

Vice-Chairman (Shri S. S. Mariswamy) in the Chair.

**RESOLUTION *Re* REORGANISATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION— Contd.**

SHRI MAQSOOD ALI KHAN (Mysore): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we are indebted to Dr. V. P. Dutt for having moved a resolution by which the whole of the education system in India is being considered by this august House. Sir, when Dr. Dutt was remarking about the educational system in India its shortcomings and the achievements in whatever manner they had been rather to a smaller extent I was just wondering as it was coming from the mouth of an academician, whether it was a professional confession of an academician. Sir, as laymen, when we look around us and see the boys, the students, the professors and all of them, we just wonder as to what we will be leading ourselves to and whether a correct atmosphere and correct surroundings have been created in this country so that our child should not sulk. While speaking on another subject. Sir, I making a mention of a reference that made somewhere in the year 1960 by a Union Minister when the education system was being discussed by us, and when someone from among us asked him. "How about the experiments that are being carried out by the Education Ministry in the country and their effects upon the child in the country?", he rather very seriously, I would not say jocularly, remarked: "You need not think much about it or consider much about that aspect." But I say the child is our first casualty in India. That statement holds good even today. The child should have been a priority and should have been our pride in the country; yet he suffers from this great handicap that we are unable to give him that educational system which should bring him up like a man who would have to shoulder the responsibilities that would fall on his shoulders in future. We are spending a huge money. First of all comes the aim of our education I may here refer again to a speech that was delivered by the late Dr. Zakir Hussain when he Vice-President of India some time in the 1965-66. While speaking in Bangalore

on education he had said that when Mahatma Gandhi had constituted a committee known as the VYardha Education Committee and Dr. Zakir Hussain was leading that committee, they toured all over India and submitted a report to the Congress Committee consisting of some 60 to 70 pages and the expenditure that they incurred was to the tune of Rs. 80,000 or so. Then Dr. Zakir Hussain said that with all that expenditure and with all the report on basic education now our country has spun a web round it and our aim is

and the product that we have is not the product that we have in view. So again the question comes: 'Where are we going?' Is it the aim that we had earlier? Can we say, as Dr. Dutt was very rightly referring to it, the boy when he comes out of the

le, is in tune with the times? "In tune with the times" in the sense, I will not refer only to the jobs that he is likely to get because when a boy gets himself educationally equipped, it does not mean that he should qualify himself only for a job or for a Government job. But certainly it means that he must qualify himself for any struggle that he is going to face in practical life. Whether we are equipping the boys from that point of view with such qualifications is the question.

Now coming to the two points that have been referred to in the Resolution, one is about the polytechnics and the vocational institutions, and the second is about higher education. They have been rightly touched upon by Dr. Dutt. First of all, coming to the polytechnics I would say that it is rather an illusion that we have been labouring under the all our boys, who get through these polytechnics get a job in the country. It is not so. Even assuming that these boys get all the trades known to them in these polytechnics, the question remains whether they can be absorbed after they get them-qualified. I know in a number of cases there are two snags there. One is that the job opportunities for them are not so much as the number of students that come out of the colleges or the polytechnics or the vocational institutions. The second thing is that the jobs that are there in different phases of life are not being taught



[Shri Moqsood Ali Khan] high. The boys of all sections of the community, as they belong to India, should be looked after in the same manner and there should not be any difference in teaching either in the vocational institutions or in the educational institutions of a higher order.

With these words, Sir, I conclude. Thank you.

**श्री गणेशी लाल चौधरी** (उत्तर प्रदेश): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय आज हम इस प्रस्ताव द्वारा देश के एक महत्वपूर्ण विषय के ऊपर चर्चा कर रहे हैं। यह विषय ऐसा है कि जिसमें हमको सारी जागृति अपने देश में मिल सकती है। मेरे स्कूल में इन 25 वर्षों में हमारी सरकार नेशनल पालिसी एजुकेशन की क्या होनी चाहिए यह अब तक डिसाइड नहीं कर सकी है। इसका विचार बना नहीं पाई है कि हमारे देश में शिक्षा का जो ध्येय है वह क्या होना चाहिए और लड़का पढ़कर निकले तो उसको क्या बनना चाहिए। तो एक नेशनल पालिसी सारे देश के लिए इस तरह की निकालनी चाहिए जिसमें मालूम हो कि हम शिक्षा किसलिए दे रहे हैं। लड़के को भी यह मालूम होना चाहिए कि हम इसलिए शिक्षा पा रहे हैं।

एक वक्त था जब शिक्षा का सबसे बड़ा महत्व था—सत्य, शिव, सुन्दरम्। शिक्षा से आदमी सत्य, शिव, सुन्दरम् की तरफ बढ़ता था। आज हमारे देश में जो शिक्षा चल रही है आप अगर उसका अध्ययन करें तो जितने पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं, जिनको आप शिक्षित वर्ग मानते हैं, वह सत्य से कितनी दूर हैं, चाहे वह डाक्टर हों, चाहे वकील हों, चाहे सरकारी कर्मचारी हों, वह सत्य से कितनी दूर है, इसका आत्म-निरीक्षण सरकार को करना चाहिए और आपको पालिसी ऐसी बनानी चाहिए

कि उसके एम में तीनों चीजों का विकास लड़का पढ़कर निकले तो होना चाहिए। तब जाकर इस देश की जो परम्परा है, उसका सुधार हो सकता है। अभी तक जो लड़के पढ़ते हैं उनके सामने भी कोई लक्ष्य नहीं होता है। मेरे सामने कोई लड़का एम० ए०, बी० ए० अगर आता है तो मैं अक्सर उससे पूछ लिया करता हूँ कि तुम्हारा एम क्या है, तुम शिक्षा किस काम के लिए ले रहे हो तो लड़का इसकी वास्तव बिलकुल गून्घ रहता है। उसको यह नहीं पता कि हम बी०ए० या एम० ए० या हाई शिक्षा ले रहे हैं तो किस लिए ले रहे हैं। तो मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से कहूंगा कि वह इस तरह की पालिसी बनायें जिससे कि आदमी आदमी बन सके। आज हम अपने देश में देख रहे हैं कि शिक्षा के द्वारा हम आदमी को आदमी नहीं बना रहे हैं, बल्कि हम आदमी को हैवान बना रहे हैं। समाज में कुरीतियाँ जिस तरह से फैल रही हैं, जिस तरह से लड़के, समाज के आदमी बिहेव कर रहे हैं, उससे ऐसा लगता है कि हम फिर ऐसे जमाने में, ऐसे समय में आ रहे हैं जो बहुत पुराना जमाना था। मैं इसलिए यह बात कह रहा हूँ कि मुझे ग्रेडुएट कास्ट्स में आने का मौका मिलता है। मैंने देखा है कि उनके यहां बहुत सी जगहें ऐसी हैं जहां चीरी नहीं होती, बदमाशी नहीं होती। बिलकुल सीधे सादे आदमी हैं। लेकिन ज्यों ज्यों आप उनको शिक्षित बनाते हैं जिसको आप सिविलाइजेशन कहते हैं, वह उनके अन्दर पैदा हो जाती है उतना ही आदमी मक्कार और बेईमान होता चला जाता है। जिस तरह से आप फैक्टरी में लोहा पैदा कर रहे हैं, जिस तरह से आप फैक्टरीयों में दूसरी चीजें पैदा कर

रहे हैं, उसी तरह से आपके जो विश्व-विद्यालय हैं, युनिवर्सिटीज हैं वह इस तरह की फैक्टरीज न बन जायें जो आज बन रही हैं और मैं मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन फैक्टरीज से बेरोजगार दिन पर दिन आप बना रहे हैं, अनइंप्लाइड बना रहे हैं।

महोदय, बहुत ही चर्चा हुई पोलि-टेक्नीक की, इंजीनियर्स की और डाक्टर्स की। आज डाक्टर्स, इंजीनियर्स सारे देश में निकल रहे हैं। उनकी फैक्ट्रीयां चल रही हैं। इंजीनियर भी निकलता है, वह भी बेकार, डाक्टर भी निकलता है वह भी बेकार। आज उसके सामने कोई गोल है ही नहीं, कोई एम है ही नहीं कि हम डाक्टरी पढ़ के, हम इंजीनियरी पढ़ के क्या करेंगे समाज में, समाज का क्या लाभ करेंगे। आप इस तरह की शिक्षा दें जिस से समाज को लाभ हो सके।

