CHAPTER TWELVE
SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS:
OBITER DICTA
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SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS

QUOTATION

"When you turn on a light in the darkness 
you are always in danger from mosquitoes"

CANTERBURY, E. JOSEPH FIBBELS

As the title of this study indicates the investigator 
has made an endeavour with a devotion of time and thought to 
getting knowledge and information from the important debates 
and decisions on education in the Parliament of India from 
1952 to 1976.

In chapter 'One' an attempt has been made to trace 
briefly the history of education in the sub-continent of 
India. Education in ancient India was closely connected with 
religion and spiritualism in accordance with the Vedic 
philosophy on the principle of 'vasudhaiva kutumbakam' i.e. 
the whole world is a family. During the pre-British period 
also the Hindu and Muslim rulers helped the spread of 
education, as a religious obligation on them, by giving 
liberal grants, donations and scholarships without claiming 
any authority and control over educational institutions. 
Modern education began when the British East India Company 
became a ruling political power of administration. The
Christian Missionaries spread education among the Indians for their proselytisation and to improve their social economical and religious conditions. The Charter Act of 1813 passed by the British Parliament made the Company responsible for the education of the Indians. Macaulay’s Minute of 1835 replaced the Oriental education and substituted it by the Western knowledge and culture, on the principles of downward filtration theory. Wood’s Despatch of 1854 set forth a scheme of education for all Indians, for wider and more comprehensive than the Supreme Government or any local government could have ventured to suggest. The Hunter Commission 1902 laid down principles to place public education on a broader and more popular basis and to encourage private enterprise in education of the people, education of the females and backward classes. The Indian Universities Act 1904 which was based on the recommendations of the Indian Universities Commission 1902 (Sailegh Commission) made the administration of universities more efficient and more effective than before. With a view to improving university education the Calcutta University Commission 1917 (Sadler Commission) recommended radical reorganisation of secondary schools, female education, teacher education, education in science and technology, professional and vocational training. In 1919 Education, being a transferred subject went in to the hands of Indian Ministers
of Provinces but with some limitations. However, as a result of the Government of India Act 1935 education was completely transferred to the Provincial Ministers of Education having full powers. Though the British rulers established a well articulated system of education in India, they tried to induct into the Indians an alien outlook, an alien culture and an alien thinking through a planned process of alienation in education.

Chapter 'Two' deals with the statutory provisions on education. An attempt has been made to give a description of the entries relevant to the subject of education, contained in the Schedule Seven vide Article 246, of the Constitution. Considered opinions of the learned legislators on the ticklish issues of Centre-State relations in educational administration and organisation, planning and programmes have been briefly stated. It has been concluded that majority of the legislators is in favour of including education in the Concurrent List as has been also recommended by the Sawai Singh Committee, because it is realised that this reform will create unity in diversity in the real sense through national integration, and will help for the co-ordination and maintenance of national standards in education and for the removal of illiteracy, ignorance and superstitions.

In Chapter 'Three' the Role of Parliament in Education has been briefly described. Parliament is the repository of
the hopes and wishes of the people, and is the fountainhead of development, justice, equality and liberty. It provides a constructive leadership in policy making in all fields of life including education. It controls the administration and finances and makes laws which influence the life of the people on all-India basis. It has become a great pulsating centre of enormous and varied educational interests and activities through the agencies of Ministry of Education, University Grants Commission, N.C.E.R.T., Planning Commission, National Development Council, Central Universities, Institutions deemed as universities, and institutions of national importance and Central Schools etc. Educational functions of the Parliament are exclusive as well as concurrent. The exclusive functions consist of educational and cultural activities of international collaborations, the clearing house function of collecting and broadcasting ideas and information; coordination and maintenance of standards in education and research, financing, planning and control of education in the Union Territories; maintenance of Central Universities, Institutions of national importance, institutions deemed as universities and Central Schools etc. Concurrent functions of the Parliament consist of scientific research and education; propagation and development of Hindi; education of the handicapped;
preservation of the cultural, religious and linguistic rights of minorities; education of the weaker sections of the society; national integration; award of scholarships and stipends; provision of free universal education; professional and vocational training; protection of national and historic monuments and places; economic and social planning. The salient features of various Acts on Education passed by the Parliament have been briefly discussed.

