

[Shri Jagjit Singh Anand]

was being held. It was not stopped on the way. The attempt to stop them at the gate by the police was crushed by this *jatha* and there were clashes in which most of the people of the *jatha* died. The people who died belonged to the *jatha* which went 5 kilometres away. It seems that the Nirankaris were prepared. Foreign arms were perhaps used. All that requires enquiring into.

Now, Sir, the ruling Akali Party, the Shiromani Akali Dal, the Janata Party, the Communist Party, the Marxists' Communist Party, and all other parties in Punjab have demanded a judicial inquiry. The Government was dilly dallying for many days and then they refused a judicial inquiry. The result was that the next day when the bodies were taken out, the supporters of the Government attacked a police station where, to save themselves, the police had to resort to firing. After that, there were attacks in other towns. One Akali Member of the Assembly led attacks in Patiala, burning shops and all that. Now, what is the situation? I will just give you two quotes from a leading paper of Punjab—the Tribune;

"Because of political interference by a few Ministers and tensions within the Akali leadership, no officer is today willing to undertake any responsibility".

So these people of the Randhir Singh Jatha went there. Nobody prevented them. The law and order machinery dare not do it because a Minister at Manji Sahib was there to send them. Most of the Punjab officers believe that the law and order situation in the State cannot be prevented from further deterioration if the Government leaders do not agree to this demand.

Then, Sir, a DSP who was injured by a bullet in the firing to prevent the clash was transferred from Amritsar and he has said that he would

resign rather than put up with this Government. And this is done because the ruling party put the pressure. I am not a defender of the Nirankaris. They have certain arms. Whether they are licenced or not, whether they have foreign links—all that requires enquiring into. But why is a judicial inquiry being refused? The situation is one of extreme communal tension. All the Hindus, all the minorities are feeling so tense about it, feeling so concerned about it that there is almost a communal polarisation. So, through you, Sir, I want to draw the attention of the Home Minister, because the Prime Minister called Shri Badal and asked him why an inquiry was not being instituted, and demand that a judicial inquiry should be instituted, communal peace should be maintained, leaders of the ruling party should not interfere in day to day affairs and the officers should be protected from further demoralisation.

DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND DE- PARTMENT OF CULTURE

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH (Gujarat); Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am happy to initiate the discussion on the working of one of our very crucial Ministries, the Ministry of Education which deals with the future of the younger generation.

[Mr Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

Sir, I am very happy that with the advent of the Janata Government the Ministry has been working very actively and particularly has tried to set the priorities of education in the right direction. If we look at the last year's working of the Ministry of Education one is struck by the earnestness of its effort, the sincerity, the determination with which it is pursuing the highly neglected aspects of our educational system, (1) primary education or elementary education and (2) adult education. This is

a matter of great encouragement to many of us who have been working in the field, of education who have been sore over the Government's neglect of primary and adult education. This is a step in the right direction. This is a very significant step which will have far-reaching impact on the future of our educational system.

In the matter of primary education, I am very happy that the Minister of Education as also the Prime Minister himself have time and again during the last year expressed their resolve that they want to ensure that the elementary and primary education, as envisaged in our Constitution, which is an obligation on the Government to ensure universal, free primary education, will receive the utmost importance.

In the same way I also find that adult education has received very great importance. I find a new dynamism, a new approach of utilising the energies and the experience of voluntary agencies in such a vital sector of our national life. This is certainly a matter of great satisfaction. I congratulate the Education Minister that he has been able to bring about this new dynamism in the field of adult education.

The problem of illiteracy before us has been hanging over three decades. It has been rising in its enormity from 27 crores illiterate that were there in 1947 at the time of independence, now we have gone over to 42 crores or even more. Now the position is that the Ministry has come up with the resolve to wipe out illiteracy or age group of 15—35 in five years. Earlier they had thought of doing it in ten years. At the instance of the Prime Minister they have made it five years. But this is a very great resolve, a very great pledge which the Ministry has taken. I would like to remind the Ministry that it is not so easy to fulfil this pledge

and they will have to spare no effort, no stone unturned in fulfilling this pledge. This Government has now pledged that they will achieve universal, free, compulsory, primary education by the end of the sixth Plan. They will ensure that illiteracy in the age group of 15—35, which also accounts for 10 crores people, will be wiped out in five years. These are two very important positive pledges which the Ministry has undertaken and I hope the hon'ble Minister, his colleagues, the officers in the Ministry will realise the sacredness, the seriousness, the wide-ranging implication of the pledge which they have made before the people. If they succeed, which I am sure they will, then they would have changed the educational scene of India. The education which benefits a few elitist groups of people, which has been building its own aristocracy will be changed and will be available to the masses. This is a very crucial question before us when we think of education in India.

It is a matter of pity that I find in the Report that after thirty years there are still three States where even free education up to class VI or VIII is not available. This is certainly a very deplorable thing. And whatever the Ministry may say— that this is a State subject and therefore the legal position is that they cannot compel them and they cannot do anything— would be no answer. The Ministry has a tremendous, powerful moral authority. It has resources; it has prestige; it has the power of persuasion which it must use to secure free primary education in these three States which have been left out and which have been mentioned in the Report. Let us not take recourse to legal provisions. This is not a question of what law permits or does not permit. It is a question of achieving certain national objectives to which we have pledged at the time of the founding of our Constitution

[Prof. Ramlal Parikh]

and we must do everything possible to achieve them.

Now, Sir, I am equally happy that the adult education scheme also is picking up and that very soon we are hoping to have a nationwide movement for adult education for the removal of illiteracy and in the coming five years, I feel, the way the Ministry is working—particularly the Adult Education Division is working—they should be able to fulfil this objective of removing illiteracy from the age group of 15 to 35.

Now, Sir, the Ministry also took an important step of appointing review committees for the new pattern. The controversy about the pattern is still going on. It has been going on ever since its inception. Whatever it may be, the Ministry made a very correct decision in reviewing the content, the curriculum of I to X, the syllabi of even the plus 2 stage. This is very important. Some of the very important recommendations had emerged out of the deliberations of the two committees. The most important recommendation by the first committee for the first ten-year schooling is that we must have socially useful, productive work and not work experience as it was up till now. The committee, of which I had also the privilege to be a member, departed from the earlier word not for the fashion of having a new terminology but very deliberately. It felt that the work experience was pretentious and that in the name of work experience we were trying to cheat ourselves and the people and, therefore, we wanted to be very specific. We do not want work experience; we want socially useful, productive work as an integral part of curricula, as an integral part of our examinations, as an integral part of everything that constitutes education—not as a tag, not as something which is available as a supplementary or an extra-curri-

cular activity. We want it to be a core programme of education, a central programme of education and this is a very important recommendation. I do not know how the Ministry is processing these recommendations. But, while appreciating their laudable efforts, while admiring the kind of priorities that they have set up, I do feel concerned at the pace at which consideration of these Reports is going on. As a person dedicated to the cause of education and education which will benefit the masses, the common man of this country, and not a few elit which may result in creating another oligarchy or aristocracy, but which will create a real egalitarian society—I feel concerned that these recommendations which are quite radical have not been receiving as much attention as they should. The new academic year is starting after a month or so and we ought to be ready with our plans. This is a recommendation which the Ministry has accepted, the Education Ministers' Conference has accepted. There is a widespread agreement on it. I do not find anybody saying that it is something wrong. But if it is right, then we should not pass on the buck to each other. The Central Government has taken over the leadership not only to make recommendations. The Central Government has taken over the leadership to ensure and facilitate its implementation and it is here, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, that the hon. Minister, who himself is a great educationist, a learned scholar, has a great responsibility, a responsibility to ensure that the Ministry does not get diffused into small projects, hundreds of other programmes of routine nature, but really get geared to the programme of changing the system of our education. I do not find any practical measures as yet emerging and that is why I am really anxious as to what will happen. Will it be like the earlier recommendations, like the Kothari Commission's Report or other reports? Or whether it will mean that there will

be a time-table within which we will implement it? This is a question on which the Ministry cannot say that the States are doing or not doing it. They must give a leadership. They must continue to pursue their leadership vigorously to persuade the States, to persuade the schools, to persuade the universities, to persuade the public and make it a fighting programme to see that it is implemented. After all, for ages we have been accustomed, for centuries we have been accustomed, to book-based education and for the first time now there is a clear-cut recommendation, there is a clear-cut agreement and commitment by the Ministry, including the Prime Minister and the Education Minister,, that they want a socially useful, productive work to be the central core of the educational system. The centrality of book-based education has to be replaced by the centrality of work-based education. This is what we have said in the Committee. By 'work-based education' we mean productive work, socially useful pro. ductive work. Therefore, this is a very serious thing and I am sure all the hon. Members of thjs House will lend their fullest support to the Ministry in implementing this recommendation because, unless you implement this recommendation, there is no break-through. There is no question of adding something and retaining everything that we have. Perhaps, we are in the habit of regaining everything that we have in the past system and we also want to add something to it. That will not work here. I am glad that the Ministry accepted this and the Central Board of School Education also accepted this, and also decided to reduce the load of syllabus from this angle so that it may provide room for work-based education. It is not a question of working for or against book-based education. But book-based education has resulted into a disaster in our country, has resulted into creatine a society full of inequalities, a society full of exploiters, and

has resulted into creating a system of exploitation even in the name of education. All this can be removed only with this. I am aware that it is not easy. I am aware that it will receive resistance. I am also aware that the students and the parents will not easily accept it. But that is why it is a challenge which the Ministry has to take with a much greater vigour, with a much greater sense of urgency. The time factor is very crucial. The time is passing—and it is passing very swiftly. Reform in educational system has been one of our cherished dreams and ideals and for years and years, for decades and decades,, we have been talking about it and for the first time now we have the hope with the commitment of the Prime Minister, the commitment of the Education Minister and the commitment of the Janata Party and also the realisation of the futility of the old system of education which has failed us in every respect. It might have created some good individuals; that any system can do. I am talking of the system and not of the exceptions .

The system as such as failed the nation. The system has failed all of vis. Some good individuals from some institutions might have emerged here and there even within that failure but that is not because of the system. The system is working against the national objectives and against the dreams and ideals to which the nation is committed. Therefore, I would urge upon the Education Ministry that they must not let' time. They must do everything. Even if it requires persuading everybody going from school to school, from college to college and from university to university, they should do it and get it done. Do not say to this House that you have told the States but that they are not implementing. We are now fed up with such answers as if it is somebody else's responsibility and what we can do. The Central Government has taken the initiative and the leader-

[Prof. Ramlal Parikh]

shit, it must live up to it, and I am confident that they will live up to it.

Tfien, Sir, there was the question of vocational and non-vocational schemes in our so-called ne-w pattern. I have been critical of the new pattern. But, whatever it may be, if it has come to stay, then I would not advocate to scrap it overnight and just go back. That is not what I am pleading, what I am advocating. What I am saying is that now, whatever it may be, 12 years schooling has come to stay. All right, let it come to stay. The whole nation accepts the 12-year schooling and 3-year university. Whether it is two years or three years, that is a different thing. But within 12 years, in the name of 10 year school, the importance of an attention to primary education was foigotton and the whole system was constructed as if primary has to feed the secondary, the secondary has to feed the under-graduate and the under-graduate has to feed the postgraduate. The system at the root has no personality of its own and its own objective. We must also make sure that this is changed.

Regarding the whole idea that some students will go to the vocational courses and some others to the higher education, with all the honour, prestige, privilege and Brahministic element attached to it, nobody in this country will accept this. This has not been accepted. Basically the Kothari Commission was wrdiig in saying that 50 per cent of the students will be branched off here and there. No Government can do this. All the branches of learning must have equal importance, equal prestige, equal credibility, equal employability, equal gain-fulness and equal honour. But tHat is not what we say. What do we say? We say that the students who are brighter and talented will go for higher education and others will go for the vocational subjects. There-

fore, the vocational subjects are meant for the lower calibre. I must say that it will create disaster. It is abnoxious to hear this kind of thing that because some students are not competent to pursue higher education and they should not pursue it. Everybody is competent to pursue higher education. One may have one type and another may have another type. So, this distinction between the technical and the non-technical courses must be given up. We must have only one stream.

A new suggestion that was again made by the Prime Minister is that we should have primary schooling for seven to eight years. Instead of having the secondary and the higher education and making artificial divisions, each division having its own vested interests, we must have four or five years secondary school system jn which there should be an integrated programme for four to five years, providing within it hundreds of options and hundreds of alternatives. It should be a system which has multiplicity, a system which has diversity and a system in which entry and exit are very flexible. This kind of system could be evolved. I think, more or less, the thinking of both the committees—the committee for the 10-year schooling and the committee for the plus two stage which one of our Hon. Member, Dr. Adiseshiah headed—was on these lines. But the question is of implementation. And whatever agreement we have, if out of 10 issues we have agreed upon two issues,, we must see that within one year or two years, we get them implemented, or give them up and say to the nation that this is not possible. But let us not now delay this. This is utmost urgency.

I am glad that the Ministry has also said that they want to orient the whole system towards egalitarian objectives. I am glad that in the beginning of their report, they say:

"In retrospect, it has been an eventful year marked by intense activity to give a positive, meaningful and egalitarian orientation to the educational efforts of the Government."

This is certainly heartening to hear from the Government. For the first time I see this kind of a commitment. It is very good. But having said this, we cannot then shirk the responsibility of bringing the so-called public schools in line with the national system of education. I would not, for a moment, say that they are not doing good work. That is not the issue. If they are doing good work, the adverse effect of what they have done is ten times more than the results they have achieved here and there. The public schools may continue if they want to continue. They have the freedom; anybody has the freedom to run a school. But two things must be made clear. Firstly, these public schools will be required to impart at least the primary education in the children's mother tongue. This is the principle. All over the world it is so. How can we in India permit something different? If they do not agree and we cannot stop them constitutionally, boycott them. Let the Government and the Ministers say that they will refuse to associate themselves with schools which do not provide instruction for the first seven or eight years at the primary and elementary stages in the children's mother tongue, however good they may be. They may have some good aspects, but what we need to achieve is different. In the public school system the question of media is there. Then they should not be allowed to charge heavy fees. They may continue as schools. Now, on the one side we speak of universal, free primary education by the end of the Sixth Plan and, on the other, the Public schools are allowed to charge Rs. 100 per month as fees, which is many times higher than even the university fees. This kind of double-standard has to be brought to an end. Ways

must be found out, and Members from all parties should be called and consulted and their co-operation must be sought on how to bring about an end to this situation.

Then, coming to higher education, I am glad that the autonomy of universities is being respected. At least the Government has several times stated its commitment to respect the autonomy of universities. Therefore, it is very good. In many cases, the autonomy of universities has been restored, which had been taken away by the previous Government.

SHRI JAHARLAL BANERJEE
(West Bengal): It has again been taken away by the Communist Government in West Bengal.

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: But here also there are some basic, crucial questions on which implementation is very important. Now, it was in 1965 or 1956 that the Kothari Commission said; "We want to complete the process of changing the media of instruction into regional languages in 10 years" And I feel very sad that the Vice-Chancellors' Conference, meeting in Rajkot, now says—as if the question has come up for the first time—"We will do it in five years". What did we do in these ten years? This commitment was totally neglected. The Kothari Commission Report was accepted by the Government, by the Parliamentary Committee, by both the Houses of Parliament and it was reflected in the National Policy Resolution. But we are still very far from implementing it. There is not that drive and enthusiasm being shown to complete this programme even in the coming five years. And one of the handicaps in this is that boards are created by the State Governments as if we are going to produce text-books in higher education. This is a misleading concept. A very great mistake was committed. Instead of asking 1.00 P. the universities and those who are teaching to write their

[Prof. Ramlal Parikh]

books themselves and supporting them it does not matter if one subject there are a hundred books—instead of encouraging, welcoming and facilitating the multiplicity of books we want to impose textbooks. And this has hindered the growth of the regional language literature. Publishing 400 books in all regional languages of India, in 10 years is no progress. It is nothing. With Rs. 1 crore being allotted to each language, this is a very unsatisfactory progress. Therefore, we must do something to accelerate it, to implement it, within one or two years at the most. Unless these fundamental changes take place in higher education, nothing will happen. Just a change in the media is not a change in the instruction, it is the change of a system that is required. The old system will be melting itself only when you change the medium. So long as you do not do that nothing will happen. This is the first precondition, this is the first condition precedent for a higher education reform, that the medium of instruction in all our colleges and universities must be the mother tongue, must be regional language of the students. This we must do. Now, in terms of higher education another important change is this. We have to make sure that now our higher education is related to the life of the people, not just through research papers only, but by doing solid field work, by making social service, field work, extension work, or by promoting adult education or by working for removal of illiteracy or improving health, improving sanitation, rural development, whatever it is. Let them choose anything as an integral part of the curriculum. Here again the Association of Indian Vice-Chancellors have accepted, the Ministry has accepted, the State Governments have accepted, the need for it; but who is to do it? We must have some breakthrough here, and for having that breakthrough, if necessary, I would urge on the Minis-

try, I would urge on the honourable Minister for whom I have the highest esteem as a man, that he should personally go from university to university and beg of them saying, please do this for the sake of the nation. He should beg of them, leaving apart the question whether Central authority is there or not, leaving apart whether Constitutional powers are there or not.

He should beg of them that this is something which they should do for the sake of the nation. Unless we do it, I am afraid, we will lose the tremendous drive given by both the Prime Minister and the Education Minister, the new hope that was generated by the speeches and the directions and the clarity of thought given by both of them. We will lose that momentum and we will again be in the same rut—if we do not utilise the time factor, if we do not do it immediately. Now, I am glad the University Grants Commission also prepared a policy framework paper which accepts all these things. I hope they will implement* it....

श्री उपसभापति : कितना समय और आप लेंगे ?

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH; I will take five minutes.

Therefore, on this regional language question, this question of breaking-up of the centrality of the book knowledge by making it organically related to productive work and social service. We should work hard and not adopt touch-and-go method. Many young men of the National Social Service Corps have done excellent work in villages. Here again this touch-and-go activity is not related with the total academic life of the students. A student who has done well in sports can get some credit. But a student who has done a good social service will not get credit, will not be honoured, will not be given credit for his effort in social service. How long will this remain an extra-curricular activity? This must be made an acti-

vity which is the core of education and the whole education must be built around that.

The'n, the question of education and jobs, degrees and jobs is also being debated. There was a National Education Conference called by the Basic Education Committee of which the late Shri Shriman Narayan was the chairman. There also they had a consensus, and many members of that Committee are Members of this House and they also had agreed that we must do something immediately. Now, what worries me, what worries many of us, and what must be worrying the Education Minister himself, is: How to go through this? How to have a break-through? How will you make a beginning? Now, here again, if very soon we do not bring out something, some tangible result which the people can see themselves with their own eyes, they will lose faith in us. Minister after Minister has been saying that we will bring about a revolution in our education. But nothing happens. If people lose faith in us, the result will be disastrous for the future and no future effort will be possible. Now they have confidence in us. Their confidence in us continues today. They have trusted us and they are willing to trust us for a few more years. But they are impatient to get some tangible results on this issue of restructuring our educational system.

It is unfortunate that our universities are being frequently disturbed. It is very unfortunate. The recent events of violence in the university campuses have pained us. Naturally they have pained all of us. I do not think this should be an issue which should be discussed on partisan lines. As a matter of fact, education as such must be discussed on non-partisan lines. An appeal to this effect has been made by our leaders. Let us consider this as an issue which affects the future of the whole generation, the new rising generation, the younger generation. Let us not treat this at
203 RS—5.

I least as a partisan issue. Very soon, we must evolve a consensus among our political leaders because without their consent no decision will stand. In the past several agreements have been reached with them. We will try again and come to an agreement that we shall not use university campuses for political propaganda. If students want to take part in politics, we will call them outside the campuses and certainly we will give them political education because in a democracy political education cannot be ruled out. But it is different from political propaganda and using students for partisan ends or groupism. We shall, therefore, not allow any violence to be encouraged in the university campuses. On this we should very soon have an agreement. Let us have it, even if it is a limited agreement. I would appeal to all our friends on the other side so that all of us can work together for achieving this. Let us in this House take initiative in bringing about this understanding so that our colleges and universities are allowed to function within their precincts free from political agitations, violence and other extraneous things.

SHRI B. V. ABDULLA KOYA (Kerala):
What about educational institutions being used as training ground by the RSs?

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: I said for political purposes. I do not want to enter into details. Educational institutions should not be used for purposes other than academic and educational, by anybody. That is my point.

