

Oliver

*Towards
A People's Policy
On Education:
An Alternative
To NPE '1986*

*With Compliments.
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**TOWARDS
A People's Education Policy
— An Alternative to NPE 1986**

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PREFACE

The Presidium of the All India Save Education Committee presents here an outline of the alternative education policy — entitled “Towards A People’s Policy on Education: An Alternative to NPE-1986” for the consideration of all cross-sections of the education loving people. It will be presented before the Parliament of the country in the form of a massive deputation to its Speaker to press for scrapping the recently passed education policy of the Central Government and adopting this alternative policy on education.

It may be recalled that no sooner had the Central Government imposed in 1986 the so-called National Policy on Education on the people without undertaking any meaningful consultation with the academic community than the voice of criticism started being raised from various quarters. Criticism, not only against the way it was planned, drafted, adopted and thrust upon the nation, but also, and much more, against its content. It appeared to most of the education-loving people to be an effrontery onslaught on the very fundamental concepts of a pro-people liberal democratic education. For example, it went against the long established concepts of equal scope and quality of education for all; bypassing the task of providing universal elementary education, a Constitutional obligation, it advocated three types of education for three strata of the population, namely, Navodaya Vidyalaya for the urban and rural elite, ordinary schools for the middle class and non-formal distance learning for the poor. It sacrificed the humanitarian and liberal man-making functions of education at the altar of rigid mechanization and vocationalization of the entire course and content of education which would cripple and dehumanize man and turn them into nonthinking human robots. This would go to perpetuate the illiteracy of most of the population and robotize most of educated beings to secure the long term interests of the ruling class and their administrators. It sought to drastically curtail the autonomy of the institutions through a well-knit multilevel centralized bureaucratic control over education, snatch away the democratic rights of the academic community and destroy the democratic decision-making process wherever and to whatever extent it existed till now. Privatization and commercialization of education have been encouraged, colleges have been proposed to be disaffiliated from the universities and universities have been sought to be turned into non-teaching administrative offices, thereby undermining the importance of these

centres of advanced learning and research. On the other hand, it aimed at strengthening the obscurantist elements and divisive tendencies among various sections of the people at the cost of scientific and secular principles of education. As a result, this new policy evoked strong protest from various corners of the country and various quarters of the education-loving people, as an all-out onslaught on the treasure of our country's education and culture.

However, it was soon realised that the men in the high office who had shied away from the public opinion before, would still less be prepared now to lend any hearing to the public criticism, criticism of those who are experts in their respective fields. So the initial voices of protest, here and there, have gradually turned into a mighty movement — of a new kind and with new dimensions, namely, the Save Education Movement — first, through seminars, symposia, and discussions and then through conventions at various levels. Three regional conventions held at Patna for the Eastern, at Madras for the Southern and at Delhi for the Northern States, led to the formation of Eastern, Southern and Northern Regional Committees to guide the movement in respective zones.

By this time a growing body of opinions took shape as regards what should be positive alternative suggestions for education meant to replace the official policy. Members of the Eastern Regional Committee prepared a small draft alternative policy and sent it to many educationists and intellectuals for eliciting their comments and suggestions. Based on their replies a status paper was placed at an All India Seminar held in Delhi on 14 September, 1988. Then the All India Save Education Convention in Madras on 13-14 February, 1989 also heard the voices and opinions of a representative section of the country's leading brains in the field of education, culture and ideas on the official education policy. Many of the speakers and a large number of the delegates also placed many important suggestions for enrichment of the draft alternative.

The Madras Convention enjoined the Secretariat of the All India Save Education Committee with the task of revising the draft on the basis of all the important suggestions received upto March of this year, prepare a text and submit it to the Presidium for discussion and finalization. The Presidium, in its two-day meeting held on 26-27 May, 1989 at Calcutta, approved through a detailed and collective study and deliberations the framework of the text in the present form.

It is to be noted that the present document is the labour of a

fraction of the academic community through the interaction with a smaller segment of the people concerned with education, a large number of them remaining untouched before its formulation and that is why it may at most be called an outline. It is hoped, however, that this outline of an alternative policy on education will be able to draw the attention of all education-loving people, will continue to be improved and enriched by gathering additional knowledge and experiences and simultaneously give the Save Education Movement the necessary stimulus towards fulfilment of its objectives.

Calcutta
27 May 1989

V. R. Krishna Iyer
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All India Save Education Committee

ABBREVIATIONS USED

- AICTE : All India Council of Technical Education
CABE : Central Advisory Board of Education
CSIR : Council for Scientific & Industrial Research
DAE : Department of Atomic Energy
DST : Department of Science & Technology
DTE : Directorate of Technical Education
ICAR : Indian Council of Agricultural Research
ICHR : Indian Council of Historical Research
ICMR : Indian Council of Medical Research
ICSSR : Indian Council of Social Science Research
IIM : Indian Institute of Management
IISc : Indian Institute of Science
IIT : Indian Institute of Technology
ISI : Indian Statistical Institute
MCI : Medical Council of India
NCERT : National Council of Educational Research & Training
NIEPA : National Inst. of Educational Planning & Administration
NPE : National Policy on Education
PG : Postgraduate
SSDE : Scientific, Secular and Democratic Education
UG : Undergraduate
UGC : University Grants Commission

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Part I : Introduction

- 1.1 Education is a lifelong process for an individual and a timeless process for mankind. But in order to concretize the continuity of this twin process in a particular country at a given moment, there must be a formal and timebound framework of education in which the aims and objects and the ways to achieve them should be precisely defined. Hence the necessity of an education policy.
- 1.2 This is not the first formulation of an education policy in our country. During British rule the alien government adopted several policy statements from time to time as regards the spread of education among the 'natives', with the object of rearing small batches of educated serfs to serve the colonial administration. After independence, the first policy was adopted in 1948 which was several times revised till the latest, the 1986-policy was formulated. In spite of there being so many previous formulations of education policy never did it satisfy the aspirations and desires of the people of our country — as revealed through the results and achievements in the field of education during these long forty-two years since independence. Neither did it concord with what the great men, thinkers and patriots of our country dreamt of. Illiteracy, far from diminishing, has continued to grow in volume. Standard of education has deteriorated unchecked. Autonomy of education, let alone being extended, has been continuously curtailed. On the other hand, despite nominal increase in governmental allocation of fund for education the per-capita expenditure has been a monotone decreasing function over time.
- 1.3 Although the Central Government, in its background paper 'Challenge of Education: A Policy Perspective' (August 1985), admitted many of the failures in respect of education, it, in this paper, indicated such a solution to those, later formally adopted in the 1986-policy statement, as appeared to all education loving people of the country to be a frank and declared acceleration of the ongoing process of deterioration. In these circumstances, all the wellwishers of education who want to save our education, and hence our culture as well as our entire intellectual treasure, have met in various forums to formulate a genuinely pro-people education policy for the

country, as an alternative to the Government's document. Hence we call it: "Towards a People's Education Policy — An Alternative to NPE 1986"

General Picture Now Prevailing

- 1.4 There have been several changes in the content and structure of education. At the time of independence, there was a uniform 10+2+2 system (ten-year school course, two-year intermediate, and two-year degree course) throughout the country. The first change into 11+3 system in 1957 with greater emphasis on early specialization, before having been adopted by all States, was sought to be replaced by the 10+2+3 system (with twelve-year school course and three-year degree course) in 1968. As a result, various systems and curricula coexist in the country even today.
- 1.5 Although school education was sought to be divided into the three stages (elementary level: I-VIII, secondary: IX-X, and higher secondary: XI-XII), in fact it was divided as follows: primary upto class IV and secondary upto class X. Confusions still prevail in theory and practice whether class V belongs to the primary or secondary stage. Moreover, class IV, with a terminal public examination in many States has actually come for many children to be an achievable minimum qualification, thereby indirectly discouraging further pursuit of study.
- 1.6 As a consequence, since the adoption of this policy, in spite of there being some expansion of educational institutions, the scope, facilities and standard have remained far below the requirement. Overstatement of enrolment in primary schools, often conceals the real picture. That apart, dropout at the rate of 76 per cent upto class VIII, makes the enrolment meaningless insofar as universalization of elementary education is concerned. Adult illiteracy is on the increase in absolute figures.
- 1.7 Economic development being stunted with a sharp skewness of its benefit-distribution towards the richer few, poverty and consequently child labour, have remained as the most implacable factor against enrolment of the children in primary schools and their continuation of study upto class VIII.

