

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is the Minister who is moving the Bill. So he should be first satisfied that the Bill has no loopholes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Gujral can at least tell us by what time he can bring the Bill here.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I support Mr. Bhupesh Gupta that the Bill should be introduced in this session only.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I want to know when it is going to come. Otherwise, I have to say that Mr. Gujral does not want to...

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: As I submitted in the other House also, it will not be possible for us to bring it in this session. Our attempt will be to bring it in the next session...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is the attempt?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2.30.

The House then adjourned for lunch at twenty-five minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half past two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

# **RESOLUTION RE A COMPLETE OVERHAUL OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE COUNTRY**

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I beg to move the following Resolution:—

“This House is of opinion that in order to accelerate the place towards achievement of the national objectives of socialism, secularism, democracy and national integration, it has become urgent and imperative to bring about a complete overhaul of the edu-

cational system of the country and urges upon the Government to take early and necessary steps in that direction.”

Sir, the House is aware that in 1964 the Government of India at the initiative of the then Minister of Education Shri Chagla, appointed an Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. Kothari. This Commission was composed of very learned persons. One of them is fortunately a member of this House today. I would say that this Commission was not only a National Commission, but an International Commission in the sense that a large number of experts from foreign countries were included in that Commission. This Commission produced a report in 1966. The report is voluminous and very comprehensive. There is no doubt that this report made some very valuable and important recommendations. It might be that because of the bulky size of the report, one sometimes fails to find out or misses sometimes what is said here and there, but still I would say that this report has made certain very valuable, far-reaching and important recommendations. But up-till now I do not think that much progress has been made in the matter of implementation of the recommendations of this report. Whatever that may be, since 1966 till to-day, that is, during the last six years, lot of changes have taken place in this country. A great upsurge has taken place in the sense that a great awakening has come about at the bottom, that is, from below, for change, for progress, for this and for that. This desire for change has come about in the last six years and therefore whenever we discuss national policies today or we want to build a new system, that system must be able to reflect the latest trends and the new urges of the people. Now, Sir, the Education Commission, the Kothari Commission, set before itself as an objective the following:—

“The most important and urgent reform needed in education is to trans-

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form it, to endeavour to relate it to the lives, needs and aspirations of the people and thereby make it a powerful instrument of social, economic and cultural transformation necessary for the realisation of the national goals. For this purpose, education should be developed so as to increase productivity, achieve social and national integration, accelerate the process of modernisation and cultivate social, moral and spiritual values."

This is a very laudable objective, indeed. There is no doubt about it. But, as I said, during the last few years, the changes that have come about in our social and political life have brought forth these ideals or these objectives in more concrete forms and today, there is no difference of opinion in the country that this nation has accepted socialism, secularism, democracy and national integration as the main objectives before the nation and, therefore, it has become necessary to re-examine the whole situation in the educational field. The Kothari Commission itself agreed that education is a powerful instrument for bringing about changes in the economic field, in the social field and in the cultural field and, in that sense, it is for us now to consider in what way we can bring about a change in the educational system so that the system can respond to the urges and the aspirations of the people today and these aspirations, as I have said just now, I have tried to put in concrete forms.

Now, Sir, I have said that education is a powerful instrument for social change, because it gives rise to both vertical and horizontal mobility and this mobility itself brings about changes in society and, therefore, if we want to bring about changes in society, education which certainly plays a very important role should be allowed to play that role more effectively. We can not neglect it. We cannot think of building up a socialist society without bringing

about any transformation in the educational system. Simply by nationalising a few industries here and there or simply by total nationalisation of all the industries or of the distributive system, we cannot achieve socialism. Socialism will not come that way. We have to build up the minds of the people who would run the society, who would manage the society, in the new situation and education is the only instrument which can build up the minds of the people, which can prepare the people to play an effective role in the new society which we want to have and, from that point of view, I have considered it very necessary to place this Resolution before this House.

Now, Sir, education must have some purpose. In my opinion, education has two main purposes. There may be many purposes, but it has two fundamental purposes: One is very general which is acceptable to everybody in the world and to put it in my language, I would say that education must aim at producing a rational outlook which will suppress or eliminate the base emotions inside the human being and should direct the healthier emotions into creative channels. This is one of the main objectives of education. Education must help in developing a rational outlook in man so that his baser emotions can be suppressed or eliminated and the healthier emotions can be allowed to be canalised into creative fields.

The second objective, the second purpose, of education, according to me, is much more important in the present context of the country today and that is that education must aim at the all-round development of the personality of man, the development of his mental and physical faculties, so that an educated man can contribute, can contribute meaningfully, to the social, economic and cultural development of the country.

Now, Sir, this country is struggling very hard for economic development, for social change and so on and so

forth. Now in this gigantic struggle we have embarked upon, education must play a very important role. It must be able to produce men who will be able to contribute towards this development — towards social development, economic development, social progress, cultural progress — and that contribution must be in concrete terms, not in abstract terms. Now, to achieve these objectives, the educational system must be in tune with the national objectives. If education has to produce the right type of men for the society which we are to build up tomorrow, which we are trying to build up right from now, then the objectives of education must be in tune with the national objectives; there cannot be a divorce between the two. That is why I have put categorically in the Resolution: "in order to accelerate the pace towards achievement of the national objectives..." education needs a complete overhaul. I must clarify right now that while I am saying this I do not mean any regimentation of thought. We have to build up our men so that they can be useful for national development.

Now, let me say a few words about the national objectives. Take, for example, Socialism. Socialism is a vast subject. Nobody can deal with Socialism in five minutes. But I would like to emphasise certain aspects of it only because I want to relate between the educational system with those objectives. Socialism must aim at non-exploitation, equal opportunity for all, social justice and a spirit of cooperation. These are some of the essentials of a socialist system, socialist society, and the educational system must be able to contribute towards this end.

Secularism: Everybody knows what secularism means. Even before the law all religions are equal and the State does not favour one religion against another. But the point is that there is a basic unity among all religions and this aspect must be brought home to

our young boys and girls in schools and colleges. Only then will they respect the other man's religion and only then true secularism is possible.

Democracy: Sir, we are functioning in a democratic system. But I may be permitted to say that this democracy is only partial and formal. It is only political democracy and that is also more or less a centralized type of democracy. Democracy, to be more meaningful, cannot be confined only to the political field. It must percolate to the social, economic, cultural spheres — the entire life. We have not yet been able to build up that type of society. Besides political field, we have to train our boys and girls in the social field, economic field and cultural field.

Then I come to national integration. We all know that this is a land of diversity with a basic unity. This has been the process, I do not know, since time immemorial. There has been a basic unity in this country in spite of diversity of culture, language, customs, and so on and so forth. Before Independence we have seen that taking advantage of this superficial diversity, I should say, secondary diversities, some people were trying to take political advantage out of it. And fissiparous tendencies are there in our country — nobody can deny it — in spite of the fact that down the ages this country has built up basically a civilization, a culture which is based on unity in diversity. In spite of that fact, today we can see in the political sphere various fissiparous tendencies growing in this country. In order to guard against that we have to prepare the minds of the people. You just cannot go and lecture on national integration; national integration does not take place that way. If you want to have national integration in the true sense you have to prepare the minds of the people right from the bottom, right from childhood so that one can accept new values, build up new attitudes of mind and then when he will become a major or mature he will

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behave accordingly. After a man becomes mature you cannot expect him to behave according to your dictation or lecture. So, national integration is an objective for which education has a responsibility to discharge, to build up children in that line with that objective in view. These are the objectives about which I have said very briefly — I do not want to take up much time. Keeping these objectives before us we have to re-organise the educational system.

I have said "complete overhaul". Why? And what do I mean by that? Earlier also, in the course of a debate in this very House, I explained what I meant by complete overhaul. In my opinion changes have become necessary and urgent in every aspect, every field, every sector of education. In the matter of structure of the whole educational system, the content of education, the method of teaching, the method of evaluation, the research, the policy of enrolment, in everything — in all aspects — we are in desperate need of a complete change. And that is why I say piecemeal changes will not help us. This is what I would like to impress upon the Government. I understand that various schemes are under way. I hope these schemes will form integral parts of one organic whole. But I would like to sound a note of caution. If these schemes are just piecemeal schemes, patch up measures here and there, then I do not think it will ultimately solve our problem. We have to take the thing as a whole, devise schemes, prepare schemes as integral parts of an organic system. And from that angle we have to examine this question of complete overhaul and that is why I have said "complete overhaul".

I do not want to refer to the situation of illiteracy in this country. Much talk has been done in this House and the other House, the whole country that we are still lagging very much behind in the matter of removal of illiteracy. I

myself do not know what the solution is. Can we do it within five or ten years? I do not know. But I will not give much importance to it just now. I agree it is very important from the socialistic point of view. It is a problem which is very much there and everybody knows what to do. The only question is how to do it. That we will have to work out.

Regarding the structure I would like to refer to what the Kothari Commission itself has said. Sir, you would permit me to quote this particular part of the Kothari Commission Report. I will not quote from the main Report; I will only quote from the Summary, because I am nearly 100 per cent in agreement with its recommendation.

The Kothari Commission says:

"The new educational structure should consist of—

one to three years of pre-school education; a ten-year period of general education which may be subdivided into a primary stage of 7 to 8 years (a lower primary stage of 4 or 5 years and a higher primary stage of 3 or 2 years) and lower secondary stage of 3 or 2 years of general education or one to three years of vocational education (the enrolment in vocational courses being raised to 20 per cent of the total);

a higher secondary stage of two years of general education or one to three years of vocational education (the enrolments in vocational education being raised to 50 per cent of the total);

a higher education stage having a course of three years or more for the first degree and followed by courses of varying durations for the second or research degrees.

The age of admission to Class I should ordinarily be not less than 6.

The first public external examination should come at the end of the first ten years of schooling.

The system of streaming in schools of general education from

Class IX should be abandoned and no attempt at specialization made until beyond Class X.

Secondary schools should be of two types—high schools providing a ten-year course and higher secondary schools providing a course of 11 or 12 years.

Attempts to upgrade every secondary school to the higher secondary stage should be abandoned. Only the bigger and more efficient schools—about one-fourth of the total number—should be upgraded... those that do not deserve the higher secondary status should be downgraded."

I have deliberately quoted this portion in order to refresh the memory of the hon. Members and perhaps also of the Government, if I may say so, so that the Government can make an attempt to implement this part. In my part of the country some attempt has been made by my State to implement a part of this recommendation; I do not know whether in other parts of the country this important recommendation is being implemented, this recommendation about restructuring the whole system. This is very scientifically planned I should say. Therefore I have said that I am more or less in agreement; not hundred per cent because I would like to have seven years course for the primary and three years for the lower secondary. That is a difference of opinion; otherwise I accept the whole recommendation. So if the entire educational system right from the primary stage up to the university stage is reorganised in this way this will start producing better results, because this is based on very good scientific principles. I do not give much importance just now at this stage to pre-school education. I feel that we are yet to go a long way to have a successful system of pre-school education. We can go on trying but I cannot give much impor-

tance to it just now at this stage of our social development. I need not explain and go into details about this and waste the time of the House.