Now the time has come when our system cannot bear any further strain in terms of resources. Of course education needs resources. The Planning Commission is not providing the required resources. I fully support the Ministry's efforts to get these resources. That is one side of it. But since this system is thoroughly exposed in regard to its inadequacies, drawbacks and failures and since it has now been realised what a disaster it has brought

[Prof. Ramlal Parikh]

to our national life, let us not expand it further until we have rectified its mistakes. I had moved a Motion in this House. It is still lying as one of the pending Motions. There I had suggested to declare a moratorium for three years during which no new college or new university should be opened. At least for three years let there not be any new college or university. We will use this period of three years to completely reshape and refashion and restructure the existing system. When we are satisfied that we have been able to achieve something, then we can expand it. Otherwise, there is no use expanding a system which is sinful, it is no use having a system which is full of vices. Let us at least refrain from that. (Time *Bill Rings*). I am just now finishing, Sir. The point is that this Ministry's working is of crucial importance to this House because of the success or the failure of it depends the future of our nation and the future of so many things. Even the future of a peaceful society depends on how we reconstruct our educational system. Therefore, I would only say; Let not the Central Government, while taking initiative in these matters, take an attitude like the earlier government, which can be called the 'big brother' attitude and say that only the Central Government knows everything and the States do not know anything. There has to be diversity, there has to be flexibility and so on. I am very glad that this has been accepted at least now. But I was feeling rather sorry that this was not even theoretically accepted earlier when it was said that something had emerged from the NCERT and it had to be accepted, although it was not accepted by some bold State leaders. Even the States, even the districts, have tremendous scope for diversity, for flexibility, and if this is to be done, I would urge upon the Minister not to have too many unwieldy organisations in the Ministry one of which, I am pointedly

pointing out, is the NC-&KT which, I do not think, justifies itself. It does not add to any healthy development; it does not need to be so big; and it does not have to interfere in the State Governments' affairs. But it interferes in so many things that the States are doing. In so many ways it is doing that. I must say that I have seen the way in which the NCERT has grown during the last ten years. It is an unwieldy organisation which must be cut down to a rational size and must be confined to a rational sphere and certain limitations must be put on its activities also. Lastly, Sir,...

SHRI N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh); I suggest that the honourable Member can continue his speech after the lunch interval.

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: I am just finishing, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is just finishing, Mr. Ranga.

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH; I am just finishing. Please bear with me for a minute.

Sir, what I am saying is that we cannot afford to lose time on these things and that is what I am saying now. We may agree or disagree. But, if you don't agree on certain things, then, let us give them up. But, on whatever we agree, let us not lose time. Let us not lose time in the task of reconstruction of education. Education is a matter of the utmost urgency today and everything else is subsidiary to it and secondary to it. While saying all these things and giving my comments, I would say in the end that the Education Ministry has awakened itself to the new responsibilities, to the new consciousness and to the new direction in which it should go and I congratulate them for that. All that I am cautioning them is this: Let them maintain and sustain the new tempo which they

have brought about a'nd let them not get diffused in this. Thank you.

श्री उपसभापति : सदन की कार्यवाही दो बजे स्थगित की जाती है ।

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

The House reassembled after lunch at five minutes past two of the clock, The Vice-Chairman (Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda) in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Before I call the next speaker, I would like to request the hon. Members to be brief because there are a large number of speakers on the list and we are supposed to finish this by about 5.00 o'clock.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN (Delhi): It is a very important subject.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): I know it- As it is a very important subject, a large number of speakers have given their names.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: Sir, the time can be extended.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Sisodia, you can proceed.

श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया (मध्य प्रदेश) : मान्यवर, जिस विषय पर चर्चा हो रही है उस विषय का हमारे देश के जन-जीवन से, हमारे देश के लोकतंत्र से, हमारे देश की स्वतंत्रता से, हमारे देश के विकास और हमारे देश की कानून और व्यवस्था से सीधा संबंध है। यही कारण है कि आजादी के बाद और आजादी के पहले

इस विषय पर हमारे देश के राजनीतिज्ञ शिक्षा-शास्त्री विद्यार्थी विशेषज्ञ हैं, जो इस विषय में रुचि रखते हैं और मान्यवर, जो हमारे देश के प्रशासक रहे हैं उन सबने समय समय पर हमारी जो शिक्षा पद्धति है उसमें आमूलचूल परिवर्तन की पहल की है। इस विषय के बारे में काफी गम्भीर चिन्तन हुआ है। आज भी अगर हम इस स्थिति पर विचार करें कि हमारे देश में शिक्षा पद्धति का क्या प्रभाव है तो हम देखते हैं कि चारों ओर हमारे जितने भी विश्वविद्यालय हैं, वे बंद हैं, सब जगह झगड़े हो रहे हैं, यहां तक कि विश्वविद्यालयों में हिंसा और नाना प्रकार के झगड़े फैल रहे हैं और ऐसा लगता है कि ये शिक्षा के मंदिर नहीं हैं, बल्कि हिंसा और उपद्रव के स्थान बन गये हैं। मैं नहीं मानता हूँ कि इसमें विद्यार्थियों की गलती है। यह हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति का दोष है। इस प्रकार की शिक्षा पद्धति में सुधार होना ही चाहिए। इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था हमारे देश के हित में नहीं हो सकती है और उसी का यह कारण है कि शिक्षा पद्धति में परिवर्तन के बारे में हमारे यहां गम्भीर चिन्तन हो रहा है। वर्तमान शिक्षा पद्धति अंग्रेजी राज की देन थी। लार्ड मैकाले ने डेढ़ सौ वर्ष पहले दूरअदेशी सूझबूझ से हमारे देश में जिस प्रणाली को चालू किया था उसी का थोड़ा बहुत रूप आज भी मौजूद है। 1968 में पिछले शासन ने शिक्षा की एक राष्ट्रीय नीति की घोषणा की थी और यह निश्चय किया था कि उसमें समय समय पर सुधार और परिवर्तन होता रहेगा। आज यह मांग बड़े जोरों से है कि हमारी एक निश्चित राष्ट्रीय नीति शिक्षा के संबंध में होनी चाहिए। राष्ट्रीय नीति की घोषणा होनी जरूरी है। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि राष्ट्रीय नीति की घोषणा होने के पहले उसका सीधा संबंध जिन लोगों से है, जिनका जिक्र मैंने ऊपर भी किया है, संसद और जो

[श्री सवाई सिंह सिसोदिया]

शिक्षा से संबंधित क्षेत्र के लोग हैं उनके विचारों को सुनने के पश्चात् ही उस पद्धति को लागू करना चाहिए; क्योंकि उसका कारण यह है कि शिक्षा पद्धति एक नाजुक विषय है और इसमें सुधार करने की काफी गुंजाइश है। सुधार के परिणाम अच्छे निकलने चाहिये। इसलिए बहुत सोच समझ कर विचार के पश्चात् नीति निर्धारित की जानी चाहिए। नीति निर्धारित करते समय इन तथ्यों को भी सामने रखना होगा कि हमने अपने संविधान में जो 14 साल तक की आयु के बच्चों को शिक्षा देने का संकल्प लिया था, वह हम पूरा नहीं कर सके हैं और आज भी हमारे देश में पांच करोड़ बच्चे इस आयु के हैं जिनकी शिक्षा का प्रबंध नहीं हो पाया है। ऐसे 10 करोड़ एडल्ट्स, वयस्क व्यक्ति हैं जिनके शिक्षण का, साक्षरता का किसी किस्म का इंतजाम नहीं हुआ है। तो ये बहुत सी चुनौतियां हमारे सामने हैं। जो आज की शिक्षण पद्धति है वह रोजगारमूलक नहीं है, शिक्षण समाप्त करने के बाद हम देखते हैं बेरोजगारी में दिन प्रति दिन वृद्धि हो रही है, असंतोष पैदा हो रहा है। हमारा जो शिक्षित समुदाय है उसके सामने आर्थिक चुनौतियां हैं। इन सब बातों को सामने रख कर ही, हमको बहुत सोच-समझ कर अपनी शिक्षा पद्धति में परिवर्तन करके नई शिक्षा नीति की घोषणा करनी होगी। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि आज जो केन्द्र में और बहुत से प्रांतों में जनता पार्टी का शासन है, उनके सामने कंप्यूटर के सिवाए कोई चीज नहीं है। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि एक बहुत बड़ा कंप्यूटर छाया हुआ है—जनता पार्टी पर, समाजवाद को अपनाया नहीं गया है। कोई रास्ता निश्चित नहीं है। ऐसी अवस्था में जहां आतिवाद है, कंप्यूटर के अलावा कोई रास्ता नहीं है, विचारों में अन्तर-विरोध है, ऐसी परिस्थिति में क्या वर्तमान शिक्षा मंत्रालय

या वर्तमान केन्द्र का शासन कोई ऐसी नीति एक ऐसी मुलझी हुई नीति शिक्षा पद्धति के विषय में इस देश में ला सकेगा जिससे उन सारी ज्वलंत समस्याओं का समाधान हो सके? और इसीलिए मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि बहुत सोच समझ कर इस दिशा में कदम उठाना पड़ेगा। इस बात की जरूरत नहीं है कि जो शिक्षण संस्थाएं वर्षों से अच्छा कार्य कर रही हैं, जिनके परिणाम अच्छे हैं, उनको केवल इसलिए बंद कर दिया जाए कि हम उसमें कुछ नए सुधार लाना चाहते हैं, वह चाहे अशासकीय स्तर पर चलाए जा रहे हों, चाहे शासन द्वारा चलाए जा रहे हों इस बात की सावधानी रखनी होगी कि जो नयी नीति लाना चाहते हैं, शिक्षा पद्धति के सम्बन्ध में नयी घोषणा करना चाहते हैं, राष्ट्रीय नीति को लागू करना चाहते हैं, तो उसको लागू करने के साथ-साथ इन बातों पर भी ध्यान रखना होगा कि जो शिक्षण संस्थाएं अच्छे ढंग से काम कर रही हैं—वह शासन द्वारा चलायी जा रही हों या अशासकीय स्तर पर—उन्हें यथावत् चालू रखा जाए। हमारे देश में आज 115 विश्वविद्यालय हैं, इतनी बड़ी विश्वविद्यालयों की संख्या होते हुए अब इस बात की जरूरत नहीं है कि नए विश्वविद्यालय खोले जाएं लेकिन जो गुणात्मक सुधार होना है उसको लागू करने की जरूरत है। माननीय मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि मेरा मॉटेसरी सिस्टम की पाठशाला से लेकर पोस्ट-ग्रेजुएट कालेज और तत्सम्बन्धी गति-विधियों से पिछले अनेक वर्षों से संबंध रहा है। शासन एक ओर इस बात पर जोर देता है कि जो विश्वविद्यालय हैं या जो बड़े कालेज हैं उनमें ज्यादा विद्यार्थियों की भरती नहीं होनी चाहिए। ज्यादा संख्या की जरूरत नहीं है, परन्तु गुणात्मक दृष्टि से जो लायक हों, जो आगे पढ़ना चाहते हैं, जिनकी प्रगाढ़ वृद्धि है या जो विशेष योग्यता रखते हैं उन्हें आगे पढ़ना चाहिये। यूनिवर्सिटी ग्राण्ट्स कमीशन ने यह नियम

रखा है उन्हीं महाविद्यालयों को आर्थिक सहायता दी जाएगी जिनमें विद्यार्थियों की संख्या 1000 या उससे ज्यादा हो। एक ओर शासन चाहता है कि गुणात्मक सुधार हो, जो कमियाँ हैं वे दूर होनी चाहिए, अच्छे ढंग से विकास होना चाहिए, दूसरी तरफ यह आग्रह कि विद्यार्थियों की संख्या 1000 हो, तब ही आर्थिक सहायता मिलेगी—एक परस्पर विरोधी बात है इस प्रकार का नियम जो चला आ रहा है उसको समाप्त कीजिए; अगर महाविद्यालयों में योग्य शिक्षा पद्धति है और जो दूसरे क्राइटेरिया हैं, अच्छी शिक्षा संस्था के लिए, अगर उसके अनुरूप वे संस्थाएँ हैं तो उसमें यह प्रतिबन्ध नहीं होना चाहिए कि 1000 विद्यार्थियों की संख्या जिन कालेजों में होगी उन्हीं को यूनिवर्सिटी ग्राण्ट्स कमीशन से मदद मिलेगी, दूसरी संस्थाओं से नहीं मिलेगी। इस बात पर विचार होना चाहिये जो विद्यार्थी अनाथ, योग्य हैं—निर्धन हैं नीति के अनुरूप जो संस्थाएँ चल रही हैं उनको मदद मिलनी चाहिए।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी व्यवस्था हमारे शिक्षण की होनी चाहिए कि गरीब से गरीब आदमी को भी उससे लाभ मिल सके। आज की जो व्यवस्था है उसमें ज्यादातर उन्हीं को लाभ मिलता है जो साधन संपन्न हैं। साधन संपन्न लोगों को ही केवल शिक्षा मिले यह हमारा लक्ष्य नहीं है, ऐसे विद्यार्थियों को जो पिछड़े वर्ग के हैं, जो आर्थिक दृष्टि से कमजोर हैं, उनको हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति का, हमारी साक्षरता की योजना का और हमारी जो एडल्ट एजुकेशन की योजना है, उन समस्त योजनाओं का लाभ आम जनता को मिलना चाहिये। इस प्रकार का भी विचार करना है कि एडल्ट एजुकेशन के लिये, उसके विस्तार के लिये बहुत बड़ी धनराशि इस बजट में रखी गई, उसका कहीं दुरुपयोग न हो। मैं इस संबंध में आपको सावधान करना चाहता हूँ। आज हमारे देश में ऐसी संस्थाएँ हैं कि जो समाजवाद

में विश्वास नहीं रखती है, जो लोकतंत्र में विश्वास नहीं रखती हैं और हमारे देश की राष्ट्रीय नीतियों के विरुद्ध हैं। वह इसका लाभ उठाना चाहती हैं। वह अपने विचारों का प्रसार और प्रचार करना चाहती है। गांवों में और अशिक्षित लोगों में, इस योजना में हिस्सा बटाकर अपने को शरीक करके और देहातों में लोकतंत्र के विरुद्ध भावना का और अपनी विचारधारा का प्रचार करना चाहती हैं। कहीं ऐसा न हो कि बजट की इतना बड़ी धनराशि का दुरुपयोग करने का मौका ऐसी संस्थाओं को मिले। इस संबंध में बड़ी सावधानी से कदम उठाना होगा। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे मुल्क में बहुत-सी ऐसी एजेंसियाँ हैं, बहुत-सी ऐसी सामाजिक संस्थाएँ हैं कि जो वखुवी साक्षरता के काम को अपने हाथ में ले सकती है। कोऑपरेटिव एजुकेशन को देने के लिये भी इन्स्ट्रुक्टर्स का रॉयल्टी है। इस प्रकार की एजेंसियों का उपयोग प्रादेशिकता के प्रसार में हो सकता है। डुप्लीकेशन नहीं होना चाहिए; दो सौ करोड़ रुपये इस काम में खर्च करना है। फर्जी संस्थाएँ इसका दुरुपयोग कर सकती हैं। वे संस्थाएँ कि जो पहले से समाज की सेवा कर रही हैं जो मान्यता प्राप्त हैं जो इस कार्य के लिये सक्षम हैं और जो भली-भाँति इस काम को कर सकती हैं, उनको ही इस योजना में भागीदार बनाना चाहिए।

माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति अगर कारगर नहीं हुई, प्रभावकारी नहीं हुई और अच्छे ढंग से नहीं चलाई गयी तो मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश प्रगति नहीं कर सकेगा। एथेंस में प्रजातंत्र था लेकिन उसके बाद भी वहाँ सुकरात को फांसी दे दी गयी, इसलिये ज्यादातर लोग वहाँ अशिक्षित थे। हमारे देश में महात्मा गांधी को गोली का शिकार इसलिये होना पड़ा कि हमारे मुल्क में भी समुचित साक्षरता की व्यवस्था नहीं थी और इसी कारण हमारे देश में ऐसी विचार धारा उस समय पनपी

[श्री. सवाई सिंह मिसोदिया]

कि हिंसा को बल मिला और घृणित विचारों के कारण गांधी जी की हत्या हुई बहुत बड़ा खतरा आज भी हमारे देश के सामने है। इसीलिये नीचे से ऊपर तक जितनी इकाइयां हैं शिक्षण की उनमें इस तरह के कदम उठाने चाहिए कि उनमें शिक्षण मुचारु रूप से चले प्राथमिक पाठशालाओं की संख्या 5 लाख के लगभग है, उन की आज क्या दुर्दशा है। उनके पास भवन नहीं है, कहीं बच्चों के बैठने का स्थान उचित नहीं है और कहीं अगर विद्यार्थी हैं, तो शिक्षक का पता नहीं चलता है और अगर कहीं शिक्षक भी हैं तो वे प्रशिक्षित नहीं हैं सबसे पहले ध्यान इस बात पर देना चाहिए कि हमारे बजट का ज्यादा हिस्सा प्राथमिक शिक्षा की व्यवस्था के लिये इस्तेमाल हो और उसके बाद वह हायर सेकेंडरी शिक्षा तक ही अधिक से अधिक खर्च किया जाना चाहिए हायर सेकेंडरी से ऊपर की जो संस्थायें हैं महाविद्यालय हैं उन को अच्छे ढंग से चलाने और उनके समुचित विकास की और ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। दस जमा दो व जमा तीन की बड़ी भारी कंट्रोवर्सी आज हमारे देश में चल रही है। हम अपने देश में रोज नये-नये प्रयोग करते रहते हैं। पहले दस जमा दो का सिस्टम था। उसको समाप्त कर दस जमा एक जमा तीन का सिस्टम शुरू किया गया और फिर दस जमा दो जमा तीन या जमा दो चलता रहा। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हम काफी पैसा, साधन और शक्ति केवल इस प्रयोग में ही खर्च करते रहे हैं। मेरा सुझाव है कि वर्तमान प्रचलित व्यवस्था को ही रखा जाये। नये प्रयोग से सारे मुल्क में शिक्षा की व्यवस्था विगड़ेगी और पैसे व समय का दुरुपयोग होगा, अपव्यय होगा और इसका परिणाम भी कोई बहुत अच्छा निकलने वाला नहीं है। इसलिये इस विषय पर भी आपको गरम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिए। स्कालरशिप्स देने के जो नियम बने

हुए, हैं उन में भी काफी सुधार कराने का आवश्यकता है। अधिकतर देखा गया है कि एक व्यक्ति जो आई० ए० एस० है उसके लड़के को या लड़की को, उस की सन्तान को भी इसलिये स्कालरशिप मिलती है कि वह विशेष संप्रदाय या जाति का है। जो इकोना-मिकली बैकवर्ड हों, आर्थिक दृष्टि से जो बैकवर्ड हों उनको सहायता देने का नियम बनाना चाहिये। उनको पैसा देने के बारे में आपको सोचना चाहिये। मैंने अभी शुरूआत ही की है। ऐसे विषय के बारे में आप मौका दीजिये, पूरी तरह से अपने विचार रखने का। स्पोर्ट्स के बारे में तथा अन्य विषयों पर मैं खास तौर पर विचार रखना चाहता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): I think there are quite a number of other speakers from your Party. Please wind up.

श्री सवाई सिंह मिसोदिया : स्पोर्ट्स के बारे में हमारी कोई राष्ट्रीय नीति नहीं है, जबकि इसके सम्बन्ध में समय-समय पर यह मांग की जा रही है कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय नीति की खोषणा होनी चाहिये जब कभी हमारे देश के खिलाड़ी दुनिया के दूसरे मुल्कों के खिलाड़ियों से परास्त होते हैं तो हमारे पूरे राष्ट्र को काफी नीचा देखना पड़ता है। इसकी विस्तृत चर्चा करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, सब जानते हैं कि बहुत सी दुर्गति स्पोर्ट्स के मामले में हमारी

हुई है। हमारे राष्ट्र का मान और मर्यादा को काफी ठेस पहुंची है।

मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करूंगा कि देशी खेलों के विकास के बारे में अधिक ध्यान दिया जाये। खास तौर पर कबड्डी खेल के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं कि दुनिया के आठ ऐसे राष्ट्र हैं जहां कि कबड्डी का खेल कई वर्षों से चालू है। मई महीने में एक आयोजन हमारे देश में होने वाला है जिसमें अनेक राष्ट्रों के प्रतिनिधि जहां कबड्डी के खेल को प्राथमिकता दी जाती है भाग लेने वाले हैं। हमारी यह कोशिश होनी चाहिए कि कबड्डी के खेल को ओलम्पिक के खेल की परिधि में शीघ्र सम्मिलित किया जा सके।

SHRI LAKSHMANA MAHAPATRO (Orissa): Of late, we are short of eminence in kite-flying.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Sisodia, kindly wind up.

