of the view that it should be obligatory on all children irrespective of caste, creed, community, religion, economic condition or social status to attend primary schools in their neighbourhood.

3. In my opinion, this 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 right to decide what education the child will have is such an important right that one finds in the Declaration of Human Rights, to which India is a party, the following provisions :

'Article 26(3). Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that should be given to their children'."

These words are quoted from the historic judgment of Mr. Justice Chagla in the Bombay Schools' Case 1954.

Mr. Justice Chagla adds : "Our Constitution be it said to its glory has embodied most of the articles contained in the Declaration of Human Rights and we would need very strong argument before we come to the conclusion that our Constitution has denied to the parent the fundamental right of choosing the kind of education that his child should have."



And he states further : “The child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right coupled with the high duty to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations.”

These observations do not need to be supplemented.

4. The Common Schools system enforced by this totalitarian method can be a dangerous invasion of the cherished right of liberty of thought. The simplest and easiest method of controlling thought is to regiment and control the education of the young. There is no doubt that the State can make education compulsory. It can also determine the curriculum. But in a democracy the State must not and cannot regiment children into its own pattern.

5. Another fundamental objection is that no qualified primary school teacher will be able to enter the field of education except within the Common Schools system. This will be a denial of the right of the teacher to practise his profession. It will also lead to a stultification and destruction of experiment in education; it is well recognised that, in free societies, freedom to experiment is the very life-breath of education. All independent experiments in education, which are vital to the evolution of teaching techniques and procedures, will be stifled.

6. Unfortunately, State-managed schools are notorious for their poor academic standards, poorer accommodation and equipment and almost total lack of co-curricular and extra-curricular facilities. Inevitably, the few Independent Schools which today are oases in the educational desert will disappear or be destroyed.

7. It is also unfair to isolate Independent Schools (I do not use the term “Public Schools” as technically there are not more than 36 Public Schools of which 15 are Sainik Schools, maintained by State Governments) in India from the rest of the socio-economic pattern of the country and attack them as especially “wicked citadels of privilege”. They must be regarded as one among the many countless other reflections of the structure of society, “as one monad mirroring in microcosm the whole system of which they are a part”.

#### *Regional Languages as Media of Education*

8. I agree that it is not only necessary but inevitable that the regional languages must be used increasingly for educational purposes. I cannot however agree that it is in the realm of possibility to use these languages within the short space of the next five years at all stages, which includes the post-graduate level, without a further deterioration in standards.

9. There is a woeful lack of advanced textbooks, nor are there books for supplementary reading, nor more important, enough teachers who can teach

with facility in these languages. Adequate preparation and sustained efforts will be necessary before such a change-over is feasible.

10. The recommendation on the use of regional languages as media, in my view, 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.

11. 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.

12. In the context of world conditions, in the context of treacherous, nuclear China, a military Pakistan, the need to keep pace through higher education in English with the increasing tempo of science and technology makes the words of Professor Whitehead particularly significant: "In the conditions of modern life the rule is absolute, the race that does not value trained intelligence is doomed....."

"Today we maintain ourselves. Tomorrow science will have moved forward yet one more step and there will be no appeal from the judgment which will then be pronounced on the uneducated."

13. There is another matter on which I disagree with the majority report: it is the recommendation on the adoption of regional languages for the UPSC examinations. As one who is closely associated with the examination techniques, I am only too aware of the difficulties of coordination of standards in different subjects in the same language, and in the same subject, in the same language. 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.

14. *Hindi, the Link Language*: In this statement of policy, Hindi has been described as the link language; but it 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 communication.

15. 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.

16. Finally, I thank all my colleagues for including at the appropriate places that safeguards should be provided for linguistic minorities. I had asked that, in addition, the words "and minority-run institutions" should be added and I do hope that the rights of minority-run institutions, specially safeguarded in the Constitution, will be respected.

A. E. T. BARROW

#### IV. By Shri V. M. Chordia

On the language question the recommendations of the Committee represent a compromise.

Such a compromise would have been desirable if it did not equate Hindi with English on the one hand and with every other Indian language on the other.

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

Even otherwise as the one Indian language most understood all over the country, it is the only effective link language.

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 language 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.

Therefore, adequate knowledge of Hindi, the link language, at some stage of education before the end of the school course must be imparted to every Indian throughout the country. Every boy or girl should have at least a working knowledge of Hindi before he or she passes the high school examination. Otherwise the freedom of movement, residence and business throughout the country will be restricted.

A working knowledge of English or any other important foreign language like Japanese, Russian, German, etc. etc. would also be desirable. But there

should be no compulsion in regard to the teaching of them for those who have not to go to the post-graduation stage and who may need to use this knowledge as that of a library language.

Publication of popular and high standard books in all regional languages in Devanagari script should also be taken by the Central Government both for making good books in all Indian languages known all over the country and also enhancing the chances of developing a common script for the whole country.