आप का जो इन्जामिनेशन का सिस्टम है वह बड़ा खराब है। आपने जो मार्क्स सिस्टम पर, नम्बरों की बैसिस पर मेरिट रखी है, मेरे खयाल में वह बड़ी गलत है। फस्ट, सैकेंड, थर्ड डिविजन इन सब को आप खत्म कर दीजिये और खाली पास डिविजन आप रखिये। मैं इस लिए यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कोई लड़की किसी डिविजन में पास हो, लेकिन अगर उसको ऐंग्रीकल्चर के काम में लगा दिया जाय, अगर उसको मालीगरी के काम में लगा दिया जाय और वहां उस काम में उसकी रुचि न हो, तो उससे कोई लाभ नहीं होता है। यदि कोई डिविजन नहीं होगा तो जिस डिपार्टमेंट में जो लड़का जायेगा, वहां जिस योग्य वह होगा उसके अनुरूप काम्पेटीशन कर के अपने को बना लेगा। इस लिए यह जो आप का सिस्टम है इग-

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जामिनेशन का इसको एवालिश कर दिया जाय और फस्ट, सैकेंड, थर्ड डिविजन के बजाय जितने लड़के देश में हैं सब का एक ही डिविजन रखा जाय कि यह एम० ए० पास हो गया है, कोई इसका डिविजन नहीं है ताकि जिस काम में वह जाय वहां पर वह अपनी मेरिट को दिखा सके कि हमारी यह मेरिट है और इस काम को हम कर सकते हैं।

हमने देखा कि आप की नेशनल पालिसी ऐसी है कि पब्लिक स्कूल भी चल रहे हैं और प्राइमरी स्कूल भी चल रहे हैं। दिल्ली में तीन साल का युनिवर्सिटी का कोर्स चल रहा है और यू० पी० में दो साल का युनिवर्सिटी का कोर्स चल रहा है। दिल्ली में कम्पलसरी इंगलिश है और यू० पी० में आप्शनल इंगलिश है। यहां सारे इन्तहानों में आप इंगलिश कम्पलसरी रखते हैं। सारे देश में एक तरह का अगर ढांचा हो जाय, एक तरह की शिक्षा हो जाय, तो यह आसानी हो जाय कि अगर कोई लड़का दिल्ली से यू० पी० जाए तो उसको साल न खराब करना पड़े और जो आगे काम करना पड़े वह ठीक से कर सके।

मैं दिल्ली की बात कहता हूँ। मैंने दिल्ली में मुना कि यहां के स्कूलों में जब मैं आदमी बनाने की बात कहता हूँ तो मेरे दिमाग में यह भी है कि सारे सबजेक्ट्स यहां पढ़ाए जाते हैं, लेकिन यहां हायर सेकेंड्री स्कूलों में समाज शास्त्र का विषय नहीं पढ़ाया जाता है। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से यह चाहूंगा कि समाज शास्त्र का ऐसा विषय है जिसमें आदमी को पढ़ाया जा सकता है कि कैसा हमारा समाज

(श्री गणेशी लाल चौधरी)

रहे, किस तरह से हमको समाज में रहना चाहिए, तो समाज शास्त्र का अध्ययन दिल्ली में शुद्ध से हायर सेकेंड्री स्कूलों में कराने की कोशिश करें तो बड़ा अच्छा होगा।

जहां तक मैं जानता हूं शिक्षा एक ऐसा विषय है कि जब भी कहीं कोई मुसीबत पड़ती है या गिरानी आती है या आस्टैरिटी का मामला आता है तो सब से पहला कुल्हाड़ा शिक्षा पर या शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट पर और सोशल वेलफेयर डिपार्टमेंट पर चलाया जाता है। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से कहूंगा कि शिक्षा एक ऐसा महत्वपूर्ण विषय है कि जिस से आदमी आदमी बनता है। और शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और सोशल वेलफेयर डिपार्टमेंट एक ऐसा डिपार्टमेंट है कि जिस में पिछड़े लोगों को कुछ प्रोत्साहन मिलता है। तो मैं मंत्री जी के द्वारा प्रधान मंत्री जी से कहना चाहूंगा कि जब भी कहीं कमी करने की बात आये, आस्टैरिटी की बात आये तो उस के लिए वह शिक्षा और सोशल वेलफेयर डिपार्टमेंट पर कुल्हाड़ा न चलायें। ऐसा करने से समाज बर्बाद होगा। दूसरे विभागों की मदों में वह कमी कर सकते हैं लेकिन जहां तक सोशल वेलफेयर और शिक्षा का विभाग है, उस की मदों में उन को कभी नहीं करनी चाहिए और मैं मंत्री जी से कहूंगा कि वे मेरी इस प्रार्थना को प्रधान मंत्री जी तक पहुंचा दें। इन शब्दों के साथ जो प्रस्ताव आया है उस का मैं समर्थन करता हूं।

श्री रणवीर सिंह (हरियाणा) :  
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जो प्रस्ताव हमारे सामने है, जहां तक उस के पहले भाग का संबंध है उस में कोई दो रायें नहीं

हो सकतीं और जहां तक दूसरे हिस्से का संबंध है उस में भी बहुत दूर तक कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकतीं और उन को मौका दिया जाय इस में कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकतीं। योग्यता के आधार पर चयनात्मक उच्चतर शिक्षा की नीति को अपनाया जाय इस में कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकतीं हैं। पहली बात तो यह है कि कौन सी चीज की छांट की जाय और उस की क्या मेरिट हो। किस चीज को मेरिट माना जाय। मैं ने देखा है कि हिन्दुस्तान का सब से बड़ा डैम जिसे भाखड़ा डैम कहते हैं वह अमरीका के एक मिस्त्री ने बनाया। वह न तो इंजीनियर था और न कोई डिग्री होल्डर था और न कोई डिप्लोमा होल्डर था। उस को अमरीका से यहां तक आने का मौका मिला और हिन्दुस्तान के लिए उस ने सब से बड़ा काम, शोभा का काम किया और उस बहुत बड़े डैम को उस ने बनाया। तो अगर मेरिट ही रखनी है तो इंजीनियरिंग में दाखिल होने के लिए मेरिट मिस्त्री की होनी चाहिए। डाक्टरी में दाखिल होने के लिए उन में सेवा का भाव होना चाहिए। आज के डाक्टरों में सेवा का भाव नहीं होता। इन्तहान में वह फर्स्ट डिवीजन हैं या सेकेंड डिवीजन हैं, कितने अच्छे मार्क्स हैं यह हम ने आज मेरिट मान ली है, लेकिन यह सही नहीं है। डाक्टरी के लिए यह चाहिए कि वह आदमी सेवा कर सके। मैं समझता हूं कि जो नर्सिंग भर्ती होती है चाहे वे आदमी हों या औरतें, उनमें से डाक्टरी के लिए भर्ती की जाय तो वे ज्यादा सेवा कर सकती हैं। आप लुधियाना जायें। लुधियाना ने हिन्दुस्तान का नाम ऊंचा किया है छोटे छोटे कारखाने कायम करने के लिए। वहां आप

गिनती करें कि आपके कितने इंजीनियर, कितने डिप्लोमा होल्डर और कितने डिग्री होल्डर हैं, कितने मिस्त्री हैं और देश की कितनी जरूरत को वह पूरा करते हैं। तो इससे पता लगेगा कि आज जो हमारी कीमती शिक्षा है वह देश के लिए कोई अच्छी चीज नहीं है। मेरे से पूर्ववक्ता चौधरी साहब ने कहा कि यह बात सही है कि आज हमारे देश के अंदर, 25 साल के अंदर, शिक्षा का काफी प्रसार हुआ, कालेजों की तादाद बढ़ी, यूनिवर्सिटीज की, विश्वविद्यालयों की तादाद बढ़ी और प्राइमरी और सेकेंडरी एजुकेशन की जो संस्थाओं हैं उनकी भी तादाद बढ़ी और शिक्षितों की भी तादाद बढ़ी और पढ़ने वालों की भी तादाद बढ़ी, लेकिन शिक्षा मंत्री जी को शायद ज्ञान भी हो, न भी हो, आज हम कहां पहुंचे हैं? गांवों में स्कूल के अंदर अध्यापक शराब पीकर पढ़ाने आ जाता है। यह हमारी तरक्की हुई।

3 P.M.

श्री सीताराम सिंह (बिहार) : शराब की दुकानें आप खुलवाएंगे तो पीएंगे नहीं ?