Now Sir, about the content of education which in my opinion, is the most important. What do we teach? How do we prepare the text-books? A Class I student or a Class II student when he starts reading the book in his own language what does he read? He reads some stories and some short easy poems but what do these stories and poems teach him? Unfortunately, I need not produce any evidence here, everybody knows what kind of education we are giving to the child who just goes to the school. Certainly we are not teaching him the fundamental values. If you look at the text-books you will find that they extol one particular religion or the other, one conservative idea or the other, one obscurantist idea or the other. The modern values, the new democratic values, the values of socialism, the values of humanism, we are certainly not trying to put into the head of the young child who just goes into the school. Please look at the text-books and you will find what they are. Sir, I plead with the Education Minister that a drastic step has become necessary, the step to revise the entire school text-books on language. Now about history. What do we teach in history? I am not a student of history and I cannot claim the right to give a talk on it. For example, Sir when we were in schools we were taught that those Muslims who came to our country were all robbers and plunderers. The entire Muslim rule in this country has been described in history as a rule of loot and of oppression over other communities. With my little knowledge of history I thoroughly disagree with this contention. Of course any conquerer, whether Muslim or Hindu or Christian, whoever he is, tends to do certain things which are oppressive. That is natural. After all, if somebody says that Muslims did all

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these things, broke temples, oppressed Hindus, did this and that, at the beginning, may I ask, Sir, what the Aryans did when they came? What did the Aryans do in the beginning when they came? When they met the local tribal people here or other people, who had other kinds of civilization, what did they do? There is no use going into that. But what do we want to teach the student? We want to train the mind of the student in the secular ideal. And if we want to train his mind on the secular ideal, we must tell him about the bright side of human behaviour, the good side of it. We should give him the social analysis, the economic analysis. Of course it depends upon the standard. At the very beginning you cannot teach him the analysis. But you can give him good stories, stories which will bring out the human values. History is taught as one of the Humanities, mind you. History is expected to teach human values. Let us present history in such a way so that he knows how a man, on the bright side of it, operated, functioned, behaved, whether he is a King or a General or an ordinary man. At the higher stages history should be taught more scientifically. Now, I am feeling a little embarrassed when I am speaking on history, because the Minister for Education himself is a scholar in history. I am not here to lecture to him. I am just suggesting that at the higher stages history should be taught absolutely on a scientific basis, an analytical basis, not just factual as who killed whom, who conquered whom, who ruled whom. These facts may be important, but behind the facts there are other forces, social forces, economic forces, cultural forces, political forces. These forces should be analysed properly and the student's mind should be built up in a rational manner, not in an one-sided way. I am only giving some examples as to how the content of education should be changed and revised

Economics. What economics we are teaching today to the student, even at the university stage? I ask the Education Minister to make an enquiry about it. In all the universities in this country we are still teaching that old hackneyed economics which was built up by the capitalist system. Of course we must know about the capitalist system. Even Marx studied capitalism thoroughly before he prepared his own doctrine. But should we only emphasise on the capitalist aspect of the economic theories? New economic systems are being built up. We may agree, we may not agree; doesn't matter, but we should know. For example, I would like to know what kind of economic system is being built up in Soviet Russia. Is it not worth knowing? Is it not a socialist country? Why is it that the cooperative movement has become so successful in the Scandinavian countries? We would like to know this. Various experiments are going on in the field of economics, particularly in the socialist countries, as I have said.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please wind up.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Sir, I will take one hour. Otherwise I will have to sit down.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : It is half an hour according to rules.  
3 P.M.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Then, I shall sit down and I will not say anything.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You can take another five minutes.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : I thought it was one hour because I know that previously such Movers of Resolutions were given one hour.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : No, half an hour, according to the rules.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Anyway, I shall try to finish. If you had warned me before I would have been more careful.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I thought you knew it.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : This is my idea about revising the content of education. Then, about science, I suggest that science should be taught right from the bottom. In this respect also, I will not take your time by quoting, but I would like to draw the attention of the Education Minister to what the Kothari Commission has said about science education right from the primary stage and then stage by stage how science education has to be developed. The Kothari Commission has made very good recommendations. It can be further improved and in that light science education should be compulsorily taught right from the bottom. Unless we build up the minds of boys and girls scientifically, unless we bring in new knowledge with which to build up a new society, I think our educational system will remain poor and backward.

I have many things to say, but since you have cut down my time, I would simply point out a few elementary principles. Firstly, in our teaching methods we should see that the boys learnt not only to exercise the mind but also to do physical labour. The gap between the two must be bridged. Secondly, healthy relations between the teacher and student should be built up. There must be intimate contact, personal contact between the teacher and student. The old days of the Rishis are gone. If anybody expects the teacher to behave like an old Rishi towards his student and the student to behave before a teacher as if he is a Rishi, then he lives in a fool's paradise. Times have changed. Democratic values have come into existence and today the teacher must learn to behave absolutely democratically even towards his students. Then, there is the student-community relationship in the course of study. I am very happy to point out that the Kothari Commission has accepted the principle of basic education

enunciated by Gandhiji. They have said that these are the basic principles which have guided them in drafting the entire report. They say that if there should not be a separate thing called basic education, but the entire system must be based on the principles of basic education. Bridging the gulf between mental labour and physical labour, they want close relationship between the student and the community around and so on. The third point is self-reliance. The student should develop self-reliance. He should not rely on spoon-feeding or memorising. Then, there should be development of the spirit of enquiry among the students. We must provoke the student to think and enquire. We should inculcate that habit in the student. When he learns he should immediately start questioning and making enquiries. That habit must be developed. Then, there should be a spirit of co-operation among themselves. Not an individualistic outlook, but a co-operative outlook must be developed in the course of education inside the classroom, on the playground, through community activities and social activities, teacher-student contact and so on. Finally, I would say that the teaching methods should be such that the right types of habit and attitude are built up.

About evaluation I will not say anything just now. If I get time at the time of replying, I will say something about it, because I do not want to take the time of the House now. I would like simply to say that today the examination system tests not intelligence, not the capacity to grasp, not the capacity to understand and assimilate, but only the capacity to memorise. This must be changed and this can be changed only by changing the examination system as a whole. Unless you change the examination system, the present habits will continue. The Education Commission itself has said that the system of examination ultimately determines the method of teaching and the

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method of teaching ultimately determines the way the student tries to learn. These are inter-related. Therefore, the examination system also needs complete change, so that the right type of attitude develops and the student tries to understand. He has to build up his head, his intelligence and he should try to understand the thing, instead of simply swallowing something which he cannot digest. So far as research is concerned, I would simply say that of course, in the matter of research the universities should be free and there cannot be any control. There cannot be any kind of control. Once there is control it ceases to be true research. Even then I would like to submit that in order to achieve our national goals, economic development, socialist society, secular system, particularly economic development through socialist measures, in order to achieve them, in order to make progress in that direction, our research activities, whether they are in humanities or in social sciences or in natural sciences, should be socially oriented. That is, the fruits of research must become useful for yielding further progress to the society. This should be one of the guiding principles of the research activities, because I know from personal experience—I do not want to quote any percentage—that the overwhelming number of the research projects of our Universities, are just wasted effort, are just useless. Gathering materials here and there or simply going to the library is not research work. It neither enriches knowledge nor can it give anything to society.

I am very sorry you have cut down my time. I did not know that I have to speak only for half an hour. I would plead with the Government to take necessary steps immediately so that all kinds of inequalities in the matter of enrolment, in the matter of promotion, in the matter of selection of schools for grants, in the matter of scholarships, all

sorts of inequalities, favouritism, so that all these things disappear. We must have a common school system. We must do away with the existing public school system. I accept model schools but not this public type which creates a new class of people who live at a higher level. Therefore, I want a complete change in these policies, enrolment policy, promotion policy, recognition policy, etc., so that the disparity and inequality that are existing today in the educational field may disappear.

With these words I commend my resolution to the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is one amendment.

SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I move:

"That in line 3 of the Resolution, for the words "and national integration", the words 'national integration and national character' be substituted."

*The questions were proposed.*

श्री मानसिंह वर्मा : उत्सभापति महोदय, श्री बिपिनल दाम बघाई के पात्र है कि उन्होंने इस बात का अवसर दिया कि जो विषय आज तक ऐसा ममझा गया है कि जिसके लिए बहुत बड़ी आवश्यकता नहीं है, 24 वर्षों में जिस विषय की सबसे बड़ी अवहेलना की गई है उस शिक्षा के विषय पर यह सदन विचार कर सके। मेरे मित्र मिस्टर दास ने समाजवाद, धर्मनिरपेक्षवाद, लोकतंत्र और राष्ट्रीय एकता, इन राष्ट्रीय उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति के लिए शिक्षा में सुधार की आवश्यकता पर बल दिया है। ये उद्देश्य तो हैं ही, किन्तु इनसे भी प्रमुख उद्देश्य जो परम्परा से रहा है, बराबर रहा है शिक्षा का और जिसके उपर, ये सब उद्देश्य, जिनका जिक्र किया गया है आधारित है वह है मानवता, मनुष्य बनना कम से कम हमारी संस्कृति में, हमारे देश में इस बात पर बड़ा बल दिया गया है कि

मनुष्य को कैसा बनाना चाहिए, मनुष्य के गुण क्या हैं, मानवता के गुण क्या हैं। यदि मानव मानव बन गया तो वह समाजवादी भी बन जायेगा और जितने आगे आने वाले हमारे उद्देश्य हैं उनकी पूर्ति आसानी से हो सकेगी। परन्तु देखना यह है कि आज 24 वर्षों के अन्दर मानव को मानव बनाये रखने के लिए क्या कुछ किया गया है। यह बड़ा भारी विडंबना है कि अरबों रुपया खर्च किया गया है जानवरों की नस्ल सुधारने के लिए। इन सारी बातों के लिए प्रयत्न किये गये कि मछली अच्छी प्रकार की हो, उसकी नस्ल सुधारी जाय, जानवरों की नस्ल सुधारने के लिये यदि अच्छे साड हमारे देश में उपलब्ध न हों तो अमेरिका से मंगाए जाय, कनाडा से मंगाये जाय, मुर्गी अच्छी किस्म की होनी चाहिये, अंडे अच्छे बनाने चाहिये और इसके लिए उसकी नस्ल सुधारनी चाहिये। किन्तु मुझे बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि स्वतंत्रता के जमाने में इन 24 वर्षों में आज तक इस बात पर बल नहीं दिया गया कि मनुष्य कैसा होना चाहिये। आज का इसान इन्सानियत को छोड़ कर जानवर होता चला जा रहा है, पशु होता चला जा रहा है। श्रीमन्, शिक्षा महारथियों ने यह बताया है :

आहार निद्रा भय मथुनच  
सामान्यमेतत् पशुभिर्नराणाम्  
धर्मो हि तेजामधिको विशेषो  
धर्मोर्णहानाः पशुभिः समानः ।

अर्थात् आहार, निद्रा, भय, मथुन सेक्स अर्ज। ये जानवर और मनुष्य में बराबर हैं, कोई अंतर नहीं है। फिर भी मनुष्य को ऊँची पदवी क्यों दी गई है, उसको ऊँचा क्यों समझा गया है। इस वास्ते कि उसमें धर्म की भावना होती है, कर्तव्य की भावना होती है, धर्म का यहाँ पर मतलब मजहब से नहीं है। हमारे शास्त्रों में धर्म का अर्थ कर्तव्य माना गया है, ड्यूटी माना गया है कि क्या अच्छा है, क्या बुरा है

इसको वह समझना हो। शिक्षा का सब से बड़ा उद्देश्य यह था कि जिस समय कोई मनुष्य पढ़ कर निकले तो वह समाज का एक अच्छा अंग बने, एक अच्छा नागरिक बने और वह यह समझे कि क्या अच्छाई है और क्या बुराई है। इस की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया।

बराबर हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री भी आते रहे हैं। उनमें से शिक्षा महारथी भी थे और ऐसे भी थे जिन का शिक्षा से कोई सबंध नहीं रहा है और प्रत्येक ने इस बात का प्रयत्न किया कि शिक्षा में सुधार हो, परन्तु वे सुधार जो किये गये वे मेकेंड्री टाइप के किये गये। अभी जो स्कीम दी है प्रो० नूरुल हसन साहब ने एजुकेशनल रिकॉमिंडेशन की, उसको मैं बड़े ध्यान से पढ़ रहा था। उसमें भी इस बात का जिक्र किया गया है कि प्राइमरी शिक्षा किस प्रकार की होगी, 5 साल से लेकर 11 साल तक के बच्चे को यह शिक्षा दी जायेगी, स्कूलों की तादाद बढ़ाई जायेगी। उसके बाद हायर सेकेंड्री की जो स्टेज आयेगी उसमें इतने स्कूल होंगे और उन स्कूलों के द्वारा हमारे इतने बच्चे पढ़ सकेंगे। वह सब ठीक है, वह आप दायेंगे, परन्तु श्रीमन्, मैं आपसे यह निवेदन करूंगा कि शिक्षा ऐसी होनी चाहिये जिस से सचमुच देश में अच्छे नागरिक बनें और शिक्षा के गुण हैं वे उनके अन्दर आवें। आदि काल से लेकर आज तक किसी भी संस्कृति को आप उठा कर देख लीजिये अरब संस्कृति को ले लीजिये, भारतीय संस्कृति को ले लीजिये या किसी दूसरे देश की संस्कृति को ले लीजिये, सभी ने एक ही बात पर बल दिया है : To make the best of man. अच्छे से अच्छा, बेहतरान से बेहतरान, आदमी तैयार किया जाय। आप के जो स्कूल और कॉलेज हैं वह आज इसान बनाने वाले कारखाने तो नहीं रहे, वह फैक्ट्रीज हो गये हैं। वह पुरजे बनते हैं और वह पुरजे जब बन कर निकलते हैं तो उन का प्रदर्शन आज हम