The importance of classical languages should not be ignored. Greater importance should be given to the teaching of Sanskrit, because Sanskrit, apart from being the mother of most of the regional languages is also the link binding the Indian culture and also all the Indian languages including those of the South. Where fuller study of the classical languages cannot be provided for, composite course of regional languages and Sanskrit, should be the rule rather than an exception in the case of all languages.

V. M. CHORDIA

#### V. By Shri Digvijai Nath

I have gone through the report of the Education Commission at some length. I have also attended the meetings of the State Education Ministers held on April 28, 29 & 30, 1967. And, I have also attended almost all meetings of the Committee of Members of Parliament formed to study the Education Commission's report. The statement on National Policy on Education, in its final form dated June 29, 1967, has also been received by me, and the signing of this report now remains to be done. I sign it with the following Minute of Dissent.

2. I feel that the objective of education mentioned in para I of the proposed "National Policy on Education" is not properly worded. I feel that it should be worded as follows:

1. Education is a powerful instrument of national development—cultural, social and economic. The highest priority should therefore be accorded to the development of a national system of education which will:
  - develop among the people of India a national personality based on its ancient civilization and culture;

while the rest of the para remains as in the draft.

3. I regret to say that I found much of unreality about the entire problem of education as it has to be re-organized after twenty years of our independence, as the basic problem about the character of education to be imparted to our children has not been examined by the Education Commission, as

it was expected to do. I am sorry that the Report of the Education Commission was not considered in detail by the Committee, thereby defeating the very purpose for which it had been appointed.

4. The real malaise with the present system of education in India is that it has been based on the infamous Minute of Macaulay dated February 2, 1835, the real aim of which was clearly defined by him in the following words: "We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." This clearly shows that the basic aim of Macaulay was only to produce clerks, and this aim has been carried through by the Government of India ever since March 7, 1835, when Lord William Bentinck got the Government resolution adopted which said 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."

5. The objective which both Macaulay and Bentinck had before them was to convert the whole of India to Christianity, as is clear from the letter Macaulay wrote to his parents from Calcutta on October 12, 1835. In this, he wrote: "Our English Schools are flourishing wonderfully, the effect of this education on the Hindus is prodigious. No Hindu, who has received an English education, ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy, but many profess themselves pure deists, and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And, this will be effected without any efforts to proselytize, without the smallest interference with religious liberty merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection. I heartily rejoice in the prospect."

6. Commenting on this letter of Macaulay, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in "Young India" dated March 29, 1928 thus: "I do not know whether Macaulay's dream that English-educated India would abandon its religious beliefs has been realized, but we know too that he had another dream, namely, to supply English-educated India clerks and the like for the English rulers. That dream has certainly been realized beyond all expectation".

7. Another objective Macaulay had in his mind when introducing this English education in India, was to denigrate everything Indian. He wrote in para 9 of the same infamous Minute that "I have never found one among them (the Orientalists) who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia". This view of his has been impressed on the Indian mind during the last seven generations continuously so much so that every Indian today considers everything Indian as inferior and everything English or Western as superior.

8. Under these circumstances, the basic aim of educational reconstruction in India must be to reverse this process, and every effort must be made through education to eliminate this inferiority complex from the minds of the new generations in India and also to produce youngmen with a fully developed national personality, based on the ancient civilization and culture of our great country.

9. I am really very happy to note that our present Education Minister, as well as the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, are fully conscious of this great need of educational reform. In the course of his address at the inaugural session of the Tenth Conference of the State Education Ministers, held in New Delhi on April 28, 1967, the Education Minister had stated: "Equally significant is the programme to promote national consciousness and to strengthen national integration and unity. Unfortunately patriotism has become the first casualty after independence. We must now make the schools assume responsibility for promoting national consciousness and for strengthening national integration and unity." The Prime Minister, while inaugurating this Conference clearly stated that "partly because of the system itself and partly because of unavoidable transitional factors, it has resulted in a certain degree of alienation and rootlessness. Many young people have been cut adrift from traditional values, without being provided the anchorage of an alternative set of constructive modern values." The Deputy Prime Minister, in the course of his address at the same Conference, went a step further, when he said: "We have a very ancient, perhaps the most ancient civilization and culture. In the realm of thought, which raises human personality to the highest fulfilment, I do not think any other country can beat this country. Today also, we are having all those thoughts and ideals but they are more in name than in action. Our ideals are the highest but our actions are probably the lowest. I must agree to this indictment, but if that indictment is rightly taken by us to heart, not as a criticism but as a statement of the present state of affairs from which we are suffering, we shall soon find a way to remove this contradiction between thought and action. We have not got to lower our ideals but we have got to raise the level of our action, so that it conforms with the ideals that we profess or believe in. I believe, education is the only instrument through which we can achieve this. There is nothing else which can make a nation integrated, strong and consisting of a real human society, because it is the purpose of education to enable us to see what is right and what is wrong and also to acquire a capacity to stick to what is right and to give up what is wrong. Judged from that standard, I am afraid, our education has been a miserable failure, barring a few exceptions here and there. That is because our education took a different turn during our days of slavery. I am happy that those days are gone, but the effects of those days are not yet gone. Whereas we have become physically independent and free, I wonder if we are mentally yet free and independent. We are still being governed, and very strongly governed, by some of the ideas which were responsible for

putting us into slavery and keeping us there." These sentiments, expressed by the highest in authority in the country in regard to education, give a clear indication as to how our educational system should be re-organized for the future.