श्री सवाई सिंह सिसौदिया : वह करिये आप, काइट फ्लाइंग से मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है। मेरा निवेदन है कि हमारे देशी खेलों को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा धनराशि ऐसी संस्थाओं में उपलब्ध करानी चाहिये जो इन खेलों में रुचि रखते हैं और जो कि अन्यथा सक्षम हैं।

इसके अलावा जो सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम है, उसके बारे में भी कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारे केन्द्रीय मंत्रालय से कुछ विशेष संस्थाएं हैं, उन्हीं को मदद दी जा रही है। लेकिन ऐसे बहुत से व्यक्ति हैं, अच्छे कलाकार हैं, अच्छे नृत्य, संगीत और कला से सम्बन्धित बहुत सी हमारे मूलक में संस्थाएं हैं जिनको मदद मिलनी

चाहिये, जिनकी गतिविधि को आगे चलाने के लिए और संचालन के लिए मदद देने की आवश्यकता है। उनको नजरअन्दाज किया जाता है और बहुत सी ऐसी हस्तियां हैं जोकि आगेपुढ बढ़ सकती हैं यदि उनको मौका, आर्थिक मदद दी जाती है, तो वे आगे आकर के हमारी सांस्कृतिक उपलब्धियों को दुनिया के सामने रख सकती हैं। जो कल्चरल एक्सचेंज प्रोग्राम होते हैं, उसमें भी कुछ विशेष व्यक्तियों को ही बाहर भेजा जाता है। लेकिन अच्छे कलाकार नजर से ओझल हो जाते हैं। कोशिश करने के बाद भी मंत्रालय के अधिकारी तक उनकी पहुंच नहीं होती है। इसीलिये मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वह सुझावों पर विचार करे, राष्ट्रीय नीति शिक्षा की ओर स्पोर्ट्स के बारे में आप घोषणा करें और उसको अमली रूप देने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि संसद के सदस्यों और अन्य संस्थाओं से सम्बन्धित व्यक्तियों के विचारों को सुनने की कोशिश करें क्योंकि बिना सोचे समझे परिवर्तन करना ठीक नहीं है। जो परिवर्तन लाना है, वह एक निश्चित लक्ष्य को सामने रखकर लाना होगा। मैंने इसलिये इन बातों को आपके सामने रखा क्योंकि आप शिक्षा क्षेत्र की समस्याओं को जानते हैं और सोचते भी हैं कि शिक्षा पद्धति में सुधार होना चाहिये। मुझे डर है कि हमारे देश की जिस पार्टी के हाथ में शासन की व्यवस्था है वह कम्प्यूजन के वातावरण से बाहर निकल सकेगी या नहीं? आपसी अन्तरद्वन्द्व में इस प्रकार फंसे हुए हैं कि किसी भी निश्चित दिशा की ओर बढ़ने की स्थिति में नहीं है।

[श्री सवाई सिंह सिसौदिया]

जिस प्रकार का परिवर्तन लाना चाहते हैं, उसको हिम्मत के साथ लाना होगा, इन सारे दृष्टिकोणों को सामने रखते हुए आगे बढ़ना होगा।

मैं उपसभाध्यक्ष जी और बोला चाहता हूँ, पर आप बार बार इशारा कर रहे हैं। मैं अपने विचार मजदूरी में समाप्त करता हूँ। मैं इतना निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि पिछले कई वर्षों से लोगों की माँग है कि शिक्षा पद्धति में राष्ट्रीय नीति की घोषणा होनी है। इस घोषणा से पहले आप काफी गम्भीरता और ध्यान से विचार होना चाहिए। जो विचार आपके सामने आये हैं, उन पर गौर करेंगे और गौर करके ऐसे निर्णय लेंगे जिससे हमारे राष्ट्र का गौरव बढ़े जिससे हमारे राष्ट्र की शिक्षण व्यवस्था और हमारे देश के जो तरुण हैं उनमें नागरिकता की भावना अच्छे ढंग से फैल सके, व्याप्त हो सके। इन सारी बातों को सामने रख कर के ही घोषणा होनी चाहिये। निर्णय होना चाहिए।

DR. V. P. DUTT (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the debate on the Education Ministry has also become a hardy annual. For the last six years, I have been participating in the debates on education. Every time, many hon. Members of the House, many eminent educationists and many others who are interested in education have been pointing out the vital and the basic problems facing the country in the field of education and yet, the things remain where they have remained for the last thirty years so far as the basic restructuring of education is concerned and I suppose the things will remain the same even when we are not here. For the last six years at least, I have seen educational anomalies being pinpointed and obvious solutions being offered. So, in the spirit of that hardy annual that we go through, let me also recapitulate some of the anoma-

lies that I have been, and many other friends have been, pointing out here, the basic elements of the disease in the educational system. In fact, the first anomaly of our country's topsy turvy priorities is the amount of funds that are allocated for education. Whenever any Ministry has to suffer a cut and whenever the axe is to be applied, it is first applied on education and education is generally starved of fund. Therefore, I would begin by saying that let us at least give some attention to this first anomaly. Let more funds be provided for education, because, education is the fundamental of development of any society. The second anomaly that I would like to point out—as I said, I am only summing up some of the anomalies; I do not have the time to go into the details—is that our educational system is top-heavy and bottom-light. The topsy-turvy nature of our priorities is apparent from the rate of growth in the various sectors of education. In the last twenty-five years, primary education expanded three times middle education four times, higher secondary education five times and higher education, college and university education more than six times. In fact, even in university education, we find that post-graduate and research-oriented education has increased by 9 per cent compared to 3.7 per cent of the total university enrolment. I am not talking of absolute figures. But percentage-wise, the least expansion is in primary education, next in secondary education, then, more expansion in higher secondary education and still more expansion, percentage-wise, in university education and the highest in post-graduate education and research. It is quite obvious that this state of affairs cries for immediate remedial action. In fact, for a country like India, as many friends have said now and many will say again later on, we need a massive mobilisation of resources, human, fiscal, financial and all that we can muster for removing illiteracy first of all for bringing knowledge, the basic minimum knowledge, to our people and to make it possible

for all our people to get education, not necessarily formal education, not necessarily school and university education, not necessarily education at one particular stage of development or at one particular age, but education at any time and at any age through various means and methods. Today illiteracy is 60 per cent in the country. Sixty per cent of our people are illiterate. While there is no doubt that we have made tremendous progress, I will not deny it, in fact I am proud that we made so much progress after our Independence, but taking the totality of the picture one cannot but be depressed by the fact that it is a shame for all of us here that even after so many decades of Independence there are more people who are illiterate today than there were a few years ago.

Then again, Sir, look at the kind of quality of education that we have, what is known as general education. In fact, last year also I drew the attention of the hon. Education Minister to the fact that science education, education in technology, education in professional subjects, was not keeping up with the expansion of education in general subjects, in Arts and Humanities. This is one of the major lacunae of our education system, whether at the school level or at the higher university level.

Another anomaly that I would like to point out is the colossal, terrible wastage in our education. If I may give a few figures just to underline the immensity of the problem, Sir, out of every one hundred children who go to Class I only about 50 reach Class V, while only 35 reach Class VIII. In other words, there is a wastage of about 65 per cent, what we call them drop-outs. Secondly, in the case of secondary education, out of every 100 children in Class IX about 70 reach Class XI. But Sir, lest we should forget, the situation in higher education is even worse, the wastage is more than 60 per cent. Out of every 100 students, ultimately the number of

Graduates is only 40 or a maximum of 45. If I may further give detailed figures, the total enrolment at the college level in 1972-73 for which I have got the figures but I think the figures remain fairly the same so far as the general picture is concerned, was 15.72 lakhs. As against this, the number of graduates is only 4.2 lakhs. Even in Engineering, Medicine and Agriculture the wastage is about 30 per cent. In our higher education, Sir, we spend nearly Rs. 1000 per student and about Rs. 16000 per student of Medical, Engineering and professional subjects. And yet I am sorry to say that the majority of the higher education remains a wastage of one kind or another. Obviously, such anomalies, glaring anomalies have been pointed out many times by many eminent educationists. My old boss is here. I was Pro Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University. Dr. Sarup Singh is here. I told him the other day that he was my boss, in the University and he remains my boss here also.

DR. SARUP SINGH (Haryana): Boss and friend.

DR. V. P. DUTT: Then there are other eminent educationists here who will bear me out that we can continue this kind of system of education only

at our own peril. One other anomaly that I might mention was referred to by my friend from the other side about 10+2+3 system. Sir, I am depressed to see that the 10+2+3 system is in utter and hopeless mess. I would

say that the idea behind it, the conception behind it has been given a burial—and not even a decent one. We are playing with, we are fiddling with, we are tinkering with the future of hundreds of thousands of young people in our country. Some times we hear it will be 8+4+3. Some times we hear it will be 6+6+3 and so on. I thought that the basic idea was to relate education to labour and production to enable our young people to work with their hands and to be

[Dr. V. P. Dutt] able to manage machines and tools and acquire skills. That was the conception behind this whole idea of vocationalisation. But now we are playing with numbers—whether it will be 6+6, or whether it will be 8-4 or whether it will be 10+1 and so on and so forth.

Education, we have said again and again, must be socially relevant as well as mentally elevated. But I would like to emphasise that to my mind, the most important objective of education, at least at the school level, is to break down the terror of the complexity of the problems of modern civilisation and modernisation, to inculcate the scientific temper in them, to give them a rational education, to enable them to master the tools of production and to get nearest to life and to be able to handle the problems of life. Otherwise, education becomes useless. And that is why I have again and again underlined the need for looking into the content of education. It is not enough to go into the mechanics of it. What is the content of this education? Our Constitution provides—and from what I have seen from the latest amendments that the treasury benches have offered, the Constitution will continue to provide—the establishment of a socialist, democratic, secular structure of society. If that is so, our educational needs, our educational system must also be in harmony with this idea and the content of our education must also be democratic, secular and socialist and it must bring working with the hands and the minds together.

Sir, I would also like to say that the Government gives the impression—at least to me—of not having made up its mind. We get the impression that we are drifting, we are dithering, that we are rudderless. It is neither the impression of a direction nor of clarity, much less of vision. And I should like to caution that we are sitting on the edge of a volcano. I am

choosing my words, Sir, with the utmost responsibility when I say that we are sitting on the edge of a volcano and unless we take heed, this volcano will erupt.

There are a few other points that I would like to mention. Unfortunately, the Government has not exactly covered itself with glory in the matter of textbooks and its general approach towards intellectuals. There is a widespread feeling in the country that progressive, democratic and secular historians and social scientists are systematically under attack under Government patronage. The manner in which the NCERT text-books have been sought to be withdrawn has not redounded to the credit of the Government, nor fortified faith in its commitment to free intellectual expression. Now I understand that the textbooks are to be withdrawn under another plea that of revising the courses and reducing the workloads. If that is so, why can it be the same distinguished authors be asked to revise their text-books in the light of the requirement for reducing the workload?

In reply to a question that I had asked, the hon'ble Education Minister said in the House that he had referred these text-books to certain eminent panelists. I should like to urge on him to let us know the comments that he has received. Let them be published so that there may be a democratic national debate on the issues. There is nothing hush hush about it. The text-books concern matters of various intellectual views and there should be no difficulty in having a democratic debate on these questions. In fact, it is unfortunate that we get the impression that there is some effort to split professional organisations like the Indian History Congress which was established in 1937. Recently there was a so-called Indian Culture and History Congress patronised by the Government which had an organising secretary who was an R.S.S. Sanchalak. So in the matter of text-books let not an impression be given that the

Government is being swamped the most fanatical and the most obscurantist forces in this country because the unity and the integrity of this country have depended on tolerance and a progressive outlook born of a composite culture. If we are unable to maintain that, then I am afraid we will be in deep trouble.

While winding up I would like to mention two other points. One is that the University Grants Commission has brought out a brochure on a policy question. I would like to commend that brochure and its recommendations. But the question is of implementation about which Mr. Ram Lai Parikh spoke in his powerful voice which is getting more powerful these days with his proximity to power but I shall add my small voice to it _____

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN Your voice will be supported by your boss.

DR V P. DUTT:...I will say that lack of implementation which has been the bane of all the problems of this country will follow even with regard to this policy.

I would like to end by mentioning one thing which has been, shall I say, distressing me greatly namely, the smell of violence in the campuses. Whereas the Government machinery is exercising repression over the working class....

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND (Punjab): It is already giving stench.

DR. V. P. DUTT:... in the campuses of the Universities . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Your time is up.

DR. V. P. DUTT: ...whereas the Government machinery is exercising repression over the working class, on the other hand, the forces of reaction

who claim to be the muscle men behind the Janata Government are creating an atmosphere of violence and intimidation in the Campuses. Sir, virtually every University in Northern India is either closed or is in deep trouble. And trouble from whom? To use popular phrase of a popular author, from All The Janata's men. I am not saying this in any partisan manner. I am only repeating what all the newspapers in this country have said. In the Delhi University every one saw what happened recently. How the Vice-Chancellor and the other functionaries were dragged and pushed around, beaten up. And yet, I am sorry to say that a senior Cabinet Minister like Mr. Vajpayee goes to the President. He does not go to the Education Minister. He does not go to the Prime Minister. He does not raise the issue in the Cabinet where he should have raised it. He is a Member of the Cabinet. What kind of collective responsibility is there.

He goes to the President, demonstratively in favour of the students who indulged in violence—and every one saw it—and yet nobody from the Government had said anything about this absolutely abnormal, totally unusual procedure in the history of this country for a senior Cabinet Minister to go publicly to the President. I am sorry, Sir, that this should have happened. But I do not want to end on this sour note: I would like to end on a slightly different note.

Unfortunately, I would say, most of the people seem to think that they can poach on his Ministry. Some Minister decides everything about sports. Somebody else orders enquiries into universities. The hon Minister for Education is not allowed to decide. It is some other Minister who decides which will be our hockey team. Some other Minister goes and issues statements about students and so on and so forth. I would like to urge upon the hon. Education Minister to exercise supremacy over his portfolio. In the end I would like to plead for more funds for lib-

[Dr. V. P. Dutt]

rary development because without good libraries there can be no good research and unless you give adequate funds to our libraries it will not be possible to attain the highest levels of excellence. In that connection I would also like to say that I have been raising this question again and again and the hon. Minister has been good enough to say that he has been considering it—the question of pay scales of Librarians and Directors of Physical Education. There is no reason why they should be discriminated against other teachers with regard to their pay scales. Can you imagine any good university where the Librarian is not to be of the level of a Professor or any college where a Librarian should not be at least of the level of a Lecturer? So, these anomalies should be done away with. Similarly, about the Directors of Physical Education also these anomalies should be ended.

Finally I would like to ask the hon. Minister; Recently the Delhi University suffered heavy loss because of the tornado and in this House I said that the University suffered a loss of about Rs. 60 to 70 lakhs and asked for a special grant. I would like the hon. Minister to tell us what action has been taken, what special grant has been given to the Delhi University and the colleges for making up the loss.

Finally, Sir, I would like to end by saying that I have said all this in a good, sporting spirit because I do not have great expectations. We have *seen* what happened in the previous regimes and we have seen what is happening in this regime also. I am afraid I am coming to the conclusion that only those who are committed and dedicated to transforming society from the fundamentals will be able to bring about any change in this country, and not those who are

sitting opposite me nor those who are sitting along with me today.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Anand. You have got to be brief. Generally all academicians are on the list and naturally they exceed the time limit. We have hardly any time and we have to close by 5 O'clock. I would request you . . .

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: I personally want to tell you...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Anand also might be an academician.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: I can only indicate my mind that way—After all, you yourself being in the same boat, you should be rather more indulgent towards me.

Now, Sir, I want to start where my friend, Dr. Dutt, ended. I want to say that education has to be used as a key instrument of social change and we have utterly failed in the last 30 or 31 years to do so. The failure did start with the Congress regime and the failure is being perpetuated now. Unless and until we fundamentally recognise that the basic instrument of change of society is proper education, unless and until we bring up intelligentsia through education—an intelligentsia which will overcome the colonial backwardness of two centuries, which will overcome the social backwardness of so many centuries, which will overcome the caste prejudice that has been the bane of India—there will be nothing coming up.

Now, Sir, the first thing I want to say is that we cannot overcome anything if the funds for education are so meagre. Government after Government tries to tinker with the problem. Then, Sir, it requires a method of working in which, within a given period, illiteracy will be completely

wiped out among the adults, and beginning with the beginners, the primary school students, no more illiterates will be perpetuated. Now, Sir, this is not a small problem. Our panchayats and local bodies are dominated by the rich and the kulaks", they are dominated by the exploiters. When you talk of compulsory education at the primary stage, think of the poor man's son, the Harijan's son, who is also a bread-winner from a very early age—perhaps from the moment he walks on two legs. How can you take him to the school if you do not give him free books? if you do not give him free meals, if you do not give him free milk at lunch time, if you do not give him a minor incentive in the form of a scholarship to go to school? Nothing is done about that.

Now the Janata Government is say-i'ng that it will have 'more emphasis on primary and secondary education and less on higher education. This is also a strange thing. Perhaps this is the Janata Government's formula for wiping out illiteracy. The hon. Prime Minister said a number of times that in 10 years—he has fixed periods for everything, I will not go into that because there is no time—he will wipe out unemployment. Now in one State the registers in the employment exchanges show that unemployment has gone up by 12 per cent. So the Janata Government will wipe out illiteracy if it gets at least 10 years. But I will say that it is not likely to get even 5 years the way it is tinkering with the problems. Then I think unemployment will be double than what it is today, it is not a question of devoting less to higher education, but making higher education motivated, job-oriented, linked up with planning, linked up with the requirements of the country and making it an integral part of the effort to raise this country out of its extreme economic backwardness and take it to high t levels.

Now, Sir, I have no time to go into it, but otherwise I will say that only those who have serious intents can wipe out illiteracy. Russia started with a much worse position than we did in 1947. Yet it has achieved literacy. Then take Cuba. How quickly has it wiped out illiteracy? So the first problem is that of wiping out illiteracy. The second is that our education must be purposeful, our higher education must be linked up with planning. Then this is meaningless until and unless you strengthen rural education, small town education. If you do not do that, the class differentiation is going to be perpetuated. Then the lower class people, the poor people, the backward people are going to be pushed more and more to the so-called vocational side. We are already a Brahminic country and we are suffering a lot from that. In the new situation, a new type of Brahminism will be perpetuated.

Then, because there is no time, I will go ahead and I would only say that the problem of student revolt is there. It is not unrest. It is actually a revolt. As you sow, so you reap the whirlwind. It is like that that the students' revolt is coming to the total revolutionaries and the total revolutionaries in order to divert the attention have started the game of job reservation now going from the Hari-jans to various castes and backward classes and what not, whereas the problem is to create more and more jobs, to create more and more avenues for fruitful employment, to create more and more educational possibilities. The problem is to create, but the quarrel is about distribution. And this distribution can prove very costly if we do not change our outlook. What do we find today? We find that the students see no future, they are aspired by nothing. The students in the higher establishments also think that by being there the evil day of unemployment is postponed. So they get much more conscious of what they

[Shri Jagjit Singh Anand]

lack in the society when they go out and face the same unemployment which they would have faced four or five years earlier. Then take the teachers. The teachers see no sense of purpose- in what they are doing. They find that their academic freedom is being impinged upon in a big way again and again.

Then, you take the karamcharis. Sir, the UGC also recognises only the teachers and the students. There is no provision for any aid to the karamcharis. The UGC Act has to be amended to see that the karamcharis are a part of the system and that it is tripartite, and not a two-leg stool. I cannot dilate on this also. I have been repeatedly saying that the karamcharis have not been given representation on the management and the senate of the academic bodies. The karamcharis have no uniform pay scales, they have no security of service. And, I do not know whether, after the recent Supreme Court judgement, any steps are being taken to meet the demands of the karamcharis also.

We have the examination system based on cramming. We should recast it. We should move from cramming to knowledge. We should have an open book examination system for which we need more and more libraries and books. We need an entirely different type of asking questions and all that. I am a Member of the Guru Nanakdev University Senate. There the problem is that you cannot organise an examination without putting as many policemen in the examination hall as the students. If such a situation is there, why not make a clean break with the type of examination system that we have? Otherwise, what is happening is that you bribe the examiners, the invigilators, give them a terylene shirt and promise a bottle of whisky in the evening and take all the answers with you. This is what is happening. We have come

to that really. There is no way of holding the examinations in the old system.

Then, Sir, about the history books and all that, much has been said. Take the history books written by Dr. Promila Thapar and S. Gopal. They were opposed to the time-capsule. Instead of taking the problem seriously, the time-capsule diversion was taken up. What is this (jam time-capsule. I am not at all for what is written in it. There is no mention of the leftist movements either of the communist persuasion or of the CPI (M) persuasion. There is no effort to build up even Mrs. Indira Gandhi in that. You have concentrate^ on that and you have withdrawn the text-books because some non-descript person complained. The Prime Minister passed it on to you, you had expert opinion and the expert opinion is divided.

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA (Madhya Pradesh); The Hon. Minister says that there is no mention of Jallianwala Bagh in that.