[श्री मान सिंह वर्मा]

बाजारों में, सस्थाओं में, पार्लियामेंट में और विधान सभाओं में देखते हैं। इस लिए आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि सब से पहले हमारे महापुरुषों ने जो बात कही थी उस को हम अपने सामने रखे। मेरे पास ज्यादा समय नहीं है, लेकिन मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि गर्भाधान से ले कर, जब से बीज बोया जाता है उस समय से ले कर मृत्यु पर्यंत 16 संस्कार हमारे यहां रखे गये हैं। संस्कार का अर्थ होता है। डेवलपमेंट। बराबर संस्कार होते रहते हैं। जब बीज बोया जाता था उस समय भी संस्कार होता था और उस के बाद उस का नामकरण, जातकरण, कर्णभेदन संस्कार आदि होते थे और इस प्रकार बच्चे को बनाने का प्रोसेस बराबर चलता रहता था ताकि बच्चा कहीं मिसगाइड न हो जाये, कहीं वह सही रास्ते से विचलित न हो जाये, वह कहीं समाज में गड़बड़ न पैदा कर दे, कहीं वह समाज का बिगड़ा हुआ अंग न बन जाय। उस समय इस से ज्यादा ध्यान किसी और बात का नहीं रखा गया था, लेकिन दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आज सब से बड़ी खराबा अगर आयी है तो हमारे अंदर ही आयी है। तो आज सब से बड़ी आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हम यह समझे कि हमारी शिक्षा का उद्देश्य क्या होना चाहिए, उस के अनुसार हमारा स्कीम कैसी होनी चाहिये और यदि यहाँ चॉज पैदा कर सके अपने में तो बहुत काफी है। आज हम किस तरह के इंसान पैदा कर रहे हैं। प्रत्येक बाप आज सोचता है कि मैं अपने बच्चे को क्या बनाना चाहता था और वह क्या बन गया। शिक्षा का वातावरण आज घरों के अनुकूल नहीं है। हाईलो क्वालिफाइड फैमिली है, लेकिन उन के बच्चे घर से निकल कर क्या बनते इस की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। प्रोफेसर साहब जानते हैं कि हम लोग अभी पूना गये थे। वहाँ हम को फिल्म इस्टीमेट जाने का भी वसर मिला। वहाँ हम ने वहाँ के डाइरेक्टर

महोदय से बात की। उन से पता लगा कि आज का बच्चा जो जरा सा भी अच्छा है, देखने में सुघड़ है, चाहता है कि मैं भी फिल्म स्टार बन जाऊँ। ठीक है, फिल्म स्टार बनना कोई बुरी बात नहीं है, वह क्षत्र भी जीवन का एक अंग है, किंतु उस बच्चे के सामने चॉज क्या थी जब कि वह पढ़ने के लिए गया था? क्या उद्देश्य ले कर वह पढ़ने गया था, और उस के माँ बाप ने किस उद्देश्य से उस को पढ़ाने के लिए भेजा था? हमारे यहाँ तो गर्भ से ही शिक्षा का प्रारम्भ हो जाता था। उसी समय यह सोच लिया जाता था कि बच्चे को बनाना क्या है और उस के लिए वह एक्सपरीमेंट किया करते थे, वह प्रयोग किया करते थे, वह लोग अनुभव किया करते थे कि हम को बालक को वीर बनाना है या अपने बालक को शिक्षा महारथी बनाना है या उस को शिक्षा शास्त्री बनाना है और उस के अनुसार ही वे उस का जीवनक्रम निर्धारित करते थे और जैसा वह चाहते थे बच्चा वैसा ही बनता था। आज आपने इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था करने के लिए साइकोलोजिकल सेटर बना रखे हैं, लेकिन उनका अनुभव भी मैं आप को बताऊँ तो आप को आश्चर्य होगा। मेरे हाँ बच्चे के वास्ते बताया गया कि यह तो डाक्टर बनेगा और वह बना कर कुछ और उस का एप्टीट्यूड ही डाक्टरों को तरफ नहीं है। पहले अगर साइकोलॉजिकल डग से शिक्षा देंगे, मनोवैज्ञानिक डग से बच्चे की शिक्षा प्रारम्भ करते थे तो उस बच्चे को क्या होना है उस को शिक्षा घर में शुरू होती थी। अब घर की बात तो समाप्त हो गयी। स्कूल में जब हमारे बच्चे जाते हैं तो उन को कैसे वातावरण मिलता है, उन को कैसी शिक्षा मिलती है, उन को कैसे अध्यापक मिलते हैं, इस को आप देखें। आप क्षमा करेंगे, मैं भी अध्यापक रहा हूँ और आप भी अध्यापक रहे हैं, आज अध्यापकों का श्रेणी इस प्रकार का है—मुझे अध्यापकगण क्षमा करेंगे इस बात को कहन कि के लिये जिस को कहीं नौकरी नहीं मिलती वह सोचता है कि हम

मास्टर ही बन जायेंगे। आज अध्यापक, यह समाज के ऐसे फर्स्टेड अंग है, ऐसा उदासोन अंग है कि जिस को कहीं पर भी स्थान नहीं मिलता वह अध्यापक बन जाता है और ऐसे लोग हैं इस क्षेत्र में आ जाते हैं। वे लोग बी० टी० बी० एड० कर लेते हैं, एल० टी० कर लेते हैं और अध्यापक बन जाते हैं, इस लिए कि उन को आई० ए० एम० या आई० पा० एस० में मौका नहीं मिलता। आज हमारे यहां का बुद्धिजीवी अध्यापक बनना नहीं चाहता, जब कि होना चाहिये यह कि बुद्धिजीवियों को ही इस लाइन में आना चाहिए। हमारी आने वाली औलाद, जिस पर देश निर्भर करता है जिस को देश का भविष्य बनाना या बिगाड़ना है, वह हमारी आनेवाली जनरेशन है, जैसा कि दास साहब ने कहा भी है, और उस जनरेशन को बनाने वाला जो अध्यापक है वह कैसा है इस को आप देखें। वह एक रिजेक्टेड माल है जो आज अध्यापक बन रहा है। आज सब में बड़े सख्तों इस बात पर होनी चाहिये। उन का एण्ट्रेंस देखना चाहिए कि वह शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में आने के काबिल है या नहीं। अध्यापक होने वाले व्यक्ति में खुद से प्रेरणा होना चाहिए। दास साहब ने कहा है कि यह सही है कि हमारे पुराने ऋषियों का जमाना अब नहीं आ सकता। लेकिन मैं दास साहब को यह बतला दूँ कि जमाना तो बदला करता है लेकिन मौखिक सिद्धांत नहीं बदला करते हैं। सत्य हमेशा सत्य रहेगा और झूठ हमेशा झूठ रहेगा, और जो मौलिक सिद्धांत हैं उन सिद्धान्तों को लेकर आज भी बढ़ा जा सकता है। जिस समय गुरुकुल में शिक्षा दी जाती थी, मैं गुरुकुल में पढ़ा हूँ, मुझे गुरुकुल में शिक्षा प्राप्त करने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है, मैंने देखा कि किस प्रकार से एक विद्यार्थी को, एक छात्र को, बनाने का प्रयत्न किया जाता था, किन्तु आज वह संस्था भी समाप्त हो गई है।

विद्या ददाति विनयम्, विनयाद् याति पात्रताम् ।  
पात्रताद् धनमाप्नोति यतः धर्मस्ततो जयः

विद्या नम्रता देती है और नम्रता से, विनय से योग्यता पैदा होता है और योग्यता से धन प्राप्त होता है और वह संसार में जहाँ भी जाये उसके द्वारा एक लाभ होता है। आज इस प्रकार के उद्देश्य हमारे सामने नहीं रहे हैं। तो आपको पहले तो यह सोचना पड़ेगा कि किस प्रकार के अध्यापक आपको लगाने हैं, सब से पहले आपको इस बात पर ध्यान देना पड़ेगा। मुझे अध्यापक भी रहने का अवसर मिला है और मुझे अध्यापकों का इन्स्पेक्शन भी करने का अवसर मिला है और मेथड्स आफ टोचिंग कैसी होना चाहिये यह भी जानता हूँ। जो आपको ट्रेनिंग स्कूल में है वहाँ जो पढ़ाया जाता है उसको जब वह वहाँ से आते हैं तो वहाँ का चहार दावारी में ही छोड़ आते हैं। आपको जो स्कूल है वह बिजनेस सेन्टर बने हुये हैं। अगर आज अध्यापकों को ट्यूटर न रखा जाय तो बच्चा पढ़ ही नहीं सकता है। खुद हमारे बच्चों के साथ यह हुआ है, वह कहना कहला कर भेजते हैं कि पिताजी में कहना कि मैं जरा कमजोर हूँ, ट्यूशन लगा ले। जब तक वह ट्यूशन न लगाये तो वह बच्चा पढ़ ही नहीं सकता। बच्चे के दिमाग में जो स्वावलम्बन की भावना होना चाहिये, जो सेल्फ-कान्फिडेंस होना चाहिये कि मुझे अपनी मेहनत से पास होना है वह धीरे धीरे इस तरह समाप्त हो जाता है। जिस बेचारे के पास पैसा नहीं है, ट्यूशन वह लगा नहीं सकता, उसके अतिरिक्त बाकि सब बच्चों को लगाना पड़ता है, क्या करे पास तो करना ही है। आज यह स्थिति हो रही है। क्या आप यह निगम नहीं बना सकते कि किसी भी अध्यापक को यह इजाजत नहीं हो कि वह ट्यूशन कर सके लेकिन फिर यहाँ धन का बात आता है और आपको यह देखना पड़ेगा।

श्रीमान्, मैं यहाँ पर आपको एक उदाहरण दे दूँ। मेरे एक मित्र चाइना गये। हमारा चाइना की आयडियलाजी से, मन्तक से, विभेद हो सकता है लेकिन उनका शिक्षा प्रणाली का उदाहरण मैं देता हूँ। मेरे एक मित्र यहाँ

[श्री मानसिंह वर्मा]

से गये, वहाँ पर उम समय आवश्यकता थी हमारा उनसे सम्बन्ध बहुत अच्छा चल रहा था, वह वहाँ पर एजुकेशन डिपार्टमेंट में गये पढ़ाने के लिये। जैसे ही वह गये तो तोससे पहला प्रश्न उनसे यह किया गया :

"Are you married?" He said, "No, Sir, I am a bachelor." They said, "Go back to your country, get married and then come back."

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh): Why did they not arrange his marriage in the same country?

श्री मानसिंह वर्मा : उन्होंने कहा कि हम बैचलर को स्कूल में नहीं रखना चाहते। वह वापस आये, बड़ी जल्दी उनका शादी कराई गई, उसके बाद वह गये, उसके बाद वहाँ से जो लिख कर उन्होंने भेजा वह मैं बनाता हूँ।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमान, व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। व्यवस्था का प्रश्न यह है कि अगर अध्यापक के लिये लाजमी है कि शादीशुदा हो तो क्या राज्य मन्त्री के उपाध्यक्ष के लिये यह लाजमी है या नहीं !