श्री रणबीर सिंह : आपके लिए भी दुकान चाहिए। हमारी मुश्किल है हम नहीं करेंगे तो आप हल्ला करेंगे। आप लोगों को भी तो चाहिए। मेरा कहना है शिक्षकों के लिए दुकान नहीं खोलिए (Interruption) यादव जी को भी कुछ नशा रहता है, कहते हुए। तो मैं जो चिक्क करता था वह यह कि शिक्षक कौन हो? वह फर्स्ट डिवीजन वाला, सेकेंड डिवीजन वाला शिक्षक बने या नहीं बने, इससे कोई ज्यादा फर्क नहीं है। पहले गुरुओं की पूजा होती

थी। आज तो युनिवर्सिटीयों में, डा० व्ही० पी० दत्त साहब को भालूम है, गुरुओं की कैसी पूजा होती है, कैसा उनका आदर होता है। मैं नाम नहीं लूंगा, एक बहुत बड़े शिक्षा विशेषज्ञ से मेरी बात हुई। मैंने उनसे मजाक किया कि भाई, पहले आप कहा करते थे कि राजनीतिज्ञ जो हैं उनको समाज में चलना नहीं आता, इसलिए उनके खिलाफ प्रदर्शन होते हैं, तो यह सन् 1967 के बाद बताया, आपका कैसा हाल रहा, आपको शिक्षा-दीक्षा देनी नहीं आई, क्या मामला हो गया? उन्होंने भी मजाक में कहा कि मेरे जितने साथी हैं, मैं उनसे कहता हूँ अगर जिस दिन मां-बहिन की गाली से काम चल जाए तो भगवान से शुक करो कि आज का दिन अच्छा होता है और जिस दिन जूता लग गया, उस दिन समझना आज कुछ खराब दिन आया है। तो आज हमारे देश की एक अजीब हालत बन गई है और वह मैकाले की जो प्रणाली थी, 25 साल में हमने जमीन का तरीका बदल दिया, हमने जमीन को इकट्ठा कर दिया, कहीं के कहीं खेत जोड़ दिए और किसी नवाब को, कहीं दुकानदार बना दिया, कहीं होटल चलाने वाला बना दिया, लेकिन शिक्षकों की शिक्षा प्रणाली को हम नहीं बदल सके और इसका एक कारण मैं सबसे बड़ा यह मानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार का यह खयाल कि हिन्दुस्तान की शिक्षा की प्रणाली, शिक्षा के विशेषज्ञ को बदलना है, यह एक सबसे बड़ी गलती है। सबसे यह भूमिका ही गलत है। डा० जाकिर हुसैन साहब का चिक्क हुआ। डा० जाकिर हुसैन ने हिन्दुस्तान को महात्मा गांधी के बताए हुए रास्ते पर बेसिक सिस्टम या वर्धा सिस्टम की कोई बात सुझायी

(श्री रणवीर सिंह)

डा० जाकिर हुसैन हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान बन गए, हिन्दुस्तान के सबसे बड़े, नम्बर एक नागरिक, बन गए, सबसे शक्तिशाली ओहदे पर पहुँच गए, लेकिन शिक्षा की प्रणाली को बदलने में वे भी असमर्थ रहे; क्योंकि शिक्षा के विशेषज्ञ जो हैं, उन्होंने ठेका लिया है कि इल्म की जानकारी उनके सिवाए किसी के पास नहीं है। माफ कर दें दत्त साहब और हमारे मंत्री महोदय, वे यह न समझें कि मैं डिप्टी-होल्डर नहीं हूँ, मैं भी प्रेजुएट हूँ और दिल्ली का प्रेजुएट हूँ और इनके वाइस-चांसलर के साथ का प्रेजुएट हूँ। इसलिए मैं यह नहीं कहता। लेकिन एक बात मैं जानता हूँ उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, अपने प्रदेश में ही देखिए, आपके प्रदेश के अंदर सबसे ज्यादा बिजली के कनेक्शन पम्पस के हैं और वे किस वक्त ज्यादा शुरू हुए — जब श्री कामराज मुख्य मंत्री रहे। उनके वक्त में एकदम से मद्रास राज्य, जो कभी डेफिसिट एरिया था, जिसको आन्ध्र वाले डराते थे कि तुमको हम भूखा मार देंगे वरना हमारे साथ आओ, उसने इतनी तरक्की कर ली कि वह तामिल नाडु दूसरों को अनर्ज देने वाला बन गया। वे कोई डिप्टी-होल्डर नहीं, कोई डिप्लोमा-होल्डर नहीं थे। उनकी शिक्षा क्या थी मैं नहीं बताऊंगा, हो सकता है कोई दोस्त उससे नाराज हों, लेकिन जो तालीम आज की शिक्षा के वास्ते जरूरी है, उससे बहुत कम थी या नहीं के बराबर हो। लेकिन उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान को एक रास्ता दिखाया। अपने प्रदेश में भी मैंने यह बात देखी है। मेरे पास इंरिगेशन और पावर मिनिस्ट्री रही, पी०डब्लू०डी० का महकमा रहा, वह सारा इंजीनियरों का

और विशेषज्ञों का महकमा है।

लेकिन मैंने देखा है कि जो बड़े बड़े विशेषज्ञ हैं वे इम्प्लीमेंटेशन करने में पीछे हैं। उनको इस देश की आम बात के सम्बन्ध में समझ नहीं है। वे तो भर्ती करते वक्त इस बात का ख्याल रखते हैं कि जो फर्स्ट डिवीजन डिप्टी-होल्डर है, जो अच्छे नम्बर पर आया है, जो पब्लिक स्कूल से पढ़ा हुआ है, जिनका हिन्दुस्तान के साथ कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है, उनको वे नौकरियों में भर्ती करते हैं। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि हायर सेकेंडरी एजुकेशन सब लोगों के लिए खुली नहीं होनी चाहिये, लेकिन वह कैसे बन्द हो सकती है, यह सोचने वाली बात है।

मैं इस बात को जानता हूँ कि शिक्षा मंत्रालय के पास इसका कोई हल नहीं है और गृह मंत्रालय या हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार बड़ी मुश्किल में पड़ी हुई है। हमारे देश में जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विस है, आई० ए० एस० वाले हैं, आई० पी० एस० वाले हैं, प्राविशियल सर्विस वाले हैं और पुलिस तथा दूसरी सर्विस वाले हैं, वे सब डिप्टी-होल्डर होते हैं। अगर यह बात कर दी जाये कि इस तरह की सर्विसेज में डिप्टी-होल्डर वाले नहीं होंगे, उनमें इंजीनियर्स में आ सकते हैं, डाक्टर भी एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर बन सकता है, तो यह जो आम लोग हैं, एम० ए० की डिप्टी-होल्डर हैं, फर्स्ट डिवीजन वाले हैं, वे इनमें नहीं जायेंगे। आज हमारे देश में उल्टी बात हो रही है। बिजली का जो महकमा है उसमें आई० ए० एस० वाला ठेकेदार बना हुआ है और हिन्दुस्तान के नीति निर्धारण करने वाले भी आई० ए० एस० वाले ठेकेदार बने हुए हैं। फिर इस बात में फगड़ा होता है कि तुम इन जगहों में नहीं आ सकते हो। अगर बी० ए०

और एम० ए० के डिग्री-होल्डर को इस प्रकार की नौकरियों में नहीं लिया जायेगा तो फिर इस चीज की तरफ कोई नहीं देखेगा और विश्व-विद्यालय खाली रहेंगे। आज जो डिग्री की दौड़ है, वह इसलिए है कि इसके सिवाये और कोई धन्धा ही नहीं मिलता है। मेडिकल कालेज के अन्दर एफ० एससी० और प्री-मेडिकल पास किये हुए लड़कों को ही मेडिकल कालेजों में दाखिला मिलेगा। रोहतक में एक मेडिकल कालेज है और उसके अन्दर सिवाये स्पोर्ट्स-मैन के कोई दाखिला प्राप्त नहीं कर सकता है। कोई प्री-मेडिकल पढ़ा हुआ बच्चा दाखिला प्राप्त नहीं कर सकता है; क्योंकि वहाँ पर बी० एससी० वाले हैं, एम० एससी० पास किये हुए लड़के आते हैं और वे कहते हैं कि हम डाक्टर बनेंगे।

हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर आप जोनते हैं कि राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गान्धी जी बैरिस्टर बने थे। उन्होंने यहाँ से दसवीं पास किया था, मैट्रिक यहाँ से पास किया था और इंग्लैंड में जाकर बैरिस्टरी का इम्तिहान पास किया था। इस तरह से वे हिन्दुस्तान के और दुनिया के गरीबों के सबसे बड़े वकील बने और कामयाब वकील बने और उन्होंने इतनी बड़ी शक्ति के साथ लड़कर दिखला दिया।