Chapter 'Four' is on the Universal School Education. Article 26(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights lays down:

'Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory.'

Similarly Article 45 of the Indian Constitution directs that, "The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years."

It is a fact that even after a period of a quarter century of Republican era, we have not reached the goal of cent percent literacy. The Members of Parliament have shown a great concern about the evils of illiteracy and ignorance of the masses. Education of the Children in the age group 2-6 has been totally neglected and elementary education for
children in the age group 6-14 is free and compulsory in theory only but in practice most of the children drop out of the schools due to the poverty of their parents. The ideal of cent percent literacy can only be reached if the children are provided free meals, free milk, free clothing and free books, otherwise the dream of universal free education will remain a myth, for how long, it cannot be said. It is high time that the Indian legislators and educationists, pay heed to the observation of C.I. Gokhale that he made about sixty years ago saying:

"Of all the great national tasks which lie before the country and in which the Government and the people can cooperate to the advantage of both, none is greater than this task of promoting the universal education, in the land, bringing by its means a ray of light, a touch of refinement a glow of hope into the lives that sadly need them all."

The Parliament passed the Delhi Primary Education Act in 1960 and gave to the States a model for legislation on compulsory Universal School Education but the States with a few exceptions, have not fully implemented the scheme of elementary education for all children. The Parliament has also passed the Delhi School Education Act of 1973 to provide for better organisation and development of school education in the Union Territory of Delhi and for matters connected therewith and incidental thereto. The cases are happy and hopeful to learn that the Parliament is going to reform the educational
system by bringing it on the Concurrent List. Only time will
tell whether their hopes will prove to be dupes or are
fulfilled according to the directions of the Constitution.

Chapter 'Five' is on Higher Education and deals with
the Acts on Education discussed and passed by Parliament from
time to time, especially the Acts on Aligarh Muslim University,
Banaras Hindu University, Delhi University, Jawahar Lal Nehru
University, North Eastern Hill University, University of
Hyderabad and Visha Bharati, University Grants Commission and
Publih of Books and Newspapers (Public Libraries). The
debates and discussions on these Acts are very interesting,
and reflect the views of legislators on different educational
issues e.g. aims of education, autonomy in education, student
participation and student discipline, teachers representation
in university administration, service conditions and status
of teachers, education of the backward sections of the society
and handicapped children; and physical education etc. The
University Grants Commission inquires into the financial
needs of Central and State Universities and allocates funds
and grants to them and takes steps for the determination and
maintenance of standards of teaching and research. The Central
Universities and other institutions of national importance
serve as national assets and national centres where students
and teachers from all parts of the country gather together
and the true spirit and culture of India broods over them. They stand for scientific humanism, for tolerance, and reason, for progress and peace, and for adventure of ideas and search for truth. The basic purpose of the universities is to train the mind, the body and build up character of the youth.

Chapter 'Six' gives the views of legislators on Women Education and it has been emphasised that to awaken the people, it is the women who must be awakened. Once she is on the move, the family moves, the village moves and the nation moves. Although the greatest profession of a woman is, and probably will continue to be, that of a home-maker yet her world should not be limited to that one relationship. The recommendations of the National Committee on Women's Education 1959 have been accepted by the Parliament but the Government has not implemented them with all the seriousness and sincerity. The treasures of philosophy, literature, science and arts must be thrown open to all women as to all men. The key of sex should not lock for women, the store-houses of knowledge and wisdom. According to the 1971 Census there are 26.4 crores of females in India and their literacy percentage is only 16.70 percent as compared to that of 33.45 percent for males. The over-all percentage of school age children falls low due to the wastage, stagnation and drop-outs in the enrolment of girls students at all levels of education. Economic, social and religious barriers are responsible for the sad plight of
women in the fields of education, science and technology. The national plan prepared by the Government of India during the International Women's Year must be implemented to remove all the disabilities from which the Indian women suffer so that an era of peace, progress and prosperity may be brought about in India at least during the International Women's Decade of 1976-85.