- 1.8 The National Policy on Education 1968, the first comprehensive of its kind since independence, many good intentions and expressions notwithstanding, failed to delineate the basic objects and needs of the education system, namely,
- (i) spread of education (to liquidate illiteracy altogether) in primary, secondary, higher and adult levels,
 - (ii) improvement, updating and standardization of the courses and content,
 - (iii) democratization of the educational processes, and
 - (iv) increase in budgetary allocation for education in relative terms.
- 1.9 Despite increase in the number of primary and secondary schools, necessary minimum facilities, inputs, staff etc. have neither been precisely defined nor ensured in most of the cases. Teacherless and understaffed schools, schools without buildings, drinking water, sanitation etc. are much more preponderant compared to the properly provided institutions.
- 1.10 Proper education has been denied to the common people while some organizations and individuals have been allowed to trade in education. The so-called public English medium schools, many of the missionary schools etc. may be cited in contrast to the aided or sponsored schools as examples of the great divide in the distribution of the fruits of education among the haves and the have-nots.
- 1.11 The same palpable discrepancy exists at the stages of higher secondary, college, university as well professional education.
- 1.12 Apart from this vertical disparities, there are widely visible horizontal disparities too between urban and rural areas, capital cities and suburban towns, boys and girls, among the advanced and backward communities etc. — which have also increased day by day. Selective and differential treatment to institutions and establishment of few advanced centers of study to the neglect of most of the existing ones by the Central and State Governments have catalyzed this process of unequal distribution of the fruits of education.
- 1.13 The above disparities and constraints, in addition to the denial of educational facilities to many have simultaneously degraded the quality of education.

1.14 The object of education has been viewed on behalf of the system as producing skilled manpower for the economy in general and as a means of earning for the individual. As a result, the man-making and character-building object of education has been totally undermined. It has, on the one hand, encouraged as well as engendered self-centricism, careerism and cynicism among most of those who get educated, and on the other, bred corruption at various levels and spheres of the society at large. It has also contributed in lowering the standard of education.

1.15 The great idea of cultivating scientific outlook among the students, and, fostering the democratic and humanist approach to life, society and man has been sacrificed at the altar of mis-interpretation of secular education. Secularism which connotes the principle of severance of all public and social affairs including education from any kind of religious faith and practice, without however infringing upon the personal beliefs in or adherence to any religion, has been distorted into a policy to encourage all religions. This has not only helped to preserve and fan up the unscientific, supernatural, superstitious, bigoted medieval beliefs, outlooks, customs and rituals, but also to foment caste, communal and parochial particularism among the various cross-sections of the people.

1.16 Academic freedom and democratic decision-making — the two vital aspects of democratic education — have been used in speeches and writings as rhetorics. The Report of the Kothari Commission reiterated many valuable observations on these scores. However, the practice has always been the reverse. Educational institutions have been granted less autonomy. Bureaucracy has been the decision-making authority. The relative autonomy and independence of the older institutions have been gradually curbed on various pretexts through various instrumentalities (e.g., financial control). All the new universities and advanced centres of study established (or taken over) by the Central Government like the Central Universities, IITs, ISIs, IIMs, the IISc., the central medical institutes etc. have been virtually under direct government control. Similarly, democratic rights of the teachers, students and employees have been under constant encroachment. Moreover, their counterparts in the central institutes are denied even those minimum rights offered to them on pa-

per. Absence of freedom has not only hampered free pursuit of knowledge with creative and innovative spirit, and encouraged learning by rote with ossified notes, but simultaneously fostered a genre of servile individuals interested to save their skin by serving the powerful. Corruption and favouritism have found a pretty vulnerable spot to infiltrate the field of education.

- 1.17 Although education was declared a responsibility of the governments (Central and State) in line with the concept of a state committed to social justice, financial allocation for education has never come up to this declaration. In nominal figures the budgetary allocation has been on the increase, but in terms of share of the total budget (or the real money value of the fund offered) it has declined over the years from 7.2 per cent in the first five year plan (with a slight upward variation in the second plan) to 1.2 per cent in the seventh. It has not only made maintenance and expansion of the facilities of education a difficulty but compelled for a long time the teachers and the employees to work at a lower pay compared to the employees of the other sectors with equivalent eligibilities. On the other hand, people's economic level in general being low whatever private institutions have sprung up to offer better quality education at dearer prices have come to cater to the richer and the more privileged few among the people.
- 1.18 This neglect of education from the top in conjunction with the continuous glorification of individualism, careerism, private interest and profit at the cost even of collective welfare and cultural values has bred an attitude of irresponsibility among a large section of the teachers, students and employees. Teaching has been divested of its nobler missions. Getting educated has become another privilege for the educands. Consequently, not only the academic atmosphere has been vitiated but the standard of education has also sharply declined.
- 1.19 Problems of socio-economic development and advances in all branches of knowledge are posing new challenges before the education system. But the courses of study, method of teaching and the pedagogic condition have not been improved in accordance with the needs. Whatever changes have been

made or emphasis shifted have been done in an ad hoc, short-sighted or incoherent manner.

1.20 Whereas the entire system of education starting from the pre-school to the PG levels should be considered a single continuum as a process, the prevailing outlook was to approach each level separately. Consequently, whatever reforms and improvements have been suggested or executed so far were done in a piecemeal and isolated manner.

1.21 All the above factors made it incumbent on us to think of a new education policy with a view to introducing a comprehensive change in the existing system.

Part II : Role and Necessity of Education

- 2.1 Education is an indispensable and necessary component for the overall development of every individual of the country as well as the aggregate social, economic, political and cultural development of the country in general.
- 2.2 Education means inculcation and perfection of all the necessary humane qualities in man. It creates as well as refines sensitiveness of the individual to his surroundings and orients the perceptions he receives in course of life-experiences in a way that fosters correct and scientific outlook, humanist and democratic approach to life, society and neighbours as well as social purposiveness.
- 2.3 Cultivation and assimilation of knowledge together with fundamental researches are the substrata on which the technology and production can develop with immense possibilities. The wider the scope of education, the freer the scope of research, the speedier the opening of new vistas for development and the surer the potentialities of economic development.
- 2.4 Man is a great productive force and educated man is a still greater creative and productive force. But education for mere production clips his wings, delimits his power and constricts his vision.
- 2.5 So education must be imparted with the broader aim of developing creativity and fostering a harmonious personality in every man.
- 2.6 However, education is a part of the superstructure built upon a given socio-economic formation. So the forces working to reform this superstructure have to identify and counteract all the pressures and constraints exerted by the various elements within the structure below in the mutual conflict to shape education according to their respective perceptions.