10. It is from this standpoint that I have stated in the very beginning of this Minute of Dissent that the Report of the Education Commission and all the proceedings held in connection with it, have appeared to me to be altogether unreal. I had expected the Education Commission to have pointed out how our re-organized educational system would reverse this process of de-nationalizing the people, so that a national personality might develop among the future generations. I feel that the very constitution of the Education Commission was faulty from the very start. It was most unfortunate that no less than 6 of the 17 members of the Education Commission were foreigners: two Englishmen, one Japanese, one American, one Russian and one Frenchman. Out of the remaining eleven, two represented the Muslim minority in the country. Out of the remaining nine, apart from the Chairman, who is one of the topmost scientists and educationists of the country, and the present Education Minister, a great engineer and educationist, most of the others were of a calibre which left much to be desired as members of an Education Commission, the basic objective of which was to reconstruct education in India, so as to raise it to the highest standards. It is most unfortunate that the Ministry of Education could not find a single North-Indian educationist from any of the many universities in the so-called Hindi region fit enough to become a member of this Education Commission. It is a result of this faulty constitution of the Education Commission that this lopsided Report has come before us, which seems to have been written with the deliberate objective of destroying the very national fabric of this country. All through this Report, an excessive emphasis has been laid on diversity among our people. For example, para 1·07 says: "Our people profess a number of different religions; and the picture becomes even more complicated because of caste, and undemocratic institution, which is still powerful and which, strangely enough, seems to have extended its sphere of influence under the very democratic processes of the Constitution itself. The situation, complex as it was, has been made critical by recent developments which threaten both national unity and social progress. As education is not rooted in the traditions of the people, the educated persons tend to be alienated from their own culture. The growth of local, regional, linguistic and State loyalties tend to make the people forget India. The old values, which held society together, have been disappearing, and as there is no effective programme to replace them by a new sense of social responsibility, innumerable signs of social dis-organization are evident everywhere and are continually on the increase." This by itself is a mis-statement of the Indian society. There is hardly any big country in the world which does not have a small minority, but this minority does not change the basic character of the Nation. As such, to repeat *ad nauseum*, as has become

the fashion today, to call India a multi-religious polyglot country, is basically wrong. In this connection also, the Education Commission has put too much stress on the word "Secular". This much-abused word is regarded as something sacrosanct, when the fact is that this word has a very low connotation, as it gives an idea of something mundane. It was for this very reason that this word does not find any place in the Constitution of India.

According to the "New English Dictionary" the word "Secular" stands for the "the absence of connection with religion." And according to the "Encyclopedia Britannica", the word "Secular" means "anything non-spiritual, having no concern with religion or spiritual matters—anything that is distinctly opposed to, not connected with religious or ecclesiastical, things, temporal as opposed to spiritual or ecclesiastical." These definitions make it perfectly clear that there is nothing in the Constitution of India to justify the application of the title "Secular" to the political system embodied therein. As against this, Article 25 of the Constitution provides for the right to freedom of religion, clearly declaring that "subject to public order, morality and the other provisions of this part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion." Article 26 of the Constitution further clarifies how these religious rights are to be exercised by the people. These Articles in the Constitution give religion a place in the political life of the country as hardly any other modern Constitution does. From all this it follows that India is not a "Secular State."

11. It is not a mere omission that the word "Secular" does not find a place in the Preamble to our Constitution, whereas social, economic and political justice, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship and equality of status and of opportunity all find a place there. The fact is that the learned Constitution-makers of India were fully aware of the real meaning of the word "Secular" and they deliberately refused to countenance the addition of the word "Secular" in the Constitution, in spite of concerted efforts made by some members to introduce this word in the Constitution itself. While discussing the Chapter on Fundamental Rights, it was Prof. K. T. Shah, the great economist, who moved an amendment by which he wanted an additional Article, to be numbered 18-A serially, to be inserted in the draft Constitution, and this amendment was numbered 566 in the printed book "Notice of Amendments to the Draft Constitution of India, Volume One", and it ran thus : "that the following new Article be inserted under the heading 'Rights relating to Religion', occurring after Article 18 :

18-A. The State in India, being secular, shall have no concern with any religion, creed or profession of faith; and shall observe an attitude of absolute neutrality in all matters relating to the religion of any class of its citizens or other persons in the Union."



