

[Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha]

the Board. The Board reviews all aspects of security and law and order including the security of airports, other vital installations and places of historical and religious importance, besides ensuring constant and effective vigil at the border. This is about the actions that have been taken since the Governor took over.

It was said that we were going to pressurise the Governor so that he should make recommendations in a particular way. I can assure the House through you that we have no intentions to do so. We have not done in the past and we have will never do so in future. (*Interruptions*). Hon. Member himself said that the Governor has been sending certain type of reports and we have never interfered in what type the reports are sent. It was only on the basis of his reports that this action has been taken.

Well, Sir, as far as the Congress Party is concerned, the Congress Party has always been interested in the progress and prosperity of the State. (*Interruption*). It has been always for a clean administration and clean politics and we will continue to pursue this policy. I am sure with the cooperation of the House we will be able to do so.

Sir, a lot of questions, a lot of problems, have been raised which belong to the sphere of speculation. All I can say on the floor of this House is that nothing will be done which will be against the law and the Constitution of this Country. Everything that has been done has been constitutional and in future also we will continue to do so.

RESOLUTION ON DRAFT NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION, 1986

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
Shri Narasimha Rao to move the Resolution.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal) : On a point of order. Be-

fore the Minister for Human Resources Development is allowed to move the Draft National Policy on Education, I would like to say that we have submitted as many as 30 amendments and none of them have yet been circulated.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) : As far as I am concerned, I was late in giving notice of my amendments.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
The amendments were received very late but they will be circulated.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH : They should be circulated. Otherwise, how can one...

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : May I make a submission? It is 1.30. Let us break for lunch. Let him move the Resolution. In the meantime the amendments may be circulated after lunch hour.

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN
RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT
AND HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI
P. V. NARASIMHA RAO) : Sir, I
move the following Resolution :

"This House approves of the Draft National Policy on Education, 1986, laid on the Table of the Rajya Sabha on the 2nd May, 1986."

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:
You may make the speech if you like.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO:
I do not propose to make my speech.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All
the Amendments are received here
but they will be circulated later. Let
the Amendments be moved now.

Following hon. Members moved
the amendments :

(1) Shri S. W. Dhabe;

(2) Shri Nepaldev Bhattacharjee;

- (3) Shri Chitta Basu ;
- (4) Shri Satya Prakash Malaviya ;
- (5) Shri Parvathaneni Upendra.

SHRI S. W. DHABE (Maharashtra) :

1. "That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added :

'with the following modifications :

(1) "At page 3 in part-II paragraph 2.1, line 2— *after* 'material' the word 'physical' be *added*."

(2) "At page 6, paragraph 3.13, *add at the end*—

"Though education is included in the Concurrent List, sports is in the State List, Entry No. 33. The modern industrial society has also created new problems of utilisation of leisure and providing healthy recreation to rural, urban and industrial community. It is, therefore, necessary to have complete co-ordination between the Central and State Governments to organize the programmes of training institutions, sports coaching for achieving international standards and creating facilities for building healthy community and strong nation."

(3) "At page 9, paragraph 4.8 sub-para (iii), *add at the end*—

"Training will be such so as to make them suitable for the jobs which they can do."

(4) "At page 10, in sub-para (b) of paragraph 4.12, *after* 'the employers' the words 'through the trade union organisations of industrial workers, rural labour and of other employees' be *added*."

(5) "At page 20, paragraph 6.17 *add at the end*—

'and also trade union and worker's education."

(6) "At page 20, paragraph 6.19, *add at the end*—

"The All India Council for Technical Education will also have statutory powers to grant permission or refuse permission for starting the engineering colleges or technical institutions and also takes steps for prohibiting sub-standard technical education institutions, including the power to order closure of such institutions."

(7) "At page 24-25, paragraph 8.21 *add at the end*—

"In 1980, a National Sports Policy had been formulated by a Committee appointed by the All India Council of Sports. In pursuance of this policy the Government of India passed a Resolution and had finalised a 16-point National Sports Policy and announced it in May, 1984 to give impetus to sports in the country. One of the points in this Policy is to make sports as integral part of the school curriculum. Physical education has a wider connotation. It includes in addition to physical education, sport and recreation. In fact, the International Charter of Physical Education and Sports by UNESCO (1978) proclaimed that every youth has a right and access for development of health, physical fitness and work capacity to participate in physical education and sports programme irrespective of race, colour, sex, religion and political opinion. This Government accepts the principles underlined in this charter and decides to take the following steps :

(i) Every effort will be made to integrate physical education into the pattern of education so that youth of the country will be better equipped for socially useful productive work and defence of the country. It will offer scope to the adventurous spirit of the youth so that they may imbibe qualities of initiative, self reliance, toughness and team spirit ;

[Shri S. W. Dhabe]

(ii) Graded curricula in physical education will be carefully worked out at different stages of education viz. pre-primary, elementary, secondary, higher secondary, collegiate and University ;

(iii) Leadership in physical education would be developed to meet the requirements of the new programme and so far as in-service teachers in schools and colleges are concerned, orientation courses will be organised to up-to-date their knowledge in the recent developments in the field, the technique and devices ;

(iv) Physical education will be an important discipline at par with other subjects in educational institutions and universities and teachers of physical education and sports officers and coaches will be given same status and emoluments like other teachers ;

(v) In order to set-up a firm pattern of physical education in the country to prepare the youth to meet the challenges of 21st century, a comprehensive programme will be drawn in consultation with the State Governments and adequate resources will be provided ;

(v) In order to achieve these objectives efforts will be made to bring physical education and sports under the control of same department. Not only this, a Central Advisory Board of Physical Education will be immediately set up to advise the Central Government in matters of physical education. Similar advisory Committees/Councils will also be established in the various States and Union Territories."

SHRI NEPALDEV BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal) :

2. "That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added :

'with the following modifications :

1. At page 1, paragraph 1.2, add at the end —

"While knowledge in fact extending its frontiers, two-thirds of our countrymen, an appalling 470 million, remain illiterate. Both on the count of equity as well as keeping pace with the technological revolution, it is imperative that eradication of illiteracy must be accompanied by compulsory and universal elementary education as a pre-condition for making education the Fundamental Right of the people. The present policy directs itself to achieve this goal by 1990.

2. "At page 4, paragraph 3.2, line 4—

after 'To achieve this' the words by the year 1990 be added."

3. At page 4, after paragraph 3.3, the following paragraph be added, namely :—

3.3A The national system of education envisages that the medium of instruction at all levels would be the mother tongue. A second language should not be introduced earlier than the post-primary stage, and the third, not earlier than the High School stage. These languages voluntarily chosen by the students would be Hindi and English or any other modern Indian language for those whose mother tongue is Hindi or English. No particular language will be imposed on any part of the country."

4. At page 4, paragraph 3.4, add at the end —

This core curriculum shall be arrived at with the concurrence of all the State Governments"

5. "At page 5, paragraph 3.11, add at the end —

'Open and distance learning, however, should not and cannot be a substitute to formal education."

6. "At page 8-9, paragraph 4.7, add at the end —

'All educational programmes will be carried on in

strict conformity with secular values."

7. "At page 11, paragraph 5.5, line 3—

after 'age' the words 'by the year 1990,' be added."

8. "At page 12, paragraph 5.7, add, at the end—

The objective would be to achieve the target of primary schools with all essential facilities in every habitation by the year 1990."

9. "At page 12, after paragraph 5.8, the following paragraph be added —

5.84 Non-Formal Education programmes, however, cannot be considered as substitutes to formal education. Non-Formal Education programmes would at best be supplementary aids."

10. "At page 12-13, paragraph 5.12, line 5—

after children's retention at school" the "Towards this end, adequately funded support programmes like mid-day meals, free uniforms, books and stationery, creches for girl students taking care of siblings etc. will be ensured." be added."

11. "At page 13, paragraph 5.15 be substituted with the following paragraph, namely ;

'5.15 A set of national guidelines shall be arrived at, with the concurrence of all the State Governments, with regards to buildings, library, laboratory and sports facilities which should be available for a standard High School. Infrastructural facilities in all the schools of the country shall be upgraded in a phased manner to the level of the above standard."

12. "At page 29, paragraph 11.2, line 4—

the words 'raising fees at the higher levels of education' be omitted."

13. "At page 29-30, paragraph 11.4, add at the end —

'Henceforth 10 per cent of the Union Budget allocation and 30 per cent of State Budget allocations be earmarked for education."

At page 30, paragraph 11.5, add at the end—

After each such review the Government will bring forward an implementation strategy to be adopted by the Parliament."

At page 30, after paragraph 12.2 the following paragraph be added, namely ;

"12.3 This is only possible with the realisation of the objective of providing education and employment for all and right to education and right to work must be made Fundamental Right of the Indian people".

"At page 15 paragraph 5.23, line 4-5—

after 'self-employed', the words 'Measures will be taken to guarantee self-employment by providing loans and access to markets' be added"

17 "At page 15, paragraph 5.24, add at the end.—

'With the envisaged expansion of the base of the pyramid, a corresponding expansion of the apex will also be undertaken. Adequately funded programmes will be undertaken to this effect'."

18. "At page 15, paragraph 5.28, add, at the end—

'Care will be taken to ensure that such measures do not have adverse effects on standardisation or widening disparities in educational levels'."

19. "At page 15, paragraph 5.30 be omitted."

20. "At page 16, paragraph 5.31, line 1-2 —

the words 'Provision will be made for minimum facilities and admission

[Shri Nepaldev Bhattacharya]
will be regulated according to
capacity.' be omitted."

21. "At page 16, after paragraph 5.37 the following paragraph be added, namely;

'5.37A The Open University system, however, cannot be a substitute to formal higher education. It is envisaged to be used by those while employed or otherwise gainfully occupied to improve their educational status and gain further knowledge'."

22. "At page 17, paragraph 5.41 be omitted."

23. "At page 18, paragraph 6.5, add at the end —
'not necessarily only in the Navodaya Vidyalayas'."

24. "At page 18, paragraph 6.10, add at the end —

'and all facilities such as loans and protected markets would be provided'."

25. "At page 20-21, paragraph 6.20, add at the end —

'Such institutions, however, will come under the control of the Government and the fee and salary structure will be in conformity with the Government run institutions'."

26. "At page 21, paragraph 7.2, line 3.4 —

the words 'All teachers should teach and all students study.' be omitted."

27. "At page 21, paragraph 7.3 after clause (d), the following clause be added, namely;

'(e) create confidence and remove insecurity and lack of purpose amongst the students by guaranteeing employment after education'."

28. "At page 27, paragraph 9.6 be omitted."

29. "At page 27, paragraph 10.1, in clause (c), add at the end —

'Students' Unions, Teachers' Associations, Non-Teaching Staff Associations,'."

(The amendment No. 2 also stood in the names of Dr. R.K. Poddar and Shri Mostafa Bin Quasem.)

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) :

3. "That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added :—

'With the following modifications—

1. "At page 4, para 3.2, add at the end —

'This will be achieved by the year 1990. Stress will be laid on neighbourhood school with common admission'."

2. "At page 4, para 3.4, add at the end —

'The common curricula shall be formulated in consultation with the State Governments and shall not in any way harm the linguistic, cultural and ethnic identities. It is recognised that this is the only way to strengthen national integration'."

3. "At page 4, para 3.5, add at the end—

'The young generation shall also be imbued with ideal of having a war-free world, with a new social and economic order'."

4. "At page 11, para 5.5, add at the end—

'The first aspect will get highest priority in the total scheme and shall be attained by the end of 1990. Liquidation of illiteracy is another objective which must be attained by the end of this century'."

5. "At page 12, para 5.8, add at the end—

'It is, however, recognised that non-formal education cannot be the substitute for universal and compulsory elementary education. It will supplement the latter.'

6. "At page 13, para 5.15, add at the end—

'The cooperation of the State Governments is needed for the success of the scheme. The pattern of the pace-setting schools will be determined in consultation with them. The medium of instructions in the Navodaya Vidyalayas will be the mother tongue.'

7. "At page 15, para 5.26, add at the end—

'However, wherever needed, new institutions will also be set up to meet the growing need for higher education.'

8. "At page 16, para 5.37, add at the end—

'Attempts shall be made to set up atleast one Open University in each State by the end of 1990.'

9. "At page 18, para 6.10, add at the end—

'Credit and other facilities for "self-employment" will be extended.'

10. "At page 30, para 11.4, for the words 'it is proposed —policy', the following words be substituted, namely :—

'It is proposed that the outlay on education hereafter would be 10% of the Central Budget and 30% of State Budgets.'

11. "At page 30, para 11.4, add at the end —

'The Government is aware of the oncurrent responsibility for educa-

tion. Attempts should, therefore be made to increasingly share the cost of education through public finance.'

SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA (Uttar Pradesh) :

4. "That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added :—

'With the following modification—

"At page 30, after paragraph 12.2, the following paragraph be added, namely :—

'12.3 There is an immediate need to make adequate provisions for uniform type of education from nursery to Higher Secondary stage for every one and that different types of educational institutions for the above classes be abolished forthwith.'

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDERA (Andhra Pradesh) :

5. "That at the end of the Resolution, the following be added; —

'With the following modifications—

1. "the proposal for creation of Indian Educational Service" be dropped.

2. "the subject of Education should revert to the State List and necessary constitutional amendment be introduced."

3. "the proposal for setting up Navodaya Vidyalayas be dropped and the States should be encouraged and helped to set up such model schools."

4. "the proposal for core curricula be dropped and the preparation of curricula should be left to the States."

5. "the existing school education system, 10+2+3 should be retained."

6. "a minimum of 10% Gross Revenue of the Government be earmarked for education."

[Shri Parvathaneni Upendra]

7. "enough provision should be made for extra-curricular activities."

[The amendment No. 5 also stood in the name of Shrimati Renuka Chowdhury.]

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
So, all these amendments are moved. These amendments will be circulated when this House is adjourned for lunch and afterwards.

The House stands adjourned till
2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned
for lunch at thirty minutes
past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch
at thirty two minutes past two of the
clock, Mr. Deputy Chairman in the
Chair.

श्री नेपालबोधे भट्टाचार्य : महादेव, मैं सबसे पहले मंत्री जी को बधाई देना चाहूंगा। जहां तक हमारे देश की शिक्षा नीति का सवाल है, पिछले लगभग दो साल से हमारे एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर कोशिश कर रहे हैं, और हमारे देश की नेशनल डेवलपमेंट काउंसिल और एजुकेशनबोर्ड कोशिश कर रहे हैं पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर्स को समझाने के लिए कि हम नई शिक्षा नीति कैसे बनाएंगे। उस सिलसिले में पहले दो डाक्यूमेंट पेश किए गए। मेरी बधाई इसलिए है कि मिनिस्ट्री और सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट कुछ नए ढंग से पुरानी कहानी को सुगर-कोटेड बना कर सदन में पेश कर रहे हैं जिसका नाम है—ड्राफ्ट नेशनल पॉलिसी ऑन एजुकेशन 1986। मेरा ख्याल है कि मंत्री जी को यह सोच कर पॉलिसी लानी पड़ी कि पहले जो लिखा गया था 'बेलेंज आफ एजुकेशन', जो सब माने में 'बेलेंज टू एजुकेशन' रहा, बहु निकलने के बाद जनता के बीच, खासकर बुद्धिजीवियों के बीच जो रोष पैदा हुआ, जो इतने रिमाक्स सरकार को मिले उस कारण नई पॉलिसी लानी पड़ी और पुरानी को बदलना पड़ा।

मैं शुरुआत में यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से इस पॉलिसी

का विरोध करता हूँ और इसलिए करता हूँ कि यह वही पुरानी कहानी है। मिनिस्टर साहब को याद दिलाने के लिए कहना पड़ेगा कि कांग्रेस की तरफ से कई बार बताया गया कि एजुकेशन की स्पिरिट क्या होनी चाहिए, किसका एजुकेशन कहा जाय। मिनिस्टर साहब को जरूर मालूम है, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि दुबारा उनको याद दिलाने की जरूरत है क्योंकि सब सुनने के बाद उनको मानना पड़ेगा कि शुरू से ही उनको पार्टी की नीति मास एजुकेशन के बारे में डिलीमिल की रही है। जिस को हम मास एजुकेशन कहते हैं, जन शिक्षा, उसके बारे में 1888 से अब तक कांग्रेस का जो कहना है उस का डाक्यूमेंट में कोई रेफरेंस नहीं है। कांग्रेस के और से मास एजुकेशन के बारे में जो कुछ कहा गया है उस की ओर मैं माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। 1888 में कांग्रेस की ओर से डिमांड की गयी थी कि मास एजुकेशन क लागू किया जाना चाहिए और यह मांग उन्होंने ब्रिटिश सरकार से की थी उस के बाद 1904 में इस सवाल को उठाया गया कि फ्री एड कंपल्सरी एजुकेशन व जानी चाहिए। और इस डाक्यूमेंट में कुछ कहा गया है उस से जनता और बुद्धिजीवियों के सामने साफ हो गया है कि अब जो कुछ कहते हैं और जो कुछ करते हैं उस में बड़ा अंतर होता है। इस मामले में मुझे एक लतीफा याद आ रहा है। मि गालिब शराब बहुत पीते थे। उनकी आधी शराब पीने की। तो सिपाही म्यूटिनी बाद जब ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट ने उनको पेंशन बंद कर दी तो वे उधार लेकर शराब पी लगे। ऐसा होने से दुकानदार का बहुत पैसा बाकी हो गया। इस के लिये जब मि गालिब को पकड़ कर मैजिस्ट्रेट के सामने लाया गया और मैजिस्ट्रेट ने उन से पूछा कि आप तो ईमानदार आदमी हो, आप सारी दुनिया जानती है, आप क्यों उधार लेते हो। आप को यह आदत छोड़ देना चाहिए तो मिर्जा गालिब ने कहा कि नहीं, मैं वायदा करता हूँ कि अब शराब न पीऊंगा। तो मैजिस्ट्रेट ने कहा कि लिख कर दीजिए। तो मिर्जा गालिब कागज पर लिख दिया—तोबा तोबा, शरा

