

# DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : DR. BHAI MAHAVIR. There are a large number of speakers on the list. I would request Members to be very brief.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi) : You want the Members to be not only brief but very brief. I am an exception because I have to open the discussion.

उपसभापति जी, शिक्षा मंत्रालय की चर्चा करते हुये सब से पहले जब हम अपने देश की शिक्षा की तस्वीर पर नज़र डालते हैं तो मुझे शिक्षा मंत्री जी के साथ हमदर्दी होती है। मुझे दिखाई देता है कि आज हमारे देश में शिक्षा, उच्चस्तर की शिक्षा, विश्वविद्यालयों की स्थिति ऐसी बनी हुई है कि शायद ही किसी सभ्य देश में इस तरह की शिक्षा की स्थिति दिखाई दे। युनिवर्सिटियों के अन्दर हमले हो रहे हैं। वाइसचांसलरों के ऊपर कातिलाना हमले जो अलीगढ़ से शुरू हुये थे वे अभी समाप्त नहीं हुये। राजस्थान भी उस श्रेणी में आया। हम अभी बिहार में थे। हमने सुना कि बिहार का सब से बड़ा कालेज जो छपरा में है उसके प्रिंसिपल पर कातिलाना हमला किया गया और उसी तरह का हमला मुजफ्फरपुर के कालेज के प्रिंसिपल के ऊपर भी हुआ है। एक में कत्ल कामियाब हुआ और दूसरे में शायद कामियाबी नहीं मिली। महोदय, वाराणसी विश्वविद्यालय के छात्र संघ के अध्यक्ष का कत्ल हुआ। ये सब नक्सलवादियों के किये हुये कारनामे नहीं हैं। ये हमारे देश की एक बड़ी पुरानी और बड़ी गहरी बीमारी जातिवाद के कड़वे फल हैं। यह जातिवाद का कड़वा फल इन हत्याकांडों में दिखाई देता है, कत्ल करने की कोशिशों में नज़र आता है। ये कड़वे फल हमारे देश

की सारी शिक्षा व्यवस्था को अस्तव्यस्त करने में सफल हो चुके हैं। दिखाई यह देता है कि जिन विश्वविद्यालयों के ऊपर कभी यह देश नाज़ कर सकता था, गौरव अनुभव कर सकता था वहाँ पर ऊपर से ले कर नीचे तक नियुक्तियों के अन्दर जिस तरह का पक्षपात चल रहा है और जातिवाद के आधार पर या अपने कुछ लोगों को अपना कृपामात्र मान कर जिन स्थानों पर उनका कोई अधिकार नहीं है, जिन के लिये उनमें कोई योग्यता नहीं है, उन पर उनको नियुक्त करने की कोशिश से जो स्थिति पैदा हुई है उस सारी स्थिति को देख कर आज हमारी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था में समझता हूँ कि क्याटिक से कम नहीं है। गोरखपुर यूनिवर्सिटी के जो समाचार छपे हैं उनको देख रहा था। 77 ऐसे कालेज हैं पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट और दूसरे जो गोरखपुर यूनिवर्सिटी से संबद्ध हैं, लेकिन समाचार पत्रों में जो छपा है उसको माना जाय तो नियमों के अनुसार उन में से केवल 10 कालेज शायद इस के पात्र माने जा सकते हैं कि वह यूनिवर्सिटी के साथ संबद्ध रहें। स्थिति उन की यह है कि यदि कमरे हैं तो उन कमरों में फरनीचर नहीं, ऐसे ऐसे कालेजों के उदाहरण दिये गये कि जहाँ पर ब्लैक बोर्ड तक नहीं है, लेकिन हेड आफ दी डिपार्टमेंट हैं जिन की कोई रिसर्च नहीं, जिनको पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट टीचिंग का कोई तजुर्बा नहीं, लेकिन फिर भी सीनियर ग्रेड में चुन लिये गये हैं इस लिए कि जो बासज हैं, जो बड़े आका हैं वह उनकी जाति बिरादरी के हैं। यह जो स्थिति है उस सारी स्थिति को देख कर मुझे लगता है कि जब हम इस को एक ला एंड आर्डर का प्रावलम मान कर पुलिस के डंडे से इस को हल करने की कोशिश करते हैं तो ऐसा करके हम छात्रों

[Dr. Bhai Mahavir]

के प्रति भी अन्याय करते हैं और अपने आप के प्रति भी अन्याय करते हैं। मैंने किसी जगह पढ़ा था कि :

If a doctor commits a mistake, that mistake is buried in the grave-yard. If a lawyer commits a mistake, it is buried in the heaps of files. But if a teacher commits a mistake, it is reflected in the character of the nation.