But, our Constitution-makers refused to accept this amendment and it was duly rejected. The matter, however, did not end there. The same Prof. K. T. Shah also moved an amendment to the Preamble in the Draft Constitution, by which he wanted to add the word "Secular" between the words "Sovereign" and "Democratic Republic", but this too was rejected by the Constituent Assembly. This amendment was the very first in the list of amendments printed in book form. Then again, by amendment No. 96, printed in the list of amendments, Prof. K. T. Shah and Mr. Mohan Lal Gautam wanted Article One of the Draft Constitution running "India shall be a Union of States" to be changed into "India shall be a secular, federal, socialist Union of States", but this amendment also met the same fate and this too was rejected. These facts clearly go to show that the learned Constitution-makers of India did not want India to be a "Secular State" in any shape or form. Under such conditions, it was most improper for the Education Commission to have gone out of its way to lay undue emphasis on secularism, as it has done in para 1.79, wherein the Education Commission has taken undue pains to make a distinction between "religious education" and "education about religions". It goes on to say that "it would not be practicable for a Secular State with many religions to provide education in any one religion." As I have shown already, India cannot be called a Secular State with many religions. As ninety per cent of the population of the country follows the Hindu religion in one form or another, the remaining ten per cent of the minorities remain minorities and they cannot be permitted to act as if they had a right of veto on the rights of the ninety per cent nationals of this country. As to who is a Hindu has been made perfectly clear in the Constitution in Explanation II to Article 25(2)(b), which clearly says that "the reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jain or Buddhist religion, and the reference to Hindu religious institutions shall be construed accordingly." This explanation makes it perfectly clear that ninety per cent of the people of India profess a single religion in different forms, and as such there should be absolutely no ban placed on religious instruction in the schools. It is a tragedy of India that while all Christian institutions in the country have the liberty to teach Christianity to its students and all Muslim institutions train their children in their religion, it is only the Hindu students who are debarred from getting any inkling into their own religious beliefs. This attitude of the British Government in India all through the last 100 years before independence and of our own National Government during the last twenty years after the country's independence, has left a complete vacuum in the lives of the people of this country, and the present indiscipline among the students can largely be traced to this non-teaching of the tenets of the Hindu religion, because Hindu religion has always been a great check on sin and crime. I therefore strongly demand that this attitude must now change. The ninety per cent nationals of this country have every right to have their children trained in the religious traditions of the country. I therefore

demand that from the very elementary stages of education, all students must be imparted religious instruction in the sacred books of the Hindus, 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 the Western sense, imparted in our schools and colleges, can make them first-rate citizens.

12. It is in this same connection that I consider it necessary to emphasize that the attempt made by the Education Commission to dissociate holidays in educational institutions from religious festivals is most reprehensible. In para 2-36, it has been stated that "the idea of vacation terms should be made secular and dissociated from religious festivals like Divali, Christmas or Puja." And in para 2-37(1) the opinion has been expressed that "there is no need to close an educational institution on a religious holiday. Nor it is necessary, for instance, to close it on birth-days or death anniversaries of great Indians." I take the strongest objection to these statements in the Report of the Education Commission. In all Christian countries in the world, Christmas and Easter holidays are celebrated on a grand scale. In the same way, in all Muslim countries, Id-ul-Fitr and Id-ul-Zuha and Moharram are celebrated by the people on a mass scale, and the students are the main participants in all these celebrations. Is it any crime for Hindus in India to be Hindus, that they must be debarred from celebrating their great days? It is often said that there are too many festivals among the Hindus. The reason for this is not far to seek. In the words of Mr. Morarji Desai, our Deputy Prime Minister, (already quoted) "we have a very ancient, perhaps the most ancient civilization and culture." And, it is but natural that the older a civilization, the more great men and great deeds it must have to celebrate, so that the future generations might follow in the footsteps of these great men. It is therefore not at all improper if the Hindus have a much larger number of festivals to celebrate, and the students must have every facility to participate in these festivals. This year important national holidays like Holi and Shivaratri were not declared closed holidays by the Government of India. This was a great encroachment on the rights of the people of this country, and it seems this action was taken on the basis of this Report of the Education Commission. The Education Commission seems to have been very particular about reducing the number of holidays that might be granted to students. The simplest procedure that should have been adopted by the Education Commission was that it should have suggested that only those festivals should be declared as closed holidays which concern a majority of the people, that is in which more than 50 per cent of the people participate, and all festivals which concern people numbering less than 50 per cent should have them as restricted holidays, with full pay, available only to members of the communities with which those festivals

are concerned. This would save many unnecessary holidays, without doing injustice to the vast majority of the people.

13. In this same connection, I wish to draw the attention of the people to the attempt made by the Zakir Husain Committee on Basic Education, which through a seven-year course on general science, had made an attempt to teach "Islamic Culture in India and the World" to students all over India in class V, when it had scrupulously avoided mentioning the Vedas and the Upanishads, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, Sanskrit and Hindi and the Aryan and Hindu cultures from the entire syllabus. This was deliberately done by this committee to continue the process of de-nationalizing the people of this country, a process started by Macaulay in 1835. The present Report of the Education Commission seems to be a mere continuation of the same denationalizing process, and I take strong exception to it.