1967 में दिल्ली और सारे हिन्दुस्तान के विश्वविद्यालयों में इस वारे में झगड़ा शुरू हुआ कि बी० ए० के बाद जो लड़के दो साल तक ला पढ़ते हैं उन्हें एक साल और लॉ डिग्री हासिल करने के लिए पढ़ने पर मजबूर न किया जाये। इस तरह से कानून पढ़ाने वाले कालेजों से झगड़े की वृत्तियाँ शुरू हुई कि दो साल लॉ पढ़ने के बाद एक साल की

जो ट्रेनिंग रखी गई है वह न रखी जाये। महात्मा गान्धी जी जब 10वीं पास करके बैरिस्टरी पास कर सकते हैं, तो इन लोगों के लिए इस तरह की सीमा क्यों रखी गई? आज जो हमारी शिक्षा प्रणाली है, वह शुरू से लेकर अन्त तक गलत है। यह बात जरूरी है कि इस देश की जनता के लिए अक्षर ज्ञान प्राप्त करना जरूरी है, ताकि उसको कोई गुमराह न कर सके, कोई उसे गलत रास्ते पर न ले जाये, इसलिए अक्षर ज्ञान का होना जरूरी है। लेकिन हमारे यहाँ जो शिक्षा प्रणाली है वह मैकाले प्रणाली पर चल रही है। जब मैं कालेज में पढ़ता था तो धी की कौली भी हाथ पर ले जाने में हमारे सहपाठी शर्म महसूस करते थे। हमें अपने वर्तन उठाने में शर्म महसूस होती थी। हम अपना बैग नहीं उठा सकते थे। हम रोजाना धी झूठा खाते थे। मैंने जापान में देखा कि जो यूनिवर्सिटी के विद्यार्थी हैं उन्होंने हमें हर चीज अपने हाथ की बनाई हुई खिलाई। जब हमने उनसे मालूम किया तो यह बात सामने आई कि वे अपने हाथ से रोटी भी बनाते हैं और वर्तन भी साफ करते हैं। इस तरह से वे पढ़ाई के समय भी कुछ न कुछ कमा लेते हैं। हमारे देश में जो शिक्षा दी जाती है, कालेजों में जो शिक्षा दी जाती है, वह बिल्कुल, बेकार की होती है। आज हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर जो सब से खतरनाक चीज हो रही है वह शिक्षा प्रणाली द्वारा ही हो रही है। हम जिसे उच्च शिक्षा कहते हैं यह एक खतरे की चीज है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आज देश के अन्दर जो आर्थिक तरक्की हो रही है उसके साथ कुछ अजीब हालत हो

(श्री रणविर सिंह)

गई है। एक तरफ जो अनपढ़ आदमी है, मजदूर है, हाथ से मेहनत करने वाला है उसकी कमी है। आप हरियाणा में चले जाएं, सड़क बनती हुई मिलेगी, राजस्थान का मजदूर मिलेगा, केरल का मजदूर मिलेगा, लेकिन हरियाणा में इतने मजदूर नहीं मिलते, जितना काम वहां नेजी से होता है। दूसरी तरफ पढ़े-लिखे बेरोजगारों की तादाद बढ़ती जा रही है। इंजीनियर बेकार, डाक्टर बेकार और जितने भी विशेषज्ञ हैं, जिनकी सेवाओं से देश आगे जा सकता है, वे बेकार फिरते हैं, इसलिए कि उन्होंने सीखा ही नहीं है कि कैसे काम करें। डाक्टर भी नौकरी की तलाश में फिरते हैं। वे गांव में बैठ कर, सेवा करके तनख्वाह से ज्यादा कमा सकते हैं। निजी क्षेत्र में जाने का हौसला नहीं करते, सरकारी क्षेत्र में उनको नौकरी नहीं मिलती। तो आज पढ़ाई की जो प्रणाली है वह गुरू से ही ऐसी है कि नौकरी करना सीखें, आई० सी० एस० बनें, प्रदेश सिविल सर्विस में जाएं, आई० ए० एस० बनें, आई० पी० एस० बनें। अजीब हालत है, हमारे देश की। फौज के अन्दर भर्ती होती है, उसमें भी एम० ए०, बी० ए०, फर्स्ट डिवीजन और सेकेंड डिवीजन देखी जाती है और जब आगे बढ़ने का वक्त आता है तो फर्स्ट डिवीजन वाला भाग नहीं पाता। इसमें हौसले का इम्नहान होना चाहिए, वहां मेरिट हौसला होना चाहिए। आज नौकरियों में भर्ती का जो सिस्टम है या शिक्षा की जो प्रणाली है दोनों ही गलत हैं। माननीय सदस्य ने यह बात सही कही थी कि भरती करने वाला कौन है। पहले मैंने यह प्रश्न पूछा था कि हिन्दुस्तान—के किस-किस मंत्रालय में

किस प्रदेश के सेक्रेटरी हैं और उस प्रदेश के कितने आदमी नए भर्ती किए गए हैं और दूसरे प्रदेशों के कितने भर्ती किए गए हैं। उसका जवाब देना ही बन्द हो गया; क्योंकि सवाल यह था कि जिस प्रदेश का सेक्रेटरी होता है उसी प्रदेश की भर्ती होती है, हिन्दुस्तान की बाकी आबादी की कोई फिक्र नहीं। तो मेरिट जो है वह क्या हो? अगर मेरिट सही हो तो वह ठीक हो सकती है। अब आपने दाखिले के लिए 70 फीसदी रख दिया है, इसको हटाए, नहीं तो फिर हम भी कहेंगे कि हमारे विश्व-विद्यालय और खोले जायें। नौकरियों के लिए भी जो मेरिट है वह बदला जाये तब तो इसका इलाज हो सकता है, नहीं तो अगर मेरिट रखा तो दत्त साहब आपके खिलाफ भी शिकायत आएगी कि आपने रियायत की है, पंजाबी की रियायत की है, कोई कहेगा कि वाइस-चांसलर हरियाणा का है, हरियाणा वाले की रियायत की है, कोई किसी जाति का नाम लेगा, कोई किसी धर्म का नाम लेगा, फिर वह मेरिट, मेरिट नहीं रहती और जगड़े की जड़ हो जाती है।

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): Sir, I have great respect for Dr. Dutt who introduced the Resolution. He is a known expert in the field of education, apart from the fact that he is the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University.

I would readily agree with some of the valuable points that he has made but I must express my disagreement with some of his basic assumptions at least implied in his Resolution. Maybe in his concluding remark:, he might clarify some of the points which I might raise.

Tills Resolution urges upon the Central Government to take immediate steps to reorganise, higher education in two stages— firstly by establishing or reorganising and strengthening on a large scale polytechnic

and vocational institutions in the country and give preferential employment in the entire public sector to students coming out of these institutions.

Sir, this is a very pious, a very laudable objective. A large number of polytechnic and vocational institutions in the country, with emphasis on employment, particularly in public sector industries is a laudable objective. But I would like to examine the implications of this in terms of the performance of the policies of the Central Government.

Similarly, Sir, the second stage is to adopt a policy of selective higher education on the criterion of merit. I would like to examine the implications of the criterion of merit and what happens so long as the Central Government, through their economic policies, pursue what we call the capitalist-landlord type of economic and social system in this country. What happens to the criterion of merit in higher education in a situation in which the economic and social system remains what it has been during the last 26 years?

Sir, on the question of employment-oriented education, vocational and technical education, we have no disagreement in principle. But we should not gloss over the fact that the entire educational system in the past, despite the intentions of the Government for polytechnic and vocational education, has been in a serious crisis. One must examine at this stage what are the reasons for the serious crisis in the educational system.

Sir, I would argue that the serious crisis in education is really a symptom of basic maladies in the social, economic and political system itself. I have no time to elaborate upon this theme. But I think this is worth recognising when we discuss education. The bourgeois way out of the crisis is to emphasise on what is called institution<sup>1</sup>; of excellence where some allied type of education is provided to people who have financial strength. Sir, the bourgeois system is to provide facilities for a picked few from amongst the richest strata and to ensure that higher education is available to them so that the capitalist system can continue in terms of supply of managerial per-

sonnel, supply of technocrats and scientists, supply of professionals and intellectuals in courts who will sustain and support the capitalist system.

Sir, we cannot consider the restructuring of higher education in isolation from the discussion of the earlier stages of education, particularly primary education and secondary education. I am aware of the fact that Dr. Dutt very correctly emphasised the inter-relationship between the various stages of education. None the less it requires emphasis that with the existing priorities given by the Central Government in terms of educational outlay, one-third going to primary education, one-third for secondary education and one-third for higher education which pertains to relatively small section of the community. This type of distorted emphasis on allocation is proposed to be slightly changed in the scheme which Prof. Nurul Hasan produced for the Five Year Plan period. None the less the way in which investments are being made, the way in which both the Central Government and the State Governments are allotting money for various levels of education is very clear with the distorted investment pattern in favour of high education of the allied nature at the utter neglect of the vast masses of the ordinary people for whom the Indian Constitution promised compulsory and universal, free education long, long ago. Unless there is substantial change in the educational policy, away from the existing distorted emphasis on higher education, primary education particularly, we will not be able to salvage higher education. This is my main contention.