यहां पर एक टीचर गलती करता है। यही नहीं, उन टीचरों को नियुक्त करने वाले यूनिवर्सिटी के नायब विधाता इस तरह की नीतियों पर चल रहे हैं, उनमें इस तरह का पूर्वाग्रह और प्रवृत्तियाँ दिखायी देती हैं कि उसके कारण हमारे देश की आज जो स्थिति बनी हुई है वह तो है ही, उसके लिए भले ही कोई राजनीतिज्ञों को जिम्मेवार, ठहराये, या पालिटिकल पार्टियों का जिम्मेवार ठहराये, लेकिन आज जो अन्याय दिखायी देता है हमारे स्कूलों, कॉलेजों या अन्य शिक्षा संस्थानों में उसकी तस्वीर इतनी भयावनी है कि मैं समझता हूँ कि शिक्षा मंत्री जी उसको शीघ्र ही सुधारने की कोशिश करेंगे और इसके लिए उन को समय देना चाहिए। उनका ध्यान शायद उस तरफ है लेकिन उनको सुधारने की कोशिश की पहली शर्त यह है कि इस बीमारी के जो कीटाणु हैं उनका पहले वह विश्लेषण करें, उसके कारण एक बार वे देख लें। मैं उदाहरण के तौर पर बनारस विश्वविद्यालय की बात आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ जो आज हमारे देश के अस्त-व्यस्त शिक्षा संस्थानों का एक नमूना बन कर हमारे सामने रह गया है। पिछले दिनों, जैसा मैंने कहा, यूनि-

वर्सिटी मितम्बर क महीने में वाइस चांसलर ने बंद की और तब की जब एम० ए० के एक छात्र गोपाल त्रिपाठी ने कहा कि पमानी फैकल्टी के जितने छात्र फेल हुए हैं उनको पास कर दिया जाय नहीं तो मैं 24 घंटे के अंदर अपने आप को जला कर भस्म कर लूंगा। इतना शौर्य अगर किसी अच्छे काम के लिए दिखाया जाता तो शायद यह देश उस पर अपना मस्तक उंचा कर सकता था, लेकिन हमारे छात्र, हमारे नौजवान बीरता या साहस अगर दिखाने भी लगे हैं तो किसके लिए दिखाने लगे हैं, ऐसी बातों के लिए कि जिनको देख कर शर्म से सिर झुक जाता है। यूनिवर्सिटी बंद हुई। वाइस चांसलर ने बयान दिया कि ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हो गई है कि जिस के लिए कठोर कार्यवाही करनी पड़ेगी। कठोर कार्यवाही कितने दिनों से की जा रही है। डा० जोशी को इसी वास्ते हटाया गया था कि वह कठोर कार्यवाही करने में विश्वास रखते थे। लेकिन कठोर कार्यवाही करने के पहले आप का जो छात्रों के प्रति भाव है वह दिखायी देना चाहिए कि आप गलत आदमियों को आश्रय नहीं देंगे, सही आदमियों को ऊपर उठायेंगे और जो शरारती और बदमाश होंगे वह आप के कार्यालय में पनप नहीं सकेंगे। महोदय मुझे दुख है कि ऐसी स्थिति बनारस विश्वविद्यालय में वहां के उपकुलपति पैदा नहीं कर सके। उन्होंने 200 के करीब छात्रों के खिलाफ—यदि मेरी जानकारी सही है तो—कार्यवाही की होगी उनको निकाला होगा या उन का निलंबन किया होगा। लेकिन उनमें से आधे से ज्यादा कोर्ट में जाकर के उनके आर्डर को रिवर्स करवा कर आये हैं। महोदय, जब छात्रों को यह कहते हैं तब देखें कि

आपने किन लोगों को प्रभय दिया है, किनको बढ़ाया है। एक सज्जन हैं जिन्होंने अपनी डिग्रियों के बारे में गलत तथ्य दे कर के नौकरी कर ली, श्री हरिहर नाथ शास्त्री, पोलिटिकल साइंस के प्रोफेसर, और जब उनके झूठ का पता चला तो 1969 ई० में वह सस्पेंड किये गये, वह कोर्ट में चले गये और मामले को स्टे करवा दिया और स्टे आर्डर के बाद दो वर्ष तक स्टे को एविकट करने की और उनके खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही करने की कोशिश नहीं की गई और अन्त में उनके केस को विद्वदा करके उनको फिर नौकरी में लिया गया, काम पर लगाया गया। तो छात्रों से क्या अपेक्षा की जाती है। वहां जिनके खिलाफ झूठ बोलने के आरोप सिद्ध होते हैं उन्हें भी यूनिवर्सिटी हटाना नहीं चाहनी तो हमें बताना पड़ेगा कि यूनिवर्सिटी की यह कितनी उदारता है और उन्होंने किस कारण से यह किया। एक दूसरे सज्जन है श्री ज्योति भूषण गुप्ता। एक स्टूडेंटलाइनिंग कमेटी बनाई गई थी उसके मेम्बर हैं, यूनियन के कांस्टीट्यूशन में संशोधन करने की जो कमेटी है उसके सदस्य है। वह कोन से शिक्षा-शास्त्री हैं। क्या उनकी योग्यता है। उनकी यूनिवर्सिटी को क्या देन है। वह एक देन है कि वह यूनिवर्सिटी के ट्रेजरर थे और जब ट्रेजरर थे तो उनके खिलाफ यूनिवर्सिटी के फंड में गड़बड़ करने के आरोप लगे थे और वे आरोप साबित हुये थे। उन्होंने और जो कुछ काम किया, जो पालिटिक्स है, उसके बीच में मैं नहीं जाता, परन्तु मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह हटाये गये थे जबकि डा० त्रिगुण सेन जोकि हमारे इस सदन के माननीय सदस्य हैं वह वहां पर वाइस चांसलर थे लेकिन उसके बाद उनको फिर से किस योग्यता के कारण, किस आधार