Chapter 'Seven' deals with the Education of the Backward Classes which have been notified by the President under the authority of Articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution. Under the provision of Article 330, the President appoints the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes (Mrijans) and Scheduled Tribes (Grijans) to investigate all the matters relating to the Constitutional safeguards provided for the Backward Classes. The Report of the Backward Classes Commission 1953 fully discussed the causes of the educational and social backwardness and recommended suitable measures for its removal. The Parliament has approved all these recommendations which have been not put into practice, so far, to the full extent. The Parliamentary Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes was set up in 1967 with full investigating powers to look after the various aspects of the welfare schemes concerning the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes, e.g. post-matric scholarships, hostel facilities, supply of free books and free meals, establishment of Bal Ashrams and Balmandirs as residential
schools for the children of these classes, reservation of seats for the admission of the students of these classes to the medical, engineering and other professional institutions. According to the 1971 Census the total population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was about twelve crores or twenty-two percent of the total population of the country and the literacy percentage for them is about 9.4 percent as compared to the overall literacy percentage of 30 percent. The Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and of the Parliamentary Committee on their Welfare are laid before the Parliament every now and then and the legislators get an opportunity to make suggestions for the improvement of the educational development of these communities. Shri Jagjivan Ram, Union Minister is in favour of nationalisation of education at all levels, to provide equality of educational opportunity to all children to every section of the Indian society. The backwardness of children should not be linked with the caste or religion of their parents rather it should be based on their economic poverty. The children of the economically poor parents of all classes have the right to education through a positive discrimination for equality and socialism.

Chapter 'Eight' is on the Language Policy in National Education. The language pattern in India is based on the provisions made in articles 343 to 351 of the Constitution.
There are fifteen main languages which have been specified in Schedule Eight of the Constitution. Articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution protect the lingual, educational and cultural rights of the minority communities. The debates and discussions on the Report of the Official Language Commission 1956, and the Official Language Bill of 1963 and 1967 reflect the opinions of the Members of Parliament on the ticklish issues of language which sometimes create disturbances and conflicts in different parts of the country. The various linguistic groups are like the petals of a flower. The petals, though they are separate, are an integral part of the flower and together they contribute to the beauty of the flower. Therefore, it has been emphasised that there must not be any heat and passion over the issues of language, because language is a loom on which the life of a community is woven. It has no intrinsic value in itself, it is only the loom and not the fabric. It is only a vehicle of thought and not the thought itself. Importance should be given to thoughts and not to languages. Nobody should feel perturbed if two or more languages like English or Hindi etc. are used as link languages on all-India basis. English has become one of the important Indian languages and it must also be included in Schedule Eight of the Constitution. The three language formula must be strictly implemented in all the States so that the language policy ceases to be a Pandora's box.
Chapter Nine deals with 'Planning in Education' in the light of the opinions of the legislators expressed by them during the debates on the five Five Year Plans. Planning is a necessary instrument of economic development which itself depends on the development of human resources. Soon after the Constitution of Indian Republic, the Indians began their long pilgrimage to reach their objectives of democratic and socialistic order and adopted planned approaches, in all spheres of life. Parliament plays a special role in shaping public opinion and in mobilising the support of the people for the successful implementation of the plans. The main objectives of the plans are growth, stability and social justice. The Parliament must see that in future a small clique of selfish people does not continue to corner all the fruits of planned development, especially in the field of education. The problem of educational finance is the most vexing of all our national problems. The nation has to find more resources for education for fulfilling the Constitutional directive of Articles 45 and 46 in regard to free universal education and education of the socially and economically backward classes respectively. Though the present spending of the Centre and States taken together in the educational sector is about 26 percent, the pre-primary education has been criminally neglected, school education and higher education have not made a planned and satisfactory progress during the quarter century of planned drift in educational planning.
Chapter 'Ten' is devoted to the issues and implications of the important subject of 'Discipline Among Students'. Just as democracy demands discipline as its necessary implication, educational process demands student discipline without which there can be no education. The Members of Parliament have many a time, discussed the causes of indiscipline, unrest, revolt in the academic world and have given their suggestions to remove the social and economic evils in the society which create indiscipline and unrest among the people and the students. Dr. Ram Subhas Singh and some other Members of Parliament believe that compulsory military training can make the students more responsible and disciplined, while Professor Shriman Narayan and others advocate the philosophy of self-discipline, self-restraint, service and sacrifice. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Bhupesh Gupta, Madhu Limaye and other legislators with progressive outlook recommend that students should be given their due share in all the decision-making process of their educational institutions. There is no reason why the society should not trust the student beyond the management of hostels, unions, welfare programmes and other extra-curricular activities. Our society in general and the elected legislators in particular must have full confidence in the students and teachers who will then be in a position to show a way out of the problem of violence, unrest and indiscipline which sometimes
turn the campuses into breeding grounds for something far removed from normal sanity and decency.