DR. V. P. DUTT: The time-capsule contains the historical events after Independence.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: The Jallianwala Bagh tragedy occurred long before, fortunately or otherwise. It was in 1919.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI (Uttar Pradesh): It is only the history of Jawaharlal Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Shahi, please sit down, we are discussing the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: Please save us from all those who indulge in diversionary tactics by way of time-capsule, by way of job reservation for the backward classes; please

save us from those who want to subvert writing of secular history, please save us from those who are writing history which cuts at the very root of patriotism and those who cut at the root of building up a generation of Indians who can build up the dream of the martyrs. Why am I saying this? see the 'Freedom at Midnight.' This nonsense shows that Nehru and Patel were shaking in their shoes. Take other books. I would not use strong expressions. See, Mathai writing such nonsense about Nehru. Then they write such books about the Father of the Nation. This is a very very planned thing. The imperialists from abroad and their reactionary and paid agents here want to destroy the very fibre of our youth by teaching that non-sense. If I had known such things about Nehru, I would not have come to political movement and be in it for 40 years. This is what 3.00 P.M. they are trying to do a generation which has no direct experience at all of the great liberation movement, the great anti-imperialist patriotic movement that we built. Unfortunately they were born too late to have a direct impact of Mahatma Gandhi or Jawaharlal Nehru or the other stalwards. go what I am saying is that this is something that has to be looked into.

Then I will not get into what happened to the CSIR or what is happening to the doctors and scientists or into E. Chhutani being asked to pack up just because there was the foolish complaint about the treatment to JP. I will not talk of the NCERT because I have no time. But how long will you continue to destroy people's faith in the doctors and scientists and academicians and how long will you continue to go on this course? You are trying to set up a parallel body to the History Congress and that parallel body is inaugurated by my non-friend, the Education Minister for whom I have high regard. He is the son of an illustrious patriot. He himself had a

lot to do with the freedom movement. But he is more and more slipping under the wings of the RSS. "Who is the man who organised that? He is an RSS sa'nchalak. And who are the sides? The man who presides is an Anand Margi, an ex-Vice-Chancellor of Jaipur, a notorious name. He goes there and speaks there because they are against the verdict of the History Congress that there was nothing wrong with the textbooks. Then there was the Indo-Soviet Commission for Cooperation in social sciences. It was a high-powered commission and very tall persons from the Soviet Union were heading it. Now, Mr. Kotovsky is heading it. One of our colleagues in this House, Mr. Rasheeduddin Khan, is the co-Vice Chairman. Now there is an attempt to replace Mr. Rasheeduddin Khan by a person who is a notorious CIA man, who is a notorious agent of the Americans and who organised the Disarmament Workshop to work out a new theory of equi distance—I mean Mr. Rajni Kothari. If you want to throw out Mr. Rasheeduddin Khan, throw him out, but have a man of academic qualifications, a man of academic integrity, a man of stature. Otherwise this is a diplomatic sort of thing. If you want the Russians to fade out of it and if instead you want to have collaboration with CIA men, it is up to you.

Now what is happening in the Jawaharlal Nehru University since the Janata Government came is reminding me of McCarthyism in the United States. Are you a marxist? Are you a communist? Where were you born? To which party do you belong? They do not ask: What are your academic qualifications? What are the academic papers you have produced? What are the books you have written? What is your standing in the international field? Now, it was mentioned here about Mr. Vajpayee. Now I am told that another Union Cabinet Minister, I mean, Mr..

[Shri Jagjit Singh Anand] Sikandar Bakht, did "bad-bakhti" instead of "kush-bakhti", that is, going to the President over the head of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. Mr. Vajpayee is tired of waiting in the wings and trying to put up a good face on everything. Now Deshmukh saheb is for packing off all the three old persons so that the turn of Mr. Vajpayee or somebody else can come. How is the Government going to run like this if a senior Minister of the Government who has to deal with protocol and foreign relations gangs up with other people and goes to protect two or three students of the Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad of the Rss. who beat up the Vice-Chancellor and the Dean of Students' Welfare? This sort of rowdyism is being defended by these great warriors of the Janata Government. How long is it going to be tolerated by this Ministry?

I have no time to say about what is happening in the field of sports and what a sorry figure we are cutting. We talk of autonomy. When it suits us, we talk of autonomy. When it does not suit us, we interfere with academic rights. When it does not suit us, we defend rowdyism, we defend scoundrels and gang up with them. All these call for a sustained examination. I make a personal appeal to Dr. Chunder for whom I have high regard, not only now but from 1956 when I went to Calcutta and he hosted me in his own house. We were on a very important mission, Afro-Asian solidarity. He should please assert himself and not slip more and more to the position of the RSS. He should please defend more and more academic freedom in this country. He should please examine the educational structure from the point of view of recasting it in a manner that would enable us to build up an India of the dream of the martyrs. Thank you very much.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Sir, we have volumes of records on our achievements in education and social welfare. I have heard my friends expressing satisfaction on the achievements in education. But I am sorry to say that at the moment of our discussing education, so many universities are closed, all the universities in UP are closed, including the Banaras Hindu University. And what happened in Pant Nagar University? There has been a massacre. The PAC committed coldblooded murder of several people. You know what is happening in Delhi itself these days. In Jamia Millia University of which the honourable Prime Minister himself is the Chancellor, the other day when the honourable Prime Minister went there for a Convocation, the students wanted to present some sort of a memorandum to him, but they were prevented, some students were arrested, and six boys were suspended. Police terror is reigning over there. This is what is happening in higher education. Then how are we going to improve higher education? This is a big question before us. We talk of radical changes in the system of education. But with the present system we cannot do that at all. During the last three decades the Congress used the platform of education for their party interests. They used education for their business, for black money, and they turned the centres of education into centres of corruption . . .

SHRI JAHARLAL BANERJEE: What were you doing in West Bengal?

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: That you should know. I am proud that I am from West Bengal. At least there they are doing something they are taking some bold steps to fight the vested interests who are sitting in the educational institutions for decades. We can hear their voice even from here—the voice of the vested interests. Sir, he says he does not know what is happening in West Bengal.

Anyway, Sir. It is good that the Government is having some programme for national adult education from 20th or 22nd of October this year. But the point is unless the Government takes the people's cooperation unless the Government involves the people in education, and if the Government rests on the bureaucracy, everything will turn into a fiasco as it has been happening for the last several years. That is why I would request the honourable Education Minister to involve mass organisations and invite people's participation. Now, what is happening to adult education, mass education? I have some actual experience. I am from West Bengal. We talk a lot about social welfare and development and welfare of women. Here are volumes of reports on this theme. But I am sorry to tell you what is actually happening. The representatives of the social Welfare Board in my State met the honourable Secretary of Social Welfare sometime before and he encouraged them for spreading mass education and adult education among women by opening condensed course schools. We have arranged that. We invited petitions from the people. Innumerable petitions came. But we selected only 71. And here is a letter from the Chairman, Social Welfare Advisory Board in West Bengal, dated 19th April, addressed to the Secretary, Central Social Welfare Department, saying that they did not get the money sanctioned even for the 71 condensed course schools for adult education for women over there. This is the type of things actually happening.

We have heard a lot of the International Women's Year which we celebrated recently. How much have we been able to do actually for the improvement, social welfare and development of education among women?

Take the problem of free primary education. We see from this report that after some months of noise the enrolment is declining from 83.9 to 80.09

203 RS—6.

from 1975-76 to 1976-77 at the a India figure. And in the case of a I past six States, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Karnataka, Kerala Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh the percentage of enrolment has definitely declined. And in the university and higher education also the enrolment has declined. Especially in the primary education there is a drop out. Half the people drop out by class V stage and three-fourths drop out by class VIII stage. Only about 15 pupils reach class XI. This obviously shows that education is basically a socio-economic problem. Why do the children drop out? The workers and peasants and people in the villages are so poor and all the time the children have to work with their parents either in the fields or somewhere else in the towns and villages. They are working with their parents from morning till night for earning their own bread. And again, they are not motivated. The problem is essentially one of Socio-economic structure of our society. Our experience in the villages is that whenever we go there, the people ask: What are we going to gain by this education? The education is not job-oriented. It is a paper plan. Unless we can motivate the people for education, unless the education is job-oriented, unless they see some aim in learning the three 'R's the enrolment will continue to decline. I am told that in the universities also the percentage has declined. Why? The students see no prospects before them. Education is not job-oriented and they do not know whether they will get any job at all. This problem is vitally connected with the economic structure of the society. One of my friends rightly said that only people who are struggling for changing the structure of the society can do something for the education of the masses.

Now there is a lot of confusion about the higher secondary education. We know it was on the 10+2+3 pattern. All right. We started with that. Now we hear it will be 8+4

[Shrimati Kanak Mukherjee]

pattern. There is so much of confusion, so much of experimentation and so much wastage of money. What is it that we actually need? At least ten years of School education in the secondary level. That is what is needed. So, we must do something plain and simple.

We talk of people's education. But our plans are not always simple for the people. When we do make plans, we plan only for selected people of the upper classes. That is the difficulty with us.

We know that ours is a country with many languages of many tribes etc. Basically, education is meant to develop people. This is essentially the task of the State. What is the position in our country? In our country, education is a concurrent subject. Government has failed in its promise at the time of election that it will revert it back to the State list. State intervention is essential in this field. We cannot allow education to be carried on as private business in any case. I have my own experience and I have seen private educational institutions being run as big business in many places. I have seen education as big business. I have seen institutions like that. I have seen corrupt people running educational institutions for black money only. Government must and should intervene in such cases. It is good that the West Bengal Government has started intervening now. They have started many things now. The West Bengal Left Front Government has recently drawn up certain plans and they have started 1,000 primary schools in 1,000 schoolless villages and they have a plan of covering all the villages in a short time. So long even the college teachers were not getting their monthly salaries. I myself came to Delhi along with a few hundred college teachers from all over India some years before to see the honourable Education Minister then and at that time many of my friends now present here were

also there with us, we came to see the Education Minister for getting the monthly salary and a revised pay scale. But so long we college teachers never get our salary regularly every month. Now the West Bengal Left Front Government have started giving us monthly pay packets. They have introduced this system in colleges and primary schools and are going to introduce it in the Secondary Schools also very soon. They have introduced the school meals and tiffin schemes in the primary schools for a few lakhs of pupils. But the point is this: The anarchy that is there in the field of education is not only here, but it is throughout the country and it has been created by the Congress Government over the last three decades. But it is not something which you can remove so easily. But the West Bengal Government has started now in the right way. That I must say. But what can we do now. Naturally, when we start something in the interest of the people, it is the vested interests which are trying to work against that. In West Bengal we have got that experience. And, Sir, here also we are hearing the voice of those representatives of the vested interests who are trying to work in any case against the West Bengal Left Front Government. We are fighting for the democratisation of our educational institutions. But education is also the base of the intellectuals and you know how treacherous the intellectuals can be. That is why the great vested interests are sitting in the universities and in the field of higher education. The intellectuals, when you touch them, are the most sensitive beings. You have the experience of Kerala and you know what happened there. What happened there some years before? The first Communist led government, wanted to reorganise education for the interest of the people, wanted to fight against the corruption of the vested interests. It is a part of the intellectuals over there, it is the educationists, the so-called educationists, the so-called lite-

rateurs over there, who tried then-utmost alongwith the Congress Government in New Delhi to see that the first Communist-led Government there was toppled. Like that, in West Bengal also we have that experience. During the regime of the last UF Government there, we had the same experience and now also we are having that experience. We know who are against the Left Front Government and we know who are doing all these things and we know who are behind all these things. We know these things. But this time we hope that we would be able to battle against all their evil designs and actions.

Now, my last point is this: When we talk of reorganising and restructuring the entire educational system, it is not enough if we only increase the number of institutions. It is not enough to have a large number of organisations; but we must have proper organisations. How they learn is important, but what they learn is also important. One of my friends has already said that the content of education is important. We say in the Preamble to our Constitution "Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic". But, in our educational system, the contents are far from being socialist at all. Because, what are the moral values that we are teaching our students? Are we teaching them any scientific socialism? Are we trying to change the social attitudes? Are we trying to change their moral attitudes? Are we trying to change the social values? Are we trying to change the old values? No. So, it is not a question of increasing the number of educational institutions only and it is not a question of putting some many thousands and millions of students in the educational institutions only. I must say in this connection that till now only twenty per cent of the people have been in the educational institutions or forums after so many years of independence and under the Congress rule only 20 per cent of the people, including the educational institutions. It is of course

vitaly important that we expand education. But it is not a question of quantity only; it is a question of quality also. The whole outlook has to be changed and the values have to be changed. Now, hoodlums and goondas have captured our schools, colleges and universities and they must be thrown out. That is very important, so, the initiative must be from the people and if this Government wants to do anything for the education of the people, it must seek the co-operation of the people and must take the people into confidence and they must take our experience also into account, the experience that we are getting under the West Bengal Left Front Government. Now, what do our left front Government then say? They say that they will not run the Government from the Writers' Building only. They are coming to the people, to the people's representatives. They are seeking their cooperation. They are seeking their advice and they are getting their co-operation. I am sorry that I would not be able to answer my friend here Shri Jaharlal Banerjee, who spoke here. Thank you.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal); Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am thankful for this opportunity, and I am particularly thankful to those Members who raised the discussion on the working of the Ministry of Education. As one who has been in the midst of teachers' movement for about a quarter of a century, I should like to make some observations regarding the state of affairs in the field of education. I had the good fortune of working together with the Minister who is presiding over this Ministry. I had the good fortune of working in co-operation with him in teachers' movements, and therefore I am glad that on many points we have common thinking, common understanding. Not that there are no differences. The Education Minister has an unenviable task. He has inherited a legacy which is perhaps in a way crushing. I have

LProf. Surendra Bhattacharjee], heard Dr. y. P. Dutt, an eminent educationist, expressing satisfaction over what has been achieved during these years. To me it seems that what has been achieved during these years in the course of 31 years after Independence is a matter of disgrace for all of us. After 31 years of independence, India has the proud privilege of embracing half the world's illiterate population. After 31 years of Independence) two-thirds of the country's population remains illiterate. If there is any cause for satisfaction [n it, find it out. Of course, I am not at one with the pessimism of Dr. Dutt. I think that the country ca'nnot afford to be pessimist in regard to education. Education is the life force of the country, and if we have to save the country, if the country has to live— and live it must—theVi we cannot afford to be pessimist. Courage has to be taken in both hands and we must tackle the stupendous problems in the field of education. There is no gain sayi'ng the fact that education is in a horrible mess in this country. There is not even a single item beginning from elementary education to the field of higher education including research, where everything is not in a topsy-turvy condition. The basic problem perhaps is that our country is in a very strange situation regarding educational management and the pattern of financing education. I feel that those who have been connected with the administration of education are not really qualified for it. There is no other country where education is with so much of divided responsibility, so much so that perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to say that education is nobody's business in this country. The management of educational institutions is divided amongst so many authorities. My previous speaker. Prof. Shrimati Mukherjee referred to the various traders in the field of education who are controlling education in their own individual interests. There are trusts, registered societies and other persons

who are lording it over the educational world. The other aspect is the pattern of financing education, particularly where it is 'not under the direct aegis of the Government. The financing pattern is very peculiar in the sector which is perhaps the private sector. At present, the Government pays a 'major share Of the finances required for the educational institutions, but. the management vests jja jhe hands of private persons and educational traders. These two things go side by side. India is perhaps the only county as has been referred to by my eariler speaker, where the teachers of non-Government institutions have to utter a particular slogan continuously. I myself have been in the midst of a number of demonstrations before this Parliament and this august House outside the prohibitory area clamouring that the teachers have to be paid their salaries monthly. That is the slogan. Teaching community is the only community which is without monthly salaries in the proper sense of the term. Their salary is paid frc-m diverse sources. I have been a college teacher and before that a school teacher for more than two decades. This is the first time that the Left Front Government in West Bengal has introduced the system Of pay packet with effect from the month of March. Now the teachers know what they will actually get. Even there the system of direct payment has not begun. This is the situation not only in West Bengal. As one who is intimately connected with the All India Federation of University and college Teachers, organisations. All India Federation of Educational Associations and other teachers' organisations, I know that this is the picture in different parts of the country. Teachers do 'not get salaries in the true sense of the term. Teachers are without salaries. Administration is divided in this way. Finances are controlled Or arranged in this unheard-of and unparalleled manner. How to improve education in this background, in this perspective, if this imbalance

is not corrected? it is proper that the present Education Minister, Dr. Chunder declared that top-most priority would be given to primary education and to the removal of illiteracy. It is a stupendous task as I referred to earlier. In our country there is strange correlation between the percentage of illiterates and that of those below the subsistence level. In either case, it is about two-thirds of the entire population. This correlation is very clear, the meaning is very clear. The figure of illiteracy again is deceptive as the earlier speaker referred to. If we take into account the drop-outs and then the percentage that relapses into illiteracy, we will see that the effective figure of literacy will be much less than what is recorded in official figures. That is one aspect of it. There is another aspect. The plea is taken that the removal of illiteracy is a stupendous task. It requires huge funds. And from where do you get the funds? Ours is a vast country having 600 million people and the requirements of a country like this cannot but be large. Those who want to run the affairs of the country must be prepared to shoulder this responsibility altogether or they have to get out if they are unable to perform this task. Those who were unable to accomplish the task had to be out. They had to be out because of many of their acts of omission and commission and also because of their stupendous failure in the field of education. I should say that in this country the vested interest in illiteracy has played a part. The ruling power, the ruling interest, the economic interest is interested in perpetuating illiteracy. We know that the percentage of illiteracy is correlated to the spirit of consciousness among the masses who are illiterate, among the downtrodden. And, therefore, those who had been responsible for the affairs of the country so long, their dependence on the vested interest, their sooksmanship of the vested interest was responsible for their utter failure—I should say-

deliberately in the field of education. Now, if we want that this rut should be stopped and the country should surge ahead, then it is essential that a colossal effort is made in the field of primary education, *pjr*. Dutt quoted the figures.... (*Time bell Rings*). Sir, I crave the indulgence of the Chair for a few more minutes because I have a few more points to add. Dr. Dutt quoted the figures how, in spite of paucity of resources since independence, there has been a phenomenal rise in the field of university education instead of in the field of primary education. The reprehensible axing of education which was referred to by him has been only too common; whenever economy is necessary, it is in the field of education as a whole. Then, within education, economy is again in the field of primary education, it starts from the primary education and it affects least the higher education or the university education. If primary education and removal of illiteracy is to be given the topmost priority then the scheme of things, the distorted priorities, the inverted priorities found at any place have to be removed, have to be eradicated. At the same time, the country, the Government of the country, must be prepared to concede this priority, priority to the removal of illiteracy for which resources have to be found. Only today I was listening to the replies on the question of income-tax arrears. Huge amounts, colossal amounts are outstanding and those who are able to pay are withholding payment. We know of the French Revolution, when those who could pay, did not pay and those who were unable to pay, had to pay. If another revolution is to be staged here. I would welcome it but those who are ruling the country, those who are running the country, must bear in mind this question, namely, that if primary education is to be given the priority in the true sense of the term, if removal of illiteracy is to be given the priority that it deserves, resources, financial resources, have to be found.

[Shri Surendra Bhattacharjee]. But, at the same time, you must bear in mind that there is another resource that our country possesses and that resource is not only not utilised but that resource is under-mined, neglected, and that is the human resource. Human resources can be utilised. I know from the 2nd October next the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare is going to embark on a project for removal of illiteracy whereunder voluntary organisations will be given financial assistance on a liberal scale in order to undertake this work. Teachers' organisations have also been invited. My own organisation has been invited. In our executive committee we have discussed this matter. But I feel that more than this, extending liberal assistance to voluntary organisations, what is necessary is to muster all human resources that can be utilised for this work. My specific suggestion to Dr. Chunder is that students in the field of higher education and teachers of all stages should be mobilised for this task. A systematic programme has to be adopted for the purpose.

During the vacations in China—I think it is not a taboo to refer to it—illiteracy was removed through such concentrated efforts on the part of the students of higher education and teachers. In educational institutions we have vacations. On behalf of one of teachers organisations, I may tell that our organisation will.....

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala): I do not know whether it was so easy and so simple in China.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): It is his first speech, let him just be disturbed.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: My suggestion is not that it was done in that simple a manner but in essence that was the programme. I suggest that the programme be taken up in all earnestness, worked out in all its details and

in all its complexities. Just by casting a doubt we cannot make a stride. My friend should bear that in mind. Now, if we can mobilise these resources, human resources, I am sure, with our limited financial resources, it is not impossible to achieve this task and we can change the face of the country. But because of the squalor and poverty among the illiterates, among the workers, among the landless peasants, among the agricultural workers, our rulers may be afraid of our youth's contact, impressionable youth's contact, intimate contact with that squalor, not just seeing it from a far, intimate contact with this squalor and poverty, ugly picture of the exploited society that is there in our country and they may be afraid that the impressionable youth may strive for bringing about a change in the social order and they may rise in social revolution. I am sure, Dr. Chunder will agree with me and will give due consideration to these proposals. There are many other problems. The problems of education are stupendous and I am more intimately connected with these problems. I would have liked to dilate upon them but there is not enough time but I place my confidence in the Education Minister and I am sure that the priorities that he has announced will be worked out in right earnest in the field of education. I thank you.