पर, इन कमेटियों में लिया गया। वह पूंजीपति जरूर हैं, पैसे वाले जरूर हैं लेकिन इस कारण से उनको यूनिवर्सिटी के अन्दर लाये, उनको आप कमेटियों में रखें जैसे कि वह कोई बड़े शिक्षाविद् के रूप में बैठ कर के कोई बड़ी सलाह देने की योग्यता रखते हों। यह कुछ सम्भव में आने वाली बात नहीं है।

महोदय, चीफ प्राक्टर ये डा० रतौड़ी जिनको रजिस्ट्रार बनाया गया। जब वह चीफ प्राक्टर थे तो अनुशासन बिगड़ता रहा और होस्टल के अन्दर गड़बड़ी होती रही और मुना है कि डा० श्रीमाली ने उनको यह कहा कि प्राक्टर तो क्या आपको चपरासी होने की भी योग्यता नहीं है। फिर उनको रजिस्ट्रार नियुक्त किया गया। तो छात्र चाहेंगे, देश चाहेंगे, देश की सोचने सम्भने वाली जनता पूछेगी कि अगर आप इस तरह के लोगों को प्रश्रय दे कर आगे बढ़ाते हैं तो प्रश्न यह उठता है कि आप छात्रों से किस तरह के अनुशासन की अपेक्षा करते हैं।

इसी तरह से एक हिन्दी संस्थान बनाया गया और उसके निदेशक के रूप में डा० ज्ञानवर्ता त्रिवेदी को नियुक्त किया गया, उनको भी नियुक्त करने पर हाई कोर्ट में उनके खिलाफ कोई अपील हुई और उनकी नियुक्ति एक प्रिंसिपल के रूप में जो पहले हुई थी वह रद्द हो चुकी थी। लेकिन इनकी योग्यता क्या है। हिन्दी माहिस्य के सब से बड़े रिसर्च के एक ऐसे संस्थान के प्रमुख के रूप में उनकी नियुक्ति के लिये योग्यता क्या है। यह बताया जाना है कि उनका केन्द्रीय सरकार के किसी मंत्री से निकट सम्बन्ध है। मैं नहीं जानता यह सच है या गलत है लेकिन मैं

[Dr. Bhai Mahavir]

जानना चाहूँगा कि अगर इस तरह की बातें छात्रों के मन में हैं तो आप इसका निराकरण करने के लिये क्या कार्यवाही कर रहे हैं और लोगों के मन में भरोसा दिलाने के लिये क्या कार्यवाही कर रहे हैं ?

महोदय, उपकुलपति ने आनन्द कुमार के ऊपर जब बयान दिया, युनिवर्सिटी बन्द किया तो आनन्द कुमार ने क्या-क्या किया, छात्र संघ के प्रधान ने बहुत बड़े आरोप लगाये, सारी गड़बड़ी करने की जिम्मेदारी का आरोप आनन्द कुमार पर था। क्या यह चुनाव में जीत कर के छात्र संघ में आये ? यह युवजन सभा के नेता जरूर थे, लेकिन चुनाव में पराजित थे और जिस वक्त छात्र संघ का जो चुनाव हुआ प्रधान था, वह कत्ल कर दिया गया युनिवर्सिटी में तो उस वक्त वाइस-चांसलर महोदय ने इनको नामिनेट किया, जिनके पीछे छात्र नहीं थे, उनको नामिनेट किया और नामिनेटेड प्रेसिडेंट के रूप में इन्होंने मन-मानी बातें की, जो बड़े-बड़े आचार्य थे उनका अपमान किया, कहीं हाथापाई की, वहीं पर जा कर फाँकल्टी के कमरे को ताला लगाया और यह सब कुछ उपकुलपति महोदय, देखते रहे। इसके बाद कुछ छात्रों को, जो प्रोफेशनल स्टूडेंट लीडर्स हैं, जिन्होंने डा० जोशी के साथ झगड़ा किया था, हाथापाई की थी, कई तरह के बायलेंस के, ला एंड आर्डर के और दूसरे कारनामे जिनके इतिहास में हैं, मजूमदार, यदुनन्दन सिंह, दीपक मलिक ये सब लोग जिनके खिलाफ गम्भीर आरोप थे, डा० श्रीमाली ने न केवल उनको बापस लिया, बल्कि जो किसी नियम के अनुसार नहीं मिल सकता था उनको कमरा दिया गया, उनको आर्थिक

सहायता दी गई और यह सारा कुछ करने के बाद हम सोचते हैं कि वहाँ पर अव्यवस्था न पैदा हो।