Part III : Basic Principles

- 3.1 The National Education Movement of our country had developed as an inseparable component of the national independence movement, under the auspices of the great social reformers, thinkers, litterateurs, patriotic leaders and freedom fighters, imbibing the necessary lessons of the European renaissance and integrating them with the actual conditions of our country. They had not only founded some national schools, colleges, universities, medical and engineering institutes etc. but also envisioned an educational system in free India with two fundamental goals: (a) universal literacy and (b) radical democratization of our society.
- 3.2 A broad consensus emerged through this national education movement out of its almost fifty years of experiences during British rule: to fulfil these two objectives it was necessary to establish in free India a Democratic Education System, or in more elaborate term, a Scientific, Secular and Democratic Education (SSDE) System.

Since these basic objectives have not so far been fulfilled, we take this as the starting point, the founding principle for the education policy envisaged here.

- 3.3 The first and foremost aspect of this system is the right to education for all irrespective of caste, race, language, religion, sex, region etc.
- 3.4 Although all students who join and complete school education do not and cannot pursue higher education upto the last (in fact in our country the number of such pursuers is much below expectation, 4.8 per cent only), there should be no restriction on this right— neither in the horizontal direction nor in the vertical.
- 3.5 In order to realize this right there should be a target level and a target period in a given situation. For example, the programme of universal elementary education as provided by the Article 45 of the Indian Constitution must be completed within, say, five years after this policy is adopted by the country. Subsequently, greater scope of higher education may be offered to a larger number of students.

3.6 The second aspect of the SSDE system relates to the object of education. We can conceive and concretize the following three objects:

- (a) To cultivate, assimilate and enhance knowledge, inculcate a scientific and critical outlook, reasoning faculty, quest for truth and logical bent of mind in order to free the students from all impacts of supernaturalism, superstition, bigotry and mysticism;
- (b) To foster a secular and democratic approach to life, society and man whereupon an educated person may rise above the caste-communal-linguistic and other parochial prejudices, religious presentiments and intolerance to others' beliefs — religious or atheistic, others' language and culture, and so on;
- (c) To develop social awareness, a correct perception of the role and dignity of labour in human existence, a sense of social obligation, moral values and higher standard of character among the students.

3.7 At the same time, there must be some broader perspectives of our education system with respect to our role in and commitment to the progress of mankind. In order to preserve the rich exploits of our national liberation struggle and in conformity with this glorious tradition the entire education process should focus the unity of mankind at the global level, and the necessity to regard war of aggression as an offence against humanity; highlight peace, peaceful coexistence, educational-scientific-technological-cultural and economic cooperation as well as transborder exchange of informations as necessary instruments for collective progress of humanity. At the same time it should foster an attitude of condemnation of and opposition to any effort, industry and research that are linked, directly or indirectly, with war preparation and subversion of peace anywhere in the world. Every educated citizen of the country should be critical of the problems like apartheid, racialism, national chauvinism, fascistic suppression of humanity and democracy, religious fundamentalism of various sects and shades, militarization of economy, education, science and technology, research and development etc. in any country of the world.

3.8 A Democratic Education System presupposes the following three pillars of freedom:

(a) *Institutional*: Every Institution [Committee for Primary Education, Board of Secondary Education and Higher Secondary Education, University and Research Institution] should be autonomous at its own level, in the sense of being free from any governmental control and interference in any respect — academic, administrative and financial; where no such autonomous committee exists it shall be formed with immediate effect.

(b) *Individual*: Democratic rights of the teachers, students and scholars shall be protected so that they can pursue their academic and research activities and acquisition of knowledge without the slightest fear and frustration. Together with the employees they shall enjoy the unfettered right to voice their protest against what they feel unjust and wrong.

(c) *Decision-making*: Formulation of policies and implementation of the decisions on all aspects of education at all levels — curriculum, teaching, examination, evaluation, administration, development, expansion, budget and recruitment — shall be done with the active involvement of all the sections of the people. The process of participation of the concerned people in this decision-making business has to be suitably defined and institutionalized through relevant Acts and Statutes.

3.9 Education shall be completely financed by the state through the plan outlays of both the Union and the respective State Governments.

3.10 Education shall be a subject of the State List and the Indian Constitution shall be reamended to this effect to restore the original idea of the Constitution makers on this question. However, the Union will not be absolved of its financial obligation to education because of this exercise of federalism in this important area of our national life. Neither will the State Governments be allowed, nor induced by this transfer, to view education as the arena of exercising their arbitrary power in contravention to the principles charted above [Articles 3.3-3.9].

Part IV : Priority on Removal of Disparities

- 4.1 Since here exist large disparities in the distribution, even of the meagre educational facilities, across different segments of the population, the policy remaining the same, in terms of the basic principles, objectives and means to achieve the end, some priorities have to be laid down in terms of emphasis, pace and method of implementation.
- 4.2 Area of disparities can be identified as follows:
1. between urban and rural areas;
 2. between man and woman;
 3. between the socially privileged and the socially disadvantaged communities;
 4. among the physically handicapped; and
 5. among people belonging to various economic strata.

Educational Development in Rural Areas

- 4.3 The main problem here lies in locating the demand, developing the existing institutions to the minimum standard, creating new institutions to meet growing demands, and convincing the parents and guardians with material provisions — not with slogans and speeches — that their wards can receive comparably equal quality of education in the neighbourhood and need not enter into competition with the urban students for admission.

Women's Education

- 4.4 One of the strongest factors against female literacy in our country is the still powerfully persisting feudal value system throughout the society with its concomitant male dominance. In this value system women's role in society being identified with domestic chores, they become objects of marriage only and that too as early as possible. In marriage, the more educated the girl the more money required for her marriage in this society. All this contributes against education among women.

- 4.5 Although this deep-rooted value system is persisting as a hangover of the bygone past and reared by many conservative forces of the present, it cannot be eliminated merely by educational measures. For this, a greater social-cultural movement is necessary. But it is the education system that will have to provide the ingredients of the new value orientation about the equality of the sexes through courses, curricula, textbooks etc. All stories and mythologies of the ancient and medieval ages which glorify the women's degradation with superfluous halo of 'Sati', 'Devi' etc. should be scrupulously dropped out of the texts and replaced by stories of those women who participated in the pursuit of knowledge and in various social movements with equal dignity and ability as men of the corresponding times.
- 4.6 Educational institutions shall counteract and not reinforce what the students imbibe quite unawares from the family as elements of the sex-stereo outlook.
- 4.7 This reform of outlook will be meant not only for the girl students but for the boys too, because, like the biological inheritance this cultural inheritance too is transmitted by both the male and female members of the society — although in a different mechanism and with varying degrees of responsibility. This implies, among others, that there shall be nothing like a woman-specific curricula in the education system.

Educational Development of the Socially Disadvantaged

- 4.8 Inequality in our society basically accrues from the economic structure so that incidence of both affluence and poverty is to be found among more or less all communities of people. However, the deadweight of social oppression in the name of caste and sect and upon the tribal communities — which were earlier identical with and even resulted from the then economic roots of exploitation — are naturally heavier upon the so-called 'lower castes', backward communities and the tribals. Incidence of poverty, illiteracy, deprivation and privation is also more frequent among them.
- 4.9 Recognition of this kind of backwardness of certain communities impels the Government, first, to locate the areas.

victims and extent of the incidence of poverty and illiteracy among them; secondly, to bring them the fruits of education by creating facilities in the region and nearby; and thirdly, to give those families economic assistance and social protection so as to enable them to send their wards to schools.