DR MALCOLM SATHIANATHAN ADISESHIAH (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, what is before us is an impressive record of work by the Ministry for the year 1977-78. I happen to know something of at least six parts of this Report personally as I have been associated with these parts in my capacity as planner, Adviser and executor, the School Education Section, the Adult Education Section, the University Grants Commission Section, the NCERT, Indian Council of Social Science Research, the National Staff College and Culture. I believe that the function of the Ministry should be essentially one

of guidance, stimulation, co-ordination and pioneering not only because of the vastness of our country where directing education from any central point, be it Delhi or Madras, is not possible because of the nature of education itself, which used to be a one to one relationship, the gurushishya relationship, but after the Gutenberg revolution and all that has since happened in the way of media has become essentially one of learning and what happens in one's head. That is what education is and all else, the teacher, the school building, the laboratory, the library, games and sports field, the animal house, and so on are infrastructures to this process of learning. The only qualification to this is that if such learning is not to become egocentric, it has to be within the framework of a social consciousness and all that it involves. From this point of view, Mr. Vice-Chairman, my own feeling is that all acts of centralisation in education, whether it be in federal capital or in the state capital are anti-education. It does not make sense to me to put education in any centralised position, particularly in List I, or List III of our Constitution.

Secondly, I call attention to the fact that looking at the appendix on the financial allocation in this Report. Education has emerged as a major industry in our country. What is contained in the Appendix here on financial allocation is only one part of the total of nearly Rs. 2,000 crores per annum that we as a country are spending on education and in relation to some of the comments made for the need for more funds for education, with which I associate myself, I wish however to make two observations. Firstly, there is need for a periodic audit of the educational expenditure that we incur, the educational expenditure set forth in this Annual Report and annexed as expenditure for 1977-78 and as Estimates for the coming year 1978-79. What is carefully scrutinised at the federal level and at the State level is what is called the Plan expenditure which is only one sixth of the total of nearly

Rs. 2,000 crores that is involved. The non-Plan expenditure is the iceberg which never really gets scrutinised and reviewed.

In my State, in Tamil Nadu, the Government asked me to chair the Educational Finance Review Commission. I believe this is the first of its kind in India. I would like to place before you the two conclusions we came to. Firstly, we found that 20 per cent of our annual budget of Rs. 180 crores was being wasted. We indicated where exactly the wastes were and how they could be redeployed for more effective results. Before we ask for more money, let us make sure that the money that is given to us in education, this Rs. 3,000 crores. Plan and non-Plan, is spent effectively.

The second conclusion we came to is this. The second part of the report was the result of a cost-benefit analysis which showed two things. Firstly, it showed the very small private costs of education. With all the limitations of any cost-benefit analysis, costs involving opportunity costs, benefits involving benefits flowing from one is family influence, rich family status and so on, with all that, we found that the costs of education for a family in Tamil Nadu, the private costs, are very low at all stages and the social costs, costs on the Government, are very high, anywhere between six to ten times that of private costs of education, making out the case for the levy of fees at secondary and higher secondary levels. I would like to advise the other States which have not gone in for free secondary and/or higher secondary education to look at this issue very carefully. There is also a case for raising the fees at the college and higher education levels. This is particularly so in spite of the fact that we have been bringing in a large number of "Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward communities. The last study made by the NCERT, a field study on the sociology of education, showed that 80 per cent of those who

[Dr. Malcolm Sathianathan Ad-
iseshiah]

completed high schools and colleges come from the top 20 per cent of our society and as this group can afford to pay the fees, there is absolutely no reason why, at the secondary and higher education levels, there should be this kind of very heavy Government subsidies. For the worker sections there can be a massive programme of scholarships. These were the two conclusions we came to.

For instance, in regard to the Kendriya Vidyalayas, the expenditure proposed is Rs. 17.6 lakhs. But there must be an equivalent amount of income from fees which must be credited to some other account which has not been shown here. There are two parts of this Appendix (Mr. Vice-Chairman which make a very sad reading. Firstly, if you look at adult education, at the estimates, you will find that except for a small amount of Rs. 9.29 lakhs, all the others which are set forth here for expenditure in 1978-79 are Plan expenditures. This shows, as has been referred to by other speakers, that we have done nothing, really nothing, in the past with regard to adult education.

The second somewhat sad and shocking part is the very small amount of money, representing the very low priority that we have, with regard to culture. I, really, was extremely surprised that we, who claim to be so highly cultured as a country, and we are, do not give the proper importance to this aspect. For instance, the Sahitya Akademi gets only Rs. 23 lakhs, the Lalit Kala Ykademi—Rs. 28 lakhs, the Sangeet Natak Akademi—Rs. 32 lakhs, the National School of Drama—Rs. 17 lakhs and so on. For a country of this size and given the fact that our State Governments are able to spend almost nothing on culture, this amount of expenditure on culture shows that the humanising effect of culture in our own fast-developing scientific and technological society is not being realised. This should be corrected urgently. A further comment

that I wish to make with regard to school education is the staging of the system which was referred to by the first speaker the hon. Prof. Ramlal Parikh, of the 10+2+3 system as also by Dr. Dutt. I am glad, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that Prof. Parikh did not continue the debate, he stopped the mathematical debate as to whether we should have 10+2+3 or 8+4+3 I want to point out to the Minister that this mathematics is confusing the educationists, it is confusing the State Governments, it is confusing the parents, and really it will not serve the cause of education. I think that 10 + 2+3 has now been adopted by the majority of State Governments, It does not matter how we cut the educational cake. It is the educational content that is important. "What is common to both 10+2+3 and alternative systems, is the recognition of importance of the 8 year schooling for all Indian children which has been enshrined in the Constitution. The Annual Report says that in 1978-79, the coming year, there will be an effort to enrol 320 lakh students out of 452 lakhs who ought to be enrolled if the constitutional pledge of 14 years of education is going to be kept. The second thing—and this is common to both the systems—is that the +2, the higher secondary stage in both systems is regarded as part of the school system the controversy as whether it should be in the University or in the school system has been settled.

Now, with regard to ensuring that everybody has eight-year schooling as per the Constitution, we have sometime to face two questions. The first question is, should we have a public examination all over the country at the end of 8 years that would mark the end of the elementary school? We have not yet come to a decision. This is something to which we have to give thought. The second question is whether, as the hon. Prof. Ramlal Parikh suggested, vocationalisation can really begin at the beginning of class nine instead of class eleven at that very early age.

.Next, I turn to the problem which is not referred to in the Report but which has been referred to by various speakers "before me, and that is the major problem of wastage in our school system, which reaches around 60 per cent at the end of class V and mounts up to 80 per cent by class X or XI. This term 'wastage' consists of two parts: One is repetition which is about 20 per cent of the wastage and second the drop-outs who are about 80 per cent. The two are broadly due to two different reasons. Repetition is due to bad education, bad teaching, bad school environment, etc. whereas drop-outs are a result of the poverty of the people. In order to make sure that 8 years of schooling up to age 14 to really given, I would like the Ministry to make available to us not the enrolment statistics which do not tell the truth. What is needed is the statistics on monthly attendances, as promised in the Sixth Plan draft. It is from that we can ensure and we can begin to see what is our problem in regard to universal primary schooling. I must say that the problem is not only 320 lakhs, which is proposed in the Annual Report to be enrolled. Another section which I commend to your attention—which was referred to by hon. Shri Parikh—is the new conception of the socially useful productive work which has to be worked on further by educationists, because it is proposed to give 18 per cent of the curricular time in the 10-year Schooling to this socially useful productive work and 15 per cent of the curricular time in the higher secondary classes. This is very serious on this. We have Committee Reports setting forth draft, outlines, curricular outline³ which will have to be further worked on in each area, in each region, in each block because conditions—economic and social—vary from block to block.

Sir, I would like to refer briefly to university education. This also forms an important section of the report. Here a summary of the working of the University Grants Commission has

been given with its new policy frame, which was referred to by Mr. Dutt, I would like, as Vice-Chancellor, to pay a tribute to the Commission. I believe the U.G.C. is doing the job set for it by the Constitution in the federal set-up, it is guiding, it is promoting. It is standard-setting without bringing to bear any element of compulsion. It has made available to the universities a wide programme of educational reform and has left to universities and their governing bodies, the responsibilities of implementing this programme. As one who has taken full advantage of it, I would say that the programme of college improvement, programme of examination reform, the programme of re-structuring the first degree course—the programme to introduce rural ancillaries. Instead of a student taking Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics can take workshop technology, a student taking Chemistry, Botany can take fertilisers, a student taking History and Politics can take Panchayati Raj—this rural organisation that the UGC is now beginning to promote; the development of quality institutions, particularly in the rural areas, and the system of autonomous colleges wherein the two universities in Tamil Nadu have in fact decided to pioneer for other universities—I believe there represent really an important break-through in the higher education system which has been referred to in somewhat critical terms by some of my colleague. In addition, in my university, the socially useful productive work concept in the form of what we call community social service is now a part of the University B.A. and M.A. curriculum. Any student who wants to do his B.A. any student, who wants to do her M.A. has to earn 200 marks out of 1,400 and the system has been welcomed by the students and the teachers. And as it is only two years old and we will be able to report on what bugs this system in its form I faces.

[Dr. Malcolm Sethianathan]

I would like to end with one comment. I think the University Grants Commission should emphasise the importance of continuing a selective system in admissions to higher education, which I am in complete agreement with. The universities and the Government of Tamil Nadu have for three university academic years, opened no new colleges in the State. I believe that this is important because we have, according to the UGC statistics, something like very nearly 50 per cent of our over 4000 colleges as non-viable. In my state my figure in terms of non-availability is something like 20 per cent and our first task is to use whatever resources we have not to open more non-viable colleges but to make these non-viable

colleges viable. But, Mr.

4.00 P.M. Vice-Chairman, here the

But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, here the annual report does not say this

but the Sixth Five Year Plan documents say that there should be no new University. I agree with their report if you mean only starting non-viable Universities. But here I want to take as an example my University. The Madras University has today 167 colleges, affiliated to it scattered over 1,300 kilometres. How on earth do you expect a Vice-Chancellor and an Academic Council sitting in Madras to be able to guide and direct 167 colleges. The Kothari Commission has laid down that a University should not have more than 40 colleges. So the University of Madras and the Government of Tamil Nadu are working together in order to formulate and to transform the post-graduate centres of Tiruchlra-palli and Coimbatore into two Universities which will relieve the Madras University of 87 colleges and which will still leave with them 80 colleges which is double the number recommended to the Kothari Commission. There are also 120 Departments to be handled by the Madras University, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the creation of the 2 universities involves

no additional cost because it will only mean that the property and resources of the University of Madras will be divided between these two other universities. The only additional cost for the Government will be the Vice-Chancellor, the Registrar and their offices. This is rather a small sum. In the field of the selective policy of higher education the policy laid down by the University Grants Commission, the selective policy of putting forward quality in model institutions should be supported.

May I end with two further points? One is about the modern Indian Languages and the commitment that we, Vice-Chancellors gave to ourselves and to the country at Rajkot last January that before the end of the sixth Plan, we will make an effort to ensure that Indian languages are used at the undergraduate level. There is a problem here. Speaking from my experience during the last ten years, the State Government has done a rather impressive job. They spent, have spent lakhs of rupees producing textbooks and reference books in Tamil. For the last ten years the Tamil Nadu Government has given scholarship, for the Tamil medium students. As I said at Rajkot and I repeat it here the result has been that 10 per cent of those in under-graduate education are registered for study in the Tamil medium and 90 per cent in the English medium. So the effort before us is somewhat daunting. My plea reason why 90 per cent are taking the English medium is not because they love English and do not like Tamil in fact from my experience I can certify that the student performance in Tamil, writing, speaking and thinking is really creative, far superior to their mumbling stumbling in English. The only reason why they are still going in for English is that we have still not given, either the Government, or the State Public Service Commission or the Union Public Service Commission or the nationalised banks or private employers, some kind of

preference some kind of priority, for those who graduate in the Indian languages. Until that is done our efforts in the University in the sixth Plan will not be successful.

May I end with commending the new programme of adult education? As has been said, it is a challenging programme that the Ministry has placed before the country. Now we have no excuse which we used to have earlier that there is no priority in this country for adult education. Now there is priority. Now the money needed is available. Now it is up to the Universities and the voluntary agencies to deliver the goods.

I also agree with the approach towards technical education in the Document and not to worry at this stage about the brain drain of our best post-graduates in Engineering and technology because of our industrial stagnation. I believe myself that we should plan this brain drain for a short period. Those who are abroad will come back when our industry needs them. I would like to end by saying that though this is not the forum to say it, I have never understood why we have gone ahead with arts and science universities in this country. Why we have gone ahead with agricultural universities. Why we have, in my State, just created a technological university. Far more than all these is needed a medical university, a university of health sciences, because an engineer who builds a bridge or a building like this whether it is in the United States or Delhi has to use the same techniques whereas the kind of medical person that we want for community health—the doctor—in this country is quite different from one trained in the U.K. and a multiple university like mine really cannot pay the necessary attention to it. At the moment nobody is looking after medical education in the country except the poor State Governments. The University

Grants Commission looks after arts and science universities, the All-India Technical Education Council looks

after engineering universities and colleges, the Indian Council of Agriculture Research looks after the agricultural universities. It is medicine, which is the poor cousin, which is greatly neglected and I feel the time has come for us to think seriously of some responsible medical education, financing authority and for a university to be started in this very important field. Karnataka tried but unfortunately was not encouraged let us try again. Thank you very much.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद साही : उप महाध्वज महोदय, वर्ष 1977-78 की शिक्षा मन्त्रालय की जो रिपोर्ट है वह इस विचार को बल देती है कि शिक्षा को हमारे संविधान में कंकरेंट सबजेक्ट के रूप में रहना चाहिए। इसके अलावा इस बात की दृष्टि से भी यह जरूरी है कि पिछले वर्षों में जब कभी शिक्षा के बारे में संसद् में बात उठाई गई तो शिक्षा मन्त्री यह कहते हुए थकते नहीं थे कि शिक्षा तो राज्य का सबजेक्ट है। इसलिए मेरा यह निवेदन है कि संविधान में संशोधन करते समय इस बात को ध्यान में रखा जाना चाहिए कि आज जिस तरह से शिक्षा का विषय कंकरेंट लिस्ट में है उसी रूप में बनाये रहने दिया जाय।

श्रीमन्, मैं शिक्षा मन्त्री जी का ध्यान इस बात की ओर भी दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि आज से करीब 15-20 साल पहले बर्मा जैसे गरीब और पिछड़े हुए देश में ग्रेजुएशन तक की शिक्षा को निःशुल्क कर दिया गया था। इसके विपरीत अपने देश में एक दो राज्यों को छोड़कर आज हालत यह है कि उत्तर प्रदेश में केवल कक्षा 6 तक की शिक्षा निःशुल्क है। बिहार के अन्दर भी वर्तमान सरकार ने हाई स्कूल तक की शिक्षा को निःशुल्क किया है। मगर उत्तर प्रदेश में, जिसने तीन-तीन प्रधान मन्त्री इस देश को प्रदान किये, वहाँ आज केवल कक्षा 6 तक की शिक्षा निःशुल्क है। इससे आप अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि गरीब बच्चे, जब कि स्कूलों में फीस कई गुना बढ़ गई है—पहले चार या पाँच पैसे फीस ली

[श्री नागेश्वर प्रसद शर्मा]

जाती थी, लेकिन अब 2 रुपए फीस ली जाती है—किस प्रकार से शिक्षा ग्रहण कर सकते हैं। गरीब बच्चों को तो रोट्टी भी मुश्किल से मिलती है। ऐसी स्थिति में वे स्कूल की फीस दे कर कैसे शिक्षा ग्रहण कर सकते हैं? आप जानते हैं कि हमारे संविधान के मूल सिद्धान्तों में यह बात भी लिखी हुई है कि देश के नागरिकों को निःशुल्क शिक्षा प्रदान की जाय। आज उत्तर प्रदेश की यह हालत है। इसलिये मैं केन्द्रीय शिक्षा मन्त्री महोदय से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे ऐसी व्यवस्था करें ताकि पूरे देश में, सभी राज्यों में कम से कम हायर सेकण्डरी स्तर तक की शिक्षा निःशुल्क हो जाये।

श्रीमन्, यहां पर यू०जी०सी० की चर्चा काफी हुई है और कई कानून से हुई है। यू०जी०सी० में काम करने वाले लोग भी यहां हैं। डा० लोहिया कहा करते थे कि गंगा अगर गंगोत्री में अशुद्ध हो जायेगी तो प्रयाग या काशी में उसे शुद्ध नहीं किया जा सकता। यू०जी०सी० के बारे में लोकसभा की एस्टीमेट कमिटी की रिपोर्ट अभी हाल में ही प्रकाशित हुई है, जिसके चेयरमैन श्री स्टीफन साहब थे। रिपोर्ट में यह है कि यू०जी०सी० द्वारा 2.33 या 3.22 करोड़ रुपये की ग्रांट जब विभिन्न विद्यालयों और विश्व-विद्यालयों को दी गई तो यू०जी०सी० के कुछ कर्मचारियों और अधिकारियों ने साजिश करके उन कालेज के अधिकारियों से यह शर्त कराई कि वह दिल्ली की दो फर्मों को बिल्डिंग कन्स्ट्रक्शन का काम दें और आर्चिटेक्ट अफवाइंट करे। यू०जी०सी० के अधिकारियों और कर्मचारियों की साजिश में यह 3.22 करोड़ रुपये की ग्रांट हनवाले हैं और एस्टीमेट कमिटी ने यह रिक्वेस्ट की है एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर से कि इस मामले की तत्परता से जांच की जाये। जो बड़े बड़े विद्वान हैं, जिनको सारा देश विद्वान कहता है और जो दिल्ली के एयर कन्डीशन भवन में बैठ करके ग्रांटों का वितरण

करते हैं, उनके बारे में यह है। अभी एक विद्वान मित्र ने कहा कि यह जो हमारे 3 करोड़ रुपये खर्च हो रहे हैं, इसके ऊपर आंख रखनी चाहिए। यह 3 हजार करोड़ रुपये हमारे गरीब किसानों और मजदूरों की कमाई है, जिसको आंख मीचकर यू०जी०सी० बांटता है और उसके बंटवारे में यह भ्रष्टाचार वहां है जो कि यू०जी०सी० के अधिकारियों और कर्मचारियों द्वारा हो रहा है। इसलिये श्रीमन् मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि यू०जी०सी० में नामिनेशन करते समय, उसके चेयरमैन का नामिनेशन करते समय और उसके सदस्यों का नामिनेशन करते समय इस बात पर ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जाय क्योंकि पहले जैसे अंग्रेजों से खिताब पाने वाले सर लोग थे, उसी तरह से कांग्रेसी राज में खिताब पाने वाले सर लोग हैं उनका उसमें नामिनेशन न किया जाय। उनके ऊंचे ओहदों को ही न देखा जाये बल्कि उनके ईमान को भी देखा जाय।

श्रीमन्, दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि हम लोगों की मांग रही है और डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया ने उसे शुरू किया था कि हिन्दू और मुसलमानों का बंटवारा समाप्त होना चाहिए। अगर देश का एक देश के रूप में रखना है और देश के बंटवारे के बाद जो बचा हुआ है, उसको भी अगर देश के रूप में रहना है तो हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के बीच के फर्क को जितना भी ज्यादा हम कम कर सकते हैं उतना कम करने का प्रयास करें। आज 30 साल की आजादी के बाद भी हमने बनास हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी में विसी मुसलमान वाइस-चांसलर को भेजने की हिम्मत नहीं की और अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम यूनिवर्सिटी में विसी हिन्दू वाइस-चांसलर को भेजने की हिम्मत नहीं की। दोनों सेंट्रली एडमिनिस्ट्रिड यूनिवर्सिटीज हैं। इतना ही नहीं सेकुलर बनने की बसम रोज खाते हैं मगर हिन्दू और मुस्लिम शब्द हटाने को तैयार नहीं हैं। हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी से हिन्दू शब्द और मुस्लिम यूनिवर्सिटी से मुस्लिम

शब्द हटाने की हिम्मत आज तक भारत सरकार नहीं कर सकी अब कि संभव में बीसियों हम बार लोगों ने मांग की और पिछले 10 साल से मांग करते चले आ रहे हैं। आज तक किसी की हिम्मत नहीं हुई। श्रीमन् इतना ही नहीं पिछली सरकार ने एक अच्छा काम किया। अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम यूनिवर्सिटी को एक नेशनल यूनिवर्सिटी बनाने का प्रयास किया। वहाँ के एक्ट को अमल किया। आज फिर साल भर से एक मांग पैदा हो गई है। मैं चाहूंगा कि आप इसका उत्तर दें। आज एक मांग यह पैदा हो गई है कि अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी को माइन्टी यूनिवर्सिटी बनाया जाए और मैं जानता हूँ लेकिन नाम नहीं लेना चाहता इस हाउस में लोग जा कर अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी में टीचर्स और स्टूडेंट्स की मीटिंग की है और मीटिंग कर के उनको इंटरिगेट किया कि वहाँ पर हड़ताल करो और मांग करो कि इसको माइन्टी यूनिवर्सिटी बनाया जाए। इसके चौथे दिन वहाँ पर हड़ताल हो गई। मुझे जानकारी मिली है कि वहाँ के वाइस चांसलर खुसरो साहब ने शायद सरकार को लिख भेजा है कि कानून बदलने में जल्दी की जाए क्योंकि मैं सिवुएशन कंट्रोल करने में कठिनाई महसूस कर रहा हूँ। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ के विद्यार्थी और टीचर इस मांग के पीछे नहीं हैं...