What are the principle objectives we should keep in mind when we try to restructure not only higher education but the entire gamut of educational system?

Sir, I would suggest, first of all abolition of all class division in the sphere of education, and secondly, establishment of the people's right to education. To-day people have no right to education though the Constitution says that they have the right to free and compulsory education up to the age of 14. Thirdly, education must aim at the awakening the spirit of scientific enquiry, inquisitiveness, power of judgment and the

[Dr. K. Mathew Kurian] critical faculty so that the people can develop in terms of their social consciousness, in terms of what Polo Fraire calls "conscientisation", in terms of the ability to understand the relationship between man and society to play the most vital role in changing the present capitalist exploitative society. Unless the educational system can impart this type of scientific mind, scientific approach, to the people, we will not be able to re-structure education at all. Lastely what is required is the creation of a democratic structure of administration in the educational system with the above objectives.

Sir, if the objectives that I have mentioned above have to be achieved, certain policy decisions have to be taken by the Central Government. To-day a large part of higher education is controlled by big monopoly houses. A whole university in Pilani is controlled by certain trusts belonging to the big business house of Birlas. Similarly there is the Tata Institute of Fundamental Science and the Tata Institute of Social Science. We have higher education in the name of the top two business houses. This is not an isolated example. Education in most of the States is today purchased and sold in the blackmarket economy. Sir, the Blackmarket economy has pervaded the entire educational system. That is a fact: let us not get away from it. When we discuss re-structuring in higher education, no attempt at educational reform can succeed unless we tackle the problem of completely-delinking the monopoly houses from the educational system. Secondly, a large part of education is being influenced directly through foreign finance and indirectly through import of borrowed ideas from the West. We have been borrowing ideas in our textbooks from everywhere- Unfortunately no serious attempt has been made to change the content of education and the syllabus. I am aware of some exercise being made in producing new textbooks. To some extent they have made some headway But I must confess that no serious attempt so far has been made to delink our educational system from the most conservative most reactionary, anti-Indian and pro-imperialist ideas which have gone into our university and school syllabuses. Sir, the student passing out of the college must be provided with employment. Unfortunately, Prof Nurul Husan cannot help it because even

the Prime Minister, who has invited him to be a Minister in the Central Government cannot help it. The entire leadership of this Government cannot offer jobs even for the additional labour force in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. In the Fifth Plan Approach document we have been told that the jobs which they propose to create in the Fifth Plan will not be enough even for the additional labour force, not to speak of the backlog of unemployment which is increasing every year. In this situation, unless basic changes are brought about in the social, economic and political structure, this objective of providing employment for those who pass out of the polytechnics and vocational institutes will remain moonshine. If this should not remain moonshine, then the only way is—Dr. Dutt will agree with me—to pinpoint those who exploit this country, those who control the economic and political power, who continue to maintain the power of money at the expense of the people. Therefore, when we discuss educational reform, it is necessary that we must simultaneously think of man-power planning by a change in the entire planning process so that adequate employment will be generated and will be available for those who pass out of the educational institutions. I would like also to mention in this connection, particularly in the background of the experience of vocational education in the past, that after primary education when students go to the secondary level, vocational schooling of two to three years can be considered as an alternative to a Full secondary education of four years.

Sir, those children who complete the vocational schooling of two to three years should be provided with jobs immediately after they pass the secondary schooling. Those who wish to complete secondary in the middle of the four-year period, should be given all facilities on the basis of half-work half-study basis or on the basis of after-work-class pattern so that they too can complete general secondary education and, if necessary, go ahead in terms of higher education.

In this connection, I would like to bring to your notice, Sir, a very good experiment being conducted in Sri Lanka in the University of Colombo where the working class students, those who work in the factories, are brought to the University in the evening and are given lectures of an

academic nature which are also related to their profession. And at the end of the period, 'credits' are given to those workers who participated in the training programme. And on the basis of these 'credits', they are promoted to higher education. So, the people who come from the working class are enabled by their own hard work to go ahead in higher education. Therefore, unless we have vocational schooling from where they could go further into higher education on half-work half-job pattern or after the work pattern with adequate facilities like scholarships and so on, these vocational schools will not succeed.

Sir, I would suggest that the aim of University education should be to produce only specialists needed for the national economy in the different branches of knowledge. Unfortunately, because of the very low standard of higher education, even the student who passes B.A., or M.A., or M.Sc. is considered to be a person who has just completed general education. Restructuring of education, with the general education up to the end of certain stage and possibly at the Intermediate or Pre-University stage as the case may be, and degree education for B.A. or at least at the M.A. level with the objective of producing specialists for the various branches of the economy, should be attempted.

Sir, when it comes to the admissions policy, it is one of the most ticklish problems. I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister a recent experiment in the Jawaharlal Nehru University. Sir, the Jawaharlal Nehru University Students' Union must take the credit for suggesting to the University authorities a new admissions policy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): You have got only two minutes.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: They have suggested that instead of relying on the faculty entirely for admissions, students should be given participation in the process of selection of the students themselves. They have evolved a scheme by which they suggested that apart from the previous academic record of the student, apart from the evolution of academic record on the basis

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of oral tests or written tests, excellence in extra-curricular activities and particularly, I would like to emphasise this point, economic or social or regional backwardness should also be taken into account so that the students who come from lower strata can go up. As a result of modification in the admissions policy of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, as a result of the presence of the students there, now we have at least some experience that students, who are really good students, who are from the lower economic classes of society and who for some reasons could not come up in education, have been able to go up and show real merit as a result of this system of admissions policy.

Lastly, I would like to bring to the hon. Minister's attention a very concrete problem with regard to the Indian Institute of Technology of Madras. We talk of vocational education, polytechnic and technical education here. I will conclude my speech by emphasising this case, a concrete case of the IIT., Madras, where there are thousands of employees of various categories.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): You should now complete your speech.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Sir, in this case, I will only try to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister that at the 11th Meeting of the Council of the Institute, held in December 1972, with Prof. Nurul Hasan, the Union Minister of Education, as the Chairman and attended by the authorities of the Institute, it was decided that appropriate unions and associations of the employees might be recognised for forming a suitable consultative machinery at the various I.I.Ts.

But unfortunately the Board of Governors of the HT, Madras, have never implemented these. Similarly the employees asked for recognition of the association, regularisation of the work-charged employees who really work overtime, who are engaged on full-time jobs, but who still are treated as work-charged employees thereby being denied many of their rightful demands, etc. Similarly, absorption of hostel mess workers, servants, taking over of the privately-run Vanavani....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Now please sit down. That is enough. I am calling the Minister.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: All right. Sir, these are some of the demands which the IIT employees have got. Therefore, I conclude by saying that when the Government considers higher education, particularly the polytechnics, Vocational education, you cannot succeed in this scheme unless not only the faculty and the students are brought directly into the picture, but the Class III and Class IV employees of the Institutes and Universities are brought directly into the administration so that their genuine participation is also there in the democratic process of decision-making.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (PROF. S. NURUL HASAN): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would first of all like to express my gratitude to my distinguished colleague, Prof. V.P. Dutt, for having introduced this extremely important and significant Resolution. I would also like to express my gratification at the interest which the honourable Members have shown this time as they have always done in the past on education and for the support that they have generally given to the Education Ministers for bringing about radical changes in educational policies. This is conceded by everyone. I am not merely performing a ritual when I say that I believe in this equally and I feel that the deadweight of Macaulay should be removed completely from our education; institutions. I only wish my friends had the time when speaking in the debate on the Approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan. to put in a kind word that education be given some importance in the overall Plan. . .

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra): Your Ministry is a cinderella.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: I can only come to this House and the other House for support. Sir, I would not like to dwell upon the question of primary education much because it is not really covered by Prof. Dutt's Resolution. But I would submit, as my honourable friend, Dr. Kurian, pointed out, that this whole policy of giving one-third allocation to primary education,

one-third to secondary education and one-third to higher education has been given up by the Central Advisory Board on Education as also by the Planning Commission, and in the Approach Document which the honourable Members have discussed only recently it has been approved by the Cabinet as well as by the National Development Council. It has been pointed out that half the allocation for Education and Culture would go to primary education which has been put in the minimum needs programme sector.