1 P. M.

महोदय, अध्यापक सच ने जो प्रस्ताव पास किया है, उसके अन्दर इन सारी बातों की आलोचना की है और कहा है कि युनिवर्सिटी के अन्दर जो प्रशासन है वह इन सारी गड़बड़ियों का जिम्मेदार है। लेकिन बनारस युनिवर्सिटी की कहानी केवल इतनी ही नहीं है।

श्री उप सभापति : अभी आप कितना समय लेंगे।

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : I should have about 12 minutes more. I have been handicapped. It is sitting tight on many schemes and

अभी तो मैंने शुरू ही किया है। मैं तो यह सोच रहा था कि मुझे दूसरे नम्बर पर बोलना है।

महोदय, ब्राह्मण ठाकुरवाद है, ठाकुरवाद भूमिहारवाद है या ब्राह्मणवाद है, लेकिन हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश के विश्वविद्यालय, बिहार के विश्वविद्यालय इस गहराई के अन्दर इतने घसे हैं कि समझ में नहीं आता है कि इतने बड़े प्रयास के बाद भी वे उसमें से क्यों नहीं निकल सके हैं।

महोदय, हमन डा० श्रीमाली का भी बात सुनी और उन्होंने भी कहा है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार और युनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन It is sitting tight on many schemes and many proposals for the improvement of university administration and education. अगर उनका भी कहना माना

जाय कि युनिवर्सिटियों के अन्दर इतनी तादाद बढ़ी है, लेकिन इन 24 वर्षों में वहाँ पर कोई भी नया कालेज खोलने नहीं दिया गया। मैं डा० श्रीमाली का सम्मान करता हूँ। उनकी सारी नीतियाँ गलत होते हुए भी मैं समझता हूँ कि आखिर उनकी बात में अवश्य कोई अर्थ होगा। उनका कहना है कि दिल्ली के अन्दर जब इतने कालेज खुल सकते हैं, तो वह कौनसी चीज है कि इन 24 वर्षों के अन्दर बनारस के अन्दर दूसरे कालेज खोलने की इजाजत नहीं दी जाती है और न ही यू० जी० सी० की तरफ से इजाजत मिलती है। यह प्रश्न बनारस का श्रीमाली खुद उठाते हैं, तो उसके बाद यह कहना कि केवल उन्हीं का दोष है, शायद यह ठीक नहीं होगा। उनका दोष जितना है उसकी तरफ मैंने इशारा कर दिया है। लेकिन मैं इस समय यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब हम छात्रों को दोषी पाते हैं, वहाँ पर जब बर्बर हो जाता है, मारपीट हो जाती है, अध्यापकों का अपमान हो जाता है, उस समय हम समझते हैं कि गड़बड़ी हो गई और किन्हीं छात्रों को निकाल देते हैं। वहाँ पर डा० जोशी के समय यह बात हुई थी और उसके बाद गजेन्द्र-गड़कर आयोग बना। उस आयोग की मैंने यहाँ पर आलोचना की थी, यह मुझे याद है। उस समय मैंने कहा था कि अब यूनिवर्सिटी के अन्दर किसी सैल्फ रैस्पॉन्सिबिलिटी शिक्षा विद को एक वाइस चान्सलर के रूप में सफलता पूर्वक काम करने दोगे या नहीं या फिर उसके हाथ पैरों पर रस्सी बांध कर जकड़ दोगे। जब मैं कहता हूँ उनको अधिकार दो, तो मैं यह अपेक्षा रखता हूँ कि वह अपने अधिकारों का उपयोग इस तरह से करेगा कि कोई भी छात्र यह

नहीं कह सकेगा कि हमारे अधिकारों को रौंदा जा रहा है या हमारी बोलें ठीक तरह से सुनने के लिए कोई तैयार नहीं है।

श्रीमन्, जहाँ एक तरफ इस तरह के सवाल हैं, वहाँ दूसरी तरफ इस देश के अन्दर, बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी के अलावा दूसरी युनिवर्सिटीज जो हैं, उनके अन्दर भी इस तरह की कई बातें हमें देखने को मिलेंगी। मैंने पिछले दिनों एक सवाल अलीगढ़ युनिवर्सिटी के सम्बन्ध में उठाया था। यहाँ पर अलीगढ़ युनिवर्सिटी के छात्र नेता आये थे और उन्होंने एक आन्दोलन किया था। श्री नरुल हसन अलीगढ़ युनिवर्सिटी में रहते हैं इसलिए मैंने उस समय वहाँ की एक घटना का हवाला दिया था। मैं इस समय उन बातों में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। अलीगढ़ युनिवर्सिटी के सम्बन्ध में जो यह कहा जाता है कि उसका माइनारिटी करैक्टर रहना चाहिये उसके सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। इस नाम के ऊपर युनिवर्सिटी के लोगों ने, युनिवर्सिटी के कर्त्तवियों ने युनिवर्सिटी के फंड्स देकर छात्रों को यहाँ भेज कर आन्दोलन करवाया और इस काम के लिए चैक जिस तरह से निकाला गया युनिवर्सिटी एकाउन्ट्स से, उसके बारे में जानकारी मिली है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर जो घटना घटी थी, वाइस चान्सलर के ऊपर हमला हुआ था। वाइस चान्सलर ने उसके बाद जिन तरह से आसुधों में डुबोकर के अपने दिल की गाथा लिखी थी उसको पढ़ने के बाद सरकार ने कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की और सरकार भी चुप बैठी हुई है। इतनी देर बीतने के बाद जो वहाँ पर विघटनकारी तत्व हैं उन्हें फिर से सिर उठाकर कहने का मौका मिल गया है कि इस युनिवर्सिटी का मुस्लिम करैक्टर होना