In Chapter 'Eleven' an attempt has been made to justify a case for National Philosophy of Indian Education. The present constitutional provisions on education have sometimes led to legal anomalies and controversies. They have, on the one hand, inhibited the formulation of uniform national policy on education and, on the other, led to a lopsided educational development. Our educationists and leaders, including Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, all confess that one of the biggest mistakes we made when we won independence was, not to have overhauled thoroughly our educational system, and we have been paying for this 'biggest mistake'. The Parliament should seriously consider the fact that the nation is still maintaining the present 'wasteful and outmoded' educational system which is manufacturing year after year a great number of boys and girls who grow up as aliens in their own land without roots in the culture, traditions and history of India. In spite of the five Five Year Plans the number of the educated unemployed persons remains alarmingly high. During the Monsoon session, it was discussed in the Rajya Sabha that 95,35,000 educated persons were registered with Employment Exchanges all over the country at the end of May, 1976, and these job-seekers include 17,000 engineering graduates and post-graduates. It was a
matter of great satisfaction for the people when the Parliament, for the first time, decided on the National Policy of Education when it discussed the Report of the Education Commission 1966 and the Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education 1967. According to this decision the Statement of National Policy of Education accepts sixteen priorities for an educational programme for immediate action but it is still a disgraceful fact that:

1) The Indian languages have not been adopted as media of education at all levels in all subjects.

2) The neighbourhood school system has not been universalised at the primary stage, and all children have not been provided with good and effective primary education.

3) The ten-year school, with a common curriculum of general education has not been adopted in all parts of the country.

4) Teachers' status still needs improvement, especially in educational institutions managed by private bodies.

5) Agricultural and technical education and research have not been developed on a priority basis.

6) Work-experience and national and social service programmes have not been introduced as an integral part of all education.

7) Science and mathematics have not been made an integral part of general education in all schools of the country.

8) Proper emphasis has not been laid on the development of essential student services, e.g., development of sports and games, building of textbook libraries etc.

9) Postgraduate education and research has not been fully improved and expanded, nor the centres of advanced study have been developed.
10) The facilities for part-time and own-time education have not been expanded generously at all stages.

11) The programmes for spreading education among girls and the weaker sections of the community have not been fully expanded.

12) Intensive efforts have not been made to spread literacy, particularly in the age-group 15-25.

13) The pressures on higher education has not been reduced because the recruitment policies of government still continue to be the same as before 1956.

14) Though some students belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes get concessions in admission to institutions of higher education, the majority of the poor students coming from rural areas, urban slums and weaker sections continue to be neglected as before.

15) Programmes for the promotion of national consciousness, character-formation, reorganization of courses, improvement of curricula, adoption of dynamic methods of teaching, examination reforms and improvement of textbooks have not been developed in a big way and on a priority basis.

16) Planning, administration and development of education still continue to be unrealistic and unsocialistic.

One of the main reasons of these failures is the high growth rate of population. Since 1947 India's population has increased by 250 million. The growth rate of population is 13 million per year which is greater than the population of Australia. The population explosion nullifies our development in all fields including education. It was only after the declaration of Emergency in India that the government started 20-point economic programme on the national level. Had the government implemented such programme earlier, surely there
would have been no need for declaring 'Emergency' and using the CR and MISA. It is a good thing that the Parliament is not prepared to accept any irresponsible social behaviour from any person but the best way to teach responsible social behaviour is purposeful and progressive education for all citizens according to their age, ability and aptitude, on the one hand and according to the social norms and needs, on the other. Our Parliament is ultimately responsible for national policies and for guiding the nation. It should provide the nation with an education system which absorbs the fruits of science and technology, and builds a strong economic and social base for prosperous India where all people will be able to live happily. A rapid and revolutionary change in the educational system is required and it is the bounden duty of the Parliament to make this change overnight though it may disturb the entire fabric of national life at all levels. Without radical reforms in the educational system there cannot be rapid progress towards national goals of socialism, secularism and democracy.