Therefore, this point is entirely acceptable to the Government of India and I believe equally to the governments of the States.

Sir, on this basic point which Dr. Dutt has raised, I would crave your indulgence to read out some portions of the Approach Document which I think would indicate that the thinking of the Government of India—and of the States because it has been approved by the National Development Council—is very similar to his own thinking and to the views expressed by the hon. Members in the House. And I quote:

"Judged by the long-term perspective, the problem of the educated job seekers cannot be solved by operating only on the demand side. Even in the case of the skilled categories, the intake of training institutions has had to be cut back to ease the problem. In the case of generalists, this has to be done much more drastically to reduce the problem to manageable proportions. University education must be so regulated as to conform increasingly to the likely quantum and pattern of employment opportunities for the educated youth. This will require not merely a restructuring of university education, but also greater diversification and vocationalisation of secondary education to reduce the pressure for entry into institutions of higher learning. Furthermore, no regulatory measure can be justified which denies equality of educational opportunity. For promoting vertical mobility, education can be a very powerful instrument. The ineffectiveness of the present education system in this regard calls for important innovations and hard decisions."

Sir, these hard decisions, if I may put it in slightly different words, are roughly as follows:

On the one hand, it is necessary as my hon. friends have pointed out, that general education should more or less end with the secondary stage and that higher education should be mainly for the purposes of specialisation and therefore should be related to the capacity of society to absorb graduates. This in plain English means that higher education cannot remain unregulated. On the other hand, if we vocationalise the secondary institutions and set up more technical institutions, the cost per student will have to go up. Whatever streamlining we may do and howsoever we may rationalise this type of education, there is no denying the fact that the cost will have to go up.

The cost of restructuring the educational system itself will have to be taken into account. If we simultaneously wish to change the methodology, that is to say, to link the process of education with the actual process of life and not merely class room lecture, then again it will mean the same cost. The cost can be brought down if the economic tempo of development increases and through this process the earning capacity of the educational institutions and/or of the students concerned can be increased. I readily agree with the view expressed that there is inadequate manpower planning in our country. One of the most important reasons for this is that man-power planning is not always easy in the case of those who are self-employed in agriculture which is the biggest economic sector in our country.

And, Sir, this ultimately also depends on the capacity of the society to find gainful employment or self-employment opportunities in the agricultural sector or in the rural milieu. Now, this is one set of constraints. But the other set of constraints is that if we regulate higher education, then there is a real danger. Whether in the name of merit or in any other name, the possibility will be there of those who have never had the opportunity of education and those who have been regarded as socially depressed classes and who, therefore, wish to use the university degrees, howsoever useless they may be, for their

social advancement, of losing such opportunities, the possibility is there of, their losing not only such opportunities, but also of the wider philosophical opportunities that people ought to seek, that is to say, education should open the windows of the mind and create amongst the masses of our people an awareness of the social problems and realities, etc. and this role of education has also to be kept in view. Therefore, this is really a very hard choice, but we have to make that choice and we have to maintain a balance. And, Sir, quite rightly Dr. Dutt has referred to this aspect which would ensure that the weaker sections of our community are not only not discriminated against, but also actual facilities for higher education in their case have to be increased and these increased facilities for the backward areas of our country as well as for the backward sections of our community are absolutely necessary if any regulatory mechanism for higher education is to be introduced and I can assure my honourable friend and this House through you, Sir, that the Government is deeply conscious of this particular aspect of this problem. My honourable friend, Dr. Kuriyan, referred to a decision of the ITT Council. Till now in the Indian Institutes of Technology the seats reserved for the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students often not filled this Council took the decision that it would fill those seats and they will not be dereserved. If necessary, supplementary coaching and remedial courses will be provided so that by the time these young people take their degrees in technology, they are second to none.

SHRI GANESHI LAL CHAUDHARY:  
Thank you very much, Sir.

K. MATHEW KURIAN: Prof. Hasan, you have conveniently omitted my point about the demands of the employees' participation in management.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: I wish this had been the subject of the resolution. But I would like to discuss it and I am quite prepared to discuss it.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: I do not say what you have said about this is quite irrelevant. But what are you going to say on my point?

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : If you want vocationalisation and polytechnic education, then those who are in the....

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: What about Class III and Class IV employees' participation in management and what is your attitude towards them?

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: Sir, I would like to state the policy of the Government. While I am interested in Class III and Class IV, I am far more interested in the overwhelming majority of our countrymen who are unfortunately below the poverty line and I must take every step possible to see that they also get the benefit.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: What does it mean? What is their place in the university community? What is your attitude to them?

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: In the university community, even at the Class IV level, they are a shade better off than those who are living as landless labourers, those who are living in tribal areas and those who unfortunately have not been able to take much benefit out of the development activities in the country.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: Prof. Hasan, I am not asking for higher wages for them now. What is the role that these people can play in the university and can they participate in the decision-making job of the university? This is my question.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: The hon. Member is more interested in participation and decision taking; I am more interested in changing the class composition of the student community and the role of the Universities in the process of national development...

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN: You continue to neglect that on some excuse...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY): Dr. Kurian, please...

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: I very briefly referred to some of the main planks of the Government policy.

In regard to higher secondary and higher education the policy advocated in the Resolution is acceptable by and large to the

Government. First of all, in regard to the employment policies, the Government is conscious of the need to bring about changes in the recruitment policies, consequent upon the changes in the educational system. Sir, I would not go into the details of this because the policies have not been worked out fully. But I can only assure the House that this matter is very much under consideration of the Government.

Sir, the pattern of ten plus two plus three, we are hoping to make uniform throughout the country. One of the basic planks of it is that the middle stage should be a terminal point, so far as general education is concerned. We are also conscious of the fact that that is the main level for vocationalization. We are seeking to make work experience compulsory throughout the school period and we are working on schemes that in Classes 9 and 10, every student irrespective of the future career he proposes to adopt, will have to acquire a certain proficiency at least in one of the crafts which, as far as possible, is related also to the theory which is being taught to him so that there is no dichotomy between theory and practice. When we do this and bring about this particular change, then we would be transferring about 19 lakhs students to the PUC, Intermediate stage or the Higher Secondary stage which means that a certain degree of development and expansion of facilities in higher education would be possible, without increasing the proportionate expenditure of higher education as compared to schools, particularly primary education. This kind of vocationalization is exercising our minds, Sir-

The Education Commission recommended that 50% of the students at the Higher Secondary level should go into vocational training. We are entirely in favour of it. But, Sir, as I submitted, the costs have to be taken into account. The change-over may take some time and, therefore, we hope that about 20-30 per cent can be brought about within this Plan period and we can go up to 50% in the Sixth Plan period.

In regard to one matter. I am afraid, there is a slight difference of opinion between the views expressed in the Resolution by Dr. Dutt and the Government's

stand. But I don't think that it is really intended as a difference of opinion. But it is only in the matter of drafting.

Sir, while we want that admission to full-time institutions should be on the basis of merit and should be regulated, we also feel that opportunity for higher secondary education on a non-institutional basis should be available to every one, particularly to those who have entered the working force of the country. And for this purpose, an expanded scheme of informal education, of academic centres, of using the mass media for purposes of education, of utilizing modern educational technology, all these, are sought to be utilised. Sir, in this connection, Government have under their consideration a recommendation of the University Grants Commission for the establishment of what is called an 'Open University'. That is not the word used by the U.G.C. I am using this term because it is well understood. There is also a proposal under consideration that in every State at least one university should go in for correspondence courses. I am also urging my colleagues, the Ministers of Education in the State Governments, to have unrestricted access to the university examinations for private candidates so that those who are working in the fields or factories or offices or anywhere else, are not denied the opportunity to move vertically up to acquire higher education either for the sake of it or to improve their prospects. Several hon. Members have stated that there is a tendency on the part of university students to go in only for white collar jobs. I think that the measures that I have indicated will enable the people who are actually working and doing manual work, to go in for higher education and that would have a liberalising effect on the bulk of the new and young students who have come directly to institutions of higher learning from schools.

Sir, in order to regulate the institutional facilities. I am afraid I would need all the good wishes and support from every section of this hon. House because at the time of admissions pressures are built up and when pressures are built up, we all feel that those who want higher education are more precious to us politically than the little children who can neither gherao us nor create trouble for us. Therefore, the

tendency everywhere is that money provided for primary education or even for technical education is attempted to be diverted to the opening of liberal arts or science colleges. Sir, we are taking several steps for providing greater opportunities for higher education, technical education and vocational education to the underdeveloped groups of our community and in particular, to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

I am afraid I do not have time to go into the details. But perhaps at some future occasion as soon as our detailed programmes are finalised, I would have the privilege of coming and placing these before the hon. House. Before I conclude I would again make a reference to one fact with which I started. Many changes can be brought about within the limitations under which we are working. But, Sir, I hope that it will be possible for the country to make some worthwhile investment in the sector of education.