तोबा । उस के कुछ दिन बाद फिर वही हाल हुआ । गालिब साहब पीते रहे और उनपर काफी उधार हो गया । वे फिर पकड़ कर लाये गये और उस समय जब मीजस्ट्रेट ने उन से पूछा कि आप ने लिख कर दिया था फिर भी आप शराब पीते हैं । तो उन्होंने पूछा कि मैं ने क्या लिख कर दिया था । उन को वह कागज दिखाया गया । उसे पढ़ कर उन्होंने कहा कि बरटे, इस पर तो लिखा है—तोबा, तोबा, शराब से तोबा । यह कही हो सकता है । पहले लिख दिया था—तोबा तोबा, शराब से तोबा । अब वही पढ़ रहे हैं तोबा, तोबा, शराब से तोबा । तो कांग्रेस का वही हाल है । कांग्रेस ने अपनी 22वीं कांग्रेस जो कलकत्ता में हुई थी इसके मीनिफेस्टो में फ्री एण्ड कंपल्सरी एजुकेशन की बात को इंकलूड किया था । हमारे ट्रेजरी बंचेज के लोग अगर याद करेंगे तो उनकी याद आ जायेगा और उन में से कुछ इधर आ गये हैं । वह रजोल्यूशन पास किया गया था और 1911 में 27वीं कांग्रेस जब कलकत्ता में हुई थी जो गांधी जी ने रजोल्यूशन मूव किया था फ्री एण्ड कंपल्सरी एजुकेशन का और उन्होंने रजोल्यूशन पेश करने के वक्त कहा था कि इसको असम्बली में भी पास कराना चाहिए । उसके बाद 1916 में लखनऊ कांग्रेस में यही सवाल रखा गया और उस में कहा गया कि फ्री एंड कंपल्सरी एजुकेशन अब टू 14 इयर्स आफ एज होनी चाहिए । उसके बाद 1938 की हरिपुरा कांग्रेस में कहा गया कि स्कूल में 7 साल तक जो बच्चे पढ़ेंगे उन की जिम्मेदारी सरकार की होगी और हरिपुरा कांग्रेस में पहली बार यह कहा गया कि मदर टंग विल बी दि मीडियम आफ इन्स्ट्रक्शन । तो जहां तक पालिसी का सवाल है उस में मैं जरूर कहूंगा कि कांग्रेस की जो पालिसी थी उस से कुछ आगे बढ़ कर आप पीछे हट रहे हैं और कुछ मूठठी भर आदमियों के लिये, इंटेलेक्चुअल्स के लिये जो ब्रिटिशर्स भी उस समय करते थे, आप आज कर रहे हैं । उस का नाम आप माडल स्कूल्स रखें या नवोदय विद्यालय रखें । जहां तक हायर एजुकेशन का सवाल है उस में कांग्रेस का जो कंसप्ट है, जो आपका कहना है उस सब को आप छोड़कर कुछ मूठठी भर लोगों के लिये, टाटा, बिरला और कुछ पंजीपतियों के लिये, उनकी मशीनें चलाने के लिये, उन को इंजीनियर्स, डाक्टर्स और

टैकनीशियन्स देने के लिये आप यह सब कर रहे हैं । शिक्षा का मतलब यह नहीं है कि वह स्पेशलाइजेशन है, शिक्षा का मतलब यह है कि आम जनता के लिए पढ़ने लिखने की सुविधा । लेकिन आप वह भूल गए । इतने रजोल्यूशन आने के बाद भी, कंस्टीट्यूशन बनने के समय में जो आप कर रहे थे वह आप बाद में भूल गए ।

जहां तक फंडामेंटल राइट्स का सवाल है इसमें एजुकेशन को नहीं रखा गया, उसे डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स में रखा गया है जिसे 45वें अनुच्छेद में रखा गया है । उसमें लिखा गया था कि 14 साल तक के बच्चों के लिए कंपल्सरी और फ्री एजुकेशन में 60 तक लाया जाएगा । अभी आप कह रहे हैं कि 1995 तक करेंगे ।

We have to go to 1995.

5 साल का ग्रंथ आपने स्वयं ले लिया । 1960 में नहीं हुआ तो आपने उसे 1995 तक कर दिया ।

महोदय, जो अनपढ़ है, अशिक्षित है, उनका परसेंटेज देश में 60 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा है । काम जो आपने किया है वह दूसरे कामों की अपेक्षा कम है । दुनिया में जितने अशिक्षित हैं उनका 40 प्रतिशत हिन्दुस्तान में है ।

Forty per cent of that population is in India.

जबकि पूरी दुनिया के 15 प्रतिशत लोग इस देश में रहते हैं । तो मुझे केवल यह कहना है कि जहां तक मास एजुकेशन का सवाल है, आपने उसके कंसप्ट को बरबाद किया है । मूठठी भर लोगों को मदद देने के लिए लाखों करोड़ों की जनता को आपने अशिक्षित रखा है । ब्रिटिश शासन में भी ऐसा ही होता था । आप भी वही कोशिश कर रहे हैं । आप अपनी बूट मंजूरिटी के आधार पर इसे पास करा लेंगे, लेकिन इससे जनता का कितना भला हो सकेगा ? मैं सिर्फ एक उदाहरण आपको देना चाहता हूँ । आज जो डिवीजन यहीं पर हो रहा है, इस मामले में यह डिवीजन ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट में भी हुआ था । इस सवाल पर कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को मास एजुकेशन की रूप में शिक्षा दी जाय या नहीं, इस सवाल पर ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट में यह कहा गया था कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता

[श्री नेपालदेव भट्टाचार्य]

अगर पढ़ लिख लेंगे तो जैसे अमरीका हमारे हाथ से निकल गया वैसे ही हिन्दुस्तान दो दिन बाद चला जाएगा। इस सवाल को लेकर आपने भी वही सब किया है जो कि ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट में किया गया था। आज हम कह रहे हैं कि आपने उस जमाने में ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट के खिलाफ आवाज उठाई थी लेकिन आज आप के डाक्यूमेंट में भी जो पालिसी रखी गई है उसमें मुट्ठी भर लोगों को ही फायदा हो सकेगा। आज आप हमको संख्या बताते हैं कि हमारे यहां हायर एजुकेशन में इतने लोग हैं। लेकिन मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा परसेंटेज कितना है? जिसके बारे में आप इतनी आवाज उठा रहे हैं रॉज टी. वी. में अपने स्टेटमेंट्स में कि हमारे यहां इतने साइंटिस्ट हैं, इतने इंजीनियर्स हैं, मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहां यंगर जनरेशन जो हायर एजुकेशन में जा सकते हैं उनका क्या परसेंटेज है। चिली में 13.18, इजराइल में 25.85, मिश्र में 14.25, पनामा में 22.93 परसेंट है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
Twelve minutes you have taken.

SHRI NEPALDEV BHATTACHARJEE : But I will take more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :
It is up to your party.

SHRI NEPALDEV BHATTACHARJEE : It is all right.

यू. के. में 19.95, फ्रांस में 24.42, जापान में 27.85 है। जी. डी. आर. जिसमें समाजवाद है 28.76, जर्मनी जहां साम्राज्यवादी राज्य कर रहे हैं, 25.30, यू. एस. एस. आर. 21.29 परन्तु हिन्दुस्तान में इतनी आवाज करने के बाद 4.8 है। जब आप कहते हैं कि इतने डाक्टर हैं, इतने इंजीनियर हैं, इतने टेक्नीशियंस हैं वगैरह-वगैरह कहते हैं यहां परसेंटेज है 4.8। मास एजुकेशन के दार में कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट जो कहती है उससे हर कदम पीछे हटती जा रही है। 70 करोड़ जनता के लिये कॉलेज, स्कूल चाहिए उनमें

नइके-नइकियों को भोजना चाहते हैं, सचमुच आप अगर उनको पढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो उसके लिए पैसा चाहिए। आपका प्रोविजन क्या है इस मामले में? फर्स्ट फिफ्थ फाइव ईयर प्लान में इसके लिए आपने रखा था 7.4 परसेंट टोटल एक्सपेंडीचर का, इसमें स्पोर्ट वगैरह शामिल था इस बार सैव्थ फाइव ईयर प्लान में आपने रखा 2.3 परसेंट। सिक्स्थ फाइव ईयर प्लान में 2.2 परसेंट रखा था। आप चाहते हैं शिक्षा को आगे बढ़ाना, फ्री कम्पलसरी एजुकेशन फार आल तो क्या आप इससे आगे बढ़ा सकेंगे? जहां तक सालाना बजट का सवाल है 1.2 परसेंट खर्च किया टोटल आउट ले का। यह आपकी ही बनाई हुई है प्लानिंग कमीशन की स्टीयरिंग कमेटी जिसने प्रोपोजल दी थी कि कम से कम 11,947 करोड़ रुपये आपको एलाट करने चाहिए जबकि आपने सैव्थ फाइव ईयर प्लान में एलाट किया इससे बहुत कम यानी 2.3 परसेंट, 5455 करोड़ रुपये से ज्यादा नहीं है। साल भर के लिए खर्च किया 661 करोड़ रुपये। मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ सिर्फ कहने के लिए नहीं, मैं जो कह रहा हूँ वह अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से है यहां कांग्रेस वाली बात नहीं है कि लिखने के लिए कुछ और कहने के लिए कुछ। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट 661 करोड़ रुपये खर्च कर रही है पूरे देश के लिए शिक्षा के मामले में जब कि बंगाल की सरकार, सिर्फ एक ही प्रांत की सरकार 639 करोड़ रुपये खर्च कर रही है। यह आपके खर्च से 20 करोड़ ही कम होगा। यह स्टेट बजट का 23 परसेंट है। क्योंकि हम सचमुच चाहते हैं कि बंगाल में मास एजुकेशन हो। आज बंगाल में कोई गांव ऐसा नहीं है जहां प्राइमरी स्कूल न हो। ऐसी स्थिति में हम अपने प्रादेश को लाये हैं। यह आपके सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की बजट के आसपास है। जहां आप खर्च कर रहे हैं 2 परसेंट वहां कोई भी देश बेलियम, कोलम्बो, चिल्ली, फिनलैंड, मोरक्को, मैक्सिको, स्पेन, थाइलैण्ड, यूगाण्डा, मनीशिया, वैनीजुएला, चाहे किसी भी देश को लीजिए वे अपने देश का कम से कम 17 से 20 परसेंट खर्च करते हैं एजुकेशन के लिए। यह शर्म की बात है कि कांग्रेस (आई) लैंड गवर्नमेंट इंड इंडिया हैबिंग

पब्लिकेशन आफ मोर दैन 70 करोड़ आपका एनोकेशन एजुकेशन के लिए फार दिस इयर 1.2 परसेंट है। आपने यहां जिस ढंग से रखा देखने में बड़ा अच्छा लगता है, पढ़ने में अच्छा लगता है। आप अटॉर्नामी की बात कहते हैं। सुनने में यह बात अच्छी लगती है। हायर एजुकेशन की बात आपने इसमें लिखी है। जहां तक मैनजमेंट आफ एजुकेशन का सवाल है, आपने इसमें लिखा है—

“Decentralisation and the creation of the spirit of autonomy for educational institutions”

पढ़ने में यह बहुत अच्छा लगता है और सुनने में भी अच्छा लगता है। यह शूगर कोटिंग की तरह से अच्छा लगता है। लेकिन बीच में आपने क्या कहा है? इसका मतलब क्या है?

“Pre-eminence to the people's involvement including Associations and non-Governmental agencies and voluntary efforts.”

मैं यहां पर यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि कई साल पहले बंगाल में रिजल्यूशन पेश किया गया कि कलकत्ता यूनिवर्सिटी में किसानों, मजदूरों, मध्य वर्ग के लोगों, बुद्धिजीवियों और हर वर्ग के लोगों की अपने अपने प्रतिनिधि चुनकर सिनेट में भेजने होंगे। लेकिन कलकत्ता यूनिवर्सिटी में आपने इस बिन का विरोध किया। श्री ए. पी. शर्मा अभी यहां पर नहीं हैं, नहीं तो वे अच्छी तरह से बताते कि उन्होंने इसका किस तरह से विरोध किया था। मैं सिर्फ यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह बाहर से देखने में अच्छा लगता है। लेकिन इसके बीच में से एक चीज निकल कर सामने आ रही है कि आप कुछ मूठ्ठी भर विद्यार्थियों को ही पढ़ाना चाहते हैं। आपने रां काल्ड माडल स्कूल्स यानी नवोदय स्कूल खोलने की बात कही है। लेकिन यह इलीटिस्ट पैटर्न आफ एजुकेशन है। जिस प्रकार से ब्रिटिश जमाने में कुछ कालेज होते थे जहां पर मूठ्ठी भर लोग ही शिक्षा प्राप्त करते थे। ब्रिटिश लोग कुछ मूठ्ठी भर विद्यार्थियों को शोषण और शासन करने के लिए शिक्षा देते थे। उसी प्रकार से आप भी कुछ लोगों को ही स्पेशल तौर पर शिक्षित कराना चाहते हैं और स्पेशिएलिस्ट की तरह से शिक्षा देना चाहते हैं। आम जनता की शिक्षा की आप

को कोई जरूरत नहीं है। मास एजुकेशन की आपको कोई चिन्ता नहीं है। मैं यह बात साफ तौर पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम जो भी कहते हैं दिल से कहते हैं और वही करते हैं। बंगाल की गवर्नमेंट ने टैंगोर की 125 वीं एनवर्सरी पर यह तय किया कि हर रोज स्कूल में जाने पर विद्यार्थी टैंगोर का कोई गाना या रिसाइटेशन करेंगे। वहां की गवर्नमेंट ने जब यह तय किया तो श्री राजीव गांधी जी ने कहा कि वहां पर मार्क्सवाद की शिक्षा दी जा रही है। कहां टैंगोर और मार्क्सवाद। अगर मार्क्सवाद सिलेबस में होगा तो पढ़ाया जा सकता है, लेकिन यहां मार्क्सवाद का कहां मतलब है? शिक्षा का मतलब होता है विद्यार्थी में चेतना पैदा करना ताकि वह अपने परों पर खड़ा हो सके। इसलिए हमने कहा है कि जो कुछ हमारे दिल में होता है हम वही करते हैं। लेकिन आप लोग कहते कुछ है और करते कुछ है। चूंकि टैंगोर का जिक्र आया है; इसलिए मैं टैंगोर ने जन जागरण की बारे में जो कहा है उसको यहां पर पढ़ना चाहता हूँ—

“Where the mind is without fear
and the head held high,

Where the knowledge is free,

Where the world has not been
broken,

Up into fragments by narrow
domestic walls;

Where words come out from the
depth of the truth;

Where the clear stream of reason
has not lost its way into the

dreary desert sand of dead habits;

Where the mind is led forward

by thee into ever-widening

thoughts and action—

In to that heaven of freedom,

My father,

Let my country awake.”

आप आम लोगों को शिक्षा देने से घबड़ा जाते हैं। आम लोगों की शिक्षा से ब्रिटिश सरकार भी घबड़ा जाती थी और आपकी कांग्रेस सरकार भी इससे घबड़ा जाती है। आप लोगों को निरक्षर रखना चाहते हैं। पूँजीपति और सामन्त लोग भी यही चाहते

[श्री नेपालदेव भट्टाचार्य]

है। इसी बात को अपने दिमाग में रखकर यह पालिसी डाक्यूमेंट सदन में रखा है। मैं अपनी पार्टी की तरफ से, विद्यार्थियों की तरफ से, बुद्धिजीवियों की तरफ से जो इस पालिसी के खिलाफ है, फिर इसका विरोध करता हूँ।

SHRI M. P. KAUSHIK (Har-
yana) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir,
first of all, I pay my compliments to
the dynamic Prime Minister, who is
mainly responsible for this policy and
to the two Ministers, Mr. K. C.
Pant, ex-Minister of Education and
Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao for their
persistent efforts for a national de-
bate and ultimately producing a
draft for the National Education
Policy. I am also thankful to those
officers and experts who have given
their time, and energy in producing
a very laudable scheme. I have been
hearing one of my colleagues from
the opposite benches. He was all
praise for the policy as far as the
policy in the draft presented to us is
concerned. It is very good of him but
he was sceptical about a number of
things, which, to my mind, seem to
be purely imaginary. I would have
preferred an analysis of the entire
scheme purely on the basis of facts
or theories and I am mainly concern-
ing myself, putting this question be-
fore the nation that what actually
education means ? If this draft
policy comes upto the mark, then I
would pray to all the members of the
Opposition to accept this as a national
policy and to work for its success
rather than to belittle it or to create
hurdles in the implementation of the
Policy which is going to be in the na-
tional interest for the down-trodden
and for the entire nation. Education
means imparting knowledge to a
young boy or a girl to equip himself/
herself for an avocation in his life and
also to reason out and assess things
for themselves whether whatever is
coming to them is right or wrong. If
this much can be done, I am sure,
the responsibility of the nation of
imparting education to the young
people will be over. Considering
these to main criteria, if we judge

the broad framework of policy pre-
sented before us, I am sure that every-
one of us will have every word of praise
for the policy. There may be certain
difference of opinions in details,
there may be certain difference of
opinions about the curricula, there
may be difference of opinion because
of our own biased thinking in terms
of different theories being prevalent
in the world. I again submit at this
point, the main responsibility of the
State is not to brain-wash a young
boy or a young girl but to give him this
opportunity to reason out himself
what is good for him and for the na-
tion and themselves take the decision
about the various things they face in
life in future. Considering these as-
pects, I once again submit that the
entire policy framework is nothing
else but laudable. When we come to
the details, there are certain pit-falls,
the one being the question of finance
or the resources. I agree, in the pre-
sent context, it seems to be that we
will be short of finances in implemen-
ting this policy but if we read care-
fully the entire draft, it has been made
absolutely clear that no restraint will
be allowed to hinder the implementa-
tion of the policy and the finances
and the resources will be met to im-
plement this entire policy *in toto*. If
that assurance we can accept, then I
do not think, there is any doubt about
it to accept that. Then, I am sure,
this policy will be implemented.