[Dr. Bhai Mahavir]

चाहिये। यह मुस्लिम करंबटर क्या होता है, कौन सा करंबटर किम यूनिवर्सिटी का है? अगर इस देश के अन्दर इस तरह के रंग बना कर चला जायेगा तो फिर भविष्य में क्या स्थिति होगी यह नहीं कहा जा सकता है। केन्द्रीय यूनिवर्सिटियाँ केन्द्रीय पैसे से चलती हैं और उनके अन्दर कोई अरबिक या मुस्लिम फिलासफी पढ़ाई जाय तो इसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। लेकिन मुस्लिम करंबटर का मतलब क्या यह लिया जाता है कि यूनिवर्सिटी के अन्दर जो कालेज हैं उनको निकाल दिया जायेगा या आस-पास के जो छात्र हैं उनको उसमें सम्बन्धित नहीं होने दिया जायेगा; क्योंकि उसके अन्दर छात्रों का जो साम्प्रदायिक अनुपात है वह बदल जायेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह की जो मांग है उसे कोई भी सेक्यूलर या राष्ट्रीय नहीं कह सकता है और इस तरह से कहना उस शब्द के साथ अन्याय होगा। परन्तु हमारी सरकार बैठी देख रही है, इन्तजार कर रही है, शायद यह सोचती है कि अपने आप ही कोई हल निकल आएगा, अपने आप ही सब कुछ ठीक हो जाएगा। दूसरी तरफ ऐसे प्रश्न खड़े किए जा रहे हैं जैसे डेमोक्रेटाइजेशन दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी में। दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी में मेरा भी सम्बन्ध है, इसलिए मैं ज्यादा उसके सम्बन्ध में कहना उचित नहीं समझता, लेकिन एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, डेमोक्रेटाइजेशन के नाम पर कहा जा रहा है कि छात्रों को यूनिवर्सिटी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में हिस्सा दिया जाय और छात्रों को यूनिवर्सिटी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में हिस्सा देना बड़ी भारी प्रगतिवाद की बात समझी जाती है लेकिन

एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में हिस्सा देने के सम्बन्ध में आज छात्रों की स्थिति यह है कि आत्मदाह करके और फेल हुए छात्रों को पाम करवाना अपना धन्धा समझ रहे हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में उनके भाग लेने का यह अर्थ होगा कि उनके हाथ में यह अधिकार हो कि पर्वे कौन बनाए, पर्वे कैसे बनाए जायें, क्वेश्चन पेपर उनको दिया दिया जाय, किसको फर्स्ट क्लास, किसको सेकेंड क्लास दिया जाय इसके निर्णय का अधिकार उनको हो तब डेमोक्रेटाइजेशन होगा। डेमोक्रेटाइजेशन का मतलब मैं यह समझ सकता हूँ कि ऐसी कुछ गति-विधियाँ हैं जिनमें छात्रों को खुली छूट मिलनी चाहिए, आप वह उन्हें अवश्य दीजिए, लेकिन डेमोक्रेटाइजेशन के नाम पर कालजों में जो कुछ शिक्षा दी जाती है, जो विद्याभर्जन का वायुमंडल बना हुआ है उसको भी समाप्त करने की कोशिश की जा रही है। जो छात्रों के ऊपर संस्कार होने चाहिए एथिक्स के संस्कार और जो नैतिक मूल्य हैं उनसे हम छात्रों को सेक्युलरिज्म के नाम पर अलग करते जा रहे हैं और हम समझते हैं कि यह बड़े प्रगतिवाद की बात है, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि देश के भविष्य को अन्यकारमय बनाने के हम भागी होंगे, अगर हमने इस स्थिति को बदलने की कोशिश नहीं की। डेमोक्रेटाइजेशन के नाम पर तजुर्वा दिल्ली में किया गया, सारी स्टाफ कौंसिल कालेज के हर मसले पर फैसला करे, डेढ़ सौ, दो सौ मेम्बर हैं, एक व्यक्ति उसके अन्दर अड़ जाता है और सारे व्यक्तियों के विचार में रोड़ा बन कर खड़ा हो जाता है। ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हो गई है। उसके अन्दर