संसदीय कार्य विभाग ने राज्य मंत्री (श्री ओम मेहता) : शाही जी, आप तो यह जानते हैं।

श्री मानसिंह वर्मा : भ्रामन्, मैं यह कह रहा था उन्होंने वहाँ से लिखा। उन्होंने यह लिखा कि हर प्रकार से मुझे बिल्कुल निश्चित कर दिया गया है, कोई चिन्ता मुझे नहीं है, किसी प्रकार की, खाने पाने या कपड़े की, जितने भी फैमिली अफेयर्स हैं, किसी बात को कोई चिन्ता नहीं है, साग भारा उसका मरकार के ऊपर है और इस बात की पूरी कोशिश की जाता है कि मुझे कोई घरेलू चिन्ता न हो, घरेलू बातों के कारण मेरा मन कोई विचलित नहीं रहे। क्यों ! इस वास्ते की यदि निश्चित नहीं रहूँगा तो अपना सारा समय, अपना सारा मन बच्चों को नहीं दे सकूँगा बच्चों को बनाने के लिये। वह जानते हैं कि इसके द्वारा

आगे आने वाली जो संतती है, आगे आने वाली जो औलाद है वह बनने वाली है। तो इस बात का इतना ध्यान बढ़ा रखा जाता है। यहाँ पर कोई ध्यान इस बात का नहीं रहता। अध्यापकों को मैंने स्वयं अपनी आखों से देखा है कि क्लास में घुसते हैं तो मुँह में मिगरेट जो लगी रहती है उसको उठाकर फेंकते हैं। यह सब बच्चे देखते हैं कि मास्टर साहब मिगरेट पीते चले आ रहे हैं। सब बच्चे देखते हैं कि मास्टर साहब क्या काम कर रहे हैं। तो सब से बड़ी आवश्यकता इस बात की ओर ध्यान देने की है फिर चाहे आप जितना चाहे शिक्षा को बढ़ाये। मैं जानता हूँ कि आप कुछ करना चाहते हैं, मुझे इस बात में संदेह नहीं है, मैं आपके विचारों को बहुत असें से जानता हूँ, यकिन कीजिये लेकिन आप यहाँ से, बुनियाद से शुरू कीजिये स्कूलों का तादाद तो आप बढ़ा देंगे तो यहाँ पर जो और बहुत जानवर पैदा हुये हैं वहाँ और जानवर पैदा होने लगेंगे . . . लेकिन इनसान पैदा करने के लिये जो एक मौलिक बात है उसको पैदा कीजिये, और उसके लिये सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता यह है कि एजुकेशन ऐसा सबजेक्ट बनाइए जिसमें उनके ग्रेड्स आई० ए० एस० के मुकाबले में अच्छे ग्रेड्स हो क्योंकि आई० ए० एस० आफिसर के मुकाबले में बड़ा से बड़ा एजुकेशनल आफिसर अपने आप को छोटा समझता है और समझा जाता है। एजुकेशन का कितना ही बड़ा आफिसर हो, एक युनिवर्सिटी का प्रोफेसर हो, वाइस चान्सलर हो, लेकिन आई० ए० एस० आफिसर के मुकाबले में उसको इन्फोरियर, नीचा, दरजा समझा जाता है। मैं समझता हूँ, सबसे बड़ा दरजा एजुकेशनलिस्ट का अध्यापकों का होना चाहिए। उनकी सबसे अधिक रमामिलना चाहिए, उनके घर की समस्याएं समाप्त कर देनी चाहिये, अच्छे से अच्छे लॉग उस क्षेत्र में आने चाहिए जब ऐसा करेंगे तो आपको अच्छे अध्यापक मिलेंगे और अच्छे अध्यापक मिलेंगे तो शिक्षा का स्तर ऊँचा होगा। शिक्षा का माध्यम इस प्रकार का रखिए जिम्मेदार प्रोडक्शन देश में हो। अभी आपा बताया . . .

**श्री उपसभापति :** अब खत्म काजिए ।

**श्री मारनसिंह वर्मा :** मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ । अभी दास साहब ने बताया कि आर्थिक दृष्टि से, सामाजिक दृष्टि से, लोकतांत्रिक दृष्टि से यह आवश्यक है कि शिक्षा को प्राथमिकता दी जाए, शिक्षा इसमें बहुत बड़ा पार्ट प्ले करता है, शिक्षा का बहुत बड़ा महत्व है । मैं सन् 1938 की बात बताता हूँ, मैं जिला बस्ती में सब इन्स्पेक्टर आफ स्कूल था, उस समय इन्स्पेक्टर थे मिस्टर वांचू—आप भी जानते होंगे, बहुत पुरानी बात है—उन्होंने हर एक देहात के स्कूल के अन्दर बेसिक एजुकेशन इस प्रकार का शुरू किया कि मुझे याद है, वहाँ पर बैठने को टाट की पट्टियाँ और कई प्रकार का सामान, कागज, इत्यादि हर एक स्कूल इतना पैदा कर लिया करता था कि डिमिट्टेड बोर्ड को वह सामान बाहर से लेने की जरूरत नहीं पैदा होती थी और जिला बस्ती ने टाट की पट्टियाँ और कुर्सियाँ दूसरी जगहों को मप्लाई करना शुरू किया । वहाँ पर बच्चों को काम करना अनिवार्य था, उससे उनमें काम करनेकी भावना पैदा होती थी, डिग्निति आफ लेबर आती थी और प्रोडक्शन भी बढ़ता था । हमारी आज की शिक्षा प्रोडक्शन नहीं बढ़ा रहा है और दिन ब दिन खर्च बढ़ता जा रहा है । (समय की घंटी) श्रीमन्, मैं अभी समाप्त कर रहा हूँ । श्रीमन्, मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि अध्यापकों की तरफ ध्यान दीजिए, अध्यापक अच्छे होने चाहिए, एजुकेशन इस प्रकार का चाहिये जो खर्चीला न हो । आज एक मध्यम वर्ग के आदमी के लिये अपने बच्चे को पढ़ाना कठीन हो रहा है, पढ़ाता तो है, लेकिन कैसे पढ़ा रहा है यह आप भी जानते हैं मैं भी जानता हूँ । जिसको दो-चार बच्चे पढ़ाने पड़ते हैं उसको किम प्रकार का पेट काटकर खर्चा चलाना होता है यह आप समझ सकते हैं । एक एक्सरसाइज बुक जो अभी पिछले साल एक रुपए की थी आज 1 रुपया 65 पैसे की हो गई है । पुस्तकें इतनी लाद दी गई हैं कि ...

**श्री उपसभापति :** अब आपको खत्म करना होगा ।

**श्री मारनसिंह वर्मा :** ... बच्चा उसको लेकर चल नहीं सकता है । तो सिलेबस बदलिए करिकुलम को ठीक कीजिये । अभी जब पूना गए थे उस समय मैंने आपको जो अर्ज किया था आपने माना था सिलेक्ट कमेटी में, और मैं सेंट्रल एजुकेशन की जो स्कॉम आपकी चल रही है उसको बहुत पसंद करता हूँ, सारे देश के अन्दर एक सा माध्यम होना चाहिये एक सी पुस्तकें होनी चाहिए, एक सा विचार आना चाहिये । नेशनल इटिग्रेशन तभी हो सकता है जब मास का बच्चा पंजाब में जाए तो एक ही प्रकार के माध्यम से पुस्तकें पढ़ सके (समय की घंटी)

एक और बात कह कर समाप्त कर रहा हूँ पुस्तकों के मामले में जो गड़बड़ होती है, जो स्कैडल होता है, उसको रोकना पड़ेगा । पुस्तकें आप प्रेसकाइब करते हैं, प्रेसकाइब पुस्तकें पढ़ाई नहीं जाते और दूसरी पुस्तकें आ जाती हैं । कोई देखने वाला नहीं है पुस्तकों में क्या पढ़ाया जा रहा है । इसको भी देखना आवश्यक है । जब कोई उन गलत बातों को बताता है तब कुछ ध्यान देने हैं नहीं तो गलत बातें बतायी जाती रहती हैं, गलत नकशें दिखाये जाते रहते हैं ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का, इस संकल्प का, समर्थन करता हूँ । यह आवश्यक है कि केवल इस संकल्प तक ही न छोड़ा जाए । मैं सदन से भी, सरकार से भी और माननीय मंत्री जी से भी निवेदन करूंगा कि यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण मामला है, इस पर गौर कीजिए । भगवान के लिये, अगर भारत को बनाना है, सचमुच उस गौरव के स्थान पर पहुंचाना है जो गौरव पहले इसको प्राप्त था, तो उचित शिक्षा को अमल में लाया जाए । अगर आप एजुकेशनली पीछे हैं तो चाहे बड़ी बड़ी इंडस्ट्री भी हो जाएं ...

**श्री उपसभापति :** अब आप बैठ जाइए । मिस्टर चौधरी ।

श्री मानसिंह वर्मा : ... हमारे देश को वह गौरव उसी समय प्राप्त होगा जब शिक्षा में आमूल चूल परिवर्तन होगा ।

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY (Assam) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I stand to support the motion. I quite agree with the mover that education must have a clear objective. In our country the system of education that we have is practically a system which was introduced by the British rulers only to produce some clerks or some bureaucratic officials, only to help their administration here, and not for imparting any training to our people as to how to build our society or to build up our nation as a whole. Practically we are following the same system of education after our independence. The main intention behind our struggle for freedom was to achieve freedom or Swaraj and not this independence which we have today.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU), in the Chair]

Today we are independent, but we are not free. There is a difference between freedom and independence because we believe that anything that is foreign is better than anything that is indigenous. This is our way of thinking even after 24 years of our independence.

I am quite in agreement with the mover that our education must be given a clear-cut objective. It must have a clear-cut purpose. What should be that purpose? In our country it was said by our sages that a man when he is born belongs to Sudra community in the sense that he has no culture. He is just a raw material. It is through education which is meant for Samskara that he becomes 'Dijo'. That was the objective. He is developed into the best quality man who can serve the country to the best of his ability. That was the objective of education in our country in the earlier days. But when the British people came here, we also got ourselves more or less Europeanised

and we thought that everything that was European was good. We also adopted the system which they introduced here for their own benefit and not for the benefit of the country or nation. But even after they left us, we are still continuing the same educational policy. As a result what has happened? We have lot of Doctors, we have lot of Engineers and we have lot of Graduates and Master Degree holders; but we have no man. Once Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru lamented that the country was in need of man. The educational system that we have today can create some clerks, Doctors and Engineers, though some people doubt the ability of these Engineers and Doctors who come out of our universities. But we have no man. So what we find in schools are teachers who are interested only in their salary and not in the education of the children. In different departments we find officers—IAS and ICS—who are not doing their duty. Their only intention is to draw their salary and to make extra money and enjoy life. There is no national objective before them. Nobody who is placed in any position is doing his duty properly. That is our problem. And we cannot get out of it until and unless we create some people at least who are dedicated to the cause of the nation. That dedication can come only through education and our mover has rightly said that education must have some definite purpose or objective and I am in full agreement with the objective that he has placed before us. With that end in view, our educational system must be overhauled, Sir, He gave two definitions. One is that it creates a rational outlook which will suppress or eliminate the base emotions of a man and to direct the healthy emotions into creative channels. That is what the definition is which is in conformity with the definition given by Swami Vivekananda. Sir, Swami Vivekananda said that education is the manifestation of the divinity already in man and I think my

friend from the Opposition who spoke earlier would also agree with the said definition that education is the manifestation of the divinity in man. So, Sir, if we can have that kind of manifestation among our younger generation, then this country is sure to progress and this country is sure to have a place in the world, is sure to have a place in the comity of nations, which is what our forerunners were advocating.

Now, Sir, I want to say something about the textbooks. Today, in our secondary education, in our primary education, the textbooks that we are giving to our young people are backdated, are out of date, are obsolete and are not at all in tune with the ideas according to which our national leaders are trying to build up the country. Today, Sir, our school-going boys read some stories about jackals, about foxes and such other things and the morals that they are trying to preach through these stories are also backdated and these textbooks are so oriented that the present need of the country is not ventilated through these textbooks. Our boys should acquire a new set of values, new set of objectives, and only then they would be ready to take up responsibilities when they become major and lead the country to progress.