The broad framework of
3-00 P.M. the policy is primary edu-
cation up to the age of
14 for every boy, whosoever he may
be, whether he is a tribal boy or he is
a Scheduled Caste boy or he is an
economically backward boy or he is
a boy of affluent parents. It has been
made very clear in this draft policy
that all schools will be having a mini-
mum number of two teachers and
every child will have a school within a
radius of one kilometre. And there is
one more reference in this draft
policy, that drop-out will be discoura-
ged, whatever the reasons may be.
The biggest reason of drop-out is the
economic reason. It has been made
very clear in this policy that if the
parents are so poor that they cannot

afford to keep their children in schools, then the children will be getting financial assistance in terms of money as well as books and reading material.

Sir, most humbly I submit that primary education should be imparted with this intention that it has got to be done. I am saying this simply because education happens to be a subject in the concurrent List. It is the major responsibility of the States to implement this education policy. The Centre comes in only as a help. I would have preferred that the entire direction should have been from the central body. We have got a Central Advisory Board, in which all the State Education Ministers and Chief Ministers are there. If every State implements the decisions taken in that Board, then I am sure this scheme has no possibility of being a failure in implementation.

Here a number of things have been said. The poorer sections of the people in the society have been well cared for. As far as the scheme is concerned, I am sure its implementation will be taken care of. Now the question of adult education arises. Adult education has a back-log and it is a big problem with us. My personal opinion is that along with primary education, the teacher should also be given the responsibility of adult education. The two things should be put together. The expenses to be incurred on adult education should be merged with the expenditure of the primary schools. The children as well as the adults should be taken care of by the primary school teachers. Thus, within a span of four to five years, we will be able to achieve adult education fully, and we will also be able to implement primary education, which is a dire necessity.

Once we have taken a decision that the finances will be somehow taken care of, next comes the question of teachers. Then the further question comes of the reading mate-

rial. As far as the teachers are concerned, at the present moment, it is a very sorry state of affairs. The entire training of teachers has to be remodelled. We have to give the pride of place for manual work. A psychological input has to be given that manual work is something which is to be appreciated and made part and parcel of education as well as life. The training courses for these teachers should be remodelled entirely on these lines. Secondly, the present teachers have to be given in-service training. In some States, to my knowledge, they have started an in-service training for these teachers for a fortnight. I feel that a fortnight's retraining is not enough because two days will be gone in assembling, two will be holidays and the effective working days get reduced to no more than ten and it is rather impossible that we can expect any remodelling or retraining in the whole teaching process in a matter of ten days. Therefore, the retraining should be at least for a month for the teachers and it should be a continuous process after every alternate year and the teachers should be equipped with modern knowledge, there should be updating of their knowledge from time to time, if we want to impart the children with the most modern knowledge. The moment I say these words, the question arises : Is it necessary to give such modern knowledge input to students of primary schools ? My answer is 'yes'; it is absolutely necessary. We are just on the threshold of the 21st century. As far as technology is concerned, its advance is imminent, whether we like it or not; technological knowledge is going to increase, and it is our primary duty to percolate this knowledge to the remotest corners. This knowledge should be made available to the young children in the remotest corners, so that their thinking horizon broadens and they become more and more attuned to education and make themselves more fit and shape themselves with a better frame of mind and work, more suitable for the vocations which they are going to enter, to maintain a happy life, a good life. For this

[Shri M. P. Kaushik]

of a job a good majority of the teachers at the present moment, I feel, are ill-equipped. I still maintain that we should lay the greatest emphasis on retraining of teachers up to the high school level. The earlier we complete this process, the better it is and in the greater interests of the nation, in the greater interests of implementing the new Education Policy.

There are a few more things. In our society we have tribals, we have Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, we have economically backward classes—economically backward people may be there in both 'suvarnas' and 'avaras'. We have rural people who are a bit well off and we have rural people who are worse off, we have urban poor as well as urban rich; we have the elite class in big cities. In such diverse sections of people there has to be some diverse classification of schools also. There are the so called public schools in big cities. They have now so started sprouting up in towns also. I don't think we would like to close them. It would rather be anti-national if we do that. But what is the solution so that education does not remain elitist? My one suggestion is all such schools where very high fees are paid by parents, should be allowed to continue with one proviso that 50% of students from economically poorer sections, Scheduled Castes, tribal people, if they are academically of their standard, should be admitted by the schools and the entire expenses of those children should be borne by the school which would in turn be borne by the parents of the rich, affluent, students who are studying there. This will have a highly integrating effect on their thinking at a national level. This matter must be pondered over and given due weight. Integration is not merely between north and south and east and west. Integration is also necessary between the down-trodden and the affluent. As things stand, it is a rigid compartment of affluent sections who, I would not

hesitate to say, are shunting the poor people out, people who do not have their facilities. The perceptions are there. My doubts are there. The earlier we take steps the better it is. I do not want that there should be strikes. There may be certain ideological parties which may desire it. But any person who believes in national interest and human dignity and human values will agree with me that such perceptions should be rather killed in the bud. And for that we will have to work, and work in such a way that the poorest of the poor feels that he has got equal chance as far as education is concerned, as far as educational facilities are concerned.

And when we come to this, we come to the Navodaya schools also. It is a very relevant factor. When I was a student, there were a number of Universities. Each University had a reputation of its own—schools also, good schools, bad schools also. Now, Navodaya schools are going to be the beacon light. This is necessary. I feel that in every District Board or Tehsil area there must be a Navodaya school. I also feel that at present the Central schools should be taken over by the body which is going to control these Navodaya schools. I have got a very clear idea about it.

The Central school has a uniform syllabi throughout the country. The Navodaya school also should have a similar or the same syllabi throughout the country. This is going to be a highly integrating nucleus for the nation. About Navodaya School there has been a criticism; I have read in newspapers. I have also come to know about it in party circles. This is not a elitist school. These schools are meant mainly for all the people who are meritorious. I have said it earlier in this House also that that genius is not the monopoly of the elitist section of society. But it has been found, on the other hand, that genius are produced in greater number in places where we do not feel that they should be or—in the poor

sections of society. I feel that those students who are above average in intelligence or those who have the makings of a genius should get the same opportunity to a better school, better training and better education. And I feel that the Navodaya school is going to serve this purpose. It is in the interests of the country, it is in the interests of those students who are a bit unfortunate, being borne in economically poor sections or parents.

Here also the question comes next about the teachers. In our country, we have the tradition of giving reservation for different sections of society in employment. I agree with this. Those who are down-trodden should be given opportunities. It is a very laudable thing and a correct thing because the poor should have a chance to come up. Those who are unfortunate by birth should not feel that the society is not looking after them. I agree one hundred per cent with reservations, as far as services are concerned, particularly of teachers. But there is one proviso. Teaching is a profession which is highly skilled profession. Whatever the teacher knows, only that much he can impart. Whatever he understands, only that he can impart to the boys. My only submission is that merit should not be ignored in any case. I feel that we should have teachers from all sections of society. We should be liberal in the case of reservations for those people who come under the reserved category for appointment. But the teachers should be made fit enough to become teachers. We may spend any money on them and we may increase their age for entry. As you know, in Government service there is the question of age. We can be liberal in their case. We may be liberal in giving them education and training. But merit alone should be the criterion for a person to enter as a teacher. I may add for the sake of reference that at the present moment, majority of the teachers enter the profession of teaching out of compulsion. If somebody does not get a job or a more lucrative job, he enters the teaching profession because

he does not have anything to do. This concept should be changed. I feel that the cream of society does not go in for teaching. (*Interruptions*). We should make these things very clear and incentives should be given to intelligent people or to the cream of the society to come and join the teaching profession, not at the university level but right from the primary level.

My suggestion is that the pay structure should be revised. When I come to pay structure, I feel that the entire pay structure of all the employees needs a careful thought and revision. My own idea is, may be it is wrong, that at present our pay structure is not a living wage. I mean the living wage in the sense of a modern society. There are things which have now become a necessity of life and which were only in the domain of the rich about 50 years before. These things should be made available to the ordinary educated or skilled workers. Therefore, the entire system of wages should be looked into and a fair wage, a reasonable wage and a wage with which people don't remain deprived of certain things should be given. Otherwise, there is a chance of their going astray and making use of dubious ways to supplement their meagre wages. The Pay Commission is considering this aspect and I am sure better results will come out. As far as the primary teachers are concerned, I feel that the teachers who work in remote villages should be given a village allowance. We give city allowance. We give compensatory city allowance. I feel that these teachers who are working and who are doing a very serious job in the national interest working in the villages and living in the villages should be given village allowance. They should be given additional medical facilities. If we can take care of that, I am sure that the teachers in general will respond very favourably and help in the implementation of the scheme.

Now, I come to the curriculum. I can see one thing, some change in

[Shri M. P. Kaushik]

the geographical teaching in a particular State. But I see no reason that in language, in mathematics and in science there should be any liberty to any region or State to tamper with the curriculum, and I feel that there should be a hard-core curriculum universal throughout the country. Some little variations are possible and desirable as far as geographical contents of the syllabi are concerned. As far as historical contents are concerned, I am of the firm opinion that all Parties should sit together and have a common concept of history of India. As far as past cultural heritage is concerned, I don't think there are many doubts about it or many objections about it. But as far as the recent past history of 250 years is concerned, there are certain different notions in different States and they should be ironed out, and the young people, the future generation of the country, should be given a common pattern. This is a desirable thing, and I think, all the Parties should make efforts about it. As far as science and technology are concerned, I don't think we have any option but to have uniform syllabi. Sir, I was shocked to read in the Draft Policy that the common curriculum will be only up to the extent of 75 per cent. This percentage should be increased. I don't say that whatever I say is the Gospel truth. It is my opinion. But we should have a dialogue on this also as to what minimum change we should have in the curriculum because it is going to affect the nation's spirit of integration. And keeping this thing in view, they should frame the curriculum up to the 10th class. They should be practically uniform throughout the country with minor variations.

Sir, now I come to the next thing that is the books, I know of a few States where the books presented to the students in primary classes and middle classes or even in high school classes look very reprehensible and the contents are erroneous. There are hundreds of mistakes, factual as well

as printing mistakes. There must be a central agency or the State agencies should be under the direct guidance of the central agency which is responsible for producing good books are attractive to the boys, which are attractive to the children and which give you an incentive to read them. Therefore, half of the battle is won if only we can improve the quality of books, the get-up the printing, and the contents.

Sir, now I come to vocationalisation of education. I am of this opinion that this country is 80 per cent agriculture-based and, therefore, the basic facts about agriculture, the modern technologies which we are trying to give to the farmers to improve the yield should be given in small doses and right from the primary classes. It should be told to the boys as to what the different types of water are and how do they affect the crop. They should be told about the advantages of fertilizers and about the organic fertilizers. Such things which are relevant to their life, which are relevant to their environment should be also included in the primary classes. There is a suggestion that the break-up of the first ten years of study should be 5+3+2. I feel that the break-up should be 4+4+2 and after the fourth year in the fifth class the vocational education in minor doses should be started. The dignity of manual labour should be right from the 5th Class and some minor hand-work should be included in their syllabus so that by the time he reaches the tenth class, a student is equipped with efficiency in a trade or with a skill in some job so that he can make himself a good worker and not a burden to the society. It will not be out of place to mention here that the plus 2 stage, after the tenth class, should be rather a bit of more specialisation in say, skills, trades or crafts so as to make a boy or a girl eligible to enter the industrial sector. If this thing can be done, I think we will have a set of young men and women, who will not be groping in the dark but doing some constructive work,

supplementing the income of their homes, making themselves useful members of the society and thus saving us from a lot of troubles which are the net product of useless young men and women roaming about aimlessly in the countryside or in the cities or elsewhere in this country. This criteria of making life useful for a young man or a young woman, is fully satisfied in this draft. Now, the only question is how to implement it ?

Now, Sir, I would like to say something after the plus 2 stage, the university level. At the plus 2 stage there is a reference that there should be a vocational training and pure education. This should be given a thought again. I am of the opinion that every one should be given a training in some skill and none should be denied the advantage of reading up to the 12th stage generally as it was earlier. The product by the end of 12 years should be a person who knows a little about everything and is fit enough to understand if certain complicated problems arise before him. After the plus 2 stage at the university level, I had put up this thing earlier also, that in India climatic conditions are such that our boys and girls become more mature than the boys and girls of colder countries, near about 2 years earlier, and the rate of growth of our mind and physical body is much faster because of the climatic conditions throughout the country, and therefore, I feel that the entry age should not be six, but five at the school and a man or a woman should not be made to read beyond the age of 22 years for a degree. If we take these things into consideration, at 17 or 18 he passes out at the plus two stage and then all the study up to the degree or M.A. should be completed in five years, four or five years and not more. At present the conditions are slightly different. We have got three years pass. The Delhi University has 3 years honours course. And if one has one pass course, he has to put in one more year for honours course, then two years of M.A. course; then one year of Pre

Ph. D. course and Ph. D. course years are known. I feel that whatever is to be taught, as far as curricular examination base is concerned, it should be completed by this stage and young man or woman goes right up to degree class. In other universities, in foreign universities, they have got this system and it is working very well there. It can work here also. The difference between the honours and pass course should be abolished. The syllabi of M.A. course should be transferred to the degree course and a part of degree course should be transferred to plus-two stage. This is what I feel. It is in greater interest of the nation, of the young men and women and ultimately of all of us. Beyond degree course, M.A. should be purely by research and there should be a time span of one year or two years and after that, Ph. D., or D.Sc., or D.Lit which one may or may not do; there is absolutely no difference because once you know how to do research and know how to tackle a problem, then it is absolutely unnecessary; it depends upon your own work what you are presenting to the faculty or to the community or to the nation in terms of your own production, your own contribution in the form of papers and books that you publish. Unnecessarily keeping young men and women in the universities or colleges is an ultimate loss to the nation. This should be taken care of.

Here I refer to one thing more. We have accepted as a national policy that all students who, due to some various factors—economic or otherwise—had to drop out at some stage in their education, they should be given an opportunity to compensate and acquire more knowledge as and when they like. This is the main function of the open university, Indira Gandhi open University. Only one thing I will say to the hon. Minister. Earlier we complete all the formalities and infrastructure and implement all the subjects up to the degree level and diploma course under this university in all regional languages, the better it is. Even if it entails

[Shri M. P. Kaushik]

a bit more work on the officers concerned, it is a necessity simply because this again is an integrating force. This is an absolute necessity for those, who for reasons not within their command had to be away from the stream of learning to get a chance to improve their capacity, their capability, their quality and ultimately to better human beings. This is an absolute necessity and a greater pace should be given for the implementation and working of this Indira Gandhi Open University in the greater interests of the nation.

In the end I will supplement that if these criteria are taken into account and this draft policy is considered *in toto*, no reasonable person will have any objection to this broad policy framework. I am happy that details are yet to be worked out and for that, my submission is that all sections of society, the opposition parties, the teachers, should be consulted in actual framework of implementation of these policies. With these few words, I commend this draft policy and request my hon. friends in the opposition benches to come forward with positive suggestions to improve upon it, if any, or to give their wholehearted support for its implementation.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, really I am very glad today for the opportunity given to me to express my feelings, specially on this document, national policy on education. Before I begin to speak, I would ask a question of the hon. Minister for Human Resource Development. As a person who is coming from the southern part of the country, we know fully well that he is aware of the feelings of the people coming from the South. I know him for the past ten years, as a Member of this House or the other House.

Sir, my hon. friend from the other side who spoke just before me has sought the co-operation of all parties in the Opposition; he said

that they should extend their support to it. He expressed his views on the various things mentioned in this national policy on education. I welcome this Bill, especially certain items.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: This is not a Bill, this is only a policy document.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Yes. This is what I said. This is what I meant. Sometimes, by slip of the tongue, we make mistakes. To err is human. As I said I welcome certain things like early childhood education, improving the facilities in schools and the standard of education.

Sir, before I begin, before I go into the details of the various things contained in the national policy on education, I would like to ask one question. Are we going to consider this entire country as one nation? This is number one. Are we going to give importance to each and every State? India is a country which has got so many languages spoken by the people in the various States. There are fifteen national languages in the country. As far as my State is concerned Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, Tamil is the mother-tongue of the people of Tamil Nadu, spoken by about 5-6 crores of people. As far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned about 7-8 crores of people speak Telugu which is their mother-tongue. When these people are speaking different languages, I do not know how you are going to implement what all is contained in the document.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: What about West Bengal?