गुटबन्धियां हैं, उसके अन्दर भगड़े हैं। क्या यह सुचारु है? हमने सुचारु के नाम पर ऐसा भूत खड़ा कर दिया है कि जो यूनिवर्सिटी की शिक्षा के अन्दर जो नैतिकता है उसके लिए खतरा बन रहा है। महोदय, यह प्रश्न केवल दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी के या दूसरी जगहों के ही नहीं हैं, इन सारे प्रश्नों का सम्बन्ध सरकार के रवैये से है और इस रवैये से मैं इस बात पर आना चाहता हूँ जो पिछले दिनों हमने जाकर मंत्री जी को भी कही।

एक चीज इससे पहले मैं कह दूँ दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी के बारे में। यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन ने इकानामी आफ चाइना की एक चेयर स्थापित की, एक विशेष पोस्ट क्रिएट की, एक विशेष एक्सपर्ट को अमेरिका से बुलवाया गया, कहा गया कि इसके लिए यह नियुक्ति की गई है, लेकिन यहां आने के बाद पोलिटिकल प्रेशर्स आए कि उसके विचार क्या हैं, कहीं वह यहां आकर ऐसी बात तो नहीं कह देगा कि जो यूनिवर्सिटी के या सरकार के बड़े लोगों को पसन्द न आए, इस वास्ते चेयर होते हुए भी, रुपया सेंक्शनड होने हुए भी वह चेयर खाली पड़ी है और चाइना की राजनीतिक दृष्टि से अलग-थलग भी रखें तो चाइना ने आर्थिक विकास कैसे किया, क्या उससे हमारे लिए शिक्षा मिल सकती है, क्या हम उससे कुछ सीख सकते हैं, इस विषय पर अध्ययन करने के लिए कोई केन्द्र बन सके इसके रास्ते में रुकावट पैदा हो गई?

महोदय, मैं जिस सवाल का जिक्र आपके सामने करना चाहता था वह है—नूरुल हसन साहब के पास जाकर पहले भी हम इस बारे

में कह चुके हैं—सप्रू हाउस लाइब्रेरी। हो सकता है नूरुल हसन साहब आसान रास्ता निकाल लें और कह दें कि इंडियन स्कूल आफ इंटरनेशनल स्टडीज भी आजाद चीज है, जवाहरलाल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी से सम्बन्धित है इंडियन कौंसिल आफ वर्ल्ड अफेयर्स ये दोनों ऑटोनोमस बाडी हैं, सरकार उसमें क्या कर सकती है? यह बात कानूनी और टेक्नीकल पहलू से सही होते हुए भी मैं उनका ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा कि यह सवाल पहले भी उठा था और जैसा सवा सी संसद् सदस्यों ने लिखा है उनको पत्र भेजा है, उसमें उन्होंने यह इच्छा व्यक्त की है, यह मांग की है कि यूनिवर्सिटी का एक एन्टीगल करेक्टर है, उसका एक सजीव इकाई के रूप में अस्तित्व है। वह कोई जमीन या जायदाद नहीं है जिसके हिस्से करके आप दो लहने वाले भाइयों को अलग-अलग दे देंगे, उसको आप एक अनुसन्धान के, शोध के केन्द्र के रूप में—जैसी वह बनी है, कम से कम इस देश के अन्दर उसका एक स्थान बना है—विकसित होने दीजिए। लेकिन कहा जा रहा है कि नहीं, सरकार उसमें क्या कर सकती है। सरकार कर सकती है और सरकार को करना चाहिए। यह मैं कह सकता हूँ; क्योंकि डा० बी० के० आर० बी० राव ने जब वे शिक्षा मंत्री थे, इस तरह का आश्वासन दिया था। हमने जब यह बात प्रो० नूरुल हसन साहब से कही तो उनके पास एक कटिंग थी और उन्होंने उस कटिंग को पढ़ कर हमें सुनाया कि ऐसा कोई आश्वासन उनके सामने नहीं आया। उनकी जानकारी के लिए मैं टाइम्स आफ इंडिया की रिपोर्ट जो 10 अक्टूबर, '69 की है उसमें से दो लाइन पढ़ूंगा, जिससे वे उस पर विचार कर सकें।

[Dr. Bhai Mahabir]

"Another recommendation accepted is about retaining the present organic character of the joint library of ICIC and the Indian Council of World Affairs in Sapru House Library-".

तो यह रिकमेंडेशन है। "डा० राव रेस्टोस आई० सी० आई सी०" इस शीर्षक से प्रकाशित हुआ था। इसके बाद पिछले दिनों में एक नेशनल सिम्पोजियम हुआ था सप्रु हाउस लाइब्रेरी पर। उस सिम्पोजियम में इस देश के और दूसरे देशों के स्कालर्स ने आ कर के जो प्रस्ताव पास किया उसकी नकल मेरे पास है। उन्होंने यह कहा था :

"That the integrated character of the Sapru House Library shall not be allowed to be disturbed by any partition or division;

"That the Sapru House Library shall continue to be housed in Sapru House.

"That the Nation shall not be forced to bear an avoidable and wasteful expenditure of a crore of rupees, which any shifting would inevitably involve; and

"That it shall be accorded the status of a National Library forthwith."

This is the Resolution.