With these words, Sir, I support the Resolution.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Yes, Mr. Balachandra Menon.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala): Sir, I welcome this Resolution. But, Sir, I do not know whether we are serious about it and whether this will be another pious resolution, one of the various pious resolutions that we have passed. I think this too will be one among them and nothing more, because we know that we only talk much and we do not do anything. We do not have the courage. Now, if such a resolution is

taken seriously, it means that we are going to break away from the past. In a country where we speak of socialism, in a country where we speak of secularism, what do we see? We see that schools are maintained by various religious institutions. We know how the Christian community, the Muslim community and the Hindu community try to desperately to have their hold on our young men and their minds. You encourage it. There also you have the mixed set-up as you are having in your economic field. Yes. As in your economy, so also in your education, you are not serious. However much you may preach about democracy and socialism, however much you people are not worried because they know you are not serious. You do not have the courage to get away from the old moorings, because it requires a certain amount of revolutionary courage. And we have not built up that courage. It is this young man who comes from college, it is this young men who come from school, who is questioning everything, who is questioning the Minister, questioning the Vice-chancellor and the college authorities because he knows he has wasted 15 to 18 years in the colleges. He says, "I am going to challenge it". He has spent a good deal of his lifetime in the college and when he comes out he is unfit for the great social change we want to bring about. He is an outsider. The youth is not ready. This is the education that we have given to them! They are not good at production, they are not good at industries or in the agricultural field. They are good as overseers, professors and nothing else. They can be engineers who can supervise any other man doing a job. They cannot do a job. Our old religion taught us that the work has to be done by the Sudras. He is the successor to that idea. I am not a blind worshipper of the past. I am proud of my country. I am proud of some of the great teachers of the past. I am proud of that Rishi who when a question was

[Shri Balachandra Menon]

asked, "What is the purpose of this life", said that "who knows whether he knows." I am proud of such past which poses such questions. But everything of the past is not great. Let us not look back to that period. Let us see what we can do now. Have we prepared ourselves for the great change that we want to bring about? We have not, I am sure.

Now, where should we start? We must start at the elementary school stage. The whole education has to be re-built. The young man must be proud of being called upon to bring about the social change. Can we give him that training? He must be taught something about history; he must know something about science; he must know something about art; he must know something about culture, dance etc. Above all must know how to be a good worker, how to be a good peasant. In every school we will have to give that training. Up to the age of 17 or 18 he must have his elementary and high school education with proper emphasis on vocational training. There he must have training which will make him good enough to do some work when he gets out. When he comes out of his high school, he must have at least that technical knowledge which the present ITI man or which a diploma holder has. He must be fit to do a job without anybody else's help. The best among them can go in for higher education. If you want anybody to go to the University, if you want to send anybody to the college, it must be the best among them, otherwise he must be trained to be a good workman who should have some further training and knowledge of mechanical and electrical engineering or plant protection, soil study and animal husbandry. All these should form part of education that he must have in the rural and urban areas. Can you do that? The Education Minister would

say that he has no money. Even if he had the money, his department will not allow him to go the way he wants, because there are vested interests everywhere. They want that the present system must continue. The mixed economy requires people who have no brains. It wants servile wage labour. The mixed economy requires people who will only work as wage slaves. And this is the best education for the present set up. The one which we have inherited from the British. Let us now stop for ever all talk of the revolutionary changes that we promise to bring about in our economy. For twenty-five years we have been talking. This country spoke, spoke and spoke, but never did anything. It could not go forward. It has a crawling economy. It speaks so much but does little.

This is my complaint about it. So, I want to point out one or two things only. What kind of education should be given? The great religionists have one idea that man must respect his brother-man. I have no quarrel with man's religion. General knowledge of all religions should be there, there is nothing wrong. The Muslim religion, the Hindu Vedic Religion and the Christianity—all speak about how you should treat your brother-man. So, you could have general knowledge of all religions, no harm.

Then, emphasis should be laid on the teaching of history in which we get glimpses of the unity of the country, unity of culture and civilization. While speaking on this Resolution, an hon. Member was speaking about the outside conquerors. I know that when the great Moghuls decided that they were part of India, a new culture came into being in India. Not only a new language in the form of Urdu was given, not only new art and new architecture came to existence given but a new civilization was born. Yes, this is what happened and this was the greatest period of our history. So it is essential that we should know about our country and about the

heroes who have worked for it. Our boys must know about the past. They must know the history of our freedom movement. Very few people speak about Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and the Muslim boy who died along with him for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity. I have not heard any Congress member speak about them. I have not heard anyone speak about these heroes. We do not speak about them nowadays. There are great things done by our ordinary people. How did it happen? When riots were there, when Muslims and Hindus were killing one another, it is with the sacrifice of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and the Muslim boy who died along with him that the riots were stopped. It is the sacrifice of a Hindu and a Muslim that worked for the unity of the country. How little all of us have spoken about it? How many of our boys know about them? Therefore, Sir, inspiring examples of the young brave boys who in everyday life perform such great deeds should be set up as examples. So too the examples of heroes of labour who increase the wealth of our country.

Education should be given a new outlook, i. e., love and respect for work.

This Government was not able to bring out even the book 'Glimpses of World History' by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as a text book. I am asking why? Is it because of the fear that some religions and educational institutions would not like it? Is it because the Muslim institutions and the Hindu and Christian institutions would not welcome it? It speaks of the modern life, of the unity of the country, the unity of the various cultures of the world, of secularism of the great revolutions and so on. All those who stand for the past do not like it.

Then, why not have the "Man's Worldly Goods" as another text-book. That is

a good book. It gives you the idea about how wealth is produced. Also, why not have the 'Glory that was India' by Bhasam as a non-detail text? These are some of the books which would inspire us in building up really a new society. These are the great books that will change the young and prepare the youth for the role that he and his country has to play.

I would plead with you to build up education from down below. Make the 'boy' respect work. People were divided into four varnas and was laid down that only the last among them should work. Their outlook must change; and that can change only if we make everybody respect work. The new generation has to be trained up for the technological revolution the modern age is bringing about. But we should also not forget that our idea is not to turn ourselves into machines. That is the other danger and that is what we see in advanced capitalist countries today. Recently, I was reading somewhere where they were discussing the role of the modern management in industries. They were trying to make all sorts of studies and now they say that we go back to Aristotle, Plato and Rousseau and learn from the teachers of the past. It was because they had become part of a machine and they wanted only increased productivity, more and more production and nothing more than that. They had forgotten man. They built the machine and filled man into it. All development is possible if we do not give up the general education with special emphasis on democratic and cultural values. We should also emphasise on the aspects of the modern technical education which must build up the modern man, who must be the leader of the coming revolution. We have, therefore, to prepare the 'boy' for that—prepare him to rebuild our country.

**DR. R. K. CHAKRABARTI** (West Bengal) : Sir, in support of the Resolution moved by Shri Bipinpal Das, I would like to say a few words.

In the field of education what we find today is complete chaos. There is no logic, there is no system, there is no real thinking and nobody even cares to apply the mind seriously and suggest remedial measures through concrete steps. Let us look at the picture of education as it is today in our country. The whole field of education may be divided into certain broad groups, primary, secondary, college, university and professional studies. Now it is strange that even at the primary and secondary level we do not have a common curriculum throughout the country. In some States we have 10 years of schooling, in some other parts of the country we have 11 years of schooling. Even in the same State some schools are having 10 years with a one-year pre-university course, while some schools follow the 11-year system. Now if we look at the Secondary Boards, in our State of West Bengal the Secondary Board is handling more than a lakh of students who take their examination. Do you think it is humanly possible to conduct examinations for more than a lakh of boys and publish the results in time and what sort of an examination can be conducted by a single Board sitting at Calcutta? If you look at the conditions in our schools, except the Government schools and some of the schools run by the missionary people, most of the schools are limping forward virtually without any resources. They cannot afford to hire good teachers, they do not have libraries, they do not have laboratories, they do not have good open space for playground or for extra-curricular activities. And look at the salary given to these teachers. The primary schools teachers and secondary school teachers draw a salary which is even less than the salary that a peon gets in Government service. My hon. friend in the Opposition just talked about the rotten people of the

society coming forward to take up the teaching profession and the best boys going for IAS and ICS jobs. Why not? Why should people go for a job of Rs. 110 after becoming a First Class First in M. Sc. ? It was also pointed out that teachers take up private tuition. Why cannot the teachers accept private tuition? Do you think he is capable of living on a salary of Rs. 110 ? It is not possible

So, we cannot blame them. We cannot pay them very little with which they cannot maintain their families. At the same time we cannot expect good work from the teacher. We talk about the socialist countries. Have you been to Russia? The highest paid people are the teachers over there. A university professor draws a salary which is more than the highest salary paid in the Government Service. So, these things should be kept in mind. We should not always harp on the idea that we are still living in the age of Gurus and Sishyas. It is true that they had a plain living, but I think we cannot do in that manner in the modern society. If I have my own children, I cannot ask them to take nothing but simple food when my neighbours, who are lawyers or doctors or practise any other profession or are in business, they are enjoying their whole life. And we ask our teachers to live on a meagre sum and expect their children to grow up in that manner. We cannot expect such a type of living in these modern times.

Now let us look at the number of days for which the schools work in a school-year. In most of the schools in this country we are having hardly 120 to 130 working days. Again we are getting a peculiar situation. A school teacher is responsible for teaching his students. But who is going to set up the questions for the examination? The paper-setters are mostly college teachers, university teachers who do not have any contact with the students. They are given a printed syllabi by the School Boards, and on the basis of the printed syllabi

they set the questions for the examination. But they do not know how much of the syllabi or what portion of the syllabi has been covered in the different schools in the State. Now, coupled with this, when a boy looks at the employment situation in the whole country, he becomes frustrated, and he becomes callous, and that is why we are getting the practice of mass-copying and other malpractices, because they want to get out of the school or collage as quickly as possible, by any means.

In the field of college education the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University made a statement and he said, "We should go back to our ten-year school system to be followed by two years of Intermediate college course and then we should have two years for the Pass Degree course and three years for the Honours Degree course." How, the universities are autonomous bodies. Suppose the Calcutta University today implements this decision and we have many other universities in the same State and they are following the old path of three years' Degree course for both Pass and Honours, then what will happen? We will create more chaos in the whole educational system by doing it like this, one university acting independently and going in one direction, and another university going in another direction.

Now I will give two more examples before I try to conclude my talk. We talk about disparities in income, and on the floor of this House we have talked so many times about the disparities in the income of individuals and have said that it should not be more than eight times or ten times and so on. Have we ever talked about the disparities in the sanction of grants to the different educational institutions, disparities between the pampered institutions or the rich institutions and the poor institutions in this country? I will give you one concrete example. In the Jadavpur University, in one Department, in the Mecha-

nical Engineering Department, there are sixty teachers of whom forty are conducting research work and doing post-graduate work. They are sanctioned a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs for the Plan period, for the Fourth Plan period which will go up to 1974. Now, in comparison with this, in one University in Delhi, in one small Department the Departmental Head asked the Director how much money he could spend for buying equipment. And he has been told that "sky is your limit". And with one stroke of the pen he has ordered equipment worth Rs. 15 lakhs, the major portion of which is in foreign exchange. Is it not a disparity in the field of education?

Another aspect is the admission test which is being conducted by many I.I.T. and by some other engineering institutions in this country. And after taking the admission test they arbitrarily set a minimum number of marks, say, 240 out of 500, or 200 out of 500, as the admission criterion for different courses. Now, what this is going to give us? In a certain Department, suppose there are 60 seats, they are taking only 20 or 30 students on the basis of the admission test, and the rest of the seats are remaining vacant for the whole period. Are we going to waste our money, public money, in this manner, and dispense with the students on the plea that they are sub-standard? How do you know that these boys are sub-standard? You are not judging them on their results in any public examination, on their results in the Higher Secondary Examination. You are holding an admission test and you arbitrarily set a minimum number of marks as the criterion for admission, and if the boys get below that, you say that the boys are sub-standard.

Every year you are changing the minimum marks. You are not consistent in saying whether thirty per cent or thirty-five per cent will be the minimum mark. So, I would request the hon. Education Minister to go deep into this matter and enquire how many seats have been filled up in the technical

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institutions in our country and how many still remain vacant this year.