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: When I speak something about language, naturally, I will first speak about my language, namely, Tamil. Then, I will speak about the language of the person sitting nearer me. Of course, Mr. Gurupadaswamy is here. I have forgotten him, even

though he is sitting next to me. He comes from Karnataka, where Kannada is their mother-tongue, spoken by about four-five crores of people. Similarly, in the case of my friends from West Bengal Bengali is spoken by about five crores of people. Each and every language has got its own history. Now, as far as my mother-tongue is concerned, Tamil is a very ancient language. When people in Europe or America were uncivilised, civilisation was in an advanced stage in Tamil Nadu. India as such was known for its advanced system of administration and the extent of development of the people. In this, Tamil Nadu occupied a special place. It was very famous for the artistic skill of its craftsmen. When this is the past tradition and history of that part of the country from where I come, when my language has a hoary past, when my forefathers have been speaking a particular language, namely, Tamil, how can I accept when you come forward and say that only one language, namely, Hindi, along with a foreign language, namely, English, should be adopted through the whole country, by means of this national policy on education?

I know, the hon. Minister will have ready-made answers for all these things. I would ask him, what happened to the three-language formula which was evolved in 1968 as part of the education policy at that time? Did we not have a national policy in regard to the implementation of the three-language formula? First of all, you should find out whether you are in a position to implement the three-language formula through the country. That is why, in the beginning, I said each and every language is spoken by more than four-five crores of people. If all the 75 crores of people were speaking only one language, namely, Hindi or any other language, then, whatever is contained in this document would have been commended and approved by all the people in this country. As I said, there are

fifteen languages, national languages, in the country. No language is superior to any other language. In fact, I can go to the extent of saying that Tamil has an ancient past. It was born before the birth of mud and stone. Actually, we do not know when it was born. It has a hoary past. Writers and poets have written about the glory of Tamil language. When this is the position, how can you impose a particular language in the name of national language or official language or in the name of three-language formula? If you do so, a person coming from the southern part of the country or for that matter the people speaking different languages other than Hindi will feel that they are being treated as second-class citizens in the name of implementing the national policy on education. How can you come forward to implement three-language formula? Do you remember Mr. Minister just eight to ten years before when we were discussing language policy on the floor of the Lok Sabha, in the year 1978, so many persons including the persons from Janata Party as well as Congress Party, were telling that they are going to introduce one South Indian language in the schools of the northern part of this country. Some persons said that they would learn one South Indian language and, therefore we should read Hindi in the Southern Parts. But, Sir, as far as my knowledge goes and I think it is correct also that in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh they are following only one language formula. They are completely avoiding English as well as teaching of one of the South Indian languages, they are teaching only Hindi. They have adopted only one-language formula, whereas the Southern States have adopted the three-language formula. In the State from where my friend Shri Upendra is coming, they can follow the three-language formula but we, the persons coming from southern part, have got a separate civilization and we will never accept this particular three-language

[Shri. R. Mohanaragam]

formula. We know what our language is. We know what the essence of Indian language is. That is why in our State we have formulated a two-language formula. We allow other persons to read in their mother tongue. How do you say that our two-language formula State inferior status, inferior in standard or inferior in quality to other States which for namesake are implementing three-language formula? We will adopt only two-language formula, English and Tamil, one in our regional language and the other is English. For the persons whose mother tongue is not Tamil they are allowed to read in their mother tongue and other language is English. As far as my State Tamil Nadu is concerned, Tamil and English will be included in our two-language formula.

Secondly, Sir, you have stated about Navodaya schools. Since I do not know Hindi, I do not understand the meaning of 'Navodaya', but from the speech of the earlier speaker I could make out that 'Navodaya' means they are going to give good quality education for the students who are coming from the rural areas. I too understand, persons who are coming from rural areas are not either given an opportunity to learn or given good standard of education. Do you know, Mr. Minister, there are two types of education here? Even amongst the students who study English, there are two varieties of English being taught to them, one is in the convent schools run by Churches like the Colombia school or some other school and the other is in Board schools, corporation schools or some other schools where poor students are studying. Our Minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, has studied in the former type of schools, that is why they have good standard of English. (Interruptions). All the persons who have reached the sixtieth year have studied only in English medium schools. They have studied in schools where English was taught by English-

knowing professors and now English is taught by persons who do not know English.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri M.P. Kaushik) in the Chair]

That is why I say, two standards of English are taught.

What type of English you want to teach in whole of the country? Don't you think, Mr. Minister, that mother tongue is the best language through which we can study the whole thing? When you will give less importance to language and more importance to the subject, you will reach the target, the goal, which you have mentioned in this National Policy of Education. That is why I will not agree if you come forward to say that you are going to give good standard of education for the persons who are coming from rural parts of the country. How are you going to give good education for the persons who are coming from rural areas? You are going to start one modern school in each and every district. Take Andhra Pradesh, because your knowledge about Andhra would be more than my State. How are you going to implement this when you have only English and Hindi in Kurnool district? Come to my area. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN
(SHRI: M.P. KAUSIK): Please do not interrupt.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM:
Sir, you should not deduct this time from my allotted time. (Interruptions). I am coming to that point. I am one of those persons who belong to southern part, who have been branded as second grade citizens of the country. And my friend also should know, Sir, that India means not Hindi. We have got 15 important languages. I will tell you, my language was born 5000 years ago, even before the birth of... (Interruptions) whereas your language was born only 200 years before. I do not want to create any complications, I do not have any animosity to-

wards your language, but your language was born only 200 years ago on the banks of river Ganges without having any literature. You have only Tulsī and Ramayana, whereas we have got Thirukkural, Tolkappiyam and all those things. We have got a whole history, we have got a fine literature. You have to live 2000 years to have that. How can you blame us, how can you compel us, how can you ask us to learn your language there?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK): Mr. Mohanarangam, please address the Chair. Don't face him at all.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: So you want to give better and good standard education to persons coming from the rural side. You start a Model School at Kanjeevaram in Chengalput district. How are you going to give that standard of knowledge of English to the persons coming from the rural areas. In which language will you give it? In English? How do you know that they will have that standard of English to learn those subjects in high school? In which language will they learn? Unless and until you know all these things and also ask them to learn through their mother-tongue, you cannot implement this. If you are expected to learn through a foreign language, the advantages and disadvantages are equally distributed. The importance of a language should not, will not, cannot be at the expense of the other language. So it is that through the backdoor you want to impose Hindi language in the name of Model Schools in almost all the districts in the country. We will never accept this. Only the regions where Hindi is the mother tongue, Hindi is the regional language will accept this. We will never accept this.

Number three, you have also mentioned in the National Policy of Education that you want to strengthen the unity and integrity of the

nation. For promoting unity of the country it is necessary that the text books should include all persons who have suffered for our freedom movement. Don't you remember, Mr. Minister, that a week ago on the floor of Parliament you mentioned that government will not come forward to give text books for the entire country because Government of India cannot do so. You will ask private individuals to give the text books, using this syllabus. If that is the case, how can you say that persons belonging to the entire country will write a book about freedom struggle and freedom fighters who fought for the freedom of the country? If you just give permission to Hindi-speaking persons, they will write about Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad and other. They will never come forward to write about Chidambaram or Bharati.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO: Mr. Mohanarangam, that is the idea. They should know the names, the particulars of the freedom fighters from every part. That we are going to take from you.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: I am coming to that. The States should be allowed to write their books, States should be allowed to have education in the State List. That is why the framers of the Indian Constitution who were more intelligent came forward to include education in the State List. But you persons in the year 1976, in the name of the Forty-second Amendment completely excluded education from the State List and entered it in the Concurrent List. The States should be given more powers with regard to having enough schools imparting good quality education to persons coming from different parts of the rural areas of this country. Then what has happened to the proposal for an All India Education Service? You are going, Sir. I want to speak in your presence.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: He is turning his back on education.

SHRI. R. MOHANARANGAM: I know Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee who is sitting very near to me here. They wanted an all-India educational service called Indian Education Service. We have allowed Indian Administrative Service to a certain extent for the simple reasons that we wanted some uniformity in the administration. There are persons without the knowledge of the regional language who are appointed as IAS officers in Madras and other places and for the first two or three years they suffer, without knowing the language spoken by the people of that particular area. Even if you adopt the Indian Education Service, a person who knows some language like Hindi, Bengali or some other language--because he asked not to mention Bengali, I will say some other language--if he goes to Madras or Andhra Pradesh or some other place in the name of Indian Education Service and takes up the post of a Professor or Lecturer in one of the Tamil colleges, how can he teach our students when he knows only Hindi and English whereas we study only in Tamil there? That is why there should be a compulsory standard of education, a compulsory rule, and every State should prescribe that only a particular language should be studied and, along with that, English is to be studied: Tamil would study Tamil and English a Telugu student should study Telugu and English and, likewise, a Hindi speaking student should study Hindi as well as English. Then only you can create a nation, the Indian Union. Otherwise you will create only the United States of India. If you want to have the Union of India, all the regional languages should be given importance along with one important language, namely, English.

My friends may say that English is a foreign language. As far as my

knowledge goes and as a student of Constitutional History, I can say, when the Anglo-Indian community has been accepted as one of the Indian communities, why cannot English, which is their mother-tongue, be accepted as an Indian language? Why should you not accept English as one of the Indian languages? After all, everything is a man-made manifestation: we have created our Constitution, we have written our own Constitution. Why should we not include English as one of the Indian languages when it is spoken by crores and crores of people in this country? Did not Jawaharlal Nehru come forward and say that unless and until non-Hindi speaking people accept that English should not be our language and Hindi be our official language, Hindi can only be an associate national language? When are you going to accept this?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Finally you have succeeded in accepting it.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: No, we have not; never we will be. I belong to a party where we cannot sell our convictions, principles, policies, objectives—anything. We are not Communists; we are in the AIADMK. So, when I say something about the IAS officers, we are completely ignored. As far as our country is concerned, adoption of this Indian Education Service should be completely avoided.

I am very glad to say that our party welcomes the autonomous colleges. We have got autonomous colleges in Madras. The Loyola College and the Madras Christian College we have are very good private autonomous colleges. We have very good private polytechnics and colleges there which are very very successful. We agree about autonomous colleges.

In the year 1968 when they gave the National Education Policy, they had stated that six per cent of the total income of this country should be spent for educational purpose.

But never have they sent, so far, even one per cent of the total income of this country on that. I do not know when they are going to reach this six per cent of the total income of the country. What about the standard of education, what about the school buildings? They can spend crores and crores of rupees on school buildings, improvement in the standard of schools and standards of the students. They say this country is one but they ask the State Government to spend the entire money on education. When they want to have everything in the Concurrent list why should they not spend money through the LIC which other-wise spends a lot of money, invests a lot of money, for the development of so many industries? When you consider that education is one of the main things, then the LIC should be made to spend crores and crores of rupees for the development of education, for the construction of school building and for giving more facilities.

Considering all these things, Sir, in my opinion, unless and until this Policy on Education removes the aspiration that India should read only the Hindi language, unless and until it completely removes their wishes that Hindi alone can rule this country or that Hindi alone can save this country, this country cannot move forward, this country will never go forward. I can give you one simple instance. Just two or three weeks back there was a notification from a Union Ministry to all the Central Government departments stating that here after wards all the delegations of the Central Government, Parliament, Parliament's representatives and official representatives should converse with their counterparts in foreign countries only in Hindi. Is it just, Sir? When I go to a foreign country--we are never sent to foreign countries but when we go by accident--if I have to speak to my counterpart in that country only in

Hindi, how I can speak when I do not know that language? That means, I am completely deprived of my privileges. That means, we have got only one citizenship, namely, the Indian citizenship. But in other countries, especially in the United States of America, they have dual citizenship. They are the citizens of California and also they are the citizens of the United States of America. But I cannot say that I am a citizen of Madras. I can only say that I am a citizen of India because there is only one citizenship in our Constitution.

If that is the case, I am pointing out, Madam, to you I do not know how we are going to implement this. When you came forward, already we came forward. This was passed in the Lok Sabha. Now you have brought it here in Rajya Sabha. You are going to start too many schools. Even on that day the Minister for Human Resource pointed out that they have not given any instruction to the State Government to start or give any help to start model schools in each of the districts. Afterwards I came to know that they have sent letters two months before to almost all the State Governments asking them to select suitable places for construction of buildings especially to accommodate model schools. When that will be the case, this country will definitely become a slave.

There was a time, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, just fifty years before or thirty years before or before the Independence and most of the persons will definitely know and you will also be well aware of the fact that there were persons in our country who used to say "I am a product of the Oxford University I am a product of the Cambridge University." Also they went to the extent of saying, "I do not know Hindi, I do not know Tamil, I do not know Telugu. I know only English." They were only proud of that. A time will

[Shri. R. Mohanarangam]

come, if we implement this, I want all, including my friends from the southern parts of this country, including Mr. Upendra who wants, who welcomes this three-language formula, when in further after fifteen years almost all persons will say, "I am a student of the Uttar Pradesh University. I am a student of the Bihar University. I am a student of the Delhi University." They will be proud that they belong to that University. They will never be proud of telling that they belong to the Andhra University, that they belong to the Madras University, that they belong to the Venkateshwara University. They will never come forward to say like that. They will say that they are products of the Bihar University, the Uttar Pradesh University, the Madhya Pradesh University, the Delhi University because they will study in Hindi. Hindi will have that prominence. Hindi will have that importance.

SHRI D.B. CHANDRA GOWDA (Karnataka): Why did you not mention Mysore ?

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: If I say almost all the 22 States, my time will be over. That is why I mentioned one or two States.

SHRI D.B. CHANDRA GOWDA: Mysore, you add.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM : About the Mysore University, the Karnataka University, almost all the Universities, Sir, that will be the case. *(Time bell rings)*

Only half of the time I have consumed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK): How much more time do you need ?

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: If you give me half-an-hour more,

I will speak. What is my time? How much time have I taken so far ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri M. P. Kaushik) : Your time is over.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM:

My time is over. That is the case, Sir. That is why I ask Mr. Narasimha Rao, through you, Sir that they have to completely remove this three-language formula, this idea of creating the Indian Education Service, the idea of having 40 model schools, the idea of creating the Navodaya Schools in the name of completely removing the disparity among students whether rural or urban. I want them to introduce or to start almost all the schools with the language of that particular area as the medium of Instructions along with English. For example, if it is Andhra Pradesh it should be Telugu and English, if it is Tamil Nadu it should be Tamil and English, if it is Mysore, Canarese and Hindi. Like that in almost all the States they can introduce their own language along with English, whereby we can create a very pleasant and colourful atmosphere throughout the country, and also before the world we can say that we are the products of the Indian University and that no student from different universities of the world can compete with us. Like that we can create, but they cannot.

They want unification of India, but they want to introduce Hindi. How could that be ? That is the same question for the past so many years.

If I speak in Tamil Sir, I am a very good speaker in Tamil—I can speak well in Tamil, not in other languages.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK): You are a very good speaker in English also.

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM: Sir, I am one of the best speakers in Tamil. If I begin to speak in Tamil Sir, nobody can...

श्री कल्पनाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
आप तमिल में बोलिये हम सुनना चाहते
हैं । (व्यवधान)...

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM:
Correct. My dear man,...

4 P.M.

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
हमलोग तमिल में सुनना चाहते हैं आप
बोलें तो सही ।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : हम तमिल में सुनना
चाहते हैं । इससे कहिए कि बोलें । मैं
तमिल में सुनना चाहता हूँ ये तमिल में
बोलें ।

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM:
I can compete with any person but
I cannot compete with any person
who is bigger than me in size. But,
anyhow, Sir, the main thing is if I
speak in Tamil I challenge today
nobody can interpret or translate
my Tamil into English, because
if I begin to speak in Tamil nobody
can understand.

Now, I would like to ask a
very specific question: What do you
mean by the word 'language'? Lang-
uage is a source through which I am
transmitting my feelings to another
individual. If I speak in Tamil
I cannot transmit my feelings to Mr.
Kalpanath Rai because that cannot
be transmitted. You will not allow the
transaction of the proceedings going
on in different languages other than
English at the same time.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : मैं सुनना चाहता
हूँ तमिल में, आप तमिल में बोलिए,
मैं अंग्रेजी नहीं समझता हूँ ।

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM:
Don't think that you are the only
predominate community to enter
India. We arrived in this country
and had our civilization here when
this country was occupied by
uncivilised citizens. I can speak in
speak in Tamil, but because, as I
told you just now, a language is to
be understood by all. The improve-
ment of language should not be
at the expense of another language.