यह प्रस्ताव था और इस प्रस्ताव के पाँछे जो भावना है, मैं चाहूंगा कि मंत्री जी उसका आदर करें। जो पत्र छपे हैं, उनके अन्दर एक सवाल उठाया गया है। जो स्कूल आफ इंटरनेशनल स्टडीज है उसके बारे में कहा जा रहा है कि वह जवाहरलाल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी से सम्बद्ध है, इसलिये वह वहाँ जायेगा। मैं मंत्री जी से पूछना चाहूंगा कि दो-ढाई साल पहले 20

लाख रु० के खर्च से सप्रु हाउस के पास ही जो स्कूल आफ इंटरनेशनल स्टडीज की बिल्डिंग बनी है, क्या वह टूटने लग गई, क्या वह नाकाफी है? उस बिल्डिंग का पूरा उपयोग अभी शुरू नहीं हुआ है। आगे के करीब वह किराये पर दी गई है। तो क्या जरूरत पड़ गई है कि आज उस स्कूल को हटा कर के हम उसको 15 मील आगे जवाहरलाल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी के कैंपस में ले जायें। हमारे मन में अगर यह कल्पना है कि इस यूनिवर्सिटी के अन्दर ज्यादा से ज्यादा संस्थाएं इकट्ठा कर के और ज्यादा से ज्यादा छात्रों की तादाद इकट्ठा कर के हम नेहरू जी के प्रति बड़ा मान प्रकट कर रहे हैं तो हम गलतफहमी में हैं। नेहरू जी का मान इन चीजों का मोहनाज नहीं है। मेरा यह निवेदन है कि 20 लाख रु० के खर्च के बाद भी आज हम उस स्कूल को यों ही क्यों छोड़ देना चाहते हैं। क्या आप को सारे छात्रों को वहीं पर इकट्ठा करना है? जवाहरलाल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी तो खड़ग-वामला और देहरादून की डिफेंस अकेडेमीज को अपने साथ सम्बद्ध करना चाहती है। उसके बाद भी क्या वह बाराखम्बा रोड के पास के एक स्कूल को नहीं रहने दे सकती? क्या यहाँ पर उनको ज्यादा दूरी महसूस होती है? मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे जैसे गरीब देश में इस तरह से रुपया फेंकने के लिये हमारे पास नहीं है। आप चाहते हों तो उसको आप ले लीजिये। एक बार जब हम मिले प्रोफेसर साहब से तो उन्होंने कहा कि कुछ निजी लोगों के हाथ में, कुछ प्राइवेट हैंड्स में जितनी बड़ी वैल्यू पड़ी रहने देना उन्हें मंजूर नहीं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह केवल इकोनामिक सवाल नहीं है कि कौन



कंट्रोल करेगा पूंजी को, किसी इंडस्ट्रियल पावर को। यह तो एजुकेशनल सवाल है और इसको इस तरह से बांटना नहीं चाहिये। परन्तु यदि आपको ऐसा लगता है कि किसी बाडी के हाथों में इसको इस तरह से नहीं रहना चाहिये तो आप इसको ले लीजिये और एक एकाई के रूप में इसे रखिये और एक एकाई के रूप में इसे उसी जगह चलाइये, जहाँ पर अधिक से अधिक जो शोध छात्र है, जो रिसर्च स्कालर हैं, जो दूसरे विद्वान हैं, वे इसका लाभ उठा सकें। मेरे पास आंकड़े हैं। समय न होने के कारण मैं उनको बता नहीं सकता। लेकिन इतना अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस लाइब्रेरी का जितना उपयोग यहाँ पर, जितने छात्र इसका उपयोग यहाँ पर करते हैं, वहाँ पर जाने से उतने छात्र इसका उपयोग कर नहीं पायेंगे। यह ठीक है कि वेस्टेड इंस्ट्रुमेंट कुछ लोगों का इसे वहाँ ले जाने में है। इस आंदोलन के पीछे उनका कुछ स्वार्थ है और उसके कारण वे अपना दूसरा स्वर भी उठाते हैं। मैं चाहूँगा कि मंत्री जी इसको वास्तविक रूप में लें। ये छोटे-छोटे सवाल हैं। सप्रू हाउस लाइब्रेरी का सवाल बड़ा नहीं है। शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में जो आज देश की दुरवस्था बन रही है, जो यूनिवर्सिटीयों के अन्दर आज अस्तव्यस्तता है, उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे नेताओं को और सरकार को सोचना चाहिये कि उसका क्या करना है। प्रधान मंत्री से लेकर नीचे तक बार-बार यह कहा जाता है कि यह शिक्षा ठीक नहीं, और इस शिक्षा को बदलना होगा। कौन बदलेगा। जिन्होंने बदलना है वह भी हम से आ कर कहते हैं कि बदलना होगा। बदलना है माना, लेकिन उस के लिए कोई अवतार लेगा क्या और