Sir, I would like to make a formal appeal to my hon. friend that in the light of these assurances that I am giving him, he will withdraw the Resolution.

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT (*Nominated*); Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, first of all I should like to say that I am most gratified at the response of my hon. colleagues in this House and their widespread support which they have given to the purposes of my Resolution. I must also say that I am equally gratified at the very frank and forthright speech made by the hon. Minister of Education and I am gratified to know that he and the Government accept the basic principles underlying my Resolution. I might mention in passing, the hon. Minister's pointing out that there is no difference of opinion on the matter that he raised about non-institutional forms of education. If I might draw his attention to the last part of my Resolution, I have said:

"Selective higher education on the criterion of merit while fully ensuring increasing opportunities for higher education to the weaker sections of the society and the provisions of various other forms of higher education to those who are working and do not have an opportunity of getting higher education."

[Dr. Vidya Prakash Dutt] I was precisely reiemng w Lnese non-insti-tutioaai forms ui lugner education- oic correspondence courses, the open university and other lornis oeing maae available to those wno nave gone to work anu wno have Had no opportunity for higher education. Sir, i am deeply conscious of the fact tuat riigner education must not snut its doors to those wno have never hao an opportunity of enligntenmenl of education oi knowledge. And that we cannot condone the existence and continuation of caste education, class education, a limited education and that the entire thrust of our policy on education must be towards liberation of these barriers and towards broadening the base of our education so that education at all levels and in all forms is available to the broad minds of our people.

The points thai I raised really were that education must be related to production, to work, to labour, to our needs, to our-purpose, to our aspirations, to our goals and that the final goal of our education has to be the establishment of a democratic, secular, progressive, socialist society. Higher education must subserve these things. What I was trying is to focus attention on the fact tiat our education is not serving this purpose, that higher education is mostly irrelevant, that higher education either at the primary level or at the secondary level or at the higher secondary level or at the higher education level is not related to the needs of the society, is not related to production, to labour arid > not oriented towards work. I said, I repeat and I still believe that 80 per cent of our education is certainly useless and, therefore, we have to give very earnest and very honest attention to this problem.

Sir, I will only take up three or four points in suport of what exactly I was trying to say when I moved this Resolution. One of my hon. friends, my esteemed colleagues, Mr. Nawal Kishore, found some contradiction between reservations for higher education and between education on merit. Personally, I do not think there is any contradiction between the two. I am trying to combine the needs of providing extended opportunities of education for the economically depressed classes of this country as well as providing for some kind of a yardstick for our higher education.

In that I suggested that up to 35 per cent higher education may be reserved for the backward classes, the backward communities and the economically backward section;; of our society, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. I suggested thai this category be filled from these reservations. The category of reservations be filled from these reserved categories on merit and then give them free higher education. Take 35 per cent from these categories and give them education. It does not mean that the rest of it is open to other classes. Not at all. What I was saying is for the rest criteria can be fixed on national and Statewise basis. And you do this in order to make your higher education subserve the purposes of society. I was also very much aware of the fact that unless you relate one link to another and unless you go to the root cause of the problems you will not be able to solve the problems of higher education.

4 P.M.

Sir, what is happening now with regard to higher education? I gave some figures last time. There are even more alarming figures given by the Bhagawati Committee on Unemployment which has made a much more detailed study of it and I am sorry to inform hon. Members that what is happening today is a total distortion of our national priorities. Our national priorities are all topsy-turvy. I will read out some figures. During the period 1951 to 1956 the rate of quinquennial enrolment for primary education was 41.5 per cent, for secondary education 53.7 per cent and for higher education 95.5 per cent. Similarly during the period 1961-66 the rate of increase in primary, secondary and university stages of education came to 46.3, 74.6 and 101.14 per cent respectively. During the period 1966-67 it was even more alarming. The rate of increase in enrolment is estimated to be only 18.1 per cent in the case of primary education, 44.4 per cent in the case of secondary education and 113.1 per cent in the case of higher education. In fact, this Committee points out that during the last quinquennium the rate of growth at the primary level fell to 18.1 as against 46.3 in the preceding quinquennium while in the case of secondary education it fell to 44.4 per cent as against 74.6 per cent and although it is not immediately relevant to our discussions I

might in passing mention another fact that has been pointed out by the Bhaga-wati Committee that by the end of 1971-72 only 37.7 per cent of the total outlay for secondary education was expected to be utilised and the enrolment increase would be only 2 per cent each for the children of the age groups of 6 to 11 and 11 to 14. And the situation is much worse with regard to backward communities and with regard to girls' education. I am pointing out this fact to show how distorted our priorities are. Where we ought to invest the largest amount we are investing the least amount and where we ought to expand our maximum efforts, that is at the primary level and the secondary level, there we are putting in the least amount of effort and where we have to be careful, where we have to relate the need for higher education to the purposes and aspirations of the society there there is an unlimited unthinking and unmindful expansion. So what I am trying to suggest is that you must relate one with the other and with the third and only then you will be able to make your education purposeful. I was not trying to give any profound analysis of education in our country. There are many profound analyses of our education. My esteemed friend, Shri Nawal Kishore, unfortunately had expected a profound analysis of the educational scene. Now, Sir, I could give a profound sociological analysis. I could give a profound political analysis, I could give a profound economic analysis but where does it get you? The point is, we should know what the priorities are and we should take by hold of the links and if we hold them firmly and tightly and go into each link then it would be possible for us to restructure our higher education. Our higher education can be restructured only that way starting from the primary to the secondary level; otherwise it is not possible to restructure our high education. That is why I mentioned the three links. The first link mentioned was the reorganisation and reorientation of science education in schools. I said that unless you modernise your science education, unless you bring it up to date, unless you equip your primary, middle and higher secondary schools with a pro'ie" kind of science education, with proDe-equipment, with proper teaching with proper courses, it will not be possible for you to make any progress in modern society.

Modern society is certainly based on science and the temper of science, the spirit of science, the spirit of enquiry. That is absent in our schools. Unless you take the first step, it will not be possible for you to take the second step. The second step I suggested was the reorganisation of vocational and technical education.

Now, many friends have mentioned and I agree with them that Mahatma Gandhi had given us the concept of basic education. The whole concept, against, of basic education is related to the fact that education must be work-oriented, must be labour-oriented. It must have some relation to the problems of society. What I am suggesting, in fact, is a kind of renovation of that concept and to add to it the modern concepts of science and technology. If you do that, then you have taken the first step in relation to restructuring education. Sir, I entirely agree with those who have said that this technical education, vocational education must begin at the secondary level. It cannot begin after the higher secondary level. It certainly ought to be started initially at the first secondary stage. At the first secondary stage you start with giving some skills, some work, some experience of work and then at the higher secondary level you deepen it and expand it. You can make it essentially vocation-oriented. Unless you do that it will not be possible to solve our problems. I am aware of the problems. The hon. Minister of Education mentioned the cost problem. There are also other problems. There are two trends in the world today. To put it very broadly one is the trend in the Western countries, i.e., at the secondary level you give general education. This is the case in England and in many of the West European countries. There is the other trend also. In many advanced countries of the world, in Eastern Europe, for instance, about Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia I have got a few figures. I will not read all of them, but in Yugoslavia out of 100 students at the secondary level. 70 go in for vocational education and only 30 go in for genera' education. In Czechoslovakia 72 go in for vocational education and 27 for general education. I am talkinf of the secondary level. In Poland 73 go in for vocational education and 37 for general education. In East Germany. in the German Democratic Republic 83 go

[Dr. Vidya Prakash Dutt] in for vocational education and only 17 go in for general education. In the USSR the figure is 49 for vocational education and 51 in the first secondary stage. In the Federal Republic of Germany 53 go in for vocational education and 46 for general education. In India only 6 go in for vocational education and 94 go in for general education. My whole point has been that this is a useless kind of education. It has no relation to our problems and our needs. That is where the change must begin. I entirely agree with the hon. Minister of Education that the school year must be changed and that one year should be added in order to make it ten plus two so that the end of the higher secondary year is also the terminal year for education. After that most of the students can go into the mainstream of work and productivity. Now, Sir, the third point that I would like to make is—and that is the second link—that I have suggested for the reorganisation of the content of technical and vocational education. Many friends have very aptly pointed out that already there are a number of technically skilled people who are unemployed, who are not getting jobs; then how is it that you are suggesting more vocational education while there is still a backlog of people who are skilled people, who have not yet got jobs and employment? There are two aspects to this problem. One is the aspect of general economic expansion. Now I will not say too much on it, I have already spoken on it last time and I have mentioned last time also that any educational expansion without any reference to economic expansion is an exercise in futility and disaster and we are undertaking that exercise in disaster at the moment\* because educational expansion is going ahead, especially at the higher education level at the rate of 10 per cent a year, whereas the economic expansion is not even 3 per cent. Unless you can relate these two, it is not possible to find the answer for higher education. Also there is the fact that vocational education is directly linked with and related to industrial expansion. If you do not have that much of industrial expansion, vocational education will lead only to more and more educational unemployment. Therefore industrial expansion is one of the concomitants and conditions for a successful vocationalisation of education. So, I am quite

aware of the problem. But there is also an allied problem which I think is one of the ills that are afflicting our vocational education and that is, it is really not vocational education, it is not really skilled education . . .