14. It is from the same standpoint that I take strong exception to paras 8-48 and 8-49, wherein every effort has been made to discourage the study of Sanskrit. It was the late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who had once said that every State in India should have a Sanskrit University. It seems to me that the assertion of the Education Commission that it cannot support the idea of Sanskrit Universities, was incorporated in this Report to counteract this absolutely essential suggestion of Shri Shastri. As we all know, 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, whether it be in the field of mathematics, or in astronomy and astrology, whether in medicine or surgery, whether in philosophy or logic, or any other science. I take strong exception to Sanskrit being included along with other classical languages, which do not deal with sciences as such, and which have always been foreign to India. I feel that 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 when the students grow up they might be masters of this language and it might be easy for them to grasp the modern scientific discoveries and inventions, as they are merely the continuation of the knowledge about our sciences contained in Sanskrit. In this respect also, Macaulay's mischief must be undone.

15. In regard to the language policy, I feel, a very wrong approach has been made. The fact is that a child's mind is fit to grasp several languages, while as he grows up his capacity to learn new languages grows less and less. But, as regards other subjects, the child increases his capacity to learn them as he advances in age. It is therefore very wrong to say that the child should not be burdened with three or four languages in the initial stages. Because the learning of a language does not need mental development of a high calibre, and learning of the other subjects does need more of

mental development, the excessive emphasis laid on the teaching of science and discouraging the study of several languages to children in the initial stages, is basically wrong. In the primary classes, I feel languages in the form of short stories and the elementary principles of arithmetic and general knowledge alone should be prescribed. And, as he advances in age, less and less of languages and more and more of scientific subjects should be taught. It is in this light that I consider the teaching of Sanskrit along with Hindi as the national languages, the regional language and a third Indian language as necessary for all students in the beginning, and Sanskrit, Hindi and the regional language must continue all through the educational career. In this age of democracy, in which a bare majority of 51 per cent can foist its views and decisions on everybody, including the substantial minority of 49 per cent, the undue importance attached to English must not be permitted to hold up the progress of the country, which can be made only through the national language and the regional languages, simply because of a small minority of 7.4 per cent people from Tamilnad. The assertion that English is a window to learning in the West is also not quite true. In the whole of Europe, English today is as foreign to the people there, as is Hindi. Except for England, Canada, Australia, South Africa, the U.S.A. and the countries which were under British domination till recently, English is not understood anywhere in the rest of the world. The four languages of Europe today are from West to East, Spanish, French, German, and Russian. If a real window to the knowledge of the West is needed by our students, they must learn any of these Continental languages rather than English. To say that we cannot make any scientific advance without a knowledge of English is also wrong. The Russians who today are at the top in science, learnt all their sciences through Russian, although 40 years back they were the most backward and science in the modern terms was not even known to them. China also learnt all its sciences through the Chinese language. In the same way, Japan also made scientific progress through the Japanese language. Even small countries in Europe, like Bulgaria, learn all their sciences through their own Bulgarian language. Why then is it necessary for the people of this country to learn a foreign language to become masters in various arts and sciences? The problem is merely one of translating scientific books in the national languages. If Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Jammu and Kashmir could get hundreds of books in Sanskrit translated in Hindi with the help of a hundred Pandits employed in the Dharmarth Trust, and if Osman Ali Khan, the late Nizam of Hyderabad, could get all textbooks from primary classes up to the post-graduate classes translated in Urdu for his Osmania University, there is no reason why, our Government of India, with all resources at its command, cannot get all important scientific books in the different languages of the world translated in India in our own languages for our students. If the Government of India spends thousands of crores of rupces on different activities, there is no reason why it should not devote a

few crores on the work of translation alone, so that the nation might make maximum scientific advance in the shortest possible time through our own languages. I therefore strongly oppose the continuance of English as an associate official language along with Hindi because so long as English remains as the medium of instruction in India, in any shape or form, Macaulay's mischief of keeping Indians mental slaves of the English cannot be undone. I take strong exception to the Education Commission having gone out of its way to make changes in the three-language formula, which was so successfully being worked out all over the country. Bringing in the mother tongue as an alternative to the regional language, and proposing English as an alternative to Hindi as the link language, is the worst mischief that this Education Commission has proposed in the course of this Report, and I condemn it with all the strength at my command. I want the old three-language formula to continue in practice, in which Hindi and the regional language must remain the medium of instruction throughout. The proposal to teach, up to the university stage, only in the regional language, as envisaged in the two-language formula, would lead to the disintegration of the country into so many separate water-tight compartments, thereby Balkanising it completely as the compatriots of Macaulay and other enemies of our country would like to see. I therefore entirely disagree with it and strongly oppose its adoption.