- 4.10 In addition to common school education provided to all, special facilities for tutorial classes be created at Government expense to supplement the instruction in schools with a view to providing additional assistance to those who are, for whatever reason, deficient in some subjects or lacking in initiative and confidence.

The underlying object is to rear them educationally to such a level where they can compete with students of other segments of the population with equal aptitude, confidence, merit and intelligence.

- 4.11 A time bound programme has to be taken to ensure implementation of these tasks whereafter the necessity of quota for this or that community will become redundant and the members of the so-called lower caste and tribals can be relieved of the stigma of 'mentally deficient' wrongly attached to them as an outcome of the reservation system.

- 4.12 There are many problems specific to particular sect, caste or tribe, which have to be attended to with special care. For example, the impact of purdah-system among the Muslims and upper caste Hindus on higher incidence of female illiteracy among them; that of greater frequency of child labour among the harijans and tribals as an obstruction to their enrolment in schools and future retention; that of inferiority and insecurity complex generated out of long prevailing social ostracism among the harijans, tribals and Muslims urging them to study in exclusive institutions etc.

- 4.13 Although casteist, communal and similar kinds of parochial outlook can be completely eradicated from the society only through a powerful socio-cultural movement, education must act as a catalyzing agent in this process. Stories, narratives or forms of presentation of certain historical incidents which engender prejudices or hatred against one another of the different caste, religious and ethnic groups should be replaced by those that help students to look at the diversities of the people in the right historical perspective.

Educational Problems of the Physically Handicapped

- 4.14 This chapter presents us with a problem of a new dimension, distinctly different from all other disparities in the variety of difficulties involved as well as the magnitude of extrapersonal aids needed. But the most important fact is that the physically disabled require and deserve a much more human approach to their problems of education and development rather than the attitude of charity and sympathy now prevalent among the well-meaning people. However, this policy is pledged to adopt that approach and tackle the problem accordingly.
- 4.15 The physically disabled can be broadly divided into four categories:
- (a) sightless,
 - (b) deaf and dumb,
 - (c) orthopaedically handicapped, and
 - (d) mentally retarded.

The functional processes of education, namely, reading, writing and learning, present different pedagogical, technological and organizational problems for each category, and each case has to be tackled separately. In a policy statement only the broad outline can be laid down, but it requires much more detailing before implementation.

- 4.16 A major responsibility of the Government in this regard shall be to locate the handicapped through a specially conducted census from time to time. Hospitals, municipalities and panchayats may be asked to supply relevant data on a periodic basis. Various organizations of the handicapped also may be involved in this task.
- 4.17 The second task is to generate the necessary infrastructures for the instruction of the four categories of the handicapped in consultation with medical and technological experts as also members of the handicapped persons and their organizations. By infrastructure we mean specially created schools and higher institutions, specially trained teachers from among both the physically able and the handicapped, publication

and supply of textbooks, various types of tools and equipment, suitable accommodation etc.

- 4.18 The third, the most difficult and enduring task is to ensure enrolment, retention and continuing education. Here also the students and their guardians have to be inspired and motivated for the purpose. This is much more demanded for the mentally retarded, for whom all decisions are to be taken by others, and those who decide, in most cases decide against their education.

Poverty versus Education

- 4.19 Poverty of more than 70 per cent of the population in India stands as the single largest and most formidable obstacle to the spread of education. So while the Government will have to take up various developmental and relief programmes for the gradual economic uplift of this vast humanity, it must, at the same time, adopt measures to ensure that enrolment, retention and continuing education of the children of the poor are not hampered at any stage, simply because the parents could not make necessary provisions.

- 4.20 The entire population has to be divided into four categories in terms of capacity of meeting the real cost of education:

- (a) Those who can meet *all* expenditures;
- (b) Those who can meet *some* expenditures;
- (c) Those who can meet *no* expenditures; and
- (d) Those who are forced to depend on their children's earning.

- 4.21 The Government will accordingly formulate the policy of financial assistance in the following way:

- (a) This group of families will receive no financial assistance from the Government. The meritorious students coming from these families will, of course, be inspired for further attainment with certificates of honour at different terminal stages.
- (b) For this group of people, their area of needs has to be located separately for each family or each student and assistance has to be provided accordingly.

(c) Families which fall in this category will receive all kinds of assistance: exemption of fees, supply of textbooks and other materials, supply of uniforms, provision of meals and refreshment, medical facilities, etc.

(d) The last category of people who not only cannot afford money for their children's education but even requires that their children would, instead of going to school, earn some money for the family should be given by the Government, in addition to all the financial assistance as prescribed for group (c), an opportunity-cost compensation to replace their children's income.

4.22 All meritorious students of the categories (b), (c) and (d) will have to be encouraged to continue education with scholarships, stipends, hostel facilities etc. in addition to what they receive as general assistance mentioned in Article 4.21.

4.23 All recipients of such assistance and prizes will have to be accountable to the concerned institution for continuing their studies, failing which they will be subjected to repeated warnings and if still not corrected, they will lose their right to receive such assistance any more.

Part V : Education at Different Stages

Pre-School Development

- 5.1 A universally recognized principle about the onset of the cognitive process in children stipulates that as soon as the human child acquires the verbal apparatus with semantic speech, it should be exposed to an educational environment. This should, however, be an extra-school instruction in the form of well-organized and planned child-plays.
- 5.2 In the interest of integrated development of the child in respect of nutrition, health as well as mental, physical, moral and intellectual abilities, a comprehensive programme of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) will be undertaken with immediate effect and be implemented in order of need-based priorities as specified in Part IV. Day-care centres will enable parents of the poor families to be engaged in production by entrusting their siblings to these centres. Girls will also be relieved of the time consuming function of child rearing so as to enable them to attend school.
- 5.3 Health service organizations, sports departments and various cultural organizations have to be involved in the ECCE programmes. A necessary manpower has to be generated by proper training in child psychology and behaviour. The womenfolk employed in the day-care centres must know their tasks correctly and concretely and be able to free the children under their care from the elements of fear, shyness, superstition, unhygienic habits etc. which actually take firm roots in children's mind in their formative years.
- 5.4 The object of the pre-school programme will be to prepare the children of this age group (3-6 years) for the elementary stage of education.

Elementary Education : Classes I-VIII

- 5.5 The task of universalization of elementary education of eight years for the children of 7-14 age group involves three steps :
 1. Compulsory enrolment of these children in schools,
 2. Compulsory retention at least upto class VIII and successful completion, and

3. Improvement of the quality of education.

- 5.6 For compulsory enrolment and retention various sorts of support programmes, e.g., supply of free textbooks, uniforms, mid-day meals, stipends and scholarships as well as those mentioned in Article 4.21 are to be adopted.
- 5.7 Large scale employment of child labour in mines, factories and various unorganized sectors — an outcome of destitution of large bulk of the population — becomes a formidable cause of abstinence and dropout from schools. Since the number of adult unemployed is almost equal to that of child labour in our country [approximately 38 millions of registered unemployed as against 50 millions of child labour], they can be made to replace each other to facilitate compulsory enrolment and retention of the children and fruitful employment of the adult. Of course, during such replacement the qualifications and other eligibilities of the adult unemployed have to be taken into account.
- 5.8 Since enrolment, retention and test involve formal provision and since the provisions of formal education are quite deficient compared to the emerging need, the following facilities are to be ensured within a 5-year time:
- (a) At least one school for every village irrespective of the number of students attending. For larger villages one school for every 200 students is obligatory.
 - (b) Physical inputs like separate room for each class, sitting arrangements, blackboards, maps, libraries, toilets, drinking water etc.
 - (c) At least one teacher per class for every school; appointment of female teachers in adequate number to encourage girls' enrolment.
- 5.9 Massive pre-service and in-service teachers' training programmes have to be undertaken to continuously improve the method and standard of teaching in every subject. While modern scientific accessories have to be introduced in the schools with a view to ensuring a minimum standard, teachers must be trained to make balanced use of these aids.