श्री खुरशीद आलम खान : बिलकुल गलत।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही: बिलकुल ठीक। इस मांग के पीछे इस संभव में बैठने वाले कुछ सदस्य हैं जो अलीगढ़ में जाते हैं और विद्यार्थियों और टीचर्स की मीटिंग करते हैं, भड़काते हैं उन्हें हड़ताल करने के लिए कहते हैं और गुमराह करते हैं। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ क्या इस देश की धारा उन्टी बहेगी? क्या शिक्षा संस्थाएँ राष्ट्रीय बनाई जायेंगी या साम्प्रदायिक बनाई जाएंगी? क्या इस देश में अब विश्व-विद्यालय माइन्टी और मेजोरिटी विश्व-विद्यालय होंगे? एक विश्वविद्यालय माइन्टी

होगा तो पांच मेजोरिटी विश्वविद्यालय होंगे? क्या विश्वविद्यालयों की रचना इस आधार पर होगी? क्या विश्वविद्यालय इस ढंग से बनेंगे? इन विश्वविद्यालयों से जो विद्यार्थी निकलेंगे उनके विचार कैसे होंगे, किस तरह के लोग वहाँ से निकलेंगे, कैसे उनकी भावनाएं होंगी? मैं भूल नहीं करता तो अबुल कलाम आजाद, कांग्रेस प्रेजिडेंट सन् 1946 में शिमला में केबिनेट डेलीमेजन् से लीड करने के बाद कलकत्ता अपने निवास स्थान पर वापिस जा रहे थे, अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी पर, अलीगढ़ स्टेशन पर ट्रेन रोक ली गई, उनकी दाढ़ी मोच कर उनके मंह पर धूका गया। ऐसा क्यों हुआ? क्योंकि इस तरह की भावनाएं पैदा की गई थीं? अब फिर अगर यही प्रयास किया गया, विद्यार्थियों में इस तरह की भावनाएँ पैदा की गई तो क्या अंजाम होगा? देश की यूनिवर्सिटीज, कालेज सभी राष्ट्रीय होने चाहिए। कोई न हिन्दू होना चाहिए और न कोई मुस्लिम हीना चाहिए। हिन्दू होटल, मुस्लिम होटल, हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी, मुस्लिम यूनिवर्सिटी, ये क्या हैं? ये सेक्यूलरिज्म की ओर बढ़ते हुए कदम हैं या हटते हुए कदम हैं? इसलिए श्रीमन् मैं इस तरह की मांग का घोर विरोध करता हूँ और यह कहता हूँ कि यह देश के लिए सबसे ज्यादा काला दिन होगा जिस दिन इस तरह का कानून बनेगा।

श्रीमन्, आज विश्वविद्यालयों में अनुशासनहीनता है, जगह जगह लेबोरेट्रीज में, लाइब्रेरीज में आग लगाई जा रही है, वाईस चांसलर्स और प्रिंसिपल्स पीटे जा रहे हैं (Interruptions) इस तरह से यदि मुझको छोड़ा गया तो आप मुझे समय दीजिए मैं विस्तार से बताऊंगा...

(Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You should Hurry up, Mr. Shahi. Your time is up. No cross-discussion. Please wind up quickly.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : श्रीमन्, इन लोगों को लेकर शाहू कमीशन के कॉर्ट

[श्री नगेश्वर प्रसाद शाही]

में ये क्या कर रहे हैं। अदालतों तक की, हाईकोर्ट तक की और कमीशन तक की मर्यादाओं को ये तोड़ रहे हैं लेकिन मैं इन पर नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। मैं दूसरी बात कह रहा हूँ। मैं यह कह रहा हूँ कि आज जो अनुशासनहीनता फैली है वह क्यों फैली है? क्योंकि वह फैलाई जा रही है। हजारों करोड़ों रुपया जो इकट्ठा करके रखा गया है उसका इस्तेमाल हो रहा है विद्यार्थियों में अनुशासनहीनता फैलाने के लिए। श्रीमन्, अभी क्या हो रहा है? विद्यार्थी स्वाभाविक ही समाजवादी होते हैं, समता के पक्षधर होते हैं। आज जो आरक्षण हुआ है वह यू० पी० में, बिहार में सारे देश में समता की ओर बढ़ता हुआ एक कदम है, समाजवाद की ओर एक कदम है। पीछे के लोगों को आगे के लोगों की बराबरी में ले जाने का एक प्रयास है। उसका विरोध विद्यार्थी क्यों करेगा? वह सोच भी नहीं सकता है लेकिन उसके पीछे राजनीति है, उसके पीछे वह शैली है जो खर्च की जा रही

। श्रीमन्, तीन हजार करोड़ रुपया खर्च करके विद्यार्थियों को ऐसा बनाया जाता है कि वह अपनी ही विज्ञानशालाओं में, पुस्तकालयों में आग लगाये, अपने ही गुरुओं के ऊपर वह डण्डे और हाथ उठाये इस चीज की कल्पना भी नहीं की जा सकती है। क्यों, क्योंकि पिछले 30 साल में जो शिक्षा नीति रही है उस शिक्षा नीति का यही कुफल है जिस के बारे में कि हम लोग लगातार कहते रहे हैं। श्रीमन्, आज यह बहुत आवश्यक है कि कम से कम एक घण्टे तक विद्यार्थियों को अनुशासन ग्रहण करने की शिक्षा दी जाये तथा मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग की भी सप्ताह में कम से कम एक घण्टा देने की नीति होनी चाहिए। आर० ए० ए० में हजारों दुर्गुण हो सकते हैं, मैं आर० ए० ए० वाला नहीं हूँ बल्कि विरोधी रहा हूँ लेकिन भाई, आप क्यों भूल जाते हो, इसको आर० ए० ए० वाले सही मानेंगे, श्रीकांत वर्मा सही मानेंगे। अब कैसे? यह मैं नहीं कह सकूंगा।

श्रीमन्, मैं कह रहा था कि चाहे सारे विश्वविद्यालय बन्द कर देने पड़ें, सारे कॉलेज बन्द कर देने पड़ें लेकिन एट एनी कास्ट यह फिजां खत्म होनी चाहिए कि विश्वविद्यालयों में वाईस चांसलरों और प्रिंसिपलों के ऊपर असाल्ट हो। आज की फिजां से अच्छा तो यह है कि साल दो साल के लिए सारे विश्वविद्यालय बन्द कर दिए जाएं। श्रीमन् आज विद्यार्थी मांग करता है कि बिना इम्तिहान के पास किया जाए, इम्तिहान में नकल करने की इजाजत दी जाए। उनकी इस मांग के पीछे बहुत हद तक एक चीज जागृत भी है। आप इम्तिहान क्यों लेते हैं? बीसियों हजार पी० ए० सी० की पलटन लगा कर इम्तिहान लेते हैं और इम्तिहान लेने के बाद आप उन को देते क्या हैं? आप एक कागज का टुकड़ा माटिफिबेट के तौर पर देते हैं जिसकी आज के समाज में कोई कीमत नहीं। वह कागज का टुकड़ा लेकर गलियों गलियों में धूमते हैं; उसकी कोई कीमत नहीं है। नौकरी पाने के लिए, कोई पद पाने के लिए आप फिर इम्तिहान लेते हैं तो फिर उस कागज के टुकड़े की क्या वक़्त? शिक्षा मन्त्री जी, कृपया इम्तिहान की पद्धति पर शीघ्रताशीघ्र गौर करें। सबसे ज्यादा भ्रष्टाचार, सबसे ज्यादा अनुशासनहीनता आज की इस इम्तिहान पद्धति के कारण फैली नहीं है। केवल एक मांग यह होती है कि इम्तिहान टाल दो। आज बहुत सारी यूनिवर्सिटीज में, जो इम्तिहान अप्रैल में खत्म होना चाहिए था, वह जुलाई और अगस्त में शुरू होगा। जुलाई-अगस्त में इम्तिहान होगा, अक्टूबर में रिजल्ट आउट होगा। आपने लाखों लाख विद्यार्थियों का एक साल का समय बर्बाद कर दिया। वाइस चांसलर कैसे हैं? पिछले 10-12 साल से ऐसे वाइस चांसलर नियुक्त हो रहे हैं जो अपने पद को पैसा कमाने का एक धन्धा समझते हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You have to wind up. You have taken more time.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ। वह योग्यता के आधार पर नियुक्ति नहीं होती। भाई भतीजावाद के आधार पर, जाति के आधार पर और चापलूसी के आधार पर नियुक्ति होती है। उसी पद्धति . . . (Interruption)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Please wind up.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : श्रीमान्, मैं यह भी निवेदन करूँगा कि यह भारत सरकार का कर्तव्य होना चाहिए—एक पैनल बना कर छोड़ दे और उस पैनल से वाइस चांसलर की नियुक्ति देश भर में हो, बाहर से न हो। किसी सरकार को, राज्य सरकार को या किसी को यह अधिकार न हो कि जिन किसी को भी जाति के आधार पर या धर्म के आधार पर वाइस चांसलर नियुक्त कर दें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): That is enough, Mr. Shahi.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : अब आखिरी बात कहकर मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You have had several last points.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : . . . क्योंकि हमारे दोस्त बहुत हल्ला कर रहे हैं कि किस तरह से राजनैतिक आधार पर संगठित करके उनकी भावनाओं का, उनकी यूथ फुलनेस का दुरुपयोग किया जा रहा है और वह भी अनुशासनहीनता का एक प्रमुख कारण है। अगर शिक्षा संस्थाओं में राजनैतिक दल दखल देना बंद कर दें, उनको अपना रेकॉर्डिंग सेंटर बनाना बंद कर दें तो आज की अनुशासनहीनता बहुत हद तक खत्म हो जाती है। आज हो क्या रहा है ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Please wind up now. There is no time. You

have taken more than 35 minutes. There is hardly any time for your party. How can I regulate the time here? If honourable Members do not cooperate, how is it possible for the Chair to conduct the proceedings? Mr. Shahi, please wind up now.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : आज यूथ कांग्रेस . . . (Interruption) . . . सारी जूडीशरी व्यवस्था को, जूडीशरी की जो मर्यादा है उसको समाप्त कर रहा है। पुलिस के लोगों ने दखल दिया तो उनके ऊपर कुमियों से प्रहार किये गये। बर्दी फाड़ दी। ये यूथ कांग्रेस के लोग आज विद्यार्थियों को गुमराह कर रहे हैं अव्यवस्था फैलाने के लिए। इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करूँगा कि सब से ज्यादा ध्यान अगर किसी पर होना चाहिए तो अनुशासन पर होना चाहिए और ऐंट एनी कास्ट, मैं पुनः कह दूँ, ऐंट एनी कास्ट यह होना चाहिए अगर विश्वविद्यालयों को बंद करना पड़े तब भी अनुशासन जरूर लाना चाहिए। अन्यथा।

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, another colourless academic year has come to an end. It is an accepted fact that education is the prime need of any modern society and particularly in the case of a country which is a developing country. According to a conservative estimate, about 230 million people are illiterate in our country. This in itself seems to be a tragedy, not only a tragedy, but a disaster. This being so, we have to give a serious thought to our educational system, its needs and problems, its strength and weaknesses, its achievements and its hopes. This is a formidable task with great challenges, but surely a noble task and enchanting enterprise. The need of the hour is a drastic change in our educational system, as the present system has really failed us and failed us miserably.

Sir, as a very eminent educationist has stated, education and seats of higher learning stand for humanism.

[Shri Khurshed Alam Khan]

for tolerance, for reasons and good will and for search of truth. If these functions are discharged honestly and adequately, then the nation and the people can be assured that all is well. But may I as the hon. Minister whether he has an answer to this? Is he really satisfied that he can give a satisfactory answer to all these? I am afraid, I have to admit regretfully that at the present moment, all is not well with our universities, as is well known to the Education Minister and all of us.

Sir, we are losing all hopes and we feel that our universities, instead of doing nation building work, are at the moment producing such stuff which is neither good for the nation nor for education itself. Education seems to be in danger and it has to be saved. The question is: What is really wrong with our universities and institutions? There are about 118 universities and institutions of national importance. What have been their achievements during the last one year? What have they done of which we can be proud? You draw a blank. The answer is very discouraging, if we look back at their work and performance over the last year. Restructuring of courses and recommendations to make them relevant to the needs of the community largely remain unimplemented. The Union Education Ministry, unfortunately, has taken the line of least resistance in this matter. Well, the plea is taken that the autonomy of the universities has to be honoured and preserved. This is true and we are also in favour of preserving the autonomy of the universities. But then, this should not be at the cost of destruction or destroying the university education in the country. Political groups and individuals enjoying official or political patronage and support continue to meddle with the affairs of our universities. This must be stopped and stopped forthwith by doing whatever

we may have to do, even if it means interfering with the autonomy of our universities. They are trying to destroy education and you have to save education by any means. Here also, Sir, I would like to say that unless immediate steps are taken to deal with these problems and unless remedial measures are taken, I repeat, unless remedial measures are taken immediately, am sorry to say that it will be too late in the day to save education and our educational institutions from complete destruction. At the moment, there is only one Nalanda in the country. But, if things are allowed to continue as they are, we might have a number of Nalandas in the country. Sir, this will be great tragedy and it will be a great disaster for the society and the nation as a whole. Student indiscipline is assuming serious dimensions as a number of honourable Members have pointed out. The recent happenings in the university campuses are most deplorable and no recognised society, no civilised society, can really tolerate all these things. Students have no justification to unleash violence. The political links of the students who indulge in violence are no secret to anybody and are known to most of us and also to the Education Ministry and the administration itself. What is the use of talking of students when even these Cabinet Ministers, as one of the honourable Members pointed out, have been indulging in this sort of thing instead of discussing the matter . . .

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI:
No.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: in the Cabinet? They go to the President of India and make a representation on behalf of those who are responsible for creating chaotic conditions in the universities.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD
SHAHI : No .

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM

KHAN: Sir, it is a matter of regret that even the President of the country could not remain a silent spectator and recently, he lamented over and expressed his concern about these matters. He has also appealed to the political parties to keep themselves aloof and he has particularly asked the students to behave and I am sure that this is really a good advice to the students and the political parties which must be heeded to. But it is not known whether the authorities that are there would agree to it and whether they would really co-operate with the Education Ministry in helping them in sorting out all these problems which are not good either for education or for the institutions. Apart from this, Sir, I would also like to say that it is a known fact and it is a really well-accepted and well-understood fact, that education is the main instrument in the development of culture and the instrument of social and economic well-being of the country. It needs ambitious planning and liberal grants and, therefore, I would like to say that the allocation of Rs. 223 crores is not adequate and we would like that more liberal grants and liberal allocations are made for education. In view of the importance of education, a special provision has been made in the Directive Principles of State Policy of our Constitution regarding free and compulsory education of children up to the age of 14. But this seems to be only in the Constitution and it is well enshrined in the Constitution. When is this going to be implemented and implemented throughout the country? In fact, I think it has not even been implemented in the small Union territory of Delhi. Education, as I said earlier, has to be saved. Apart from the other measures that are to be taken, the service conditions of the teachers need to be reviewed and we have to see that certain provisions are made in the case of teachers as in the case of civil servants who are not

allowed to enter active politics while they are in service. I suppose that something of that sort has to be made in the case of teachers also. But I do not mean those eminent educationists who are nominated to the Rajya Sabha. In fact, if necessary, their number must be increased. But by and large all such people who want to take active part in politics should not be allowed to do so when they are in service as in case of the other public servants.

Sir, I would like to say a word about the Aligarh University. We are not ashamed of asking for the minority character of this University. Besides, there is a provision in the Constitution . . .

DR. V. P. DUTT: The hon. Member is very unhappy that we are here. We can go out and have a cup of tea.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: I said about the nominated Members who are here. I have never said anything else. Listen about the Aligarh University particularly.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): I do not think he is unhappy that you are here.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: I am very happy because they make very valuable contribution, but I am unhappy about those who indulge in politics outside. About this Aligarh Muslim University, I would like to say that we are not ashamed of asking for minority character for this University. It is our right to ask for it. There is a provision in the Constitution for asking for a minority character.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: What about majority character?

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: Please sit down.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Shahi, please sit down. (*Interruptions*)

[Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda]

I am on my legs. Mr. Shahi, will you please sit down?

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: Sir, I would like to remind this House and particularly the hon. Member that the AMV College was established by the Muslims of this country in 1887. This College was financed exclusively by the Muslims. It is another thing that in 1920 this College was raised to the status of a University. Therefore, the basic character of the College has to be maintained and I think the Aligarh University is to be declared as a minority university. Nobody should be afraid of this fact because no community or no student will suffer in the matter of service or in the matter of admission if the University is declared a minority University. (*Interruptions*). I would also like to tell the hon. Member on that side that if he looked to the record of this University, he would find that this University has produced eminent persons like Maulana Mohammad Ali, this University has produced Dr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, this University has produced Maulana Hasrat Mohani and this University has produced Dr. Zakir Hussain. So, why worry? These were the people who were in the forefront of the freedom struggle.

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI: This University is responsible for the division of India.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: I am sorry, Aligarh University will never be proud of such a product. (*Interruption*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Please sit down.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: For every minute he will take I will speak for ten minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You are delaying the completion of his speech.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: Now I must say once again that there should not be any apprehension, as far as the minority character is concerned, in the matter of admissions or in the matter of services in the University.

About the education of the Muslims I would like to say a word here. There are a large number of minority institutions, for instance, in U.P. The number of the Muslim students in those institutions is not even 50 per cent. See the largeheartedness. Then the trouble about the Muslim students is really their backwardness. Recently, a survey was conducted and as a result of this survey we have come to know that in the primary stage 50 to 75 per cent students go to the school. When they reach the middle school level, this percentage falls to 35 to 50 and finally at the college-going age it comes to 1 to 5. They are all dropouts because of economic reasons. If they get a little encouragement, why should you grudge and why should you not be a little more large hearted and generous in helping those who need this help and who want to be educated and have no means of being educated? (*Time bell Rings*).

I have to mention something regarding Delhi, nearer home, which is the direct responsibility of the Education Ministry. There are three Urdu-medium Girls schools in Delhi and the result of one school was 89 per cent, the second school was 26 per cent and the third school was 30 per cent. Five Principals were changed in two years in the school the result of which was 26 per cent. It is Zeenat Mahal. How can you run a school if you change the Principal after six months? No Urdu-medium teacher for Mathematics was appointed in the school which had 30 per cent result. An Urdu-medium teacher was appointed for Urdu subject. How can an Urdu-medium teacher for Urdu subject teach Mathematics as a subject? I do not know why teachers

are not available. What is the difficulty in getting teachers?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA) It is enough. Please wind up.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: I am winding up. I would like to ask the hon. Minister as to what is the view of the Government about Urdu language. Some say that Urdu has been imposed by Turks and Mongols, Some say that Urdu script is a foreign script. May I know from the hon. Minister whether, they can say with courage that the script of Punjabi language is also foreign or that the script of Sindhi language is foreign? You will not have the courage to say that. You can say that only about Urdu. Urdu is the product of this country. It is a language which has not been imposed by the Turks and the Mongols. It is a pity that they do not know that there was no Urdu in the times of the Mongols and the Turks. I would like to know because the Minister gave a reply to my question about the Gujral Committee Report. What has happened to the Gujral Committee Report? How long is this Report going to collect dust in the archives of the Ministry of Education? Why are they not doing anything about it? Is it that after some time they are going to appoint another committee to look into the recommendations of the Gujral Committee and say what they had said? May I request the hon. Minister that this Report should be taken out of the archives of the Ministry and the recommendations which have been accepted or should be accepted must be implemented as soon as possible?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Thank you, Mr. Khan. I will call the next speaker. Please sit down.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: I am just winding up. The last thing that I would say is about the trouble in our universities. A commission must be appointed. Dr. Radhakrishnan Commission and Kothari Commission have submitted

very useful reports. But something has to be done. There should be a comprehensive report from this commission and they should find out what is really wrong with the universities, where it is wrong, why we have gone wrong and what is to be done. Thank you, very much.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA (Maharashtra) : Sir, I am not an educationist by profession. But I have the privilege of running more than half a dozen colleges and other educational institutions in my State. It is the pain and anguish that I have suffered during the last year or so because of the callousness of the Education Ministry towards education which has compelled me to speak. As you are aware, it is after long deliberations extending over years, that we, in our newly-found wisdom, decided that the system of education which was given to us by Macaulay and which we denounced in-season and out-of-season as producing only babus, should be replaced by a new system which has come to be known as 10 plus 2 plus a

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Shyam Lai Yadav) in, the Chair].