It is very easy to criticise the system, but it is difficult to give concrete suggestions. My humble submission is this. I have been in the teaching profession for the last twenty-four years of which I spent three years in a foreign university. On the very first day in the foreign university my departmental head came and gave me forty cards. He said : "Forty are your students. You teach them this subject. You examine them. You grade them and say who are qualified to pass and who are to fail and that is final." I have sixteen weeks of solid class. On the last day of the class, I hold the final examination. I hold this examination after a constant and continuous assessment. I say, these are the boys who pass and these are the boys who fail, and that is final. There was no controller of examinations. There was no delay in the publication of results. My humble submission is this. My thought may not be exactly correct. There are many people with many thoughts which may have to be taken into account. My view is that in this country every school must have the right to issue independently the school leaving certificate. After ten years of schooling every school will issue the school leaving certificate. There should be a watch-dog committee or an accreditation committee which will go to the schools periodically and submit their reports to the respective school boards about the standard of teaching, the quality of teachers, the standard of the laboratories and libraries and say whether their school leaving certificate will be recognised or not. When we come to the question of admission to colleges, there will be an admission test just like today we have in our technical and medical colleges. Only the best boys according to merit will be admitted to colleges. The colleges must be autonomous bodies. They must be permitted to offer degrees, bachelor's degrees.

Then, there must be watchdog committees or accreditation committees of the universities who will go round these colleges and say whether their degrees can be recognised or not. Then, there should be another admission test for post-graduate studies. Those who qualify in the admission test will be eligible to enter any institution for post-graduate studies in this country. In this manner, unless you make the teacher responsible for what he is doing, you are simply asking him to teach his students, but not giving him the right to examine the students whom he is teaching. I teach my students, but I do not know what the examiner is going to do with his answer papers and what marks he will give. Then, some Examination Boards or Council sits over the results and says whimsically that it is giving ten or fifteen grace marks. The results are published after a delay of six months or nine months. Previously after the dissolution of the class three weeks' time was given for preparation. Now, six weeks' preparation time is given and the examination takes four weeks. So, it means six plus four, ten weeks. Publication of results takes two or three months. Meanwhile, What are we going to teach the students?

Lastly, I will conclude by narrating a story. A long time ago I have seen a movie named *Twelve Angry Men*. There they had twelve jurists for the trial. After the evidences were taken all the twelve people were taken into a room and locked up and they were asked to give an unanimous verdict of "Yes" or "No" in respect of the accused. So long as they did not arrive at a unanimous verdict they would not be allowed to come out of the room. If there is a division, then it is known as "hung-jury", and retrial of the cases are to followed. They had to spend two or three days without any contact with the outside world. My humble submission to the hon. Education Minister will be that he himself, taking with him all the State Education Ministers and

some of the topmost educationists of our country and some public representatives, should enter Vigyan Bhavan, stay there, if required, for seven days, fifteen days or thirty days, and come out with a comprehensive solution which will be implemented throughout the country without any hitch or hindrance. Thank you.

**DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN** (Kerala) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, this discussion on the resolution is very timely, I should say, but however I must disagree with the conclusions made by the mover of this resolution and also by some Members of the Treasury Benches. We are being told here by some Members of the hon. House that Indian education today is mainly colonial. I do agree that remnants of the colonial system still persist in our educational system, but I must humbly submit that during the last 25 years the Government of India through their educational policy have tried merely to structure the educational system to suit the development of capitalism in India. If you really examine the manner in which the educational institutions have grown during the last 25 years, it will be clear that the character of the ruling Government is directly reflected in the educational policies and the educational system. Unlike countries like the Soviet Union and China which immediately after the revolution could eradicate illiteracy almost altogether, in India after 25 years when we are about to celebrate 25 years of independence still 76 per cent of the Indian people are illiterate. With such a dominant level of illiteracy we are going to celebrate our independence. How can we discuss questions of education without going into the grassroots of the problem? Out of the total outlay on education, 1/3rd is spent for higher education, 1/3rd for secondary education, and only 1/3rd for primary education. In a country with such a high level of illiteracy I should have thought that the right priority is to emphasize education

at the lower level and then go up. Instead we have a completely distorted policy of investment in education which emphasizes educational outlay at the top level. This only proves my contention that the educational planners and the bureaucrats sitting in the Ministry of Education, both at the Centre and in the States, are primarily concerned in perpetuating the capitalist system in which they have some share.

If you look into the total control over education particularly at the primary and secondary level and also at the collegiate level, in many States and particularly in a State like Kerala a substantial percentage of the number of schools and colleges are controlled by private agencies. The dominance of private agencies, some of them are monied people, some of them are people who trade in black money, some of the people are big business people like Tatas and Birlas—it is they who control a substantial share of the total outlay on education. Similarly if you look into the data of foreign money coming into our educational system, the American Foundations and the American Government through grants and loans have really penetrated into our educational system in a big way. We talk about national or democratic education. On the contrary the type of education which has been developed in the last 25 years is an anti-national, anti-democratic educational system by and large. National values and democratic values are not being given due importance in the syllabi and in the educational system altogether. The caste basis of the Indian educational system is self-evident. Bourgeois values, feudal values still persist in our syllabi. Bourgeois values of self-enrichment and individual ambitions are cultivated through the syllabuses to the detriment of collective effort and collective good. Education particularly for the rich through the public schools in Lovedale, in Dehra Dun, in Mayo College and Scindia — these public schools create an elite class who ultimately end

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up as bureaucrats, administrators, military officers, managerial people and big people.

This is a self-perpetuating system. One-third of the total money is spent on higher education which is controlled by the private agencies, and they are also controlling education at the top level. They perpetuate a new elite class which would further strengthen and control the capitalist mode of production. If you look at the fees, according to a survey of 26 public schools, they range from Rs. 2500 to Rs. 5000 per year. From these public schools these children go to elite colleges and ultimately they end up in the IAS and in the big business houses. The Tatas and the Birlas control the educational system, as I have said earlier. The Tata Educational Trust finances such schools as the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research and the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. The Birla Education Trust has a whole university complex at Pilani, besides a score of schools and other institutions in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay. In other words, Education reflects the character of the Indian State, which is a character reflecting the interests of the big monopoly houses which are increasing in collaboration with foreign finance and they are sharing their power with the feudal landlords in the rural areas.

Corporation is rampant in education today. In my own State of Kerala, 66 to 70 per cent of the colleges are controlled by private managements and they have held the Government of India and the State Government to ransom for the last two months. The great Government of India and the State Government apparatus cannot deal with the situation arising in Kerala. Why is it that they are shivering in their knees when the private managements threatened that they would close down the colleges and implemented their decision by closing down all the private colleges in Kerala? Sixtysix to seventy per cent

of the colleges are closed down for the last two months. The great Government of India cannot do anything. Why is it that they are terribly afraid of the private managements? And to the best of my knowledge, not only are they shivering in their knees but they are preparing behind the back of the people compromise solutions which are shady deals, and they will ultimately compromise with the private managements, for all I know. But on the contrary, I know that if the Government of India puts pressure and through the State Government's apparatus makes these managements bow down, we will support the Government on that; our support, the people's support will be forthcoming if the Government stands firmly and controls the private managements which are really holding the people to ransom.

American institutions and American money have penetrated into our educational system. If you really study the State Department's documents, a very clear statement can be seen that according to the Government of the United States of America education is a fifth dimension of their foreign policy; in addition to military and diplomatic channels, economic aid and so on and so forth, education is now considered as the fifth dimension of their foreign policy. Through finance given to Indian educational institutions, through the so-called exchange programmes, they think that they can control Indian education. PL-480 funds and funds directly given by the USAID really vitiate our educational system. Foundations set up by American big business such as the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, they really rule the roost in our educational system. Ten per cent of the total expenditure incurred on education in India is contributed by foreign money and they have control over education here. Really, their share is much more than this figure. American money really controls every institution. The Indian Institute of Public Administration which is supposed to be designed to train bureaucrats in India receives American

money. The Institute of Parliamentary and Constitutional Studies gets American money. It is supposed to educate the people on parliamentary democracy. And the Indian Institute of Public opinion which is expected to create opinion among the people gets American money. The Indian Agricultural Research Institute gets American money. The Asia Foundation which has been proved to be CIA's friend has recently been expelled from Ceylon. The all India Federation of Educational Associations and the Indian Adult Education Association are also there. The Ford Foundation, according to the figures available with me for 1955-56 spent Rs. 364 crores on educational and social research and training for improved administration of private business practices. The US Government helped in setting up the National Institute of Education which, according to the Government's own admission, aims at providing leaders of Indian education.

Sir, an institute like the National Institute of Education, which is expected to play the crucial role of training leaders of Indian education, gets American money. A private institution in America, called the Teachers College, Columbia University, has been closely associated with the National Institute of Education. It has been getting funds from its inception upto 1967 from them. Even in the field of elementary education the U.S. Government grants and loans totalled about Rs. 121 crores. And this was mainly from PL-480 funds.

Even in Multi-purpose Secondary Education, USAID have generously co-operated by providing the services of the Ohio State University and set up four Regional Colleges of Education, in other words, the strategy of training future leaders of Indian education, a strategy which is controlled from behind the scene by American money, American experts is the Fifth dimension of their foreign policy. What are called the Multi-purpose schools, by admission of the Ministry of Education itself, have

been a failure. The U.S. Government has spent Rs. 100.18 crores. Adding insult to injury, the U.S. Embassy has been infiltrating into our educational system, and up to December 1969, for which I have figures with me right here, they spent Rs. 83.49 crores on "Educational Exchange Programmes". On top of it, though the U.S. Educational Foundation appears to be a private foundation, I know it is a friend of the American State Department. So this is the level at which the Americans are operating in our educational system. They are naturally being helped by the Indian big business represented by Tatas and Birlas who themselves have controlled every pie on the educational system, and they are naturally helped by managements of private colleges, Christian managements who are directly in link with these agents, including the C.I.A., according to the admission by the Youth Congress Leaders of Kerala. The Youth Congress leaders openly allege that the private managements who are holding the people and the Government to ransom has got the C.I.A. support. What are the State and the Central Government doing about the Gajendragadkar and various other reports? There are a number of other reports produced by expert committees, reports which can fill a whole institute library, any museum on education anywhere. But what is happening is that despite all the reports the Government of India will accept the recommendations which suit them. And if a report, even if it is the Gajendragadkar report, is not palatable to them, they will forget it. If it is to their advantage they will swear by it. However, on this question I will speak on Monday when I speak on the Delhi University Bill.

Lastly, the entire syllabus for the primary schools, the secondary schools and even up to the college level contains feudal and semi-feudal values. I can understand that the Government is spending lot of money on Agricultural Universities, again financed by the Ame-

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ricans to help bring about green revolution. Suggesting green revolution through increased production without solving the problems of landless people is a wrong strategy. As you know, production has failed this year. We are still in the grips of drought, still in the grips of monsoon; we have to rely on monsoon for our agricultural production. With emphasis on agricultural education we have landed in a situation where the agrarian structure and the educational system are imbibed by feudalism. Unless these issues are looked into, unless the entire educational system from the primary, from the secondary to the University level is reconsidered afresh, not by relying on the discredited policies of the last 25 years, no improvement is possible. At least on the eve of the 25 years of independence, we should, with all humbleness, with humility accept total failure of our educational policy during the last 25 years.

And the Government should come forward with a forthright statement that they will reverse their rotten policies of the past and re-consider their education investment policy away from the policy of giving emphasis at the top to the neglect of primary and secondary education. On the contrary they should re-structure their investment pattern in such a manner that primary and secondary school education gets the highest priority, and only consistent with the need for removing illiteracy at the base, only consistent with the objective of educating our people at large, only subject to that we should consider allocations for higher education. Sir, it also requires delinking of our education policy from the rotten policies in other fields. Unless the educational system is considered as part and parcel of the total socio-economic-political structure which we are evolving, we will not be able to solve the real problem.

**पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी (मध्य प्रदेश):**

उपाध्यक्षजी, जिस सम्माननीय स्थान पर आप बैठे हैं मुझे स्मरण आता है कि उसी स्थान पर स्वर्गीय जाकिर हुसैन साहब जब यहां बैठते थे और उनके सामने बेसिक एजुकेशन, बुनियादी शिक्षा, का सवाल आता था, जिसके वह जनक कहे जाते थे, तो वह बड़ी नम्रता से कह देते थे कि इसकी चर्चा मत करो, अब यह नहीं है, मर चुकी है। मैंने दो एक बार उनको यह कहते सुना है।

आज शिक्षा की योजना, उसका विवरण अच्छे से अच्छा हमारे पास है। कोठारी कमिशन है, राधाकृष्णन् कमिशन है, गजेन्द्र गडकर कमिशन है, कितने सेमिनार्स हुये उनकी रिपोर्ट है, विद्वान मंत्री जो हुये इस विभाग में उनका मार्गदर्शन है, सब मौजूद है। और आज जो विद्वान वक्ता ने प्रस्ताव पेश किया उनका विद्वत्तापूर्ण भाषण भी मौजूद हो गया है और उसके बाद यह आज की डिबेट भी जुड़ जायेगी उयेस रिकार्ड में। मगर जब मैं सोचता हूं कि जिस दर्द से जाकिर साहब ने बेसिक एजुकेशन की बात कही थी, आज यह पुस्तकें भी लाइब्ररी को शोभा बनी हुई हैं और कभी कभी इन्हीं कीमती किताबों को विद्यार्थियों के आन्दोलन में जलाने के काम ल आया जाता है, वे जलाई जाती हैं, तो मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि इस पवित्र क्षेत्र में सबसे पहले तो हम उस विषम चक्र में फंस गये कि हम निरक्षर थे और चाहा कि सब लोग पढ़ें, एक ऐसी संख्या पढ़ने वालों और पढ़ाने वालों की सामने आ गई कि जिसमें विद्यार्थियों और शिक्षकों के सम्बन्ध टूट गये। जगह जगह स्वतंत्र स्थितिया बनीं और सब अपनी अपनी मनमानी करने लगे। संविधान की स्थिति में भी आप देखें कि कितने लोग ह, कितनी संस्थाएं हैं, कितनी शक्तियां हैं जो इस शिक्षा विभाग को नियंत्रित करती हैं और कोई कहीं उत्तरदायी नहीं है। जैसे उदाहरण के लिये यदि आज एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर साहब से कहीं की यह रिपोर्ट की जाय कि यहां पर किसी यूनिवर्सिटी में आज बहुत अनुचित

साधनों का उपयोग हो रहा है, क्या आप कुछ कर सकते हैं, तो उनका उत्तर यह होगा कि किस स्टेट की बात है और यह स्टेट सबजेक्ट है, हम लिखेंगे उनको। इसी प्रकार चाहे कोई भी भ्रष्टाचार की बात हो यही उत्तर होगा। जो हम अच्छी अच्छी योजनाएं बनाते हैं आदर्शवादी स्थितियां रखते हैं लेकिन जब उनको चलाने की बात होगी तब वह हमारे यहां पैदा तो होंगी लेकिन उसके चलाने के लिये स्टेट जिम्मेदार है। उसकी जिम्मेदार स्टेट है...हम तो उसके लिये उत्तरदायी नहीं हैं, स्टेट उत्तरदायी है। अब स्टेट में भी कितने प्रकार हैं—प्राइवेट कालेजेज हैं, गवर्नमेंट कालेजेज हैं, फिर उच्च माध्यमिक शिक्षा है, फिर प्राइमरी है। य सब अलग अलग संस्थाएं कंट्रोल करती हैं और जैसा अभी एक माननीय वक्ता महोदय ने कहा ऐसे इन्स्टिट्यूशन हैं जो मात्र धार्मिक स्थितियों का आधार लेती हैं। मुझे इसमें ऐसा लगता है कि कहीं कोई उत्तरदायी नहीं है और एक दूसरे पर बात टालने की स्थिति बनी हुई है। जब तक इस स्थिति का सुधार नहीं होता तब तक अच्छी से अच्छी योजना, अच्छे से अच्छा आदर्श कार्यान्वित नहीं हो सकता।

मैं थोड़ा सा अपने अनुभव की बात कहूँ, क्योंकि मैं शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में खपा हूँ। आजसे 5 वर्ष पहले यूनिवर्सिटी की पंचियों को जाचना मैंने इसलिये छोड़ दिया कि मेरी समझ में भी आ गया कि ये तो सब नकल की गई पंचियां हैं। एक प्रश्न पैसेज के रूप में मैंने दिया था कि इसे 10 वाक्यों में सक्षिप्त करो। पूरे के पूरे कालिज के विद्यार्थियों ने एक ही भाषा—अपनी भाषा में करो कहा था—मगर एक के बाद एक वही भाषा, वही वाक्य और वैसे ही 10 वाक्य सबने लिखे पूरे कालेज में। हमारी समझ में आया कि शिक्षक ने यह डिक्टेड कर दिया है। अभी अभी यह स्थिति पैदा हुई कि एक यूनिवर्सिटी के विद्यार्थियों के पत्र दिए गए तो उन्होंने कहा यह कोर्स के बाहर है और हमारे से उठकर बाहर चले गए, यह कह कर कि हम तो सिनेमा देखने जाएंगे। जब लौट

कर आए तो अपनी अपनी पुस्तकें लेते आए और कहा जमा करो नहीं तो—उन्होंने कहा—बाहर निकलो, तब बताते हैं। जिन्होंने इस स्थिति का सामना किया, उनमें कई शिक्षक हैं जो मारे गए, उनकी मृत्यु तक हुई है। जिस शहर में मैं आता हूँ, जबलपुर से, वहाँ के स्वर्गीय वाइस चांसलर राजगली जी पांडे ने इस बात का एक बार प्रयत्न भी किया कि प्राइवेट कालेजेज में जो अनुचित साधनों का उपयोग फैला हुआ है, जो शिक्षक स्वयं इसको करने देते हैं और द्रव्य का लाभ कमा लेते हैं—कभी विद्यार्थी की हाजरी हो न हो वे इम्तिहान में बैठने दिए जाते हैं—फिर उनको नकल करने दिया जाता है, इसको रोकने के लिये हम यूनिवर्सिटी के कैंम्पस में एक्जामिनेशन का, परीक्षा का, इंतजाम करेंगे। शिक्षकों को अकल पहले आती है। उन्होंने देखा कि हमारे प्राइवेट सेक्टर सब बेकार जाएंगे, विद्यार्थियों को उकसाया कि यह नहीं होना चाहिये और जब यह कार्यान्वित होने लगा तो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट में सरकारी आदमी बढ़ा पहुँच गया, मंत्री की हैसियत का, और जो वह करना चाहते थे इसलिये नहीं कर पाये कि उनसे कहा गया, यह क्या करेंगे हो? तुम कैसे वाइस चांसलर हो? अभी अभी एक घटना हुई है कि 3 विद्यार्थी पकड़े गए, गिरफ्तार किए गए हैं। एक पोस्ट आफिस में उन्होंने अटैक कर दिया लूटने के लिये। यह कोई रिवोल्यूशनरी अटैक नहीं है। वे गरीब लड़के भी नहीं हैं, अच्छे खानदान से आने वाले विद्यार्थी धन लूटने के लिये गये थे, पोस्ट मास्टर और कर्मचारियों ने कहा हम तो कैश भेज चुके हैं। वे समझे झूठ बोल रहे हैं, तीनों को साफ कर दिया, मार डाला। तो ये स्थितियाँ आम तौर से बन रही हैं, ये आइसोलेटेड केस नहीं हैं। आप बताएं, किस यूनिवर्सिटी में ऐसी स्थिति नहीं है। अनुचित साधनों का उपयोग वही बन्द नहीं हुआ है। कहां इम्तिहान नहीं टाले गए? परीक्षा के बार में अभी एक माननीय सदस्य कह रहे थे कि हाँ यह बदल दिया जाए। आप बदल दीजिये

[पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी]

और उसी शिक्षक को इस बात की जिम्मेदारी दी जाए कि वह क्लास में देखे, पढ़ाये, लिखाये और इस बात के लिये आप को यह इन्तजाम करना पड़ेगा कि शिक्षक और विद्यार्थी का सम्बन्ध पहले कायम हों। साल भर वह उसको पढ़ायेगा, फिर उसके प्राणों और उसके जान का इन्तजाम आपकी करना पड़ेगा क्योंकि वह कुछ लोगों का रिजल्ट देगा कि ये फेल है। आज इस तरह की स्थिति है कि जो योग्य विद्यार्थी इन्तजाम में बैठना चाहता है वह अल्पमत में रह गया है और जो उपद्रव कर के आगे बढ़ना चाहता है, वह बाजी मार ले जाता है। इसका कारण चाहे कुछ भी हो, आर्थिक भी हो सकता है, उनकी भी कुछ समस्याएँ हो सकती हैं, पर हालत यह है कि आज शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में उनकी संख्या ज्यादा है।

इस तरह से यह स्थिति चल रही है और इस सारे दिक्कत से मुझे लगता है कि यह जो हमारे कास्टीट्यूशन का ढांचा है, जो इस तरह से शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में जिम्मेदारी को बांटता है, उससे मालूम पड़ता है कि असल में कोई उत्तरदायी किसी के प्रति नहीं है। यहां के मंत्रालय के जिम्मे कुछ काम हैं, कुछ दो चार यूनिवर्सिटियां हैं, जैसे बनारस, अलीगढ़ और विश्व भारतीय है, इसके अलावा बाकि यूनिवर्सिटियों को यू० जी० सी० के द्वारा ग्रांट देने की जिम्मेदारी है। बाकि जो यूनिवर्सिटीज ह वे प्रमुसन्ता-सम्पन्न हैं और इसलिये मैं कहता हूँ असल में डेमोक्रेसी एक प्रकार से अभिशाप है क्योंकि हम जिसके द्वारा शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में कुछ बनाने चले थे उसका उल्टा हो गया है। एक कहावत है :—

‘गणाधिपति कुर्वाणो

कारयाभास वानर”

गणेश बनाने चले थे माटी से, बना डाला वानर। इसी तरह से विद्यार्थियों को पढ़ाने, चले थे, उनका चरित्र निर्माण करने चल थे

पर न हि उनका चरित्र निर्माण कर सके न ही उनका निर्माण ही कर सके।

विदेशों में सब से ज्यादा महत्व इस बात पर दिया जाता है कि किन्डगार्डन की स्थिति से कालेज की स्थिति तक विद्यार्थी की क्या रुचि और रुझान रहता है। जब विद्यार्थी माध्यमिक स्थिति में आ जाता है तो उसके रुचि और रुझान को मालूम किया जाता है और उसके बाद उसको इंजीनियरिंग, डाक्टरी, साइन्स्ट, ह्यूमैनिटीज, इन क्षेत्रों में भेजा जाता है। इस तरह से वहां पर विद्यार्थी की जिम्मेदारी ली जाती है। हमारे यहां भी इसी तरह की जरूरत है। हम यहां पर बैठकर समझते हैं कि सब ठीक चल रहा है। हमारे यहां विद्वानों की कमी नहीं है। आज आप देख रहे हैं कि कुटुम्ब टूट रहे हैं। पहले सारे कुटुम्ब की जिम्मेदारी होती थी। यहां पर सस्कारों की बात बनाने की कही गई है। पहले अभिभावक और विद्यार्थियों में आपस में सम्बन्ध रहते थे, लेकिन आज अभिभावक और विद्यार्थी में कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। दोनों श्रम करने जाते हैं, कमाई करने जाते हैं और यह स्थिति बढ़ती चली जा रही है। आज अगर पति-पत्नी कमायेगा तो कुटुम्ब चलेगा, नहीं तो नहीं चलेगा। यह आज टूट रहा है।

आपने बहुत सारे स्कूल खोल दिये हैं। जिस तरह से पुराने जमाने में अभिभावक विद्यार्थी को शिक्षक के ऊपर छोड़कर निश्चित हो जाते थे वैसे स्थिति आज बिल्कुल नहीं है। आज आप को यह मालूम भी नहीं होगा कि विद्यार्थी स्कूल गया है या किसी सिनेमा घर में बैठा है। आज इस तरह की स्थिति चल रही है। इसी तरह से आज यूनिवर्सिटियों में आन्दोलन की स्थिति पैदा हो गई है और किसी तरह से डिग्री हासील कर और फिर नौकरी मिले। आज यूनिवर्सिटियों में आन्दोलन ज्यादा होन लगे हैं और प्राइवेट कालेजों में तो और भी ज्यादा स्थिति खराब है। आज केरल में आखिर सवाल क्या है? यही तो है कि जो स्थिति पहले थी वही रहनी चाहिये, न तो

हमारे हाथ में तो कालेज है ही। इस तरह से संविधान में एक स्थिति के कारण जिसे विकेन्द्रीकरण कहते हैं, जिस चीज को हम डेमोक्रेसी में बढ़ाना चाहते हैं वह आज हमारे लिये अभिशाप बन गया है। मेरा यह कहना है कि इसका उपचार हो सकता है और वह उपचार क्या है? आपको इस समय बहुमत मिला है और आप इस समय आमूल परिवर्तन शिक्षा में कर सकते हैं। जैसा कि प्रस्तावक महोदय ने कहा कि सिवाय आमूल चूल परिवर्तन के और कोई उपाय नहीं है, तो मेरा भी आप से यह कहना है कि आप इस सम्बन्ध में साहस के साथ कदम उठाइये और जो पाई लिखाई के विभिन्न टायर्स हैं, विभिन्न जिम्मेदारियां हैं जो उन्हें नहीं निभाता है, उन्हें आप खत्म करे। (समय की घटी) बस मुझे इतना ही कहना है और मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

**SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra):** Sir, I feel that the House will be grateful to my friend, Shri Bipinpal Das, for having tabled this Resolution which aims at nothing less than a complete overhaul of the educational system of the country and urges upon the Government to take early and necessary steps in that direction.