5.10 Promotion to higher classes will be subject to proper, systematic and annual examination-cum-evaluation at the end of each session. Method of examination will be more and more improved to eliminate the fear-element from the pupils' mind.

5.11 The curricula should consist of basic knowledge in the following subjects with continuity in classwise upgradation:

1. Language and literature in
 - (a) mother tongue,
 - (b) English, to be initiated not later than class IV, and
 - (c) a modern Indian language not covered in (a) and (b), to be taught from class VI;
2. History;
3. Geography (with special emphasis on physical geography);
4. General sciences (preferably as historical developments);
5. Mathematics (with special emphasis on arithmetic throughout and geometry from class VI).

[Note: Sanskrit, the common ancestry of most of the modern languages of India is no longer a communicative medium in any part of the country. So it should be studied as a separate subject on optional basis in higher classes, as a prelude to the courses in applied Indian linguistics, ancient Indian history and culture, Indian philosophies etc.]

5.12 Every school shall have provision for

1. games and sports, with a playground — exclusively owned or shared with other schools;
2. library facilities;
3. drama, arts and music facilities, etc. and
4. work education to encourage manual activity.

Physical education, library-going, participation in arts, literary, musical or drama programmes and handicraft works shall be made compulsory co-curricular activity for every student.

Annual cultural functions, physical fitness demonstration, sports competitions, exhibition etc. should be organized to encourage all these co-curricular activities and replace compulsion with emotional participation.

Secondary Education : Classes IX-X

- 5.13 Secondary education is the stage where the general basis of knowledge and cognitive process have to be given the conclusive shape in order to ensure easy switch-over to diversification at succeeding stages. A minimum logical faculty and comprehension power should be fostered at this stage so that a student can approach any stream and any specialization at later stages with equal intellectual ability and can choose courses on the basis of his aptitude.
- 5.14 All successful students coming out of the elementary level shall be encouraged to get admitted into the secondary schools.
- 5.15 A High School should be made available within one kilometer for every habitation. If the number of students is too large to be accommodated in one school, the number of schools or the number of sections for every class will have to be increased, but there will be no restriction of admission.
- 5.16 Although there are at present quite a large number of high schools in the country, about 80 per cent of them fall below the minimum standard required. As a result, whereas there is heavy rush to the small number of better quality schools, and therefore, stiff competition among the entrants, many of the substandard schools suffer from lack of students. Consequently, they receive less aid from the Government and thus the poor conditions and low levels perpetuate. Hence it is decided that all schools — now existing as well as the newly established — will be brought to a comparably equal level in terms of facilities, staff, standard and mode of teaching within five years from the adoption of this policy.
- This upgradation process will continue on the basis of periodic survey and review.
- 5.17 The scheme of Navodaya Vidyalaya — one in each district — has to be rejected, since it had been undertaken on the wrong and unscientific premise of early expression of talent

in few and the consequent discriminatory practical provisions for a handful of students.

The goal of this policy is to make every school of the country a model institution in all respects.

- 5.18 Every school will have sufficient number of teachers to have at least one teacher per every thirty students.
- 5.19 The number of students in a class, or in a section of a class, shall be gradually reduced to thirty students, when, in course of time, the scope of admission has been extended to the entire population.
- 5.20 Every school will be provided with library, laboratory, workshop, gymnasium, playground, sports and cultural facilities, so as to encourage and ensure co-curricular activities in various directions.

Cultural facilities will include, among others, magazine, annual social function, drama and music education, scope of fine arts learning etc. on a non-evaluation basis.

- 5.21 The curriculum shall consist of all the basic subjects mentioned in Article 5.11, with an appropriately upgraded standard and content, as compulsory papers together with at least two additional elective papers to be chosen from amongst some specialized subjects (e.g. economics, social studies, political science, philosophy, ecology, Sanskrit, anthropology etc.)
- 5.22 The public terminal examination at the end of class X should be substantially uniform in terms of course, content and method of evaluation all over the country and examinations should be held in more or less the same period so that students of one region may, if necessary, be transferred to the same or higher level of another region without confronting any major difficulty. For this purpose the State level Boards of Secondary Education, representatives of teachers and other concerned people may meet at consultative conferences and arrive at some conclusions. The decisions of such forums will be suggestive and not binding on the constituent Boards.

Higher Secondary Education : Classes XI-XII

- 5.23 At present, particularly since the adoption of the 1968-policy, the Higher Secondary Education is considered a terminal level for most of the students. The 1986-policy also adhered to the same outlook. But in the present condition of our country, higher educated manpower is falling far behind that needed. It is proposed to change the viewpoint and reorganize the +2 level as an *intermediate step* from general education of the school to the specialized education of the university.
- 5.24 In conformity with this new outlook all students who have successfully completed secondary level and desire to continue education will be given access to higher secondary level.
- 5.25 Keeping in view the necessity of maintaining the standard of education, the instruction in +2 course shall be provided through well-equipped institutions, be it college or school.
- 5.26 Courses will be diversified into different streams of arts, sciences, commerce etc., each comprising a coherent combination of subjects.
- 5.27 Common courses on languages and literatures in mother tongue and English will be compulsory for students of all streams.
- 5.28 Separate sets of facilities as required for each stream will be provided in every institution.
- 5.29 Standardization in terms of course, content, more or less uniform time-schedule for admission and examination and uniform method of evaluation will be sought to be attained throughout the country, following the same mechanism as mentioned in Article 5.22.

Vocational Education

- 5.30 Although the higher secondary pass-outs will be encouraged to pursue still higher education in general or in various professional courses, a good number of them may prefer, as they do now, to enter into jobs or other income-generating functions. For this, it is found, they sometimes take various courses in

privately run vocational institutes to learn trades in shorthand, typewriting, TV-radio-tape mechanics etc. etc. Private institutions make fabulous profit out of these ventures. So under this policy, an overall planning will be undertaken to provide vocational education on a formal basis in all necessary trades, together with other components of education like basic sciences and humanities in the curriculum.

- 5.31 Trades and services which fall under the category of technical skill rather than specialized knowledge, will be defined and classified on a scientific basis and courses-cum-practical training will be formulated accordingly.
- 5.32 The courses may be attached to recognized technical colleges or polytechnics, or separate vocational colleges may be opened depending upon the demand.
- 5.33 The vocational pass-outs of the one-year/two-year courses, as the case may be, will be issued diplomas/certificates.
- 5.34 Teachers and trainers for vocational courses will be recruited from amongst those receiving such training. The polytechnics will be asked to initiate such a vocational teacher-training course.
- 5.35 Opportunities will remain open, without any constraint, for the vocational pass-outs to get re-entry into higher education in general courses, if and when they so desire. New bridge courses will also be introduced for those among them who want admission into higher technical education in the trades they had qualified in the area of vocational education.
- 5.36 However, this policy makes it clear that vocational education will not be considered an altogether separate stream parallel to sciences, arts, commerce etc. It is mainly aimed at planning and organizing all that already exists in an unplanned, scattered, profit-oriented condition.