16. I feel it necessary to draw attention to another matter of importance and that is in regard to the education of girls in India. All over Europe today, there is a general tendency to reduce co-education in the higher classes, as it demoralizes the students. As against this, in India, efforts are going on in the reverse direction. It is really ludicrous that while we find primary schools separate for boys and girls, more and more secondary and higher secondary educational institutions are being converted into co-educational institutions, while in the universities co-education is being made universal, at an age which is most dangerous in one's life. The position should be that while co-education should be confined to children up to the age of 10 or so, all education above this age must be kept separate for boys and girls. I am really very sorry that the Education Commission has not paid proper attention to this aspect of education, and I want this to be incorporated in any Statement on National Policy on Education that might be prepared for the country. We must not forget that the very basis of our society in India is *Brahmacharya*, and it is on this account that our country has so far maintained its high position in the world of knowledge and social behaviour. Co-education is destroying the very foundation of our society, and I consider it our duty to restore our social behaviour to the greatness that has sustained us all through the ages. In this connection it is also very necessary that the aim of education in India should be to train our people for the future lives they have to live. As such, the courses of secondary, higher secondary and university studies for women should be confined to subjects they have to deal with all through their lives, like doctors, teachers, fine arts, and

household work of various kinds only. At the same time, boys should be discouraged from taking up fine arts as their subjects of study. They should confine themselves mostly to manly pursuits.

17. I regret that the Education Commission has not touched on the cinema and television as the most suitable media for education. In almost all countries of the world, these media are fully utilized for this purpose. Instead of these, our young men and women are being corrupted through most demoralizing films. I demand that a total ban be imposed on "For Adults Only" films, and also to see that much of sex is not allowed to be included in the Indian films, with most obnoxious songs, as is happening today.

18. I also take strong exception to the wrong name of culture being given to the lowest arts, like dancing and singing, in the Education Commission's Report. These might be part of culture for the people of the West, who have not as yet reached the higher conceptions of philosophical living, but for the people of India, only the highest forms of philosophical discourses, etc. have been recognized as culture. By encouraging these so-called arts, a concerted effort is being made to degenerate the people as a whole. I would like to see *Yoga* and *Asanas* being encouraged on a mass scale, so that the people of the country might become healthy and strong, as a healthy body is necessary for healthy mind. I am really very sorry that the Education Commission has not seen fit to go into this question at all, except what concerns drill and the N.C.C. In this connection also, I cannot appreciate our girls being given any training in N.C.C. or the like. There is no shortage of manpower in India, like most countries of Europe. As such, it is not only wrong but definitely harmful to try to prepare our girls in any form of military training, except nursing, first-aid and tending the sick and wounded. I hope the day will never come in India when our women would have to go to fight in the battlefield, due to lack of men to defend the country's honour. As such, all this training in N.C.C. imparted to girls is a complete national waste. This money can very well be utilized in training all our youngmen militarily.

19. In some places in the Statement on National Policy on Education, there is a reference to the teaching of History of Freedom Movement in India. This history should cover the entire period of the last 1000 years of our struggle for freedom and not only the last 200 years.

20. I have every hope that while considering the Report of the Education Commission, the above comments of mine will also be taken into consideration, and proper decisions taken thereon.

DIGVIJAI NATH

## VI. By Shri Tarkeshwar Pande

I hereby sign the report subject to the following reservations:

- (1) In para 3, the word "adversely" occurring in the last sentence should be omitted.
- (2) In para 11, there is a statement that Hindi will become the sole official language 'when the non-Hindi areas accept it as such'. My view is that Hindi should be the sole official language of the Union immediately.
- (3) I believe that scheduled castes or scheduled tribes who are converted to religions other than Hinduism should not be entitled to any concessions. Therefore the question of giving concessions to *Nav-Bouddhas*, as proposed by the Committee, does not arise.
- (4) I do not agree with the Committee in recommending separate scales of pay for university and college teachers—these should be the same because their duties and qualifications are the same.
- (5) I accept the recommendation of the Committee with regard to the academic freedom of teachers. But I do not agree that teachers should participate in elections. This will have a very adverse effect on standards in education and discipline.
- (6) Para 74 speaks of educational institutions conducted by 'minorities'. The obvious implication is to cover both types of minorities—religious and linguistic. I recommend that linguistic minorities should receive the protection given to them under the Constitution. But religious minorities need not be protected in the educational field.
- (7) The word 'minorities' occurring in para 78 should be substituted by the words 'linguistic minorities'.
- (8) I do not object to the levy of an educational cess by the State. But it should not be levied on lands which have been exempted from land revenue.
- (9) I agree with the Committee that, for languages which have no script at present, Devanagari or the script of the regional language should be used. But I wish to add that languages which have adopted the Roman script already should change over to Devanagari or the script of the regional language as soon as possible.

TARKESHWAR PANDE

## VII. By Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel and R. K. Amin

While I would like to see the rapid expansion of educational facilities at the school level, particularly with a view to eradicate illiteracy, I am afraid I have to record my dissent on some points. In fact, the report itself provides arguments in support of what I would like to urge. I do not think at this stage it would be necessary to say much on the Report of the Education Commission but it is surprising that the personnel of the Commission was composed very nearly, if not all, of so many foreigners when it is known that this country had a civilization and culture of its own and a rich literature (to which our attention unfortunately, it has to be admitted, was drawn more by foreigners like Max Mueller rather than our own people). How did such a civilization exist and how was knowledge passed on from generation to generation without the modern system of education or the modern technique of printing, etc. ?