38o R.S.—9

While travelling by air from Madurai
to Madra both the places are situa-
ted in Tamil Nadu—the air hostesses
intimate: 'all the passengers are re-
quested to fasten their belts' in Eng-
lish and then they say something
in Hindi. If both the languages
cannot be understood by passengers
who travel from Madras to Madurai,
since both the places are situated
in Tamil Nadu, why should we not
introduce Tamil there? Can you
keep quite if at all in flight from Delhi
to Uttar Pradesh, say to Lucknow or
somewhere else, the Air Hostess gives
this information in English and Tamil
language only. Will you keep quite
if they don't speak in Hindi. Mr.
Kalpnath will jump saying oh, Hindi
should also be used in the announce-
ments but I have to speak on the floor
of the House in a foreign language.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : तमिल में बोलो
भाई, मुझे अंग्रेजी नहीं आती ।

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM:
If I 'Bolo' in Tamil, you cannot un-
derstand my 'Bolo.' If the gentleman
who spoke there in Hindi for more
than half an hour had spoken in
English, I would have understood
everything. If he speaks in Hindi,
I would not understand anything.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : उपसभाध्यक्ष मुझे
अंग्रेजी नहीं आती है ।

THE VICE CHAIRMAN
(SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK): Please
sit down.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : क्यों सिट डाउन ।।
मुझे अंग्रेजी नहीं आती है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री एम. पी. काँशिक) :
आप हिन्दी में ट्रांसलेशन सुन लें ।

SHRI R. MOHANARANGAM :
Even what you said in Hindi was
not translated properly. You don't
know, Mr. Kalpnath Rai we are
second grade citizens in this country.
you can love me, you have got affec-
tion towards me, but what about the
practical point? When you intro-

[Shri. R. Mohanaragam]

duced this Bill, we are not the last generation of this world, why do you, unnecessarily introduce all these things? Let future generations introduce this education policy. That is why I say the framers of our Constitution were very intelligent people. They have given education to the States. I have got five crores of people in my State because it was a very big country once, bigger than Delhi. We have in our State five crore people who are speaking Tamil language. Why should we not talk to our people in our own language and one more language for our international use? Why should we come forward to learn one more language other than the two languages, whereas in Uttar Pradesh, where Mr. Kalpnath lives, they study only Hindi. They completely avoid English and avoid South Indian languages. If at all it should be done then to all the Indian citizens advantages and disadvantages should be equally distributed. Where it is not distributed, there is no use of bringing this policy on education. This is the backdoor through which they want to introduce their own language—Hindi—in our State which the five crore citizens of Tamil Nadu have never accepted, it will never be accepted by our generations after generations. They will not study this particular language, if at all you introduce this language in Tamil Nadu. We will never accept it. We will definitely throw everything to the winds. Considering the unity and integrity of the nation and also on behalf of good people of this country I have to say that if this country wants to be one and if this country is the only country from rocky bed Himalayas to sacred Kanyakumari, this National Education Policy can be introduced only in English as well as in the mother tongue of the concerned State, but not in Hindi. If you use Hindi in our own State, then, this country will go to pieces. Thank you.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA
(Himachal Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-

Chairman, Sir, the debates on the National Policy Education, in my opinion, is one of the most important and significant subjects which have been discussed in Parliament in this session, because education as has rightly been described, liberates human beings from ignorance and oppression; and it is a continuous process which has been evolving during the course of history. This subject is of a great interest to all of us. We may speak in any language belonging to any part of the country. The debate was bound to generate both heat and light. But we have seen that heat when our hon. friend, Mr. Mohanaragam spoke before me and left the House. He has very skilfully avoided discussing the positive aspects of this policy and also positive features. He has only indulged in—if I am permitted to say so—a rhetoric or something like that which can only give rise to regional passions. I think this is very dangerous for the country's unity and also for understanding between our people in different regions of our country. Sir, education is not something which promotes individual skill only, but it also helps in preserving, promoting and creating an awareness about the cultural identity of a nation or society. It is not something which only helps us in doing away with ignorance or illiteracy, but also prepares people, society and nation to work for development and progress and is, therefore, connected with the future. In the past we have failed to give due importance to education. But I do not want to go into those details. Now for the first time something positive has emerged following a national debate. We have ignored this important subject earlier. There has been inadequate investment, improper utilisation and mobilisation of resources. It has been a sort of drift which has left our people confused and confounded. It has led to the growth of cynicism and unemployment. We have continued with those policies for a long time which are alien to us. We had

continued with a system which did not suit in the independent India. With this type of system, we cannot prepare our nation to meet the requirements in the field of science and technology, industry and agriculture. Today, we find a bold departure—a new policy, which is most innovative and pragmatic. I congratulate the Prime Minister and the Human Resource Development Minister Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao for having evolved a consensus having taken the opinion of our people through this national debate following the policy paper on education which was presented last year. They have correctly listed the priorities and have also admitted the flaws, failures and drawbacks which have been there in the past. Today, we need not go to statistics as to how many schools are there without black boards or teachers. The Government itself has done that. What is more important is that the Government is aware of the requirements and has declared its resolve to ensure universalisation of elementary education to eradicate illiteracy from the country and also to prepare our people to meet the present day requirements in the field of science and technology. Sir, had this not been done, we would have been heading for a very dangerous situation? On one hand, the system, with which we had continued with, was a system in which we were having universities and colleges churning out vast armies of unemployed youths. Since independence, we were only changing their character from uneducated unemployed to educated unemployed. There was this gap, this schism between our requirements as well as the preparations which we had for that. We have witnessed the expansion of the Industrial base in the country at a very rapid pace but on the other, there was a sort of mis-match which has been mentioned in the paper between the demand and supply of trained man-power in the country. This was a situation which had to be corrected and the correct emphasis has rightly been there on vocational

education. Sir, there are very many positive aspects in this new policy particularly in reference to our poor people, of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and women. The most significant aspect is the declared resolve to ensure equality in education and to give incentives to those who do not have easy access to formal education, to school education and in those areas where people have been suffering from poverty and backwardness which has led to a large number of drop outs which is a serious problem in our country. It is important for the Government to ensure that we do not only go in for opening schools but also ensure that those children, who go to these schools they continue studying there. Retention in Schools, is a very important requirement. If this is not done and if a national effort is not made, we all know that by the turn of the century, India will be having the largest number of illiterate young people in the world. I think it will come to about 54 per cent. And that is why the Government has decided to give the first priority to universalisation of elementary education by 1990. "Operation Blackboard" which has been referred to in this policy, I think, is going to be very useful, very purposeful and will help us in meeting this challenge. It is not important as to how we go about it; it is not necessary to generate the controversies which we have heard, the criticism which has come, because whenever any new policy is there, it generates a debate, hopes as well as criticism. This new policy has been viewed with expectations and hope on the part of those who are interested in seeing a strong and vibrant nation, a nation whose unity and integrity is not threatened, a nation where people, particularly the poor people, have easy access to education.

In this policy, another significant aspect is the stress on non-formal education. In my personal opinion, it is something which will go a long way in the removal of illiteracy. It is a heartening development that this

[Shri Anand Sharma]

non-formal education has been extended to higher education also, through the open university and by invoking—that is what the promise is—the modern informative technology. The modern informative technology is very important. There may be critics who will say that there is no need to invoke the media, the modern technology, in educating our people. But we need not wait if we have a way out. We need not wait for a decade or two decades if we can reach out to our people living in remote rural areas in a faster manner. And the media certainly influences the minds of people in a big way, particularly the young minds. I am happy that the Government is seized of this problem that those TV and radio programmes which might be militating against the education policy will be curbed or checked. But, as I have said, we, all know that education is a continuous process. We have education not only in schools but also in cinema-houses. We also have education through TV, through radio and, to some extent, even through commercial advertisements today. They too, influence the people, in a right manner or wrong manner, they, too, educate the people, particularly the school-going and college-going children and students. Here the national media can very well be described as irresponsible. It has promoted false values, values which are alien to us. The Government must ensure a comprehensive review in the case of commercial advertisements, TV programmes and particularly films. We all know effects of the commercialisation of the film industry. It has not only polluted our young minds but has failed to inculcate those values which could have given our young people a sense of belonging to one nation. There is mention of value-based education. But how are we going to achieve that? What we have seen so far is that in spite of the censorship being there, every day films are coming in which are spreading a cult of violence

and also spreading cynicism in the country. The Government must review this and ensure that the curbs are effective and meaningful.

Now coming to vocational education, what has been promised may not be adequate. But it is a good beginning. One thing the Government has to ensure. While providing technical education which is essential—I would not like to go into the debate as to from which standard—I think if it is introduced from 8th Standard, it will be the right thing to do. The Government can also consider doing the same after the primary school level. But for that, though the target is clear that 10% of the secondary schools will have facilities for vocational education by 1990 and another 15%—that is, 25%—by 1995, I have my doubts whether it will meet the requirements. We also have to consider the resources. It is not a question of providing facilities for vocational education. What is more important is to ensure that the training methods are updated, the approach should be innovative. We have ITIs in the country we have IITs in the country. I do not have the exact number of these institutions. We have in addition, the regional engineering colleges. But it is our misfortune that today when we have made giant strides in all the fields, the training equipment there is absolutely obsolete. Therefore, equally important is the training of teachers which finds a reference here. Unless and until we have trained teachers those who know or who are aware of the latests invention which have taken place in other parts of the world, we cannot fully benefit from this, particularly from the industrial revolution or the revolution of high technology and electronics which have overtaken the world today. Equally important in this field is to do away with the colonial hang-over in which only a white collared job is given respect. Our young people continue to suffer from that hang-over. We have perpetuated those values which are alien to

our system. Unless and until the dignity of labour is realised and respected and that can be done through education—we will not be able to derive the required benefits from this approach, from this scheme which in my opinion, was absolutely essential. It was essential for the Government to coordinate, to link, economic planning with educational planning, developmental planning with educational planning. And I congratulate the Prime Minister and the Government for having taken this initiative which will certainly go a long way not only in doing away with the problem of unemployment but also making our young people participants and partners in the developmental process, in the socio-economic reconstruction of the country.

I would like to draw the attention of the Government, especially Mrs. Rohatgi who is here, who was closely associated with the present policy which we have and with the nationwide debate which we had before this policy was formulated, and I would like to convey this to the Government that in the field of sports and sports education we have lagged behind what we have achieved so far in the field of sports is a matter of national shame and disgrace. An effort has been there for the last few years to promote sports. Parliament has been seized of this matter. The Government has been sincere in its efforts. But it is the improper implementation the same improper implementation which led also to our losing all the benefits which we could have had from the 1968 educational policy. Bureaucratisation has affected sports education. Sir, today we have an apex body for sports called the Sports Authority of India. We have the SNIPES Board. We have the National Institute of Sports. But what have we achieved? There is a total ban on the recruitment. No coaches, no individual who has been connected with sports can be recruited by the SAI. There has been a tug of war and leg-pulling going on between the bureaucrats in the Ministry. Some are favouring the NIS, some

SAI, some SNIPES Board. I would urge upon the Government to come down with a firm hand. If we want to promote physical education in the country, then we must ensure that the policy which is adopted by Parliament the policy of the Government, must be implemented in totality and anybody preventing the implementation anybody creating problems for that implementation, must be taken to task, whosoever that person of individual may be.

We are a big nation. We are proud of our heritage. We are above 800 million today. But we come back from the Olympics Games without a single medal. Sports in this country cannot develop if we have one apex body which is looking after only the stadia. Sir, this is any interesting situation, and I would like to draw your attention and the attention of the hon. Minister, the Government and the House, to the fact that we have an apex body which looks after only the stadia, we have another institution called the NIS which looks after the training. The coaches are under NIS. The stadia are under SAI. The development programme is with the SPNIPES Board. We must do away with all these institutions. We must have only one institution. I fail to understand, if there was the SAI, what was the justification for continuing another institution? Even if we continue with these institutions, they must come under one apex body so that there is no contradiction in approach we must have a policy to take physical education to the rural areas, particularly the villages. The money which we spend on organising meets in big cities and towns we can spend on constructing stadia and playgrounds in the rural areas. India has enough talent. There is no dearth of talent. What is required is to tap that talent of our young people, and we do hope that in future special attention will be paid in this particular field. (*Time bell rings*)

I will take just a couple of minutes more, Sir.

[Shri Anand Sharma]

I congratulate the Government for continuing with the N.C.C. and the participation of our students in other voluntary Organisations like the NSS. These certainly have played a very positive role so far. It is so far voluntary. It is not essential both N.C.C. and N.S.S. particularly in reference to N.C.C. Today, we have a situation when we face threats from external alien forces threats from across our borders. We have a situation when sophisticated weapons are being pumped across our border which are posing a serious threat to us. We have internal threat from those elements who have occasionally whipped up communal passions, who have not only injected the venom of communalism in our policy but have also introduced organised terrorism in our country. India does not have the resources to enter the arms race. In the last one decade, the defence spending of Pakistan and Sri Lanka have increased to a great extent. We have not gone in for that much of increase. In the case of Pakistan the increase in Army is alarming. It is in addition to their defence spending. I am talking of the numbers in the Army. Therefore, it would be the right thing on our part today if we make N.C.C. training for two years compulsory for every students. We should not give them training with those obsolete weapons. When I was in college, I was participating in N.C.C. activities. They used to give us 303 rifles. I personally feel that it is essential to give proper training. Also, we must give the type of training to our young people through N.C.C. which trains them about their constitutional duties towards the society.

Before I conclude, I would like to thank the Government for introducing a national system of education and for promising a uniform syllabi or uniform core curriculum. This is one aspect. The other aspect is that the Government is now making sincere efforts to streamline our education policy. It has generated a lot of heat. A lot of criticism has

been there. I personally feel that the criticism is unwarranted and unjustified. Mr. Nepaldev is not here. I think that the two friends from the opposition who have spoken earlier have not either understood properly the intention of the Government or there are political motives behind their criticism. Today, if we have national history as a part of our core curriculum, then where is the contradiction? What is the objection? Sir, we in India are those unfortunate people who have attained their independence after centuries of colonisation and centuries of centuries of struggle. The post-Independence generation in India has been cut off from its immediate past. This was not taught in the schools. They were not taught the history of their freedom struggle, the sacrifices of their ancestors. This has led to a situation where our young people have been weakened away from the national mainstream. They have become victims of communal passions, parochial passions whipped up by individuals who were men of small stature and who have, because of their political motives, created such a situation. Of course, such men, by the strength of their personality or stature, could not emerge as leaders of India. They are the ones we have to be cautious about. The Government has nowhere said that the regional language or the regional culture, diverse culture of India, will be done away with. Nobody can do that. In fact, this policy paper clearly mentions that all efforts will be made to foster, to promote understanding amongst our young people and students about the diverse culture in different parts of the country. It is in this context Sir, that the talk of concurrence comes in. My friends who have spoken before me, particularly, Mr. Molanarangam—I am taking his name time and again; it is unfortunate that he is not here now...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M.P. KAUSHIK) : He is not here. You conclude now.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA : I am concluding in just two minutes, Sir. But Mr. Mohanaragam mentioned, Sir, about the lack of wisdom on the part of the Government, and questioned why Education was brought on Concurrent List. I for one, and every nationalist, every patriotic Indian will thank the Government of India particularly our late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, for that Constitutional Amendment which brought Education on the Concurrent List. Sir, in the absence of that, as long as Education had been there on the State List, our students faced the difficulty, in addition to the problem created by the distortions in national history. The syllabus had been such that our young people, if they were educated in one particular region of the country or in one particular State, in the rest of the country their degrees were not recognised. They found it difficult to come and work in other parts of the country. Sir, India is a Union of States. We have people everywhere from everywhere working in Government institutions and private organisations. The talk of taking our people away from the national mainstream particularly questioning the Education being brought under the Concurrent List is politically motivated. And nowhere there is interference as far as the rights of the States are concerned. It is a meaningful partnership. This is in fact, one of the areas in which the Union, the Central Government has taken upon itself more responsibility than power. It is a bigger responsibility on the Union. And about the introduction of the Navodaya Schools or the Central Schools which have been there, I do not know why such an apprehension is there. What are the reasons for that? As far as Navodaya Schools are concerned, Sir, we welcome this move. It ought to have been done long back. But the fact that we will have such schools in every district of the country will help in promoting, in strengthening the national unity and integrity.

The criticism that they will do away they will dilute our unity in diversity is unjustified because the policy paper itself says that this is what we actually intend to do—to promote that understanding. And in these Navodaya Schools, we will have students from all parts of the country. If there is a school, for example, in Haryana or in Uttar Pradesh, 20 per cent of the students will be from outside that State and from other parts of the country. If there is a school in Tamil Nadu, our young children from Punjab can be studying there, children from Delhi can be studying there. And the talk of the controversy which is linked to that of language is again unfortunate. Regarding these Navodaya Schools one thing more I would like to mention. It is not the first time that such a thing is happening. We are not doing away with the schools which have been set up by the State Education Department or the Central Schools for that matter. But it is only to give those young children, those who are highly talented, those who do not have an access to good schools, an opportunity to excel. In the past, Sir, in the ancient past we had these schools. Who has not heard of these seats of learning, Taxila and Nalanda? Scholars used to come from other parts of the world, when there were no aeroplanes; no jets or airbuses were there but scholars used to come. It is something which has been recorded in history. But in today's India when we have entered the space-age, when we have entered the nuclear age, when we talk of our heritage and our culture, why should not we continue, why should we not have something, which we had centuries ago?

Sir, one final request I would like to make regarding the Central School system. It has been our considered demand that the Central scheme system too should be expanded as I understand the Navodaya Schools and the Central Schools are different from each other. The Central schools also must be expanded. They should

[Shri. Anand Sharma]

not be confined only the children of the Central Government employees. Of course, they have a right, it is basically meant for them. But we should expand them. We should open more such schools. And these schools must be supplemented by central colleges and central universities. Otherwise, if we could give education in schools, if you teach the students about national requirements and national perspective in schools, what will happen after they come out from the schools? You have to supplement that by a central college system and central university system in every State. Unless and until we do that, promoting both formal and non-formal education, this two-track system and the State pattern and the Central Schools, unless and until we implement it, our future will be bleak. And, for that the Government must have a firm determination today when the question is about implementation. About resources, Sir, we all know that there is paucity of resources. Unfortunately, we have spent much less on education than we ought to have spent. We have hardly spent 3 per cent of our GNP, whereas the requirement as per the 1968 policy, if I am correct, was 6 per cent. From 1968 to 1986, it has been 3 per cent instead of 6 per cent as required in 1968. I think the requirement is much more today. But we are happy that the Government has assured us, the Government has assured the people that the resources will be mobilised. Those who are questioning that, I too have my doubts for that matter, we would like the Human Resource Development Minister to enlighten us about it as to how these resources will be mobilised. But one thing is there, implementation could not have preceded the policy. So first we have to appreciate that. We have to thank the Government for giving us this policy and it is also essential today, before I conclude now, the three-language formula must be implemented. There is a mention of link language in this policy paper, but which is that link language. I do not agree with those who have expressed

their fears or those who have tried to start a debate about it, about the language. If this is the three-language formula which finds a mention in the 1968 policy the Government should not be hesitant. We must make it clear how we are going to promote the link language. There are States which have done it. There is apprehension that it will entail only the domination of Hindi is factually incorrect. We all would like the students in our respective State to learn other Indian languages. Sir, I think Haryana is one State which has done it. There are other States also where similar attempts are going on. When we talk of the medium, first of all, what is important is the content and when the medium of instruction is there. I agree that the mother tongue or the local language is very important. But it does not mean that the other Indian languages cannot be taught along with the mother tongue. That is why, three language formula has been there which was accepted by the framers of our Constitution and the Government must assure the nation that the three-language formula will be implemented and there will be no deviation. Concurrence will be invoked in letter and spirit, and as a word of caution, for proper implementation, over-bureaucratisation will be checked and will be avoided. Thank you.