Higher Education : General — UG & PG

- 5.37 Higher education imparts to the students knowledge in different subjects at such a level that they may not only critically assimilate and reflect on the social, economic, political, cultural, scientific and technological questions of the day but

can acquire creative thinking, and solve new problems posed before them. Specialists, experts and teachers are produced at this level.

- 5.38 In view of the deplorably small percentage of the relevant age-specific population (much lower than that in such less developed countries as Chile, Egypt, Panama etc.) who enter the stage of higher education in our country, it is high time that we blast the myth about explosion of higher education.

All desiring candidates, therefore, will be given access to higher education and all existing restrictions will be lifted to this effect, including the moratorium on opening of new colleges and universities.

- 5.39 On the basis of a preliminary survey and review, the condition of all existing universities and colleges will be improved to a minimum required level within a time period of ten years.

New institutions of higher learning will be established with concrete plan to accommodate all desirous students.

- 5.40 Adequate standard of teaching and learning will be ensured through recruitment of properly qualified staff in required numbers and provision of all necessary facilities, e.g. library, laboratory, workshop, seminar, reading room etc.

The teacher-student ratio shall be brought up to 1:30 at the UG level and 1:20 at PG level. However, this will be achieved by recruiting new teachers and not by restricting admission of students.

- 5.41 Higher education in the general line will comprise liberal education in basic subjects, that is, with thrust on theoretical and fundamental knowledge, coupled appropriately with practical courses. Applicability of the knowledge will be illustrated wherever it is relevant; but applied knowledge will not constitute the main curricula. Students will, however, be encouraged and asked to reflect on the possible applicability of the knowledge they receive in solving practical problems in life.

- 5.42 Courses and curricula in all subjects should be prepared and periodically updated in conformity with continuous advances in knowledge and relieved of unnecessary and obsolete things.

All universities should review the new and advancing frontiers of knowledge in all subjects and accordingly introduce new subjects of multidisciplinary character at the postgraduate level.

- 5.43 Public terminal examinations will be conducted by the universities at the completion of both degree and postgraduate education. Colleges for degree level and university departments for the PG level may take mid-term tests to promote teaching and learning.

Methods of examination and evaluation will be made more and more objective, purposeful, standardized, all-round and comprehensive, so that the results truly reflect students' achievement.

- 5.44 Degree and postgraduate education are viewed as two steps of a single pedagogic process and so need to be conducted and supervised by a single system. Hence all degree colleges will remain, as they are now, affiliated to the nearest university. Non-affiliating university, if required anywhere, may be opened, but every college, old or new will be affiliated to a university. The idea of 'Autonomous College', proposed by the 1968-policy and emphasized by the 1986-policy must be completely dropped and those colleges which had so far been disaffiliated under those policies will be, on the basis of the agreement of the teachers, students and employees, restored to their original position. The role, function and status of the universities as the centres of higher learning and research will be maintained and further strengthened. The idea of "non-teaching university" as envisaged in the 1986-policy shall have to be spurned, and whatever actions have already been taken to this effect, with respect to any university, will be reversed in no time.

M.Phil. and Researches

- 5.45 It is desirable that the M.Phil. degree course is offered by all the universities in as many disciplines as possible. This is meant to instil research aptitude in the students. The more meritorious among the students are going to gain by this research experience.

The number of research-schemes will be determined and increased on the basis of the eligible students and desiring guides.

A stipend for M. Phil students and adequate scholarship for the research fellows will be ensured by the Government.

5.46 Standard, quality and coordination of researches as well as regularity of involvement will be maintained and scrutinized through periodic inter-university (or institute) consultative and reciprocative conferences, seminars etc.

5.47 The schemes of researches will be decided and executed at the university level by the concerned department, guide, and the fellow. The Government, UGC, CSIR, ICAR, ICMR, DAE, DST, DTE, ICSSR, ICHR etc., the private and public sector industrial enterprises will finance researches through the university. Specific foundation for a specified research may be additionally offered by any concerned authority.

5.48 In all branches of physical, biological and social sciences basic researches will be encouraged and facilities for them increased.

However, applied researches may also be undertaken by interested departments, teachers and students, for which the interested parties have to provide funds and make the researchers accountable. It is to be ensured that such projects do not contravene the objects laid down in Article 3.7 of this policy.

Professional Education : [Medical, Engineering, Law, Agriculture, Management, Education, etc.]

5.49 Higher education in professional courses involves the areas of medicine, engineering, law, agriculture, management, education etc. Insofar as the questions of scope, standard, facilities, examination, evaluation and researches are concerned, the same policies and directives as laid down in Articles 5.37-5.48 will be in operation in these fields also.

5.50 Different systems of medicines shall be studied on scientific basis. While courses and curricula in each system will be prepared and taught separately through separate institutions,

certain forums for information exchange, research collaboration, common illustrative case studies at the general as well as specific levels will be created for mutual benefit.

Various indigenous therapeutic systems shall be studied scientifically in order to raise them from mere empirical level to the objective theoretical plane.

- 5.51 Courses in medicine, technology, law, agriculture, education, and management have to be periodically updated and method of teaching modernized regularly.

New branches of medical sciences and technology will be opened up on the basis of periodic assessment of their developments.

New specializations in law, education etc. will be introduced in keeping with newer developments in each of the cases.

Courses in Education will include those of teacher training for the secondary and higher secondary levels. The courses of teacher training in all subjects will be periodically reviewed in the light of the fast developing pedagogic methods with the object of introducing changes whenever necessary.

- 5.52 Differences between various centres of medical and technology institutes in standards and facilities should be eliminated as far as practicable within a predetermined time limit.

- 5.53 Those medical and technology institutes which do not offer at present any course in humanities in their degree courses will be required to do so at least for the first two years.

Courses of humanities here will include some well chosen lessons in languages, literatures, history, philosophy, economics, sociology etc. and not the managerial lessons now offered under this heading in many technology institutes.

- 5.54 Degree level colleges offering professional courses will be necessarily affiliated to universities and be bound by the rules and regulations of the universities in common with other general colleges.

Those private medical and engineering colleges that charge capitation fee or donation from students will be legally compelled to discontinue this unethical practice and will be brought within the ambit of the university rules and regulations.

Adult Education

5.55 The task of liquidating illiteracy is quite formidable because of the constant rise in the number of adult illiterates every year, owing to the incomplete implementation of the policy of universal elementary education. So in this policy the programme of implementing universal enrolment and retention of the children of 6-14 year age group will be undertaken in such a way as to reduce the backlog of adult illiteracy over the years in an ever increasing rate.

5.56 However, adult employees working in the organized sector will be provided with a programme of technical literacy on in-service basis which will include some aspects of elementary education coupled with technical knowledge about the particular trades or vocations they are engaged in.

This as well as other sections of the adult illiterates scattered in the unorganized sector (e.g., agriculture) will be provided with some elementary knowledge from the adult education centres existing nearby as well as through the radio, TV and other mass media.

The mass media — the radio, TV and press, will be asked to offer some space and time for the purpose of spreading education and knowledge among the adult illiterates throughout the country on a periodic and rotational basis in different languages.

5.57 The subject matter of education for this purpose will be specially designed keeping in view the variations in age, occupation, psychology etc. of the adult population.

Non-formal and Distance Education

5.58 After the entire country is set on the path of spreading literacy and imparting education through the formal system as defined above, some *additional* and *complementary* channels of non-formal and distance learning systems will be brought into being. The object is to serve those who, for whatever reasons, may not avail themselves of the fruits of formal education as well as to satiate the thirst for newer knowledge of those who have received formal education in one area and then want to continue education in other directions, while engaged in some occupations.