For a poor country like ours, perhaps, increasing facilities of the type of education where students went to live a life of austerity at *Guru's Ashram* and study in a pure academic atmosphere would be cheaper in many ways and would help to preserve what is admittedly good in Indian culture. While this may not be possible on a wide scale, encouragement to some such institution would be desirable, but the Committee does not appear to have given any thought to this subject.

I am not at all happy about all the recommendations in the report of the Committee of Members of Parliament concerning the neighbourhood schools. If neighbourhood school was the best way of increasing educational facilities and eradicating illiteracy I would support it except that I am against the element of compulsion which would make it obligatory for the parent to send his child to a particular school in the neighbourhood and depriving him of his right to select another school where he could send his child if he considers it better. There are likely to be some parents, particularly in some urban areas, who would wish to send their children to what they consider a better school and they should not be deprived of that right. An attempt to deprive them of this right would not only be against the Declaration of Human Rights but also our own Constitution. Mr. Justice Chagla's judgment in the Bombay Schools' Case 1954 should not be forgotten. This smacks of the communist methods of regimentation, of destroying even what is good, in the hope of providing something that is expected will be good in the future which may be many years hence. I am against levelling down ; I would be all for levelling up, and a few good institutions whether run by the State or by private individuals or certain societies which stand out as models for the other institutions to copy should be encouraged and thus help the general process of levelling up which is also one of the important recommendations of this Committee.



We have in our country in the field of business the private sector and the public sector. Human nature being what it is, the public sector has become notorious for its inefficiency, delays and incompetence. My fear is that the same will be repeated in the case of the public sector in education. And therefore schools run by societies, institutions or private individuals in the private sector which are better should be allowed to co-exist and not forced to close down. Otherwise I fear we will have generally a retrogression in education rather than progress, if I may add, as we have in our economy at the present moment.

I am generally in favour of the regional language being the medium of education; but have we the necessary textbooks to accomplish this in five years? Besides, while there is provision for safeguards to minorities the experience after the bifurcation of Bombay State has been none too happy. How many Gujarati schools all over Maharashtra have been virtually forced to close down as a result of this policy? A rather liberal attitude of allowing the minority institutions to co-exist will have to be adopted. Otherwise not only minorities will be deprived of their fundamental rights but it will result in the division of this country into water-tight regional language compartments and instead of helping integration, it would lead, my fear is, exactly to the opposite. Hence emphasis on the teaching of another language, preferably a language which can be a common link, Hindi or English, is very important.

The English language has acquired an important position in India historically whether some people like it or not. If the country is to progress in scientific, technological and medical education it will be difficult for us to do away with English entirely. Let us remember the example history provides. Germany was the leader in research in these subjects until after the downfall of Hitler and so the knowledge of German was then considered essential even in British universities. But with a large number of German scientists, technicians being driven out of Germany during Hitler's regime and their being welcomed in American universities and their being provided with all facilities including translators, America has taken the lead and established a similar position for English during the years following the war in this matter. Hence the importance of English cannot be overlooked, and having historically obtained the advantage of our close association with English, why should we destroy it? It would be like cutting one's nose to spite one's face. In the context of the present world conditions, the rapid growth of fast, mass media, communication, air travel and space research and last but not the least, the threat that the recent Chinese nuclear explosion has posed, it would be the height of folly to cut away from the ties, very useful ties, that historically English has brought to us. The teaching of the English language should therefore be encouraged.

DAHYABHAI V. PATEL  
R. K. AMIN

### VIII. By Smt. Savitri Shyam

I sign the report subject to the following reservations :

I have given my best thought to the question of the teaching of languages at the different stages. During the meetings of the Committee the question was taken up and discussed and the two-language formula in the place of the three-language formula recommended by the Education Commission, was pressed. This two-language formula will totally eliminate the official language, *i.e.*, Hindi from the non-Hindi areas. Since the Constitution of India came into force Hindi is declared as the official language of the Union. If the two-language formula was adopted, only Hindi is to be included compulsorily as second language in the non-Hindi regions; and they may thus be deprived of the English language which is an associate language; and in Hindi areas students will have a chance to study English as a second language. No one will thus have an opportunity to study the other regional languages.

The three-language formula was evolved after a great deliberation to coordinate the teaching of mother tongue (or regional language) with the official language and English and other modern Indian languages. It was felt that it was necessary to compulsorily teach three languages at the secondary stage of education. The Education Commission gave its considered thought to this. The Commission rightly observed that English cannot serve as the link language for the majority of people. It is only Hindi which can and should take this place in due course. As Hindi is the official language of the Union and the link language of the people, all measures should be adopted to spread it and to make it acceptable and popular in non-Hindi regions. The hostility against Hindi is to be removed.

I therefore feel that we should adhere to the three-language formula recommended by the Education Commission which should be as under :

- (1) The mother tongue or the regional language;
- (2) The official language of the Union or the associate official language of the Union so long as it exists, but not covered in (1); and
- (3) Hindi for those who have not read it in (1) and (2) or English for those who have not read it in (1) and (2); or any other Indian language included in VIII Schedule preferably a South-Indian language for Hindi region.