SHRID.B. GHANDRAGOWDA:

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am thankful to you for giving me the opportunity to speak on this very important, rather the policy document on education. A man of rich resources, in charge of human resources, has presented this document or our comments. Looking to the history of education in India, I have no hesitation to say that it does not lack policy papers but education in India is in a mess because there is not enough and sufficient money. Answer to reform education is clearly more important than the matter of issuing a policy paper. There was nothing wrong in the papers presented earlier, more particularly the policy of 1968; but much more lies in its implementation.

I have gone through the document very carefully and I have heard the speeches of the previous speakers on the floor of this august House. I welcome certain aspects of it and more particularly the rapid universalisation of elementary education, eradication of illiteracy, strengthening of pre-primary education for children, vocational education, greater concern for social justice, teachers' education, delinking of degrees from job creation of district institutes of education and training, and value-based education, and so on and so forth.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal) In the Chair]

Sir, educational institutions, qualitatively, are coming down; their quality is eroding to the level of non-existence, particularly at the lowest level. On the contrary, there is an increasing trend for privatisation not only in the professional education but at the level of primary education also. Parents pay 15 to 20 thousand rupees to get their child admitted to a reputed institution, more particularly the Convents and they try to use all possible political pressures to get a seat. On the contrary, Government schools are being closed and if we take into account the data of Kerala many of the Government institutions have closed down and in their place, private institutions have come up. That is not the case in Kerala alone I have in the headquarters of the State for a number of years and this is my experience. In order to be able to get a job for the child, we try to get a seat for him in reputed schools. But unless we strengthen our primary schools and create confidence in the Government-run schools this policy document has no meaning. What does the hon. Minister, rather the Human Resource Minister, what to say on Universalisation of elementary education? What does he mean by this? Does he assure this House and through this House, the nation, that there shall not be a school without a building? Does he assure that there shall

not be a school without a black board? Does he assure that there shall not be a school without benches? Does he assure that there shall not be a school where there are teachers? I would like to ask him: does he take care and convince the parents that no child will keep away from education, particularly, at the lowest level, for want of food, for want of clothing, for want of books. Does he mean this? Does he propagate this theory through this document? What does he mean by this? Sir, we should be ashamed of the reality, after three and a half decades of giving the Constitution upto ourselves, in the year 1950, solemnly assuring the people of India that within the next ten years, there shall not be a child, up to the age of 14 years, who does not have education. We assured our people that there shall be free and compulsory education as per the directive principle of the Constitution, article 45. But what is the position today? The number of illiterates in India is more than the population of India at the time of Independence. If you take into account the population of India at the time of Independence and compare it with the illiteracy figure, you find that the number of illiterates today is more than the population at that point of time. The national average of literacy is of the order of 36 per cent and it varies from State to State. In Kerala, it is 69.5 per cent. Tamil Nadu about 47 per cent. Karnataka 38 per cent. More appalling is the position in regard to women literacy. It is hardly 24.18 per cent. This is the position three and a half decades after we have given the Constitution upto ourselves.

Sir, when we speak about compulsory education, if you look at the position of Government schools that are run in different villages, particularly, you find more than half of the primary schools lack permanent buildings. About one-third do not have any mats for the children to sit, let alone benches. About 40 per cent have not blackboards. I do not know what is meant by this 'Operation Blackboard' mentioned in this document. Fifty

[Shri. D. B. Chandra Gowda]

per cent of them have no materials. Seventy per cent of them have no books. I would like to cite an example here as to how education or this policy document becomes a myth unless the realities are taken into consideration. What is the reality? An experiment was conducted in Karnataka, in the last two years. The number of registered students under primary education was about 56 lakhs. The Government of Karnataka introduced two schemes to supply free textbooks and two sets of uniforms. People laughed at us. Many people said that this is a populist measure. But what is the truth of the matter? The naked truth has come out this year. We distributed textbooks and clothes to 75 lakh students, where as the number of registered students under primary education was, as I said, about 56 lakhs.

This 75 lakhs indicates or gives a clear picture of the naked truth that is prevailing in the nation at large. The unfortunate 20 lakhs of students could not come to the schools for want of text books, for want of clothing. This is the appalling situation the nation has and what is it that you want to universalise? Are you going to universalise illiteracy? Universalise what? Take care of those boys, tell them that no child will suffer for want of food. Tamil Nadu's experiment of mid-day meals has attracted lakhs and lakhs of students. Today economic consideration is the foremost for a child not to attend or get into the school. That is the reason why 64 per cent of the population till today in India is illiterate and the World Bank record says, by the end of 2000 A.D. India will have an illiterate population of the order of 50 crores and you talk of universalisation of primary education. I would like to know this from the hon. Minister of Human Resource Development. He is a man of rich resources, of varied experience himself. He has been the Minister of Education himself, he has been the Chief Minister and he has held so

many portfolios at the national level. He is a man of thinking, a man of wide knowledge and experience. Would he translate this taking into consideration the basic foundations from where the education has to be built?

Coming to the drop outs, 1/5th children do not get into schools for want of clothes and for want of text books. Even among those who get into schools 70 per cent of the children, what they call, are drop outs. Why? It is because of the appalling poverty. These children are the earning hands of the poor parents. They feel more comfortable with their parents to earn something. Unless this Government assures them the supply of free clothing, free text books and a mid-day meals, this policy will remain a paper policy only for another few decades to come.

Sir, the need of the hour, I feel, is skill, exploiting support-based primary education, vocationalised secondary education and professionalised higher education. What does modern education mean? What does education to the modern society mean? I would require an elucidation, clarity from the hon. Minister.

Sir, there should be a political will, just not the policy statement. There should be a financial support. There should be an administrative sincerity and honest committed teachers, willing parents. Sir, parents provide the human resources and Government should provide the basic infrastructure. The teacher should provide the finished products to be utilized by the nation in future. Even after the education was added to the Concurrent list in 1976, has the situation improved? What is that the Central Government has done? Even certain policy papers passed by the State Governments are pending clearance. Even to this day the education policy of the Karnataka State enunciated in the Education Bill is pending clearance. Financial support did not come from the Centre. In the First Five Year Plan, the alloca-

tion was of the order of about 7.5%. By the Seventh Plan, it came down to hardly 2%. Worse still is, if you look to the last year's budget it is hardly 1% of the total 18,000 crores of budget, a little more than 1% maybe about 1.5% or 1.6%. It has not touched the figure of 2%. But the recommendation is that minimum 6% of GNP should be utilised for the purpose of education. And if you go outside India, the percentage spent on education is more than 8 to 10% on an average and more than 30% in some cases. And the recommendation of Kher Committee is that the States should spend 30% and the Centre 10% from the total budgetary provision.

There could not be a common curriculum. I am coming down to curricula. I am really surprised to see the suggestion of uniform curricula keeping the diversity of India in view. The greatest quality of Indian Nation is unity in diversity. Don't try to break it. Every State has its own identity. Every State has its own heritage. Every State has its own customs. Every State has its own line of thinking. So my submission is broad curricula should be set up, the model should be given by the Central Government, but there shall not be and there cannot be common curricula for the whole of the nation. The Centre could give a framework and the rest of the thing could be filled up by the State Governments, suiting to their own convenience.

A special reference has been made in this particular document about 10+2+3 formula. I feel it is almost an accepted formula. It has run very well. I don't think there is any wisdom in meddling with this. A suggestion is there that 10 years primary education should be divided into 5 years of primary education, 3 years of pre-primary education and 2 years of higher education—high school education. That was the original media of instruction or the method we had. Now for the last almost 20 years, 7 years has been the set pattern.

Now if you want to split up, it does not suit the entire country to have a new administrative set-up and a new teaching pattern. Why do you meddle with the whole set-up? Let it continue. I do understand that children upto IVth standard should be thrown open to learning of knowledge. After IVth standard, they could be given history, geography, language and so many other things. My feeling is that there should not be any meddling so far as this 7+3 is concerned. Yes, we can think of vocationalisation after the VIIIth standard or even after the Xth standard. This document is conveniently silent about the medium of instruction. I do not find it anywhere, I could not lay my hand on the medium of instruction. The teaching shall be only through the regional language; only the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction. I do not want to go deep into the matter. I will just leave it at that.

Sir, now I want to mention specially about the examination system. The present examination system has recently cost one Chief Minister, one Governor of a State and one Vice-Chancellor of a University their jobs. It may cost many more their jobs. Before it costs or takes away many more people their jobs, try to remodel the examination system. I do not want to go into the details.

So far as the Navodaya Schools are concerned, the question that the honourable Minister has to answer is whether India needs elite, aristocratic instruction such as in the public schools or he wants to have institutions at the lowest level, as I said, at the primary school level. I feel we could avoid elitism and snobbery which is the offshoot of a public school education. What is required is more residential schools where there will be a better relationship between the teacher and the taught.

One sentence about the teacher. Sir, I feel the mistake of a doctor lies buried in the grave, the mistake of the engineer lies cremated in the

[Shri D. B. Chandra Gowda]

bricks, the mistake of a lawyer lies in lies but the mistake of the teacher reflects on the nation. Therefore, a teacher of sound knowledge, inspiring character, a scholar, a qualified man who should have a respectable living should not only be looked for but, if necessary, should be trained.

Sir, before concluding I should, once again, rather thank the honourable Minister and hope that he, as a man of varied and rich experience in charge of the Ministry of Human Resources Development, would certainly try to translate the thinking into action and also hope the Government of India will come to his aid and assistance to provide money as he has envisaged. The universalization of education and eradication of illiteracy by 1990 or 1995, as he has thought of, would require finances of the order of Rs. 6,500 crores. I hope and trust that honourable Minister would make good use of these Rs. 6,500 crores and assure the nation a new era and the new Education Policy would give a new generation to the future India. Thank you very much.

SHRI VISHWA BANDHU GUPTA (Delhi) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister of Human Resources, through you, and congratulate the Government, to start with, for considering education or educational policy a the core sector for India.

Sir, I believe that education is at the very heart of the matter for our development and the future of our nation. I commend the Government for setting out very laudable objectives in its preamble as the objectives of the education policy. I quote from Part III—National System of Education :

“The National System of Education will be based on a national curricular framework which con-

tains a common core along with other components that are flexible. The common core will include the history of India's freedom movement, the constitutional obligations and other content essential to nurture national identity.”

There are other matters which are mentioned in this as objectives, Sir. But I should like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to one point which has not been emphasised sufficiently, to my mind in this policy, and that is, we are not keeping as one of the main objectives of our education policy, building up of national pride, a pride in being a national of India, being an Indian. I would consider, Mr. Vice-Chairman that this is probably one of the essential things on which we should lay much greater emphasis.

One of the tragedies in independent India has been the systematic dismantling and erosion of the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in its manifestations which had found fervent expressions during the colonial rule and during the freedom struggle. Sir, there are few countries or states in the world, which do not find national pride in the means to foster a strong sense of cohesion, unity, security and philosophical strength. Practically every country, great or small, save India, involves, asserts and fortifies this sense, the small for survival and the great to retain its greatness. And I believe, Sir, that India, because of its remarkable diversity and size, needs national pride and patriotism more than any other country for its present and future well-being, for its existence.

Sir, in order to achieve this national pride in being an Indian and being proud of doing whatever we do as Indian, I believe, Sir, that we must catch the people young. This movement for national pride must start at an early stage, at the school level. We must try to inculcate a sense of pride in the flag of the country,

in its policies, in its future, right from the start, and this can be done at the level of the schools. There should be a regular part of the curriculum to emphasise this sense, Sir.

I would also like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to one more point about the development of youth and sports. Sir, in the policy as stated, mention has been made of sports and games. But I am sorry to note that there is no mention in the policy about aero-sports. It does not find a special place, although the aero-sports are going to lead this nation more easily into the 21st century; it will be more akin to going into space age which is coming in the 21st century. I would request the hon. Minister to give greater emphasis to aero-sports and space also. This does not find, Sir, a special mention, and I thought I must cajole you and draw your attention to this point once again.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the policy which has been laid down for education is an excellent one. It has all the elements which are necessary for a successful policy. But I say, Sir, that this policy, as enunciated, must be reviewed again and again. I think that this policy, although it has laid down the foundation perhaps for the next 15 years or perhaps 20 years, the hon. Minister should consider having a review of this policy for updating the policy, getting it more in tune with the time and more in tune with the needs of the nation, may be every three years or five years. I think that is the one element that might be mentioned in this policy.

I would like to congratulate the hon. Minister for the last paragraph in the policy. It says :

"The main task is to strengthen the base of the pyramid, which might touch a billion people at the turn of the century. Equally, it is important to ensure that those

at the top of the pyramid are among the best in the world."

Sir, it was with this in mind that I made the point that the sense of having a pride of being an Indian should be emphasised even further. It further says :

"Our cultural well-springs had taken good care of both ends in the past; the skew set in with foreign domination and influence. It should now be possible to further intensify the nation-wide effort in Human Resource Development, with Education playing its multifaceted role."

I think this is a very laudable objective set for the future of the nation.

With these words I support the policy and congratulate the Government on it.

[The Vice Chairman Dr (Shrimati) Sarojini Mahishi in the chair]

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTAGHARJEE (Assam) : Madam, Vice-Chairman, I would like to say that this National Policy on Education is just not another policy. It is to quote Albert Camou, more particularly the language of his Book 'Ravel' is an attempt to understand the times.

Now, the introductory portion of it begins with these lines and I quote :

"There are moments in history when a new direction has to be given to an age-old process. The moment is today."

We all know the famous English saying; and I quote :

"Every today becomes a yesterday tomorrow."

[Shri Kamalendu Bhattacharjee]

But, Madam Vice-Chairman, I would like to point out that certain 'todays' remain perpetual 'today'. And this today as concerned with the new Policy on Education will be written in golden letters in the annals of the history of Education in India and this will remain a perpetual today.

There is a change levelled against this Education Policy. I have seen in some newspapers that it is a 5,000 word policy presentation that contains just about 200 words of real policy; the rest is a strings of platitudes, clichés and good intentions. But, Madam, Vice-Chairman, if we make an in-depth study of the whole policy, if we make a threadbare discussion of it paragraph by paragraph then we will find that this allegation is unfounded. There are hundreds of words used in dealing with different aspects of education policy like 'liquidating illiteracy', 'elimination of the excessive element of subjectivity and chance', 'de-emphasising memorisation', 'putting due and right emphasis on non-formal education', 'adult education', 'women education', 'education of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes', 'redesigning and restructuring of public examination system' etc.

Madam Vice-Chairman, this policy includes future planning also. It is in line once again with famous novelist and great thinker Albert Camou. This also adheres to the principles and I quote :

"One must act and live in terms of future". Once again we have to turn to the same great philosopher get his sermons :

"Real generosity to the future lies in giving all to the present."

This policy has done a lot while explaining all the details regarding the different aspects of education.

Madam Vice-Chairman, I would like to sound a note of warning. If this sort of education policy means, setting up of different committees at the national level or at the State level or at the district level, and also setting up of different types of bureaucracies all over India, I would like to say that it will simply spell disaster. It will not serve any useful purpose. It will just be another bonanza for the 'sarkari' educationists. I would like to repeat that it will be just a great bonanza for the 'sarkari' educationists. There will be mushroom growth of committees all over India. The real objective of the education policy should be to reach the poorest of the poor. The real objective of the education should be that education should percolate down to the poorest masses of the country. If there is mushroom growth of committees, then, the objective of the education policy cannot be achieved. If all these things are there, we cannot achieve the desired result. The intentions are good. I appreciate it. But I fear about mushroom growth of committees. I hope I have mistaken.

Madam, there are many laudable provisions in the policy. In the policy it is mentioned that delinking of jobs with education, overhauling of the public examination system, pre-matric scholarship for children of the poorest of the poor. All these things are there. I once again appeal to the hon. Minister for Human Resource Development, through you, that these policies should be properly implemented into action. These should be properly translated into action. A famous European critic once commented that culture entirely depends on the man, the moment and the milieu. They are meaning environment and circumstances. This is equally applicable to the domain of education also. A lot depends on the circumstances. While talking in big terms about significant achievement of education

and our country entering into the 21st century, we must keep in mind the conditions of the poorest of the poor of our country. We should alongside try to develop their circumstances. The intelligent quotient of the famous and the important test says that it is a scientific test that circumstances can improve upto 25 per cent of I.Q. of a person. While talking in big terms, we should try to develop and improve the circumstances of the poor students and guardians, because education begins at home. If this is done, I think, it will be indeed a great achievement.