5.59 For this purpose clubs, libraries and other social and cultural organizations will be encouraged and assisted, on the basis of periodic scrutiny, to conduct non-formal education in different subjects depending upon the demands of the members and neighbouring population.

In the schools, colleges and universities, the authorities and teachers may be asked to allow a certain number of students, of whatever age, to attend some classes.

5.60 However, correspondence courses offered by different universities and institutes in different subjects will remain under the purview of formal education and not under the scheme of non-formal and distance learning.

5.61 A statutory body will be formed on a broad basis to plan, design, conduct and coordinate all such extra-formal educative processes in every State.

Part VI : Teacher

- 6.1 The status of the teacher reflects the socio-cultural ethos of a society. If education be the backbone of a nation, teachers form its vertebral structure. So the role and responsibility of the teachers will have to be seen in this greater context.
- 6.2 Although teaching requires the best elements of the educated manpower of a country, the service conditions of the teachers had been, since the colonial times and even after a long period of independence, kept at such a low abyss that it remained the least attractive career for the best qualified. It was, therefore, left to the goodwill and moral discretion of such people to accept teaching as a noble profession with a sacrifice of financial interest and careerist ambition.
- 6.3 Now that the pay scales and other service conditions of the teachers have been improved by an appreciable extent, although there might be still some legitimate grievances left unredressed and deserving attention, the teachers will have to make a critical assessment and self-assessment about the condition of teaching in various levels of education and their role in improving it.
- 6.4 Individual teachers as well as the teachers' organizations are required to play a significant role in upholding professional integrity, enhancing dignity of the teachers and reflecting a profound sense of responsibility and commitment towards the students and the educational process in general.
- 6.5 As regards recruitment of teachers of different levels, objective rules of selection will be formulated and strictly adhered to. Lists of applicants, their bio-data and particulars, their performance in the selection interview and the final panel in order of merit will be required to be published during selection at any level and institution. In selecting a candidate, the most important criterion will be his academic achievements and teaching potential.

Whereas for schools, managing committees, teachers' councils and district board of education will form the selecting authority, for colleges and universities, some university level statutory selection committee will be created for the purpose of recruitment.

Part VII : Democratic Functioning

7.1 A democratic education system requires, as we have already laid down in Article 3.8, that the whole process of academic and administrative functions will be conducted on democratic and participatory basis. It also involves the question of institutional autonomy as well as democratic rights of the academic community.

7.2 Although all the Education Commissions upto that of 1964-66 (Kothari Commission) have recommended in favour of democratic rights of the academic community, the recommendations were not seriously taken. On the contrary, the Government adopted a series of policies to curtail democratic rights of the teachers. As a result democratic functioning has suffered a serious setback. The 1986-policy ultimately sought to formalize this trend. Now it is high time that the process is reversed.

7.3 The decision-making authority at every level of education, from primary to higher, shall rest on democratically constituted academic and governing bodies of the respective levels.

This means that each of the Primary Syllabus Committee, Board of Secondary Education, Council of Higher Secondary Education, University Body, the Governing Bodies of university like institutes such as IITs, IISc, ISI, IIM, and of central medical and research institutes etc. shall be constituted of members elected from amongst the concerned communities.

Nomination from above by any governmental agency will be strictly limited to the minimum. However, the governing body of an institution, if it so desires, may nominate some honorary members in its ranks from amongst the men of letters of the area under its jurisdiction, who are expert on relevant subjects.

7.4 The necessity, relevance, structure, composition, functions and jurisdiction of the bodies like UGC, CAGE, NIEPA, NCERT etc. will be reviewed and redefined in the light of the above principles and in this process whichever is found ineffective will be dissolved.

The same steps will be taken with respect to their State-level counterparts.

This will help to stop some wastage of the resources on unnecessary topheavy educational bureaucracy and to utilize them for more fruitful ends.

- 7.5 It follows that agencies like MCI, AICTE, CSIR, ICAR, ICSSR, ICHR, ICMR, should also be reconstituted on democratic and representative basis. Functionally, they will act as transmission channels for exchange of views on different pertinent matters between the Government and the institutions as well as among the institutions, conduct All India level consultative conferences on specialized and transdisciplinary problems, and undertake periodic review of performance of the institutions to guard against malpractice or misuse of money.
- 7.6 All educational bodies and institutions will be endowed with Constitutional safeguards against interference from any quarters.
- 7.7 The democratic rights of the teachers, employees, research scholars and students in consonance with the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution (Article 19), should be protected.
- 7.8 As a first step towards extension of rights the present restrictions upon the rights and privileges of the teachers, employees, scholars and students of IIT, IISc, ISI, Central Universities, central medical institutes and Government colleges will have to be withdrawn.

Part VIII : Educational Finance

8.1 Most of the good intentions and declarations in respect of educational development ultimately hinge on the financial support for their successful implementation. Although our political system was described as a state committed to social justice, it did not so far view education as one of its prime responsibilities, especially in the matter of financial allocation. Education continues to receive proportionally diminishing financial support and to suffer as a result, from mounting degradation. Since more than fifty percent of our population live below the poverty line, this policy makes it incumbent upon the Government — primarily the Union and then the State — to bear the entire expenditure on education.

8.2 It will be the duty of the Centre to define the sharing of financial responsibility in consultation with each State separately. At least ten percent of the Union Budget will be earmarked for education every year.

Financial support will not empower either the Centre or the State, under this policy frame, to exercise control over the field of education in any manner.

8.3 Free education will be introduced upto class XII in all parts of the country. Collection of money from students by whatever names — development fee, maintenance fee etc. — will be prohibited by law.

8.4 Students upto class XII will be supplied with text books free of cost, and those in higher education will receive low-priced text books through subsidization, book banks, text book grants etc.

Special arrangements will be made under public sector for low-price reproduction of foreign text and reference books of different subjects on recommendation from the faculty of the universities.

8.5 All schools, colleges, universities and research institutes will be provided with the fund necessary for maintenance, development and expansion of facilities, salaries and housing of the teachers and employees, scholarships and hostels of the research fellows, hostel accommodation for the students,

scholarships and stipends for the poor and meritorious students.

- 8.6 No institution shall be allowed to collect capitation fee or donation under whatsoever pretext for admission of a student into any course or class from the lowest to the highest level. Both the receiver and the donor will be subjected to penal action.
- 8.7 No institution, of whatever level, will be allowed to be run on commercial lines. Those individuals or entrepreneurs who want to donate (and not invest) money for education, will deposit that to the educational fund of the Government or a university along with spelling out the intentions to be fulfilled by their utilization.
- 8.8 Annual as well as long-term scrutiny of the fund utilization by the institutions will be made on multilevel basis and the results will be made public to the relevant segment of population.

Part IX : Education for Moral Uplift and Emotional Integration of the People

- 9.1 As we have already noted, education system should inculcate social awareness, selfless attitude, democratic and humanist approach to life and scientific and rational bent of mind. In fact, improvement of moral standard cannot be separated from the process of promoting scientific outlook. However, in a queer fashion, political high-ups of our country have equated morality with religion and, therefore, even after talking of secularism, misinterpreted secularism as a multi-theocratic policy of encouragement to all religions. Believers, non-believers and agnostics — all may have their own kind of objectively determined set of moral norms and values, and secularism is aimed at extracting their common elements and setting aside the personal and subjective elements. Hence, in a truly secular state religion — both in belief and practice — is considered to be a private affair of an individual, and is therefore divorced from all state and public affairs so that the believers, non-believers and agnostics may find themselves completely equally poised in all social and public matters, including education.
- 9.2 The particularity of our country having a widely diverse composition of the people in the matter of religion, caste, ethnicity, language etc. demands all the more strict adherence to the principles of secularism. Because, 'encouragement to all religions' is always fraught with the possibility of (i) discriminating between religions, thereby fomenting communal tensions, (ii) encouraging obnoxious and antiquated cults and rituals rather than the moral philosophy of religions, and (iii) providing scriptural sanctions to casteism, polygamy and other practices derogatory for modern man. We have come through sufficient sufferings and bloodshed over these questions. Now we can hardly wait and continue this wrong experiment.
- 9.3 With a view to promoting higher values, the lives and struggles of the great men of renaissance and freedom movement of our country together with those of other countries too will

be made familiar to the students in a planned and graded way through text books, literature, history as well as other media.