The Researcher framed an opinionnaire1 consisting of twenty statements on different educational issues discussed in this study. Two hundred copies of the same were issued to different educationists, legislators and administrators. Only one hundred and twenty-five opinionnaires were duly replied.

1Appendix XII-12.
and were received back by the Researcher by August 31, 1976.
The inferences drawn from the simple analysis of the responses
are more or less the same that have been already discussed
under different heads in the preceding chapters. Most of the
conclusions are non-controversial and the inferences drawn,
as far as possible, are unbiased and objective. The opinions
of the majority of the persons sending responses, agreed on
the following statements of the Opinionnaire:

2) Parliament should extend all financial assistance to
autonomous and privately managed educational
institutions with right of supervision and guidance,
co-ordination and maintenance of standards.

6) Provision of universal free compulsory basic education
including pre-primary education vide Article 45 of
the Constitution must be included in the Union List
of Schedule Seven.

8) The Union Government should enter into a working
partnership with the State Governments by bringing
education in the Concurrent List of Schedule Seven.

11) Medium of instruction at the school level should be
regional language/languages.

12) Medium of instruction at the university level should be
Hindi/English.

14) Students and teachers must have the right of
representation on the academic and executive bodies of
educational institutions.

15) Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe students are
getting equal educational opportunities at all levels.

16) Women are not getting equal educational opportunities
in all spheres.

17) Parliament should not make by law military education
compulsory for high school and college students.
19) Educational planning has not helped as yet in the establishment of a socialist, secular and democratic society in India.

20) Indian education system must be guided by the philosophy of scientific humanism.

RATING OF CENTRAL ACTS ON EDUCATION:

With a view to rating the Central Acts on Education a checklist was used. This checklist consists of seventy items of criteria grouped properly under ten different Guidelines. If we give one point for each item of criteria, the maximum sum of the Guideline totals will be seventy. On this simple process of rating the sum of the Guideline totals for the relevant Acts on Education as modified to date is given separately as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF THE ACT</th>
<th>OUT OF GUIDELINE TOTAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Aligarh Muslim University Act (No. 49 of 1920)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Banaras Hindu University Act (No. 16 of 1915)</td>
<td>96</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. The Delhi University Act (No. 8 of 1922)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The Jawahar Lal Nehru University Act (No. 53 of 1966)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The North Eastern Hill University Act (No. 24 of 1973)</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The University of Hyderabad Act (No. 39 of 1974)</td>
<td>96</td>
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</tbody>
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Appendix XIIa-12
The sum of the Guideline totals for all these Acts is
below sixty because the printed copies of the bare Acts as
available in the market neither contain the constitutional
provisions, the statutes, ordinances and regulations,
relevant to each Act, nor these have attractive formats.

DEDICATIONS:

As a result of the achievement of independence and the
establishment of Parliamentary democracy in India, a balanced
and scientific study of educational problems, like all other
problems, is possible though still very difficult and expensive.
Now, everywhere there are indeed signs of widely felt desire
for the study and description of the educational institutions
of all levels as related to other social and political
institutions of the country. The limited work of the present
study mainly concerns with a brief account of the considered
views of M.P.'s on some important aspects of education, during the post independence period. This study has excluded the educational policies and programmes of the political parties as a whole and an emphasis has been laid on the personal opinions of the legislators in the Parliament. More comprehensive and valuable studies can be taken up under the following titles:

A. A Critical Study of Parliamentary Speeches on Education by Members of Parliament belonging to:
   1) Congress;
   2) Congress(R); 3) Jan Sangh;
   4) C.P.I.;  5) C.P.I.(M);  6) S.I.P.R.;
   7) Janata Party;  8) S.I.P.R.; etc.

B. A Critical Study of Parliamentary Debates on:
   1. Centre-State Relations;
   2. Compulsory Universal Free Education;
   3. Higher Education in India;
   4. Languages and Media of Instruction;
   5. Women Education in India;
   6. Education of the Weaker Sections of Indian Society;
   7. Discipline Among Indian Students;
   8. Educational Planning in India;
   9. Philosophical and Social Foundations of Indian Education;
   10. Educational and Cultural Rights of Minorities in India;
Similarly a number of such type of studies can be pursued by making attempts to study critically the debates on education in the Legislatures of the States of the Union of India that is Bharat.