So far as higher education is concerned, there are 150 universities and 5,000 colleges in India. But in the policy, it is stipulated that more open universities will be started. There will be distant learning. There will be more rural universities. Madam, here, I would like to say that if there is any attempt at consolidation as a substitute for expansion of higher education, then, how we could produce brilliant scholars and brilliant scientists who must be available to implement into action all these different ideas by these persons at different levels in this country. So this consolidation should be there. I appreciate it. But, at the same time, I would like to emphasise that consolidation should never be regarded as a substitute for expansion.

Now, there are poor guardians. These guardians at different levels have got to defray the educational expenses of their wards, of their children. I request the hon. Minister for Human Resource Development, through you, that they should not be overburdened at any stage. Now, there is 1968 three-language formula. I hail from the State of Assam. I am an Assamese. I am born in Assam but I speak Bengali language but I regard myself an Assamese because I am born in Assam. Recently the SEBA, this is the Secondary Board of Education,

Assam has issued a circular making Assamese a compulsory subject language. Three languages formula, Madam Vice-Chairman, you know. If Assamese is made compulsory, one student learns his mother language. It is Bengali in Kachar district and then he can learn as Hindi or English. He cannot learn all these three languages. Now, it has become a problem. Now, if you sincerely adhere to this three language formula, then I would request the hon'ble Human Resource Development Minister, who is present here to look into this and take appropriate steps of dialogue with the Assam Government. We are ready to learn Assamese for economic consideration and for other considerations. I am a Bengali speaking person living in Assam but it should not be imposed on them. It should not be a matter of imposition. The moment there is the element of imposition, resistance comes and I would request that this aspect should be taken into consideration. We are prepared to learn Assamese but as a compulsory optional language. Now, Madam Vice-Chairman, some doubts have been expressed by Shri Nepaldev Bhattacharjee in his eloquent speech. I want to go on record for appreciating his speech so far as the language, lucidity and other aspects of his speech are concerned but I beg to differ with the contents of his speech. He has expressed his doubts about the core-curriculum. He has expressed his doubts about the Navodaya Vidyalaya. Now, so far as core-curriculum is concerned, it has been stated by the Human Resource Development Minister on the floor of Lok Sabha that while drafting the Core-curriculum, the State should be associated. So far as Navodaya Vidyalaya is concerned, our hon. Prime Minister has gone on record in the National Development Council saying that this Navodaya Vidyalaya would not be imposed on such States which do not want them. So, there is clear assurance both from the Prime Minister and the Human Resource Development Minister but

[Shri Kamalendu Bhattacharjee]
my hon. friend, Shri Nepaldev
Bhattacharjee on the other side has
spoken and here, Madam, I would
like to quote . . . (Interruption)

SHRI NEPALDEV BHATTA-
CHARJEE : For your kind infor-
mation, the Tamil Nadu has opposed
but still the Central Government
has asked for land for Navodaya
Vidyalaya there.

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTA-
CHARJEE : Thank you for enlight-
ening me. Madam, I cannot resist the
temptation of quoting Pt. Jawaharlal
Nehru here and you know, to quote
Oscar Wild, "the best way to
resist temptation is to yeild to it."
I am no man of wisdom. I am only
a person who has dabbled in public
affairs for recently half a century
and learnt so nothing from them
and what I have learnt :
"mostly how wise men often be-
have in a very foolish manner". That
thought makes me often doubt my own
wisdom. I question myself, am I
right? My Communist freinds never
ask this thing from themselves—are
they right beacause there are two
persons in the world who never com-
mit any mistakes. One is God above
and the other is Communist below.
They never commit any mistake.
(Interruption)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE:
Let me inform you that a question
was put to Karl Marx—What is your
motto and he answered to doubt.

THE MINISTER OF STATE
IN THE DEPARTMENT
OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS
(RAJYA SABHA) (SHRI SITA-
RAM KESRI) : Doubt creates
doubt.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE:
I discover that you do not have
doubts either about the Prime Mini-
ster or about the President of your
party.

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTA-
CHARJEE : Now my Communist
freinds regard education as a sort of
standardised menu, fried in Commu-
nist varaspati to be just served to
the students. Anyway it is their own
judgment. Let them decide their
own way.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN
(West Bengal) : You do not know
anything.

SHRI NEPALDEV BHATTA-
CHARJEE : You have misunder-
stood the whole thing.

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTA-
CHARJEE : Many of the Mem-
bers who spoke before me have said
that a majority of the people are
opposing these ideas of "Navodaya
Vidyalayas", the core-curriculum,
etc. I think their assesment is not
really correct.

So far as higher education is
concerned, so far as university edu-
cation is concerned, I would like to
make a request to the Minister for
Human Resources Development
that there is a demand for the set-
ting up of a Central University in
the district of Cachar and he might
give his pointed attention to this
aspect so that a Central University
may come up there.

In the education policy, specific
mention has been made for giving
special training to the heads of insti-
tutions and to the teachers. But
one aspect we should not ignore,
which is a very very positive aspect.
I have been a teacher 16 years my-
self and we always forget that aspect.
That aspect is, there must be special
training for hostel superintendents.
In this policy, there is a clear indi-
cation about the setting up of hostels
for girls, Scheduled Castes and Sched-
uled Tribes. Now in the hostels
what is going on ? There is a pecu-
liar pseudo civilisation there is a
peculiar new five-star culture. And
the result of that new-rich five-star
culture is ragging and ragging
is responsible for blighting the future

of many brilliant students. So special training should be imparted to hostel superintendents so that he is properly equipped to deal with such situations.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI] : I request you to conclude.

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTACHARJEE : I am just concluding. In this policy, the hon. Minister is promising better career opportunities for all the teachers. I would appeal, through you, Madam to the hon. Minister for Human Resources Development that the teachers should always get a better deal. We are always talking in terms of their responsibilities. We are always taking in terms of their duties. But we never give them what they really deserve. There should be better pay scales for them, better career opportunities for them. There is a pedagogue in my town and he says in his peculiar style of English : "a Teacher not to daughter give; overseer to give; overseer to up-money". It means, no parent is willing to give his daughter in marriage to a teacher, but he is prepared to marry his daughter to an overseer because an overseer gets "up-money" which means extra money. Once a student asked his teacher "what is the English word for safedi?" And the mischievous teacher said, "The English word for *Safedi* is lime-wash." The guardian of the student was nearby and he told the teacher, "you are not teaching properly." The teacher said "For ten rupees a month, why should I say white-wash? Lime-wash will do. If you pay me more salary, I can tell him what is white-wash and what is lime-wash." So we should do something positive for improving the living standards of the teachers by giving a better deal to the teachers.

Madam, I conclude saying that this Education Policy is rightly in line with the dream of Jawaharlal Nehru. He said.

380 RS—10

"The aim of scientific progress should be a fusion between ancient Indian thought based on the spiritual approach and modern scientific endeavour based on experimentation in search of truth". If we pursue this Education Policy with right vigour that it deserves, we can improve ourselves in the field of scientific achievement, we will have a fusion of our values in the older values of India and we shall achieve unity in diversity, we shall be doing true Justice to the cultural mosaic of India. With these words I support this Policy.

श्री राज नरेश कुशवाहा : माननीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का समय दिया। सबसे पहले मुझे मानव संसाधन मंत्रालय पर ही आपत्ति है। शिक्षा के लिए मनुष्य साध्य है न कि साधन। मनुष्य के लिए शिक्षा है न कि शिक्षा के लिए मनुष्य है। आपने उसको संसाधन बना दिया, इस पर मुझे धोर आपत्ति है। एक मनुस्मृति थी जिसमें शूद्र के अतिरिक्त सब को पढ़ने का अधिकार था। अब जो यह राजीव स्मृति आई है, यह मनुस्मृति का नवीन संस्करण है। इसमें गरीब लोगों के लिए पढ़ने का अधिकार नहीं होगा। इस पूरी शिक्षा नीति में कहो भी भाषा नीति का कहीं स्पष्ट उल्लेख नहीं है। किस भाषा में शिक्षा दी जाएगी, इसका कोई जिक्र नहीं है। जब तक भाषा पर आपका निर्णय साफ नहीं होगा तब तक कोई शिक्षा नीति सफल नहीं हो सकती है। कई जगहों पर आपने भारतीय संस्कृति और भारतीयता का उल्लेख किया है और भारतीय कला और साहित्य का भी जिक्र है। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि बिना मातृभाषा और बिना राष्ट्रभाषा के आप शिक्षा नीति की कल्पना कैसे कर सकते हैं। लार्ड मैकाले ने कहा था कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान को शारीरिक रूप से नहीं मानसिक रूप से गुलाम बनाना है तो अंग्रेजी में इनकी शिक्षा देनी चाहिए ताकि अंग्रेजी संस्कृति इनकी नस-नस में भर जाय। आपने जो नई शिक्षा नीति बनाई है उसमें आपने भारतीयता के लिए क्या उपाय किया है? जब आपकी अपनी भाषा

[श्री राम नरेश कृशवाहा]

में शिक्षा नहीं होगी तो आप सारे देश को, सभी लोगों को, शिक्षित करने का दावा नहीं कर सकते हैं। मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश में पिछले 40 वर्षों से आपकी सरकार है। इसमें हम अन्तरिम सरकार को भी ले लेते हैं। तब से अब तक 40 वर्ष हो गये हैं। दस वर्षों तक संविधान लागू होने के बाद सब को शिक्षा देने का प्रावधान था और यह कहा गया था कि 15 वर्ष तक के सभी बच्चों को अनिवार्य शिक्षा और प्राथमिक शिक्षा दी जाएगी। इन 40 वर्षों में क्या आपने सब को शिक्षित करने का कोई प्रयास किया है? आप अभी तक यही निर्णय नहीं कर पाये हैं कि आप किस भाषा में शिक्षा देंगे। इतना ही नहीं, आप राज भारतीयता और भारतीय संस्कृति की दुहाई देते हैं। लेकिन संघ लोक सेवा आयोग में आपने अंग्रेजी अनिवार्य बना कर रखी है। क्या आप मातृभाषा, राष्ट्रभाषा और एक अन्तर्प्रान्तीय भाषा को त्रिभाषी फार्मूल के अनुसार उसमें रख रहे हैं? आपने इसमें अंग्रेजी जबर्दस्ती क्यों रखी हुई है? कई प्रदेशों में तो अंग्रेजी अनिवार्य भी नहीं है। वहाँ के छात्र अखिल भारतीय सेवाओं में कैसे आएंगे। मैं उस वक्त बहुत दुःखी था जब हमारे मित्र श्री मोहनरंगम जी कह रहे थे कि अंग्रेजी भाषा अच्छी है। उन्होंने कहा कि हम हिन्दी कभी बर्बाद नहीं करेंगे, हम हिन्दी को कभी लाइन नहीं देंगे। ठीक है, उनके ऊपर हम हिन्दी नहीं लादेंगे लेकिन आप भी भारत के किसी नागरिक के ऊपर अंग्रेजी न लादें। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वे बता सकते हैं कि तमिलनाडु में कितने प्रतिशत लोग अंग्रेजी समझते हैं?

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : एक प्रतिशत लोग।

श्री राम नरेश कृशवाहा : तमिलनाडु के देहातों में क्या वे अंग्रेजी में भाषण कर सकते हैं? लेकिन अभी तकरार बढ़ाने से कोई फायदा नहीं क्योंकि आप स्वयं इस ओर आंख मीच चके हैं। एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप एक बहुत खतरनाक बात करने जा रहे हैं। लार्ड मैकाले की जो शिक्षा नीति है उसको बदलने के लिये एक शब्द भी आपने कहीं नहीं लिखा। ठीक है, आप हिन्दी न लादें किसी पर लेकिन अंग्रेजी भी

किसी पर लादने का किसी को कोई अधिकार नहीं है, यह मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ। यह एक अलगाववादी प्रवृत्ति है जिसके चलते देश में और विदेश में नाना प्रकार की समस्याएँ पैदा हो रही हैं, मैं यहां उनका जिक्र करना नहीं चाहता मैं हल्ला नहीं मचाना चाहता मैं भगड़ा नहीं करना चाहता। मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज आप बतायें कि देश में किस तरह की शिक्षा है। हम जब छोटे थे, आजादी की लड़ाई जब हम लड़ते थे तो 1942 में उस समय देवरिया जिला, जो उस समय गोरखपुर जिले में था तो मान्यवर उस समय गोरखपुर में केवल एक स्कूल अंग्रेजी माध्यम का था और वह भी ईसाइयों का था। लेकिन आजादी के बाद आपने अंग्रेजी को इतना प्रश्रय दिया कि शायद ही हिन्दुस्तान में 5 हजार की आबादी का कोई गांव हो जिसमें अंग्रेजी माध्यम का स्कूल न चलता हो। आप इस देश को क्या बनाना चाहते हैं? इस संसद में कभी कभी हम मजाक करते हैं कि अंग्रेजी नहीं बोलेंगे तो मंत्री कैसे बोलेंगे। केवल मंत्री बनने के लिये और अखबार में अपना नाम छपने के लिये हिन्दी प्रदेशों के सदस्य, हिन्दी जानने वाले लोग अंग्रेजी में बोलते हैं और यह पता ही नहीं चलता कल्पनाथ राय जी भले ही हिन्दी में बोलें, लेकिन मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सदन में हिन्दी जानते हुए भी ये लोग हिन्दी में नहीं बोलते हैं। अगर कोई अनजान आदमी इसे देखे तो वह समझेगा कि यह हिन्दुस्तान को पार्लियामेंट नहीं बल्कि इंग्लैंड की पार्लियामेंट है। मान्यवर, दो तरह के स्कूल हैं। एक तरह के स्कूल वे हैं जहाँ ब्लैकबोर्ड नहीं हैं। ब्लैकबोर्ड अभियान चलायेंगे तो पेड़ नहीं है जिसकी छाया में लड़के पढ़ सकें। स्कूल भवन नहीं है, टाट नहीं है। अगर टाट है तो स्कूल नहीं है, स्कूल है तो ब्लैकबोर्ड नहीं है, अगर ब्लैक बोर्ड है तो मास्टर नहीं है और अगर मास्टर है तो कूसी नहीं है। दूसरी ओर वे स्कूल हैं जहाँ बैठने के लिये कूसी होती है, लड़के कूसियों पर बैठकर पढ़ते हैं। जो लड़के बोरी पर बैठ कर पढ़ते हैं उनकी किस्मत में बोरी लिख दी जाती है और वे बोरी उठाते हैं और जो लड़के कूसी पर बैठ कर पढ़ते हैं उनके पीछे कूसी चिपक

पाती है और बे शासन चलाते हैं। अब आप नवोदय विद्यालय खोलने जा रहे हैं। सेंट्रल स्कूल में कितने लोगों के बच्चे भर्ती होते हैं? मिनिस्टर्स के बच्चे, बड़े बड़े आफिसरों के लड़के, सरकारी कर्मचारियों के बच्चे, एस. पी. और एम. एल. एज. के लड़के और जो एम.पी., एम.एल. एज. की सिफारिश लेकर आते हैं उनके बच्चे पढ़ते हैं। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इन नवोदय स्कूलों में दूसरे लोगों की भर्ती होगी? वहाँ पर किसकी भर्ती होगी? क्या उसमें कोई गांव का गरीब लड़का पढ़ेगा, गवर्नर भाव का आदमी पढ़ेगा? नहीं पढ़ेगा। आप एक तरह का षडयंत्र चला रहे हैं। पहले केवल शूद्र को ही पढ़ने की मनाही थी लेकिन राजीव स्मृति में चाहें वह ब्राह्मण हों, भंगी हों, अगर वह गांव का रहने वाला है, गरीब है वह पढ़ नहीं सकता। आप अपने शासन को चलाने के लिए जिस तरह से अंग्रेजों से अपना शासन चलाने के लिए हर जिले में अंग्रेजी का एक विद्यालय खोला था आप उसी तरह नवोदय विद्यालय खोल रहे हैं, सेंट्रल स्कूल चला रहे हैं ताकि आपको क्लर्क मिल जायें, आपको आफिसर मिल जायें और सारा देश जायें भाड़ में। आज जो सेंट्रल स्कूल से निकलेगा, नवोदित स्कूलों से निकलेगा, दून स्कूल से निकलेगा वह जवाहरलाल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी में जायेंगा और आफिसर बनेगा और देश का शासन चलायेंगा और वाकी गांव के लड़के जो छोटे छोटे डिग्री कालेज हैं वहाँ पढ़ेंगे, बी. एच. यू. में पढ़ेंगे, अलीगढ़ में पढ़ेंगे, नकल करेंगे और पास होंगे और एम. ए. करने के बाद चप्पल चटकाते फिरते, सड़क नापते रहेंगे क्योंकि उनको मीरिट तो आएगी नहीं। नाँकरशाही, पूँजीशाही और नेताशाही ये तीनों मिलकर नकल करवा रहे हैं। ताकि गांव की शिक्षा इतनी चोपट हो जाए कि वहाँ के लड़के मीरिट में न आने पाएँ और इन के लड़के फर्सी स्कूलों में, सेंट्रल स्कूलों में, माडल स्कूलों में पढ़ कर के मीरिट में आएंगे और शासन चलाएंगे और बाकी सारे देश के लड़के चाहें जहाँ जाएँ। यह शिक्षा आप चलाने जा रहे हैं। आपके सामने कोई दृष्टि है क्या? कोई दृष्टि है देश को और गांव को बनाने की? आप कम्प्यूटर से पढ़ायेंगे। कम्प्यूटर से पढ़ायेंगे, रीडियो