Sir, we have been discussing this Resolution for the last two hours, rather three hours, and you must have noticed that everybody has expressed the deep concern and anxiety that he is feeling about the educational system. It means that we worried about the future generation. What is to happen to our sons and daughters? Sir, it will have to be admitted that this anxiety is not misplaced. There is hardly any university or educational institution in this country which has not witnessed untoward incidents, where the best and the foremost amongst our educationists have not been humiliated, ridiculed, gheraoed. So, Sir, it is really a question that must deserve our urgent attention. But, as soon as we try to touch that problem we find that it is bristling with difficul-

ties. During the last 25 years, we have neglected this subject. Not that there were no committees who were specially constituted to go into it and make their own recommendations. Committee after committee was there. But somehow it has happened that it has not been possible for Central Government or the State Governments to implement these recommendations and now our educational system has become a veritable jungle of problems. Our Education Minister must be a very courageous and bold man indeed if he were to claim that during his regime he would clear the jungle. It is almost impossible, because we have neglected it for the last 25 years. There has not been a determined policy which we pursued ourselves and asked the States to pursue. We have not tried to weed out those elements which were always coming in the way of removing those hurdles, which were making it impossible for us to pursue any policy. Therefore, Sir, if we really want to overhaul the educational system, a tremendous effort, a determined effort, will have to be put into it and I do not know whether the Central Government is in any mood to do it.

Sir, as the mover of the Resolution has pointed out, it is a multi-faceted problem. The examination system is there, the structure is there, the question of fees is there, and the question of textbooks is there. Numerous problems are there and at every turn you find that you come up against a hurdle which it is difficult to negotiate.

Sir, I will not deal with all these problems. But, if we accept that the object of the educational system is to create a new man, a new mental outlook, a new attitude, then, Sir, as far as I am concerned, personally I will not fight shy of the word 'regimentation'. There will have to be some regimentation. If you do not like that word, use the word 'orientation'.

[Shri N. G. Goray]

I have no objection to that. If you really want to discard some of the old systems, if you really want to have what to have what my friend, the mover of the Resolution has called Socialism, Democracy and Secularism, how will it be possible to fit all these revolutionary ideas into the system that we have inherited? This whole system was never created for this. The whole system had certain objectives. It was created by the British for their own ends and if we try to fit into that system the whole new set of ideas, as fundamentally different from the old system as Secularism, Democracy and Socialism, I think it will be an impossible task. Therefore, right from the primary education to the University education the whole educational system, the text books, the teaching, everything will have to be reoriented. Are we ready to do that? It is really a challenge to us, of this generation, who want to re-orient the existing system.

Sir, we talk about secularism. What does it really mean? We talk of national integration. What do we mean? If you really want to have it, is it possible to achieve national integration in every town, every city, where there are educational institutions, where there are hostels, where there are scholarships of various denominations? 'This is a hostel for Jain boys; this is a hostel for Sikhs; this a hostel for Muslims; this is a hostel for Brahmins'. All the life of a student is spent in that narrow circle of a community, and in all for two or three hours in a day the boys and girls move together in the school or college, where you want to give them this new value of secularism and all the other things. How is that possible?

Therefore, a very simple question I would like to ask the Minister, that is, the Central Government is: Are we really honest when we say that we want to bring about national integration? The first thing we shall have to do is to abolish all the denominational

schools, colleges, scholarships, etc. You have to have an integrated society where this class consciousness will not obtain.

In a city like Poona which is known for its educational establishments, the municipal schools are as if reserved for the 4th class workers, labourers and so on. Then there are some private schools where admission is only for boys and girls who get more than sixty per cent of the marks. Then you will find public schools where the medium is through English. You will find that they are patronised exclusively by people who may be ministers or who may be presidents of district local boards or who may be coming from the IAS or ICS or executive cadres, because fees are such that no other student can hope to go there. And those students who go to such institutions naturally obtain a class orientation. Sir, in a city like Poona you will find that municipal schools are no schools at all. There no education is given. The teachers are absent. The examinations are nominal. And if you really examine a 7th class boy you will find that he does not deserve to sit even in the second class. This is the whole thing. Then there is mass copying, this and that. You know all the scandals.

Therefore I say that if you really want to tackle this problem you may not be able to tackle all the problems at the same time—you will have to begin somewhere. You will have to warn the States that no fooling will be allowed. This policy will have to be got through. Have you got this determination? Even this modest Bill trying to modify some of the provisions of the Aligarh Muslim University Bill, about which a storm has been raised. And I am quite sure that if you bring a Bill about the Hindu University at Banaras yet another storm will come. If you want to have a Muslim University, a Hindu University, a Jain University and so on with what face are you going to face the future? It is not possible. We are trying to create a jungle and when

the jungle grows thick we say, "Well, we cannot do anything at all". Therefore, I would like to point out to the Minister that, if he is going to intervene at all, let him not say "All right, we are going to appoint a committee" because that is the easiest way of getting out of a problem. I am afraid he will assure us that a committee is being appointed to go into all these difficulties.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (PROF. S. NARUL HASAN) : That I won't do.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Thank you very much. I would beg of him, let him select two, three four or five—a certain number—problems. Let him identify them and let him decide how the Central Government will tackle those problems no matter whatever objections may be raised by any State—whether it is Kerala or U. P. or Bihar. That is the only way to go about it. The States must become aware of this fact that education is going to be a Central subject, Central subject in the sense that the Central is going to get itself involved deeply in education and it will not allow the States to go their own way, as they like. Unless this sort of new orientation is there it will become very difficult.

My friend rightly pointed out that you will have to prepare new text books. Right. What do you want to teach in history ? I come from Maharashtra and I have no hesitation in saying that the way history is being taught there is not proper. At least when I was a student we thought the whole history of India for the last one thousand years was nothing but a continuous struggle and confrontation between the Muslims and the Hindus. Having spent my boyhood years like that if you expect at the end of it that I should have friendship with the Muslims, I should look at all the problems in a non-communal manner it is impossible because my mind is already moulded; and the same thing hap-

pens to a Muslim boy. There is no contact between us at all. I openly confess that though I am staying in Poona for the last sixty years I have no muslim friend. Why ? Because the Muslims are apart, I am apart. Only on a platform we meet when there is a National Integration meeting and we speak from the same platform. That is all. Shivaji for us means resurgent Hinduism. Shivaji for us means one who fought with Aurangzeb and Aurangzeb for us simply means everything that was evil. That is how you teach history. When we talk of Panipat we always think "Oh ! We have lost".

Yesterday Mr. Abu Abraham told us to have a cricket match between the Pakistani and Indian teams. If such a match were to take place, I can tell you, it will be difficult to manage it. It is a very bright idea but, I tell you, it may bring about half a dozen communal riots. If the match is played here and the Hindus win, no communalism. But if the Muslims win, I am quite sure there will be trouble. And the same thing will happen if the Hindus go to Pakistan and the match is played there.

You know what Bhutto told the hockey players there—it is there in today's papers. "Your main aim is to defeat India. If you come back victorious there are prizes for you but if you are defeated you will be sent to jail." That is what he has said. Look here how is it possible to bring about national integration ?

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh) : May be a humorous remark.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Humour also reveals what we have in mind; humour is not unconnected with your deeper thoughts. Therefore Sir, I am saying that this is the atmosphere in which you have to fashion your new generation. I have always told my Maharashtrian friends because now I can speak openly to them. They know that I do

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not share their views on history. Now, whenever there is a story told about Shivaji Maharaj it is said that a daughter-in-law of a Muslim Sardar fell into his hands and he sent her back with honour and he said that if my mother had been so beautiful as you are I would have been also a handsome man. You go into the historical records, you will find no proof because no such event ever happened, but it is in every text-book, this story about the daughter-in-law of the Subedar of Kalyan. I tell my Maharashtrian friends that though this is fiction, a myth. It is a good thing; it shows how noble Shivaji was. That way it is all right but don't you remember that the daughter-in-law of Shivaji was in the hands of Aurangzeb for years, she and her son who became the Chhatrapathi after the death of Aurangzeb and he never touched them. Do the historians and the text-books tell this that Aurangzeb treated both Shivaji's grand-son and his mother with affection? No, because you want to project a particular image of Aurangzeb. That is the trouble. Therefore it is a very ticklish problem. If you want to amend the text-books like that there will be protests. People will say no, this cannot be tolerated. Therefore you will have to have courage; you will have to face this position and revise the text-books. There I am saying this question of orientation comes in; some people may call it regimentation. I say that without that sort of thing it will not be possible to raise our new generation. After all, in India we have been observing this caste system. Do you mean to say that without regimentation this came into being without our being told that a particular man is not to be touched? Do you mean to say it would have been possible without regimentation to create a whole class of pariahs? That would not have been possible. So our forefathers also practised regimentation because they wanted to create a chatur-

varna system. It might have been good for them; it is no longer good for us. We want to create a new system where not only those who belong to Hinduism are to be assimilated but those who are outside Hinduism are also to be assimilated in national integration. Therefore I say we will have to go deeper into it; we will have to follow a determined policy and for that, Sir, we will have to have a Minister who will be there in his position for at least two or three years. Otherwise my friend here will say, all right, I am going to do it and next month he will not be there and the new Minister will say, I will have to consider the problem *ab initio* and so it would go on. I wish what the mover of the Resolution has told today will lead to a new orientation in education, which will do away with all the problems that are bedevilling the whole educational system and endangering the future of our new generation.

DR. M. R. VYAS (Maharashtra) : It is rather late in the day and speakers before me have already raised several points and I would not like to be charged with repetition.

First of all I would like to congratulate the mover of the Resolution for the excellent spirit which his Resolution reveals. I am afraid this is only a very small drop in the big ocean of thoughtlessness on this very vital question in the nation's progress. When we talk of education I am always reminded of an incident that I had the experience to go through, and that was at the end of the last War, when I was in a prison camp along with several top scientists from Germany. All of us were completely without anything, without even a thing like pen, not to talk of any other aids of life. Now, at one of the hearings a British officer questioned one of the German scientists along with me. He asked, "When do you think Germany will rise again?" The German scientist very boldly said, "Sir, give us five years of freedom and we will

show to you that we are ahead of you." I was surprised at this challenge and asked him how he was so confident of his country's future. He said, "They have taken your pen and they have taken my pen. They have taken my shirt and probably they have taken your shirt too. But something they have not taken from us and that is the brain". I very much agreed there because as you know the history within ten years after the day of redemption—that came to Germany in 1947—this country overtook Britain in the race for economic development and in several other things. And I always remember these words what we call the miracle of Japan and the miracle of Germany. What was this miracle? Having experienced the start of this miracle I always think that a very great share of that miracle goes to the credit of a very simple thing called 'education'.

Coming to the question of Indian education I am afraid the roots of the malady are very deep and they are as deep as 150 years.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. V. RAJU) :** You can continue your

speech on the next non-official day. It is 5 o'clock now.

Secretary will read the Message from the Lok Sabha.

# MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

## THE PAYMENT OF GRATUITY BILL, 1972

**SECRETARY :** Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha :—

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Payment of Gratuity Bill, 1972, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 3rd August, 1972."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) :** The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. on Monday.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 7th August, 1972.