And the rationale behind this system that was given out to us is that we have been producing graduates and double-graduates with the result that educated unemployment has mounted to an extent that these BAs and MAs could be made nothing but clerks and babus and that in the process, technical education which should have the highest priority and which would have been an aid to relieve the educated unemployment by providing the necessary outlet and in a way relieving all this backlog that has been created would suffer. For several years, various States including my State hesitated. We were in a way playing with the lives of our younger generation. But the educationists were all unanimous that we should give uniform education till the 10th class and thereafter there should be a diversification. That is, the brighter students who want to go in for

[Dr. Rafiq Zakaria]

higher education either in engineering or medicine or technological fields should branch off after the 12th class to higher university education and those who are in need of urgent employment and those who are not very highly merited should not be allowed to waste their time and energy in higher university education. And the experience had shown us that whether it was medical education or engineering education, as against one seat we have 5,000 or 10,000 applications. In order to rationalise this system, we were told that this 'ten plus two plus three' is the panacea for all ills. As soon as the Janata Government came to power with their anxiety to undo all that was done in the last 30 years, the Education Minister also declared that he would like to have a second look at 'ten plus two plus three' system. And I must admit that he went about it very cautiously. He called a meeting of the Education Ministers of various States. He called the Vice-Chancellors of the various Universities, he called the leading educationists, and a conference was held. And if I remember right, it was inaugurated by the Prime Minister. The matter was debated, deliberated upon. After forming some committees and taking some other steps things and after taking some more time, it was decided that no, we should stick to 'ten plus two plus three'. Suddenly I find the Prime Minister saying the other day, "No. We should have another look at it. It should not be 'ten plus two plus three' but 'eight plus four plus three'". Now, it is not a question of figures. How much damage this dilly-dallying, how much damage this kind of hesitancy and this kind of lack of direction is doing to education and to our younger generation, those of you who are parents and whose children are going to schools are away. Therefore, I want to know from the Education Minister. Have we made up our mind on this and if

we have made up our mind then I

want to tell another thing to the Education Minister, namely, that 10+ 2+3 can never succeed unless the Government is prepared to provide sufficient funds for technical education. Today the position is that 10+2+3 has been taken as nothing but some kind of a revision of the old system without providing the necessary funds and when you are thinking of advancing technical education in this country, you must be quite clear in your mind that you shall need ten times more funds than what you have been spending so far on education in arts and on other humanities. But there is no provision. I will give you my own example. Among the new schools, new institutions that I decided to establish was a technical institute. Some friends gave me the necessary funds. But till this day, more than two years have passed, neither the curriculum is finalised, nor has it been decided what the grant-in-aid will be. The State is pointing the finger to the Centre and the Centre is saying you manage our own affairs, we cannot give you any funds. What are we doing with our younger generation? How are we going to survive? I was myself not very much in favour of 10 + 2 + 3. But when you look at the rationale of it and once you have taken the decision, for Gods sake let us be very clear in our mind that we cannot to play ducks and drakes values, with the systems, with the approaches to education. Please do not do any such thing simply because you want to get the satisfaction that you want to undo everything that was done in the past, I am afraid^ if that happens our children will never forgive us. I am not looking at this problem from any political angle. I am looking at it, as I told you, with pain and anguish, and it is from that point of view that I beseech the Education Minister to see that no further discussion is carried on on this question because people are confused, parents do not know what is going to happen to their children. Those who have passed the 10th class

and want to go in the 11th class or 12th class, do not know what courses to take. How long are we going to continue this kind of lack of any direction, lack of approach in a matter which is so vital to our survival as a people?

Then, Sir, there has been lately some talk going on of making the regional languages as the language of universities. Have we considered the implications of it? I thought Mr. Chagla, when he was the Education Minister, by his act of resignation, shook the nation, pointing the disaster that the nation would have to face but now looking to the fact that everything that was good that was done in the past has to be undone, and since Mr. Chagla is one of the founding fathers of the Janata Party, at any rate, he is looked upon as the friend, philosopher and guide at least bear in mind the direction that he wanted to give, at least do not be unfaithful to a man to whom, you say, you look to as someone who is your philosopher and guide. Therefore, when you are thinking of replacing English as the medium at the university level, you will have to think in terms of a national language only. If Hindi is still not acceptable to the South, efforts must be made to develop Hindi in such a way that it would be acceptable to them and the South be persuaded to accept it so that whenever the time comes at the university level Hindi takes the place of English and not, for God's sake, the regional language because if that happens there will be no utility of India.

5.00 P.M.

(Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair) There will be no integrity in our judicial pronouncements, no integrity as far as developing the common identity of our people is concerned and, therefore, in our enthusiasm to be regional let us not behave in a manner which will strike at the very roots of our cultural heritage and our national integrity.

PROF. RAMLAL PARIKH: Is the decision about the regional language as the medium of instruction being taken for the first time by this Government, or whether as back as 1965 the whole Parliament took it?

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA.- There has been one group which has been demanding this kind of thing. However, it is a question of implementation and whenever the question of implementation has come up with all the authority and power in the hands of the Centre, that direction is implemented in a manner where no choice is left. I know what Gujarat has done and God be with Gujarat; I have nothing to say about it. My own feeling is, and I am not talking out of any political considerations I feel very strongly that we have to have a link language and today whether we like it or not, English is the link language. I hold no brief for English. If you want to replace English, I can say that Hindi is the only answer and even at the university level if we are going to have regional languages, you shall do nothing but volcanise the country. That is my sincere and honest feeling in this regard.

Then, Sir, there is one point where I would like to congratulate the Education Minister, and that is on his declaration that he is against any more universities and colleges being opened. At long last we have realised that multiple institutions, multiple universities,—in fact allowing colleges or even schools to be without the qualitative approach that is necessary do not help. We have so far been playing ducks and drakes with our educational system.

Sir, my friend just now spoke about the minority character of Aligarh Muslim University. I have no intention of going into that controversy but all that I would like to emphasise is that when the opposition is mounted against any such plea or any such demand, it is very easy to say to the

[Dr. Rafiq Zakaria]

minorities: Don't demand the minority character for your institution. But when you say that, you must also understand that what you are doing is nothing but imposing the majority character on those institutions. Unless you bring about a stage — and I do not see any stage arising in the near future—you will have to keep faith with the minorities and in particular, with the Muslims. In this regard, there has been a betrayal of faith with Muslims as far as Aligarh Muslim University is concerned, and I am surprised at the attitude of the Members on that side. When electoral assurances and commitments were made during the Lok Sabha elections that the minority character of the Aligarh Muslim University shall be restored, I fail to understand why the Education Minister has taken more than a year to bring about the necessary Bill before Parliament. This shows the approach and the attitude and it is from the same approach and attitude that all this antipathy either to Urdu or to the other minority institutions, to their schools, to their colleges etc. arises and then you come forward and say: No, forget about Hindus and Muslims; forget about the communal distinctions and differences. You cannot forget like that. You can do it after you have restored faith and confidence in minorities. You can do it when they feel that it has become useless and unnecessary. So long as they suffer from a sense of insecurity and emotional resentment about what is happening all around, simply by the might of majority if any such thing is imposed on them, then it is the nation ultimately that suffers.

I have done, Sir. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA; Sir, what about the Calling Attention Motion?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It will be taken up after this discussion is completed. This is what the Chairman has decided and announced.

PROF. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN (Nominated): Sir, when one stands up to speak on the working of the Ministry of Education, one feels, after having been in this House for a fairly long time, as if one is indulging in a ritual, a ritual which will be appropriately recorded for purposes of posterity and certain persons working on the academic or the parliamentary system might, in occasional footnotes, mention the names of a couple of persons who have said something and the biological off-springs of some of the Members of Parliament might be satisfied that one fine afternoon their forefathers said something which was worthy of being said. I am starting on this somewhat pessimistic note, Mr. Deputy Chairman, because, I now realise, particularly after the shift of Government, that Governments may come and go, but the institutional inertia of the parliamentary system persists. I have had occasions, as an independent Member of Parliament, to speak more or less in the same vein for the last eight years. Now, I speak for the first time under the auspices of the new administration. I am afraid my optimism is not quite high unless the courageous Education Minister belies my pessimism.

But still I am speaking. I am speaking because there are certain points which have to be emphasised again and again. There are certain points which have to be mentioned, which might make a dent into the bureaucratic "facade of the Ministry and which might appeal occasionally to the agitated consciousness of the Minister himself. Therefore, I am submitting for the consideration of the hon. Minister certain larger aspects. I am not going to indulge—I have never done so, as the House knows—in any partisan approach or in any

acrimonious debate. But the point remains that education has gone by default over the years, over the last thirty years. Everybody has said it; all my good friends. But what is more, education has not been resurrected to its place as was promised even by the new administration. Let not the other party which has been voted out of power feel happy over it. But the fact remains that the Janata Party has done nothing more glorious than what its predecessor had done. This is a miserable position in terms of the allocation of the resources which is one index and in terms of the complete lack of organic perspective on education which is another index. I am afraid, with all my regard to the Education Minister, as I had to the previous Education Ministers I will be less than fair and honest to him if I stand up and say 'I congratulate you'. I just cannot. I had hoped that a person with such a liberal background and with such a sense of patriotism would rise to the occasion and would belie us. But nothing has been done.

Sir, even the report for 1977-78 does not possess a clear and integrated national picture at least about some of the major aspects which are covered by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Social Welfare. It only speaks, and very rightly so, about elementary education, about vocational education and also about adult education. Nothing of consequence whatsoever about higher education, nothing whatsoever about research orientation as such and nothing about the values which must inform our cultural life and intellectual activities. As a matter of fact, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would suggest that educational planning is an interaction of three basic factors, the factor of perspective, the factor of values and the factory of study. The Janata Government's perspective either at the national or at the federal level or at the humanistic, rational and scientific level, is still very unclear. Apart from occasional speeches made, which

are sometimes self-contradictory, nothing clear comes out. Nothing clear comes out as to what is the federal educational perspective of the Government in power. Nothing comes out about continued commitment to the five national values which get across the party line—the value of democracy, socialism, secularism, patriotism, world peace and peaceful settlement of the issues. Proper noises have been made by those who sit on the Treasury Benches now, as proper noises used to be made by those who used to sit on the Treasury Benches earlier. Proper noise, as a matter of fact, had not been made on all the aspects. Only mute voice of secularism is heard. Socialism is hardly articulated and if articulated, articulated in an apologetic mood. Patriotism, as Dr Sarup Singh said, is the refuge of most of us.

DR. SARUP SINGH: I did not say that.

PROF. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN: I have extended it a little further. Now, world peace is a slogan which is autonomously indulged in by all the Foreign Ministers. As a matter of fact, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the time has now come that the foreign policy has not to remain as an organic wing of national policy. I would like to advance a hypothesis for the consideration of the Members here whether it is possible for the most reactionary Government to follow a very liberal foreign policy and *vice versa*. You have been paying compliments for the foreign policy, but there is no index of larger national policy. Positive resources, lack of clarity, of co-ordination between the Federal Union Government and the State Government, infiltration of those elements, if I can put euphemistically, who counter with the healthy culture—these are well-known limitations under which we suffer. The Union Ministry of Education is not clear and imagine how it is in a precarious position in terms of the constitutional jurisdiction. A large chunk of education falls within

[Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan]

the State sphere. A certain aspect falls within the Union sphere. Even with the inclusion of Education as a Concurrent subject by the 42nd Amendment, things have not improved too much. Yet, the fact remains that whatever the Union Education Minister says and whatever the Central Government says about education becomes a crucial self-parameter of education policy. Deviation apart, but by and large, the temper of education is reflected by the type of policy pronouncement made by the Union Minister of Education and by the Parliament. As a matter of fact, if you read and analyse the statements made on the subject, either they' are self-contradictory or only temporal. We have to be very clear as to what you would like to do with the country's educational development, in terms of country's intellectual development. Sir, they have been working at cross purpose. I must admit that the statements made by the Education Minister and the Prime Minister regarding State autonomy are very positive statements. These are welcome statements. It has heartened most of us in the University. But while proclamation for autonomy stands a'n^ persists, cutting across party lines in actual operation,, we find discrimination against those who behold autonomy within the campuses. There has been an attempt even to identify scholars on ideological lines and still you have been saying that you could not do what the previous Government was doing. In other words, two wrongs make a right. I would like to be clear that when you respect autonomy, when you respect the right of teacher belonging to different dispensations of life and co-existence as equal partners, it is a stupendous task of educating the world's largest democracy. There have been attempts even to curtail viable independence and autonomy. Intellectual liberty of a person has been abridged. People have been stopped from going. People have

been stopped from contributing. Whatever it is, this is a disturbing trend. And what is more, now an attempt is being made to abridge the role of the NCERT. It should be very clear that NCERT was not the offspring of the Congress Party in power. As a matter of fact, neither the 10 plus 2 plus 3 system was the offspring of the Congress party in power. As a matter of fact,, the Congress Party reflected a national consensus and it is redounding to their credit that what they did was really a reflection of the national consensus. Here history is being abridged. What is more, a most laudable attempt was made to standardise textbooks at a certain minimal level and a panel of experts was established. Probably one can have a difference of opinion about the experts, j can concede that. Probably one can say that this set of experts is not good; so we should have the other set of experts. But under the fallacious plea that Marxist text-books are being written, these are being removed. Karl Marx would have turned in his grave and serious Marxists will join issue on this. Scientifically oriented books, one can say, with a rational temper, with a little patriotic large heartedness are being removed and the vacuum is being filled by very cheap, ordinary scholarly books available in the open market. These are the problems.

I am not speaking as a partywian. If I were to speak as such I could have joined the ruling party of that time or the ruling party of the present time. But I am an academic man. Therefore, I am calling attention to these facts. Let the Education Minister examine this with a larger heart. After a long time attempt was made to write history text-books with a certain wider perspective. History is one of the most sensitive areas. All history is selective; all history is the process of interpretation. It all depends on what values a nation would like to evolve and what values a nation would like to suppress. If the Education Minister and the Government are satisfied that the types of

values depicted in these text-books are detrimental to the development of a harmonious federal polity, then certainly he should rescind them. But if he thinks that this sort of textbooks will help rather than the other text-books in which certain palaces overnight become palaces or one community or palaces of one caste, then what is all this *tamasha* which is going on. It is a very serious matter and I would call attention to it.

I would also like to call attention to the recrudescence of the infiltration of unhealthy elements within the university campuses. More than half the universities, I am told, are closed. I do not want to go into the arithmetic of it, but even if a sizeable number of them are closed, it is a very alarming proposition, even considering the fact that the Union Minister of Education has no control over them directly; they are autonomous universities; but it is an alarming proposition which one has to look into. The edifice of this country will collapse if the educational system collapses. We have been able to identify priorities of industrial development and, of late, of rural development, of agricultural development. But we have to build the ethos of a new India around a new man. And that new man is not a Janata man or a Congress man or a Congress (I) man. He is just an Indian man who suffers all parties, who suffered the Congress Party and who probably is suffering the Janata Party and who might suffer the other parties which might come into power. He is the new man who is struggling to be born. He is the new man who would like that the unfinished revolution should be completed. Therefore, let us rise above partisan politics and look into these problems of textbooks, of the opening of the campuses, of the authentication of autonomy, of allowing people a free voice. We pride ourselves in being an open society on the one side and a federal polity on the other side. We have abridged the federal part of the polity.

We have abridged the openness of society. This whole arithmetic about 10 plus 2 plus 3, I think it is better we stop this as soon as we could. Every system is full of errors, as every system has its values- I can very clearly understand that the 10 plus 2-plus 3 system of education, block upon block is also a very viable system. Why not have 10 plus 2 plus 3 or 9 plus 3 plus 4? Go on making arithmetical calculations. I am happy that the report has, by and large, agreed to having 10 plus 2. Plus 3 is being investigated. A committee has been set up under the distinguished chairmanship of my friend, Dr. Adi-seshiah. I welcome him to this House. Another Committee has been mentioned under the chairmanship of another friend, Dr. Ishwarbhai Patel. Let this Committee make its recommendations. But do not make any major structural changes. Whatever you do the kingdom of God shall not come on this earth, it shall be a mixture of diabolical stand for an experimental study.

Lastly, I would like to say that the problem of specialised institution must pay more attention to the Education Ministry. I am speaking with some experience. I would like to say that I have no axe to grind. I have served to the best of my ability many institutions. As a matter of fact, I have worn many hats. I am happy that most of the hats are now to be on the heads there. I do not want to wear more hats. But you just cannot run institutions unless you have a very large vision. I am particularly talking of the Indian Council of Social Science and Research, the Indian Council of Historical Research, and the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies at Simla. These are very important national institutions. We are proud of them. As a matter of fact, the Institute at Simla has helped us to become free of external control and the relationship existing between our country and others. These institutions have been augmented. No attempt

[Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan]

should be made to abridge their autonomy. But attempt should be made so that these institutions are presided over by people who are not narrow in their heart. They should be wider in their vision. I have that fear—I may be wrong—that some of the politicians are attempting to abridge these institutions. I have been associated with many institutions during the last nine years. Dr. Dutt also has been associated with them. The first review Committee has tried to build them brick by brick. These institutions have been built by people of vision and courage, people who are dedicated. Here I would particularly pay my compliments to Shri J. P. Naik who was the first Member-Secretary who has done yeoman work in helping education. Now that institution ought not to be allowed to become the preserve of a small group of people and disproportionately allowed a larger part of credit than is their due.

Sir,, in the field of International collaboration I have taken many years to convince the previous Education Ministry to work out certain international collaboration particularly with the Soviet Union and France. I was One of those who made by humble contribution, as Mr. Anand mentioned, until things changed. I am co-Chairman of the Indo-Soviet Commission for Co-operation in Social Sciences. That Commission was established after two years of work which I did partly in the Soviet Union and partly here.

It took much longer time even under the previous Ministry than it should have taken. The first meeting we had in 1975. The second meeting was held in India which was inaugurated by the Education Minister, Dr. Chunderraj. We have worked out a Five Year Plan. With great difficulty the Soviet social scientists agreed to cooperate with us. I will only say it was not an easy job. It is a difficult

job. We have to build multiple ties with the first world and the second world. The socialist world had some serious grounds of suspicion over work. But they also opened this up. But I would not like that any major change should take place to weaken the type of friendship and cordiality between the two countries because while at the diplomatic level whosoever is in power in the academic field there has to be much scholarly *bona fides* with other scholars if the scholars have to open themselves up. These are very sensitive issues I am making in the House because it is a national problem. I would suggest that even if the Education Minister considers that the Commission which is only working for the last three years must be changed before the term of five years which we thought will be the normal term, at least such people should be put on that who enjoy the confidence of progressive mankind in India and would not rouse suspicion among partners from the Soviet Union and others. These are the problems which I am submitting with great care and consideration. I have had enough of my share of national prestige, honour and professional satisfaction. Again I tell you, I am speaking because these are problems which, unless settled with larger national consensus, will always fail to make a dent.

I hope when I speak on the discussion of the Ministry next year, I will have something more complimentary to say to the Education Minister. At the moment I will only say that my personal affection for him persists and continues. Alas! I do not find myself in a position to pay such compliments to the policy perspectives which have so far been articulated.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is still a long list of hon. Members who would like to speak but, as the House knows, we have a Calling Attention Motion coming up and the

Minister for Information and Broadcasting is going to make a statement. If the hon. Members agree we can close the discussion here and the Education Minister can reply.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUN. DER): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, at the outset I should say that the discussion today has been of great encouragement to us on the whole because many of the hon. Members on this side and also on the other side have approved of the priorities that this Government has spelt out since last year. I know that there are some discordant notes, specially from the honourable Member, Shri Khurshed Alam Khan and also the hon. Member, Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan, but I am not perturbed by that because education is a subject on which there is bound to be difference of opinion. So, we have to look at the problem as a whole and try to see how we can direct our attention to the place where attention is most required. And we have found out that in our country, as many hon. Members have stressed, there is a large number of illiterates amounting to several crores, both adult illiterates and also children who do not go to the schools. Then there is a large number of drop-outs which also has been stressed during this debate. Therefore, on 5th April last year I indicated on behalf of the Government that the priorities of the educational pattern should be changed and we should give more emphasis in the coming five years on adult education in the first place, universalization of elementary education in the second place and non-formal education for drop-outs in the third place. That does not mean that this Government will neglect higher education. We wanted to consolidate whatever advantage we have derived from higher education rather than expand higher education indiscriminately and I am glad to find that some of the hon. Members including Dr. Rafiq Zakaria, on the whole, accepted our line with regard to higher education that there

should not be multiplication of universities or colleges. So that is the priority which I had spelt out last year.