One more important question which should be considered and decided is regarding the form of numerals to be used in teaching and for official purposes. Every regional language has its own form of numerals. I think, to bring uniformity and convenience we should adopt the international form of Indian numerals in all the languages. This has been explicitly

provided in our Constitution. We have already evolved a common scientific and technical terminology for all the languages.

I believe that scheduled castes or scheduled tribes who are converted to religions other than Hinduism should not be entitled to any concessions. Therefore, the question of giving concessions to *Nav-Bouddhas*, as proposed by the Committee, does not arise.

I accept the recommendation of the Committee with regard to the academic freedom of teachers. The teachers can take part in politics also but when they plan to contest the elections they should resign first, whether they may be in the service of private management or aided schools, colleges and university or Government service.

I do not object to the levy of an educational cess by the State. But it should not be levied on lands which have been exempted from land revenue.

SAVITRI SHYAM

#### **IX. By Shri S. K. Vaishampayen**

I hereby sign the report subject to the following reservations:

1. While agreeing with the decision of the Committee to introduce Indian languages as media of instruction at all stages of education, I consider that no undue haste be made in implementing this decision in the faculties of medicine, agriculture and engineering and post-graduate education in science. The decision to introduce the Indian languages in these sectors within five years is not practicable. It is not desirable too if India has to develop fast in the technical and scientific field.

2. As regards the teaching of languages in schools, the three-language formula which was evolved after mature and all-sided consideration is still the only solution and as such should be adhered to.

3. The teaching of two additional languages, *viz.*, Hindi as the official language and English, so long as it exists as an associate language, is necessary. A workable formula about their periods of instruction can be evolved.

S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN

APPENDIX I  
LIST OF MEMBERS

1. DR. TRIGUNA SEN  
Union Education Minister .. .. *Chairman*
2. PROF. SHER SINGH  
Minister of State for Education
3. SHRI BHAGWAT JHA AZAD  
Minister of State for Education
4. SHRI R. K. AMIN
5. SHRI K. ANBAZHAGAN
6. DR. ANUP SINGH
7. SHRI A. E. T. BARROW
8. SHRI R. D. BHANDARE
9. SHRI A. K. CHANDA
10. SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN
11. SHRI V. M. CHORDIA
12. SHRI DINKAR DESAI
13. SHRI DIGVIJAI NATH
14. SHRI R. R. DIWAKAR
15. SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY (*Joined on 27-29 June*)
16. SHRI S. M. JOSHI
17. SMT. KAMLA KUMARI
18. SHRI C. M. KEDARIA
19. SHRI M. R. KRISHNA
20. SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK
21. SHRI HIREN MUKERJEE
22. SHRI TARKESHWAR PANDE
23. SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL
24. SHRI SADIQ ALI
25. SHRI ANANT TRIPATHI SARMA
26. SHRI D. C. SHARMA
27. SHRI MADHO RAM SHARMA
28. SMT. SAVITRI SHYAM
29. SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA
30. SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN

**APPENDIX II**  
**DRAFTING COMMITTEE**

- |                             |    |    |                  |
|-----------------------------|----|----|------------------|
| 1. SHRI GANGA SHARAN SINHA  | .. | .. | <i>Chairman</i>  |
| 2. SHRI R. K. AMIN          |    |    |                  |
| 3. SHRI K. ANBAZHAGAN       |    |    |                  |
| 4. SHRI A. E. T. BARROW     |    |    |                  |
| 5. SHRI R. D. BHANDARE      |    |    |                  |
| 6. SHRI DINKAR DESAI        |    |    |                  |
| 7. SHRI S. M. JOSHI         |    |    |                  |
| 8. SHRI HIREN MUKHERJEE     |    |    |                  |
| 9. SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK      |    |    |                  |
| 10. SHRI D. C. SHARMA       |    |    |                  |
| 11. SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL |    |    |                  |
| 12. SHRI J. P. NAIK         | .. | .. | <i>Secretary</i> |

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

1. **District** : This does not necessarily mean a revenue district; it may be any convenient unit for purposes of educational administration decided upon by the State Government.

2. **Educational Stages and Sub-Stages** : It is visualized that the school stage would ultimately cover 12 years and would be followed by a three-year course for the first degree in arts, commerce and science (10+2+3).

The first stage of school education will cover ten years. Its division into sub-stages—lower primary, higher primary and lower secondary—may be made in any way to suit local conditions and traditions. Ordinarily, the division may be as follows :

Lower Primary Stage—Classes I-IV or I-V

Higher Primary Stage—Classes V-VII or VI-VIII

Lower Secondary Stage—Classes VIII-X or IX-X

The higher secondary stage (academic course) will cover a period of two years (classes XI-XII).

3. **Indian Languages** : Languages included in Schedule VIII of the Constitution.

4. **Local Authorities** : This expression includes corporations, municipalities, local boards and similar organizations and Panchayati Raj institutions.