से पढ़ायेंगे, और दूरदर्शन से पढ़ायेंगे। रीडियो और दूरदर्शन क्या कर रहे हैं आज कल? 10 वर्ष के लड़के भी सीख गए हैं कि पति और पत्नी का क्या सम्बन्ध होता है। मैं आपसे यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि रीडियो और दूरदर्शन पर जो दृश्य दिखाए जाते हैं उस में कितनी भारतीयता है। भारत में हमेशा प्रेम विश्वासघात पर चलता रहा, यहाँ राह चलते अकेले लगने पर प्रेम हाँ जाता है। कौनसी संस्कृति आप पढ़ा रहे हैं? क्या पढ़ाने जा रहे हैं? इस देश के दूरदर्शन और रीडियो पर जो रीडियो और दूरदर्शन स्वयं हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं हैं एक भी भारतीय संस्कृति का कोई चीज दिखाने में आप असमर्थ हैं। हर चीज खराब करके माडर्नाइज कर के अपनी समझ से दिखाते हैं जिसमें भारतीयता का कोई छुट नहीं होता। अब आप शिक्षा देंगे, विद्यालय हैं नहीं कहाँ लगाएंगे दूरदर्शन को? आप क्या पेंड पर लगाएंगे, किस स्कूल में लगाएंगे? आपके पास बिजली नहीं है। इसमें यह लिखा है कि आप इसको सौर ऊर्जा से चलाएंगे, बैटरों से चलाएंगे। वह भी देख लेंगे कि आप कितनी बैटरियाँ लगाते हैं और कितनी सौर ऊर्जा चलाते हैं। यह भी कहा गया है कि हम व्यक्तिगत भागीदार करेंगे, लोगों से चंदा माँगेंगे। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में लोग स्कूल खोलते थे और उनको मान्यता मिलती थी लेकिन आपके षडयंत्र से वह भी नहीं होगा। जो राष्ट्रीयकरण की चाल चलाई है। जब बड़े लोग स्कूल खोलते थे तो अपने साले बहनोई को चाहें नालायक ही हो मास्टर बनाते थे और जब गरीब लोग स्कूल खोलने लगे तो शिक्षा आयोग बनवा-कर उनके स्कूलों में भी भरती करेंगे, मास्टर वे रखा नहीं सकते, कोई काम नहीं कर सकते, प्रशासन में दखल नहीं दे सकते हैं तो काहे को कोई स्कूल खोलेंगा? क्यों आपको चंदा देगा? यह भी आप एक फ्राड करने जा रहे हैं और कुछ नहीं करने जा रहे हैं। इतना ही नहीं जब तक आप बुनियादी शिक्षा पर जोर नहीं देंगे अनिवार्य प्राथमिक शिक्षा नहीं करेंगे और अनिवार्य तब आप कर पाएंगे जब कि एक बच्चे के माँ-बाप की आर्थिक स्थिति इस लायक हो कि वह खुद भी खा सके और बच्चों को भी खिला सके। जिसको घर में दाना नहीं है वह बकरी चरा कर खाना पसंद करेगा पढ़ना पसंद नहीं

[श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा]

करेगा। या तो पूरा पूरा खर्च आप दें तब बच्चे पढ़ेंगे। अनिवार्य रूप से बालाश्रम थी अनिवार्य शिक्षा चाहे आप कुछ भी बकते रहें लेकिन न तो बालाश्रम बन्द होगा और न अनिवार्य शिक्षा कर पायेंगे। अभी तो आपका मन ही नहीं है। मन तो कुछ करने का नहीं है लेकिन तमाम लफ्फाजी आप करते चले जा रहे हैं। (अवधान) आप सर्टिफिकेट खत्म करने जा रहे हैं। सर्टिफिकेट खत्म कर के तमाम मन्त्रियों के अफसरों के नालायक लड़कों को आप रखेंगे। इसके अलावा कुछ नहीं करेंगे। शिक्षा में इतना भ्रष्टाचार है। वाइस चांसलर, राज्यपाल और मुख्य मन्त्री तक फंसे हुए हैं ही, कोई भाई का लाल हमें बता दे जिस बिरादरी का या जिस लड़के का वाइस चांसलर नहीं है, हैड आफ दी डिपार्टमेंट नहीं है या उसका रिश्तेदार नहीं है, चहेता या चहेती नहीं है तो कोई यूनीवर्सिटी टाप कर के रहा है? कहाँ है मीरट आपका। उसी तरह जब आपके लड़के मीरट में नहीं आएँगे तब आप कहेंगे कि सर्टिफिकेट को क्या जरूरत है। यह बड़ा लायक है (समय की घंटी) आपने जे जे जाल बिछा रखे हैं मंडेम समय आप देते तो मैं सब खोल करके रखता लेकिन आप घंटी बजा रही हैं। मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे इतना समय दिया लेकिन मैं आपसे एक बात और कह कर अपनी बात समाप्त करूँगा।

भारत के संविधान में है कि राष्ट्रभाषा की प्रगति की जानकारी करने के लिए राष्ट्रपति हर 10वें वर्ष पर एक आयोग नियुक्त करेंगे और वह देश में राष्ट्रभाषा का कितना विकास हुआ है कितना काम होता है इसकी छानबीन करेगा। संविधान के लागू होने के 35 वर्ष के बाद भी एक भी आयोग नहीं बना। क्यों नहीं बना? बहुस भी नहीं हो पाती है? क्यों? इसलिए कि आप डरते हैं राष्ट्रभाषा का नाम लेने से भी। माननीया, इससे काम नहीं चलेगा। मेरा आपसे नमू निवेदन है कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान को हिन्दुस्तान रहना है, अगर हिन्दुस्तान को एक रहना है, अगर हिन्दुस्तान में गरीबों को राज में हिस्सेदारी देने है, नक्सलपंथ और आतंकवाद को रोकना है तो गरीबों के लिए नौकरियों का रास्ता खोलना पड़ेगा और वह

रास्ता बिना मातृभाषा में शिक्षा के नहीं खुलेगा और अगर यह नहीं खुलेगा तो याद रखिए इस देश में अहिंसक और हिंसक दोनों तरह की क्रान्ति की तैयारी हो रही है ... (समय की घंटी)

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा. (श्रीमती) सरोजनी महिशी] : आप समाप्त करिये।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : आप ऐसा न समझें कि पंजाब का मसला अलग है, आसाम का मसला अलग है, बिहार का नक्सलपंथ अलग है, दक्षिण भारत का मसला अलग है, आंध्र प्रदेश का मसला अलग है, बहुत गहराई में जायेंगे तो सारे मसले एक पाय में और कोई भी नेता या नेतृत्व करने वाला भिल जाये तो वह संस्कृत क्रांति से आपको उलट देगा। अगर आप गरीबों की मांगों की उनकी हकों की रक्षा करेंगे तब ऐसा नहीं होगा और आप अभी ऐसा नहीं कर रहे हैं। आप अब में मग बनाइये। हम गांधी, लालिहया और जयप्रकाश नारायण जी के अनुयायी हैं किसी भी कीमत पर देश में हिंसा नहीं पनपने देना चाहते हैं।

इंदिरा जी भी कहती थी कि अगर गरीबों को हक नहीं मिला, गरीबी नहीं मिटी तो खूली क्रांति हो जायेगी। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि भावी खतरों को समझकर मातृभाषा में शिक्षा दीजिए। गांवों के गरीब लोगों के नौकरियों में, बड़ी नौकरियों में आने का रास्ता खोलिए, तब कानून का अर्थ लगाने वालों को उनके मुताबिक कानून का अर्थ मिलेगा, तब गरीबों की रक्षा होगी। आपके भाषण देने से आपके कानून बना देने से कभी भी गरीबों को रक्षा नहीं होगी। इसलिए सबसे पहले अगर आप कुछ करना चाहते हैं देश में तो एक तरह की शिक्षा सभी लोगों को देने का प्रबंध कीजिए और साथ ही साथ मातृभाषा में और राष्ट्रभाषा में शिक्षा देने का प्रबंध कीजिए और लोक सेवा आयोग से अंग्रेजी निकालकर भारतीय भाषाओं को रखिये। अंग्रेजी रखनी है तो विकल्प के रूप में रखिए। इन्हीं चंद शब्दों के साथ मैं आपसे विदा लेता हूँ।

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAV-
RAO JADHAV (Maharashtra) :
Madam Vice-Chairman, I rise to
support this Resolution which has

been moved by our hon. learned friend, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, our Minister for Human Resource. Madam, this Draft National Policy on Education, 1986, is an excellent draft, and whatever deficiencies we had in the past have now been removed through this Draft, and very thoughtful and very high consideration is given for the field of education in the rural India.

Madam, some time back, I was reading in the newspaper, the 'Times of India' an article that India is divided into two parts—one is the rich India and the other is the poor India. I do not agree with that. Actually, I feel that India is divided into two parts, one is literate India and the other is the illiterate India because about 45 per cent of our population is literate and about 55 per cent or more is illiterate. Actually, our Congress Government has done a lot after independence. If we go back to 1947, we can very well find out that not more than 5 crore people were literate in our country. But today, when we go through that data, we will find that about 32 crores of the people are educated. That is the greatest achievement of our Government after its educational planning and after its foresight towards the national development.

Madam, education is the basic need of human civilization. If there is no education, there would not be any life, not there would be any civilized life. And from that point of view, we want to bridge the gap between the literate India and the illiterate India by this Draft which has been brought before this House. In this Draft, there are very good features. I have gone through this Draft. I would also like to point out what the deficiencies are in this Draft.

Madam, since the adoption of the 1968 policy there has been considerable expansion in educational facilities throughout the country at all levels. More than

90 per cent of the country's rural population is now having schooling facilities within a radius of one kilometre. Formerly, we had accepted the course 10+2+2. Now that course is being modified to form 5+3+2 and then +2 and +3, like this. So, it has been well thought out that education in India stands at the cross-roads today, because the normal expansion at the existing pace and the nature of improvement cannot meet the needs of the situation.

Madam, while explaining the essence and roll of education it has been stated that our national preception of education is essential for all. This is even to our all round development, material and spiritual. Madam, so far we are having 150 universities and nine thousand colleges and as far as my knowledge goes there are about 100 million students taking education in different schools and colleges and universities. It is the greatest achievement. But even then we have to see where education has not reached yet because even today because of poverty large masses live below the poverty line and they are unable to send their children to schools and for that it has been decided that for every village, within a radius of one kilometre of the area we are having a school of at least two rooms and in these two rooms we will have two teachers and one of the teachers will be a woman. For the first time in the history of Indian education, the woman is being given social justice because by such a provision there is great potential for the employment of women in schools. Actually, Madam, education is the job of ladies. When a child is born in a home, the first teacher of that child is the mother and the second is the father. Unless the mother is educated the child cannot develop properly. So, that is the condition in our society today. Madam, as such educational equality has been given. It is very important. Education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. In

[Shri Vithalrao Madhavrao Jadhav].

order to neutralise the accumulated distortions of the past, there will be well-conceived plans for the development of women in which the national educational system will play a positive interventionist role in the improvement of women. There will be redesigned curriculum and reorientation of teachers with decision-makers, administrators and the active involvement of the educational institutions. This will play a vital role and through social engineering the status of women will be protected as through various courses and educational institutions they will be encouraged to take up active programme to further women's development. Madam, it has been said on page 6 at 4.2 that education will be used as an agent of basic change in the status of women. As our beloved leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi has said and it is also mentioned in our manifesto we will bring about the new educational policy. Madam, we have already brought out the new economic policy. Now, we are going to put in this Parliament the new educational policy, i.e., educational justice for all. It did not remain the monopoly of certain handful of people of the society. The education is being socialised. I must say that nationalisation of education is taking place by presenting this Draft policy Paper in Parliament. For the education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes a very important statement is given that there will be pre-matric scholarship scheme for the children of the families engaged in occupations such as scavenging, flaying and tanning to be made applicable from class I onwards. All children of such families, regardless of incomes, will be covered by this scheme and time-bound programmes targetted on them will be undertaken. This is the most backward layer of the society. These Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people are the ones who are engaged in a very low type of tanning

and all these things and for them the guarantee of education is given.

So, Madam, as has been mentioned, the whole nation must pledge itself to the eradication of illiteracy, particularly in the 15 to 35 age-group.

6.00 P.M.

The Central and State Governments, political parties and their mass organisations, the mass media and educational institutions must commit themselves to mass literacy programmes of diverse nature. It will also have to involve on a large scale teachers, students, youth, voluntary agencies, employers etc. Concerted efforts will be made to harness various research agencies to improve the pedagogical aspects of adults of literacy. The mass literacy programme would include, in addition to literacy, functional knowledge skills, and also awareness among and learners about the socio-economic reality and the possibility to change and improve it. So, above the age of 15 to 35 this guarantee is given. While we speak of modernising our country and taking it to 21st century, audio-visual education, education through television and radio and education through computers is not being made available except in some States and Central schools. It is not available in various parts of rural India and its importance has now been realised. It is the role of youth which should be given importance to. I would suggest inclusion of these programmes. In the draft policy it has also been stated about National Service Scheme, NCC, physical education etc. I would suggest that alongwith NCC etc., physical education should also be made compulsory in all schools and right from primary to college stage, NCC-trained teachers should be appointed to impart physical education.

I would like to raise some points. Thrust of national educational policy has already been given in this draft

We have made a commitment on it. I would request the hon. Minister to see how much of national income is spent on education: It is actually 6 per cent of the national income that should be spent on education. If we take the figures of the Central Budget, it is of course there but you take the figure of Maharashtra. Out of the budget of Rs. 6000 crores for the development of Maharashtra, only Rs. 1200 crores are being spent on education which is about 9 to 10 per cent - both Central as well as State budgets inclusive. I would say that more stress should be given on spending on education.

Then, about 50 universities and 5000 colleges have become a place of playing politics. There are students and teachers who do not care for the academic standards but are more interested in politics. I would suggest that politics from educational institutions should be completely rooted out. This is very important and should be included in this draft.

Another point is about corruption in educational institutions, corruption in examinations, corruption in marking. Many hon. Members from the opposition and also from the Treasury Benches have raised this point. There have been marks scandals. There have been cases where students do not appear for the examination and yes, being a relative of some university professor or the vice-chancellor, green signal is given and they get a degree. Students go to the teacher and pay some money and manage to get high marks to enable themselves to get admission into medical or engineering schools. These are the evils which must be rooted out.

Then about teachers' orientation programme, a mention has been made in the draft. I must say that our 70 per cent of population is engaged in agriculture and 30 per cent in the industry. Even though, subject of agriculture is there from standard 8 to 10. I would suggest that agriculture, industry and en-

vironment — these three subjects — should be included in our syllabi from primary stage upto the college education stage. Agriculture is a very important sector where we can give employment to a very large number of people. Similarly, industry is also important. This is another important profession. Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister to give sufficient importance to industry, agriculture as well as environmental education.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE
Social forestry.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAV-
RAO JADHAV : I am coming to that. Environmental education includes social forestry also. Another thing is.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR.
(SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHI-
SHI] : Please conclude.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAV
RAO JADHAV : I will take only two minutes. If it is not possible to include the subject of agriculture from first standard to tenth standard, I would like to suggest to the hon. Minister that at least one agriculture college and one veterinary college should be there in every district and at least five to ten agriculture schools should be there in every block so that students coming from the rural areas will be able to learn this subject which is important from the point of view of their day-to-day life.

Another important thing is, the library movement. This has been mentioned in this document also. They are going to start this library movement on a large scale. This should be made compulsory. Every village which has a primary school should have one library, small

[Shri Vithalrao Madhavrao Jadhav] library. Also, animal husbandry, social forestry and the awareness of the non-conventional sources of energy should be taught to the students in the schools. Tree plantation and their protection should also be included; this should be made mass movement. Madam, these are some of my suggestions. I congratulate the hon. Minister that he has brought out a very good draft national policy on education. I hope, this will be sincerely implemented. For the effective implementation of this policy, I suggest that there should be some supervisory organisation both at the Central and State levels. We should see that the policy which is brought forward by the Government of India, so specially for the benefit of the rural masses in this country, the policy which is approved by Parliament is properly implemented. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI] : Shri Rafique Alam. (Interruptions)

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Madam, two days have been allotted for the debate. There is no point in sitting beyond six.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI : Eight hours have been allotted for the debate. (Interruptions)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH : You wanted one day. We gave two days.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I think, we should adjourn now.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI : Whatever you decide, I agree.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: He can just start and continue tomorrow.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI : He will take only a few minutes.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: No.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH : Do not be unfair to him.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Let him start and continue tomorrow. Otherwise, if you ask him to take only a few minutes, he will not be able to cover all the points.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI] : All right. Shri Rafique Alam please.

श्री रफीक आलम (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पहले तो मैं हमारे महबूब प्राइम-मिनिस्टर श्री राजीवगंधी जी और हमारे मिनिस्टर, हममन रिसोर्सेज डवलपमेंट को दिदी सबरकबाइ देता हूँ कि उन्होंने यह ड्राफ्ट नेशनल पालिसी एजुकेशन पर दिया है हम लोगों को और आज इस पर यहां बहस हो रही है ।

†[حدا ب رفیق علم (بہار) :

سبھا پتی مہودیہ - پہلے تو میں
ہمارے محبوب پرائم منسٹر شری
راجیو گاندھی جی اور ہمارے منسٹر
ہیومن ریسورسز ڈولپمنٹ کو دی
مبارکباد دیتا ہوں - کہ انہوں نے
یہ ڈرافٹ نیشنل پالیسی ایجوکیشن
پر دیا ہے - ہم لوگوں کو اور آج
اس پر یہاں بحث ہو رہی ہے۔]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI] : You can continue tomorrow. The House is now adjourned til 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at nine minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 13th May, 1986.

†[Transliteration in Arabic Script.