We have followed this up by holding a series of conferences, setting up committees and discussions with different groups of people so that a national debate has gone on throughout the year in different parts of the country; and letters to the press, editorial comments, special articles in the newspapers have come out either to support us or to criticize us. I welcome all such writing and expression of views and I offer my thanks to all those educationists, teachers, parents and other people in different walks of life who have helped us and co-operated with us in formulating our major policies. Now we notice that in certain sections there is some apprehension that we are not proceeding fast. We should, according to them, suddenly change the pattern and try to impose this pattern overnight. In other sections we find that there is a warning that we must not tinker with our educational system and we should try to consolidate whatever we have already got. Here again, you will find a contradiction in approach. But, as I again refer to Dr. Zakaria, because he indicated that I have tried to proceed cautiously, I should repeat that I have tried to do so because we have to deal with the future of millions and millions of our children and youth, so that we cannot by our own fiat introduce certain things which might spoil their future altogether. Then again, our limitations, particularly the Constitutional limitations of the Union Ministry of Education and culture have been rightly pointed out by Dr. Rasheeduddin Khan because education still, by and large, is in the State List, although under the 42nd Amendment it has been brought into the Concurrent List. As you know, under the articles of our Constitution, unless and until Parliament passes some law, the matter will remain in the State sphere and the Central Ministry will not have any executive power in this field. Then again, the whole question

[Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder]

whether education will continue to remain in the Concurrent List or not, is still under debate and a final view will be taken only after there is a dialogue with all the sections of this House and the other House so that we might finally decide what will be done with regard to the location of education in the list of the Constitution. Till then, and till ultimately Parliament is able to pass any law concerning education, we are not able to make much headway in bringing about a change in the educational pattern. Therefore, at every stage, even if we pass a certain resolution, even if we submit some report, even if we indicate some guidelines we have to convince and take the States into confidence. Even if it is retained in the Concurrent List, as Dr. Malcolm Sathianathan Adiseshiah pointed out that in a big country like India, it is not possible for the officers in Delhi to control the primary schools in distant parts of the country throughout and change their pattern and the system of education. We have to take the States into confidence, we have to take the officers of the States into confidence. In fact, this is what we are trying to do.

I would like to indicate to you, Sir, briefly what we have done in the last one year. Apart from spelling out the priorities, which I have already indicated, we have had consultations also with different sections of our people, we had set up two committees, one headed by Dr. Isharbai Patel, Vice-Chancellor of Gujarat University and the other headed by the hon. Member, Dr. Malcolm Sathianathan Adiseshiah in relation to plus 2 system of education, particularly the vocational side. Apart from that, several Working Groups had been set up consisting of not only officers but also experts in the field and some of the hon. Members of this House had been associated—I believe, Sir, you were also connected with one such Working Group dealing with cultural matters—and we have tried to find out what we

can do in the shortest possible time. After that, we have to make provision for finances not only for one year but also for the coming five years. Therefore, we had to hold discussions with the representative? of the Planning Commission and also the representatives of the States as they would come and indicate their priorities so that there would be a sort of tripartite discussion between the officers of my Ministry, the officers of the State Governments and the representatives of the Planning Commission. I am glad to tell you that the major priorities that we have indicated have been accepted by and large by the Planning Commission and also by the representatives of the States, and the result is that in the coming Plan, from the 32 per cent budgetary allocation for elementary education, we have raised it to about 50 per cent. Therefore, for elementary education as stressed in the several points which have been raised in the course of the debate, we can have some forward look in the sense that there will be some possibility of expanding elementary education and improving the type of education that will be imparted at the elementary stage. This is in keeping with our Constitutional responsibility. Some of the Hon. Members have pointed out that we are trying to bring about 3 crores or more of the number of our children of school-going age into formal or non-formal education system and because of this change in the priority which is backed by financial provision, it may be possible for us to do so. In the sphere of adult education, whereas in the last Plan only Rs 18 crores had been provided, in the coming Plan Rs 200 crores have been provided, and the Planning Commission has assured us that if we can show results, money will not be a constraint. That is a very big assurance, and if we go ahead with all the measures that we intend to take, then there will be a revolution in the field of education; it will really change the intellectual pattern of our country.

What has been done in the past? In the past, Sir, more and more emphasis

was placed on higher education. I am not blaming the previous Government for this. I am not saying that whatever has been done in the field of higher education has gone down the drains. I do not believe in that type of pessimistic assessment. Certainly, in the field of higher education our teachers and students, by and large, have contributed their mite towards the development of our country. We have some of the best brains in the country who are the products of the past few years of education. As engineers, technicians, doctors, lawyers and teachers in many fields they have made direct contribution towards the development of our country. I am glad to say that many of them are being invited to other developing countries for the purpose of development of those areas. I should say that in some of the developed countries as well, our specialists are being invited and received with great honour. That must be said in praise of the higher education that we have and the work that has been done in our universities or institutes of technology and various other institutions. At the same time, I am quite conscious of the limitation of these institutions, on which I shall dwell after some time.

But, what was neglected in the past was that a great mass of the people who should have got the benefit of education either through formal or non-formal system, did not have that opportunity, or even if that opportunity was provided that was perfunctory. Now this we are going to change and I should think that that can be the real socialistic approach towards the solution of the present problem because if we do not want to have an elitist society but want to have an egalitarian society, we must try to raise the intellectual standard of the large mass of our people who are illiterate and who have been deprived of the fruits of learning because of the policy which was pursued by the previous Government. There is now a major change in our outlook and we are going to implement these changes as soon as

possible. As I have said, proper financial allocation has been made. I do not say that that is quite adequate. But still I say that whatever has been provided, together with allocations which are made to the States, can allow us to make a dent on the old pattern so that within five years we will be able to proceed in a large way and ultimately that will change the intellectual climate of the country.

So far as adult education is concerned, we have fixed a target for ourselves; that is to say, we want to make ten crores of adults between the ages of 15 and 35 literate within five years. It is a gigantic task but not an impossible task. I am glad that Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee offered co-operation on behalf of their teachers' organisation. At one time I was connected with that organisation as Vice-President for two consecutive years. I am glad that many voluntary associations are coming forward and we are trying to involve the labour associations, labour unions and various other bodies. We have raised the number of students associated with the National Survey Scheme to four lakhs. Now, if these four lakh boys and girls can train up ten adults per year, that will give us 40 lakhs and in five years, this source alone may give us two crores of literate adults. Then there are 20 lakhs of primary teachers. If we can involve even half of them in this very noble mission at this rate, then we can get a few crores of adults made literate within five years' time. But this is not a mathematical calculation only. As some hon. Members rightly pointed out, this is a question of motivation. Therefore, we are proceeding in a systematic manner. A series of discussions have been held with different groups and experts have been consulted. Voluntary organisations which have worked in the field for the last several years and have acquired a great deal of experience are being consulted at every stage. We have got very good officers with great experience in the field. I am quite confident that with the help

[Dr. Pratap Chander Chunder]

of the State Governments and also the various agencies that I have mentioned, it will be possible for us to attack this stupendous problem.

Then again with regard to primary and secondary education, Sir, we want to change the content of education more than the year pattern. Of course, the year pattern is also now under review. But we know that the content of education has to be changed if education is to be related to life and is to lead to the development of society. Prof. Ramlal Parikh rightly stressed the important aspect of socially useful productive work which is inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's idea of Basic Education. We cannot borrow that idea wholly in our present system because of financial constraints and absence of a psychological commitment. But even then we are trying to inject that idea in the field of primary and secondary education so that from class I onwards, children will have a social commitment and will be allowed to do work with their hands or to do social service so that they are not alienated from society. In this field also we would be able to rake some headway. That again will change the mental structure and social outlook of our students in the coming years. So this is the type of change that we are going to introduce. But I concede that this is not an easy task. I also state that it is not the sole responsibility of the Education Ministry at the Centre. So what have we done? There was a meeting of the Central Boards of Secondary Education and representatives from all over the country had assembled at Chandigarh in February last. I presided over the plenary session. And when the report of the Ishwarbhai Patel Committee was submitted there, they had a long discussion. In that discussion some of the Chief Ministers and Education Ministers of States had also participated. And they have, by and large, accepted the principles which have been enunciated with great stress

on the concept of socially useful productive work. We wanted to reduce the load of books and the load of subjects and the Central Board of Secondary Education in the last examination held in March, 1978 has already reduced the load by one-third; that means, 33 per cent of their book load has been already reduced, and in the next year some of the other subjects will be dropped. In course of that, for purposes of reduction of books, no doubt the textbooks will get a new look and we are after that exercise, and you will find that proper textbooks are written, certainly in a scientific manner, not in a haphazard manner.

Now, some reference has been made to history text-books. I think a lot of time of this House has been taken on this topic and I have fully discussed this matter and tried to answer the points raised in that connection. And I have told the august House and the honourable Members that the Government is not proceeding in a haphazard manner. Certain complaints have come regarding these textbooks which are published at the cost of the public, that means, by the Government, and these books are of a monopolistic nature. Now, why should a book which is published by the Government be the subject-matter of criticism? We have now under consideration all these matters. Therefore, it is under consideration . . .

DR. V. P. DUTT: Sir, I would like to ask the honourable Minister the meaning of the word 'monopolistic' . . .

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: ___and we have been discussing this matter in this House and I have fully explained the stand of the Government. In every sphere some of the honourable Members are against monopoly except in intellectual sphere to help only a few of their friends in the university campus. I am not in favour of this kind of a

DR. V. P. DUTT: Sir, the honourable Minister is casting aspersions on other Members of this House. I have made the suggestion not to help anybody. The honourable Minister goes on repeating 'monopolistic nature'. I should like to know what the meaning of 'monopolistic nature' is.

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUN-DER: Now, about the other aspects of educational development this 10+2 system has been very often mentioned, and you will be greatly interested to know how the previous Government had dealt with this matter in the past. The Kothari Commission took two years to give its report. Then the national policy on education was decided upon two years later. The Kothari Commission submitted its report in 1966. The national policy on education which adopted this 10+2 pattern was accepted by both the Houses in 1968. And this 10+2 system was accepted by the Central Board of Secondary Education by 1975-76. So it took so many years to accept this 10+2 pattern by the Central Board of Secondary Education and the idea was sought to be sold to the State Governments and by and large all the State Governments except one or two had been ruled by the Congress Party. I also belonged to the Congress Party in those early days. Therefore, I also take some responsibility for the evils which were introduced because of sudden introduction of this system as the Kothari Commission wanted that this system should be spread over 20 years' time. But all of a sudden an attempt was made to impose this system before the teachers were trained, before the books were ready and inputs were brought in for the purpose of raising the standards of the schools. The result was that there was a great deal of haphazard development in different parts of the country. And you will be surprised to know that in spite of such fanfare there are three States which have not yet adopted the 10+2 system up till now—they are the Punjab, Rajas-

than and Madhya Pradesh. Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh were ruled by the Congress Party for a long time. Then again the Punjab also for some time was ruled by the Congress Party. But they have not yet adopted the 10+2 pattern. Others have either adopted the system or are in various stages of implementation or have communicated their acceptance in principle only and are intending to switch over. Therefore, it is wrong to say that 10+2 is an absolute system which is in force throughout the country or it is a uniform pattern adopted throughout the country. That is not so. Last year when I called the meeting of the Education Ministers of the States, in principle they agreed that 10+2 system should be introduced. But then there was a meeting of educationists in New Delhi headed by the late Dr. Shriman Narayan. There they had come to the conclusion that possibly the better structure would be S+4 which is not a whimsical pattern as some hon. Members suggested. They said it would be 6+6 or 9+3 as well. It is not a whimsical pattern at all. Why is the figure eight chosen? As you know, article 45 of our Constitution says that elementary education upto the age of 14 years must be made free and compulsory. That is the duty of the State. Fourteen years of education will generally cover upto the eighth standard of elementary education. So, this figure of eight has been suggested in keeping with the Constitutional responsibility. Eight years of education in one block will enable us to discharge our Constitutional responsibility and education above that can be grouped together and called secondary education. The total will still be 12 years. I do not know how Dr. Zakaria could say that students who have passed eleventh standard are somewhat perturbed. From class XI they will go to the next class because the total year pattern is the same. There is no reason for Dr. Zakaria to say that. I would like to say that we are not going to impose anything on the States. It was said that 10 + 2 pattern

[Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder] was imposed on the States. No. It is for the States, depending on their financial and organisational capability, to accept it in different parts of the country. If a new suggestion has come, it will be for the States to accept or reject the proposition. I propose to call a meeting of the Education Ministers of the States to draw their attention not only to this pattern but also various other matters for the purpose of implementation of this system . . .

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: What is his attitude in this regard?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; Order, order.

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: In the field of higher education, there are certain things which certainly deserve consideration. We are very much concerned over the students unrest which is taking place in different parts of the country. I have earlier stated in this august House and I will repeat it again that the statement that more than 50 per cent of our universities have been closed is wrong and it is creating an atmosphere in the country which is going against our system of higher education. It is true that some of the universities have been closed—some for two months and some for two days. There is no one pattern throughout the country. But I concede that there is great trouble in our campus and we are trying to tackle this from various angles. In the first place we are not encouraging these disturbances and universities are given a hand in dealing with these disturbances. So far as police help is concerned, whenever the universities want such help, it is given. Then again, I have written to the Chief Ministers and my Secretary has written to the Vice-Chancellors to set up bodies for negotiation with the students so that they do not feel that their legitimate grievances are not being looked into. I have met a large number of student deputations and I am always available to the students

and other bodies connected with the universities. So, whether in the matter of law and order or in the matter of administration of the universities or in the matter of having negotiations with the students, we are trying to build up some atmosphere where peace might prevail. I do not want to have any comparisons. But some of the honourable Members pointed out as if the situation is very bad now and it was quite a heaven in the past. But, Sir, from the records of the previous Government, we have found that there were about 11,500 cases of student violence and student agitations in 1974, whereas in 1977 there were about 7500 'cases' only. I am not quite happy with the number of such cases in 1977. But I want to stress that the situation is not bad as it was in 1974. Again, emergency was imposed. Naturally, many of the activities of the students were curbed and the students' unions were banned throughout the country. But we have restored to the students their legitimate democratic rights and they are having their unions in most of the universities. We believe in democracy and democracy we have restored. But, Sir, what do we find about the violent activities of the students? In 1976, at the height of the emergency, Sir, 43.5 per cent of the cases of student unrest had been violent whereas last year only 15 per cent of such cases had been violent. Do these figures prove that the position is much worse than what it was in the past? Certainly not. But we are not quite happy. I repeat that we are not happy and I am trying to do my best and I am trying to contact the State Governments and the Vice-Chancellors and I am meeting the representatives of the Vice-Chancellors also. I have also attended the Conference at Rajkot and I have talked at the meeting to the Vice-Chancellors in this regard. In this way, we are quite confident that, given the support from all sections of this House and also from outside, it will be possible for us to contain student violence. If

necessary, Sir, and 'if you permit, again the matter can be discussed in detail because there is not much time now.

Now, Sir, regarding the performance of the University Grants Commissions, sometime ago, a Committee was appointed and the Report of that Committee has come, we have set up a Committee of Secretaries and other officials and we are now considering to what extent we shall be able to improve the working of the University Grants Commission. The honourable Member, Shri Shahi, had pointed out the recommendation of the Public Accounts Committee about certain contracts in connection with some building operations in the various educational institutions at the instance of the University Grants Commission. I am glad to tell you, Sir, that the Report was submitted only last week and by now we have appointed Shri N. D. Rajan, Chief Engineer (Vigilance), CPWD as the one-man Committee to inquire into the circumstances leading to the cornering of over 200 building projects costing Rs. 3,22 crores in the universities and colleges in several States by two Delhi-based firms of architects, and to determine whether there has been any connivance on the part of any official of the University Grants Commission. The Inquiry Committee will give its findings and recommendations within a period of two months from the commencement of the inquiry. You will, therefore, see, Sir, that we are trying to improve the working of the University Grants Commission. Now, the Honourable Member, Shri Sisodia, I believe, indicated that there is some flaw in our approach to higher education through the working of the University Grants Commission and he has said that the University Grants Commission does not give any help to any institutions which are having students less than a thousand in number. But the position is not so. The colleges located in the backward areas, for projects up to five lakhs in-

cluding buildings, need have only three hundred students as the minimum enrolment number. Colleges providing two-year degree courses in arts and science need have only 200 as the enrolment number. In some cases, for projects up to three lakhs only for buildings, the colleges providing two-year degree courses in arts and science and commerce need have only 150 students as the enrolment number. Therefore, it is not correct to say that the University Grants Commission is simply concerned with a large number of students in the institutions.

6 P.M.

There are many other points which the hon. Members have raised. I do not have much time. But I have tried to cover some of these points, and if I have missed some of these points, I will certainly try to explain the position to the individual members concerned if they so desire.

With these words, Sir, I would like to thank the hon. Members and I seek their cooperation in implementing the new policy which this Government has placed before the country.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: I have just to seek one or two clarifications from the Minister. I feel that his statement will cause more confusion. He has himself admitted that except in three States the 10+2 system has been adopted. It has been working for the last several years. Now, the attitude of the Centre is still not quite clear. I would like to know what is going to happen to those students where the system has been accepted and implemented? How does the Centre propose to keep this matter open all the time and not say anything? I may assure the Education Minister that it is not with a view to criticising or attacking the Ministry that I am asking for this explanation, but I feel that it would be in the interests of the country if this position is clarified.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir, I am from Kerala. There we have introduced 10+2+3 system for nearly 7 years, and we have prepared the text books, the colleges, the buildings, the laboratories, etc. according to the requirements of that pattern of education. Now if you ask our State to switch over from that system, it will create a lot of difficulties. I will utter a word of caution that our educational system is a thing which ought to be amended or re-modelled according to the requirements, with the utmost caution and care, for the sake of our future generations. Therefore, you have to be very cautious about it. . . . (Interruptions).

**REFERENCE TO ALLEGED MISUSE
OF AIR FOR PROPAGANDA—
contd.**

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI J. L. K. ADVANI): Sir, this question was raised this morning—about a news item put out by the A.I.R.

could not react to it on the spot; I said that I would check up further. I have this to say.

A news item was broadcast by AIR on the morning of April 7, 1978, in English and Hindi bulletins that three Congress (I) Members, who were accompanying the Party President on his way from New Delhi to Aligarh in the ACC Compartment of a train were 'allegedly caught' travelling without ticket. They were fined Rs. 100 each. The news item was based on a Samachar report which was also carried by some of the newspapers. The report put it very cautiously and used the words 'allegedly caught'. It was a categorical report by Samachar which even gave the amount of fine imposed. When the report was denied by Shri Buta Singh, General Secretary of Congress (I), the denial was also broadcast on April 8, 1978, both in the English and Hindi Bulletins by AIR.

श्री भीष्म नारायण सिंह (बिहार) :
मान्यवर, इसमें मुझे कुछ अनुरोध करना है।
इस स्टेटमेंट के बाद . . .

(Interruptions)

If you want to close this chapter, let me say something.

आपने देखा कि टेलिविजन पर महज मिसेज गांधी का जरा सा फोटो आ जाने के कारण कई लोग सस्पेंड हो गये। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि समाचार भी आप की ही एजेंसी है। आपने उस पर विश्वास किया। इस तरह से प्रचार हो रहा है और इस तरह की बात हो रही है। सिर्फ यह कह देने से काम नहीं चलेगा कि आपने उसका कांटेडिक्शन कर दिया। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उन अधिकारियों के विरुद्ध जिनके जरिये यह समाचार आया क्या आडवाणी जी कोई अनुशासन की कार्यवाही करना चाहते हैं। यह मैं उनसे जानना चाहता हूँ। आकाशवाणी में भी तो आपके लोग हैं।

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN (Delhi): There must be a reply.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: If he wants to continue the debate, it is all right. But the Members here are intelligent enough to understand that "Samachar" is not a Government agency. Samachar puts out reports which are published by the newspapers. But our responsibility goes to this extent that we have to publish a contradiction and a denial. If our people had failed to publish the denial, I will have certainly pulled them up. But they have published a contradiction. All that was pointed out was that they did not publish the contradiction. I have checked it and I have made a statement on that basis. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It can be raised on other occasions.. Shri. Mahanti.

(Interruptions)