- 9.4 Education shall in no way indulge in or inculcate any religious belief or practice.
- 9.5 Courses of study in all subjects, particularly literature and history, must be freed from any religious, communal and parochial bias.

It is not, however, intended to preclude the study of the lives and works of great religious preachers from a human and historical point of view, minus the halo of myths and revelations popularly shrouding their names.

- 9.6 Students as well as citizens at large will no longer be required to mention religion or caste on any documents, e.g. application forms for admission or job.
- 9.7 Access to education of all levels and in all directions will be guaranteed for all desiring students of all communities in general and of the minority communities in particular.

However, the distortions introduced into the concept of minority institutions by allowing some members of the minority communities to run institutions of general education with other purposes will be eliminated from the existing state of affairs and those institutions that impart general education for and by the minorities — caste, linguistic, religious etc. — should not be eligible for special privileges and immunities. If necessary, the relevant provision of the Constitution, namely, Article 30(1) will be reinterpreted for a clarification to this effect.

- 9.8 This policy of education shall ensure the free expression and full development of the folk, tribal and regional cultures of all communities in their respective spheres.
- 9.9 The national and cultural history will be rewritten to cover the life, struggle, existence, culture and contribution of the various segments of our population — different communities and ethnocultural groups of people, particularly the aboriginal tribals, scattered all over the country, studied so far with anthropological interest only and neglected as a component part of Indian history, society and polity.

9.10 The history of Indian freedom movement will be rewritten to incorporate the struggle and contribution of the patriots of all trends. The various democratic and anti-British uprisings of the oppressed people, particularly prior to the rise of the country-wide national movement will also find due place in history books.

This rewritten, complete and comprehensive history will form the pivot of history syllabus at various levels of education.

9.11 Text books prepared by foreign missionaries and other organizations and taught among the backward and tribal areas, so far neglected in the mainstream of our education system, will be subjected to fresh scrutiny and any falsification, distortion or vulgarization of the country's history and culture in any form will be expunged and correction or revision will be required to be made.

9.12 A fresh Commission may be set up to enquire into the present conditions, study and draw upon all necessary sources and suggest a textual framework of a comprehensive history of the country.

Part X : Language Policy in Education

10.1 The question of language being a very sensitive one, any formulation in this regard requires much careful and attentive study of the multidimensional problems involved in it in a multinationality and multilingual country like ours, with a large variety of ethnocultural groups of people with different languages at different stages of development. However, so far the question was settled by the Central Government not only without any serious attention to and objective analysis of these aspects but giving fillip to the already existing divisive sentiments and sensitiveness among the various linguistic communities. This policy looks at this problem with a sober and dispassionate approach and delineates only the educational aspects of the language policy keeping the other aspects open to discussion and critical evaluation from time to time by all concerned.

10.2 While mother tongue of every children shall be the medium of instruction upto whatever level he desires (without abolishing the existing facilities of higher education through the English medium) it shall also be usually his first language. Moreover, as laid down in Article 5.11(i), every student will at the same time be required to learn English and another modern Indian language with all seriousness they demand.

English will help further higher studies, larger intellectual interaction across the language barriers and wider international communications.

The third language will help the students to promote the understanding of each other's language, culture and literature, break the walls of linguistic fanaticism and seclusionism, enhance interlanguage exchange and intercourse and, thereby, the area of overlap in matters of vocabularies, styles, idioms and expressions.

10.3 It will be one of the duties of the Centre to promote the spread and development of all the Indian languages through the publication and translation of literature, bi-lingual and tri-lingual dictionaries etc. as well as publication of text books written by knowledgeable persons in each subject and in each language.

While there shall be no discrimination against any language

as far as the policy of development is concerned, the languages of the backward communities will have to be given priority in respect of creating vocabulary, script, grammar, dictionary etc.

10.4 As regards teaching of languages one point must be kept in mind. Although taught as separate subjects, languages have quite a different and much wider significance compared to any other subject because they are the vehicles of thought and the medium of communication. So the method of teaching should be so improved upon that the students have a command over the languages and are able to express their thoughts correctly in those languages.

Part XI : An Appeal to All Concerned with Education

- 11.1 As we all know, corruption, favouritism, political lordism and slavishness to ruling parties — all these have assumed ominous dimensions of a ubiquitous malady in every sphere of the society including education. Up till now, the very forces which constantly engendered this malady used to make it a plea to subvert the autonomy of the education and curb the rights and privileges of the teachers, employees and students. Corruption and other malaise have, in fact, been institutionalized. This situation cannot be remedied by any policy or rules from above. It calls for a powerful social movement throughout the country to be released by the democratic organizations of various sections of the academic community with a view to creating among them a tremendous hatred against any sort of corruption, malpractice and dereliction of duty and a profound sense of ethical responsibility to discharge duties against any pressure or temptation.
- 11.2 Teachers and students together constitute in every age in all countries the most sensitive and the most important force to accelerate social progress. But among them, again, the teachers play the most vital role in educating the students and imbuing them with the sense of social awareness, purposiveness, moral values and an urge for acquiring higher standard of character. So while demanding and fighting for more facilities and better service conditions the teachers cannot afford to forget this. They must bear in mind that right and duty go hand in hand, and right without duty becomes a privilege. The basis of this sense of duty should be voluntary and inwardly urged and not out of any pressure or fear.
- 11.3 Similarly, students will also have to acquire a sense of discipline — not by succumbing to fear of the authority whatsoever but by consciously realizing its necessity as an ingredient of character. Without character and discipline they cannot justify their struggle for legitimate demands and win moral support of the people at large behind them.
- 11.4 The non-teaching staff of educational institutions and related education departments too cannot but keep it in mind that

they are not simply salaried employees, they are associated with a vital process of social cause, education, the future of which is inextricably linked up with the destiny of the entire nation. So in pressing for their demands, however legitimate, just as there is no question of surrendering to any pressure and threat from above, so also they should not in any way indulge in neglect of or indifference to timely performance of duties, neither should they adopt the form of movement for achieving demands quite unconcerned to the greater interests of education.

- 11.5 In conclusion we must remember that educational development of the country in all directions depends ultimately on the satisfactory and emotional fulfilment of duties and responsibilities of every individual, institution and bodies concerned. Any failure or negligence on any one's part will lead to a multiplying effect through a perpetuating process. On the other hand, if the concerned community is always responsive to the demands made of them by the society, committed to their tasks and involved in the process of educational upliftment, they can act as an alert and vigilant legion to get the governmental authorities going on fulfilling their duties.

Let us adopt this policy on education as a propitiatory pledge to fulfil a great but yet unaccomplished historic mission.

Published by Dipankar Roy on behalf of the All India
Save Education Committee from 88B Bepin Behari
Ganguli Street, Calcutta- 700 012.

Price: Rs. 3.00 Only.