SHRI BANARSI DAS (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, on a point of order. He is making a fresh speech and he is not confining himself to the reply of the debate. Is it not the right of the Mover only to reply to the debate? He is inflicting a fresh speech. The point which we are discussing may be very relevant and useful. That could have been done at the time of moving the Resolution.

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT: I am exercising my right of reply to the various points that have been raised here and this is one of the points. You probably missed this. But this is one of the points that were mentioned by a large number of friends.

While on the one hand I am suggesting vocationalisation of education, on the other hand, there is considerable unemployment among the existing skilled people and how do you meet that? Therefore, I am replying to that. I am sorry, you misunderstood the very purpose why I was making that point.

However, I was saying that the real ill that is afflicting our vocational education is that it is not giving any skill, that it is inadequate, is ill-staffed and ill-equipped, that it only gives you some tricks of the trade, as I said last time. But that does not mean that it is not relevant, and that is proved—I am not going to quote from the Bhagwati Committee's Report again. But if you read it, they admit, they have pointed out that most of the enterprises, whether in the public or the private sector, have stated their views before the Committee that those who get vocational education are not really trained for the jobs ] it they are supposed to take up; they get some kind of a theoretical training, which is not related to any work in production.

Therefore I have suggested before and I am suggesting now that your vocational education must be directly linked with the factories and farms if it is to succeed. And

there, Sir, is my suggestion for the consideration of the Government of India— Mr. Om Mehta is sitting here—for the consideration of the Education Minister: We must radically change our old concept of giving not only higher education but other kind of education also. We must take the entire complex of education to the village rather than expect or ask the village boys and girls to come to the cities and get education, higher education. We must take the entire complex of education to the village itself. I am saying this because I am raising a bigger issue with regard to planning. I am sorry I did not get the opportunity to speak on the Approach Document to the Fifth Plan. But I am not using this opportunity for speaking on it. What I am saying is that the usual method of industrialising a country will not work in the conditions of India. The usual method has been to syphon off surplus agricultural labour to industries. What I am suggesting is that you reverse the process. Instead of syphoning off the surplus labour from the villages, you syphon off surplus labour from the cities back to the villages and develop the entire complex of educational activity, skilled activity, agro-economical, industrial activity, all the skills and techniques that are needed for villages pertaining to education. Take everything there. And only in this manner can this country be really industrialised. Certainly the core industry which you have you should develop. But along with it you must develop this pattern of decentralised development of industry if you are going to meet the problems of a country like India. Again, in the field of education also you must take the whole complex of education to the village itself and make it available to the village boys and girls.

Sir, a second thing that I have suggested in this connection was the employment policy. As I said to my hon'ble friends before. I was insisting not on giving profound analysis but on providing links for restructuring of our education. The first link is the reorganisation and establishment and strengthening of vocational education at secondary levels, higher secondary level, post-secondary level. The second link is your employment policy. I entirely agree with almost all that you said, with all the remarks that you made. But I certainly disagree with you when you insisted on

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useless degree. In that case every one will look forward to having a degree. What is the idea of this degree?

SHRI RANBIR SINGH: What about Tyagiji's definition? For him B. A. stands for Bekar Admi and M. A. for Murakh Admi.

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT: I would be put in the first category. I was saying that you take firm hold of what I regard this to be. The most vital link in restructuring your education is to change your employment policy and to give preference for the skill needed for a particular job. You have your requirements, your qualifications specified for each job according to the skill needed for that job, and only when you insist that for that particular post you will require a particular skill and you will give preference to a person who has acquired that particular skill, only then will we be able to make skilled training, vocational education attractive, to make it workable, to make it feasible. Otherwise, if you give vocational education to everyone but do not change your employment policy, the whole policy of vocationalising education will fail, it will not succeed. It will succeed only if you can have a national employment policy which will give preference to students with skills, with training rather than with general education. Therefore, I suggested this as a vital second link. The final link, which I suggested, will come only at the end. That is the third stage which is the reorganisation of higher education on the basis of merit, selective higher education on the basis of merit after you have taken all these stages. I have no doubt in my mind that this cannot be done unless education is made a Concurrent subject. Unless the hon'ble Minister, Dr. Nurul Hasan, has some control, some hold somewhere on education it will not be possible for him to carry through all these policies. Therefore, I am not saying that he should take the responsibility of...

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): Why do you not join the Education Ministry?

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT:... primary education. What I am suggesting is that education must be a Concurrent

[Dr. Vidya Prakash Dutt]

subject. Sir, I am winding up. I would like to say that I am quite aware of the fact that what I am suggesting does not necessarily solve all our problems. I have no illusions that this will solve all our problems and everything will be fine. No. I know that the problems of this country are massive and they need very drastic decisions, very drastic solutions, and even then it will take years and years to achieve results. But what I want is that thinking must start, action must start somewhere, and we must begin at some stage.

Mr. Sardesai, my distinguished colleague, mentioned very correctly that many things were related to each other, that unless you do one, it is difficult to do the other, and that the educational problems cannot be divorced from reality, from society, from social life. In fact, I believe that education must be a national affair. It should be national and socialist in content. That is my commitment. And I have also no doubt that unless there is cleansing of the society, unless there is re-establishment of our social values, many of these reforms will fail. Sometimes I come to the conclusion that perhaps what we need in this country is a democratic cultural revolution, suited to our own conditions, which will cleanse our society and re-establishing some of the social values that we have been talking about for so long. Perhaps that is what we need. Anyway, as I said before, one thing is related to another.

At the end, I will say that my goal in suggesting all this has been the promotion of the establishment of a democratic, secular, socialist society, a progressive society, and all that I have suggested is a means towards promoting that end in view. In the light of what the hon. Minister of Education has said I am gratified by the fact that he has accepted the principles behind this Resolution—I am withdrawing my Resolution; I am not pressing it. But I do reserve my right to continue to bring up this issue before the House to focus the attention of this country, of this House and of the Government, on this vital aspect of our national life so that we can create a consensus in the country and we can take the first steps at least towards the reorganisation of our education. Thank you.

The Resolution was, by leave, withdrawn.

**RESOLUTION RE NATIONALISATION OF DRUG INDUSTRY**

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI KUMARI CHUNDAWAT (Rajasthan): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"In view of—

the high prices of drugs; the sale on a large scale of spurious, inferior and post expiry-date medicines; and the non-availability of life-saving drugs in the country,

this House is of opinion that Government should take immediate steps to nationalise the entire drug industry in the country."

माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, इंसान के लिए खाने के लिए रीटी, पहनने के लिए कपड़ा, सिर छिपाने के लिए मकान और बीमारी के लिए दवा दारू, ये आवश्यक चीजें हैं। कहीं की भी सरकार हो, किसी भी बात को मानने वाली सरकार हो, चाहे पूंजीवादी हो, चाहे समाजवादी हो या किसी भी बात को मानने वाली हो उसका यह फर्ज हो जाता है कि इन चीजों को आम जनता के लिए मुहय्या करे। खास तौर से जब कि हमारा मुल्क, हमारी सरकार एक वेलफेयर स्टेट है— हम वचनबद्ध हैं कि हम जनता के लिए जो उनके खास जरूरत की चीजें हैं उनको मुहय्या करें। हम इसके लिए भी वचनबद्ध हैं कि हम उनके स्वास्थ्य का खयाल रखें। हमारी सरकार का यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि सस्ते भाव पर जनता के लिए दवा दारू का और दवाओं का प्रबन्ध किया जाए, लेकिन आज मैं आप का ध्यान, इस सदन का ध्यान और मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान खासतौर से दवाओं में जो गड़बड़ी चल रही है और जो जालसाजी से दवाएं बनाई जा रही हैं, जो मिलावट की दवाएं आ रही हैं और