वह आ कर हमारा शिक्षा को बदलेगा। अगर इस अस्तव्यस्तता को बदलना है तो आप को बदलना है और अगर इसको बदलना है तो उस के लिए क्या सौ, दो सौ साल इंतजार करने की जरूरत है। सरकार और हमारे मंत्री जी इस के विषय में गंभीर चिंतन करें। इस काम में जिन लोगों के विचारों का सहयोग लेने की जरूरत हो देश में, वह इसमें अवश्य सहयोग देंगे, लेकिन बुनियादी चीज यह है कि आज हमारी शिक्षा एक अर्थ में मंटीरियलिस्टिक ढंग की हो रही है जिसमें नैतिक मूल्य समाप्त हो रहे हैं सेकुलरिज्म के नाम पर, इसको रोकना होगा। दूसरे, यह स्वच्छंदता जो बढ़ रही है इस तरह की कि किसी भी बंधन को नहीं मानेंगे, बुनियादी बंधनों को तोड़ने की भावना, वह इस को ले कर चल रही है और इस में खाज और कोढ़ की बीमारी के जो पूर्वाग्रह हैं, हमारे समाज के कोढ़, वह सहायक हो कर लग रहे हैं, उन के गुलाम बन कर हम इन यूनिवर्सिटीज को भी उनके अन्दर फंसे हुए देखते हैं। ऐसा लगता है कि इस सारी स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए शिक्षा मंत्रालय अभी तक कुछ नहीं कर रहा। मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि इस सारे मामले पर मंत्री जी गौर से विचार करें और फिर हमें बतावें कि इस को सुधारने के लिए वे क्या कर रहे हैं।

धन्यवाद।

MR. DHPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2 P. M.

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

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

DR. V. B. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, while resuming the debate after Lunch, I would refer to the previous speaker before Lunch and would like to make one or two points. In the first place the national Parliament should not be treated like the Senates of the Universities of Aligarh and Delhi. The national issues which are to be discussed they are to be discussed. There is a fundamental difference between Banaras University and the Aligarh University on the one hand and the Delhi University on the other. The first two are meant to be residential and non federating whereas Delhi University is a federating University since its inception. Therefore if colleges are affiliated in Delhi and not in Banaras, it is not the fault of the Government because the constitution of the Universities are as the originators of the ideas of these Universities wanted them to be. It has been said that in the name of democratisation 150 to 200 teachers are collected in the Delhi colleges and they come to no decisions. The advocates of fascism said the same about Parliament, that the elected representatives of the people, hundreds in number, cannot come to any rational decision, and that there must be a philosopher king. But the country has rejected the idea of a philosopher king and has accepted democracy.

I think the proper perspective for discussing the work of Education Ministry would be in the context of Article 45 in the Chapter on Directive Principles which provides for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years; and item 66 of the Union List in the Seventh Schedule which provides for coordination and determination of standards in institutions of higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions. In the context of our planning and development an addi-

tional dimension can be added as education trains skilled manpower for various branches of nation building as well as it creates attitude and intellectual climate for economic development. This is why the Kothari Commission report is entitled: 'Education and National Development'.

The Government has now taken up the question of primary compulsory education because of the electoral commitments. But the report does not reveal any serious plan on the subject. On page 3, it states:

"In order to make school education meaningful and practical financial sanction has been given for the introduction of work experience in 1000 selected middle schools in the country to start with. All these programmes will cost Rs. 4.4 crores".

This financial approach obviously implies that in schools other than these one thousand education continues to be non-meaningful and impractical. Now this admission has no meaning. If education has to be meaningful it must be not in selected schools but in all the schools and for that necessary reorganisation and democratisation of the structure is necessary. It is time for the Government to recognise that with education remaining a State subject and with the financial approach to it the directives on free and compulsory education will not be implemented. The same is the case with adult education which must be completed to take to the tillers, artisans and industrial workers modern gains of science and technology so that their skill and dexterity are augmented and economic development effected. Every school budding, temple, mosque, gurudwara and church can be used as premises for adult education and every educated adult as teacher. This requires not so much finance as it requires a comprehensive organisation for functional adult education.

The less said about the UGC's rule in the coordination and determination of standards in higher education, the better it is. In defiance of the provisions of our Constitution the UGC has degenerated into a grant-giving agency. The role assigned to such a body by our Constitution-makers has to be restored. This is all the more necessary as education is a means of creating cadres for nation-building and national integration. On issues like admissions, courses and contents of study examination, recruitment and promotion of teachers, there must be a minimum national standard. This is a role of UGC which has been completely neglected, giving rise to regional standards and regional educational imbalances. Such imbalances have deliberately been promoted by the UGC through the instrumentality of the so-called Centres of Advanced Studies, which are making the better universities better and leaving the rest to stagnate. Here too the Government must recognise that unless education, especially higher education, is made, at least, a concurrent subject, it will not be possible for the UGC to enforce its advices and directives. Even on the question of implementing the so-called University Model Bill, the State Government have turned a deaf ear and the selection of university teachers, in the words of the President of our Republic, has been left to 'local laymen' who seek to perpetuate their educational zamindaris. It is such problems of educational reforms that need to be given the highest priority.

Education cannot be divorced from the instruments of education and above all from those who impart it. The Report says something about both. The National Book Trust is a white elephant. Even it has not been able to publish the works of thinkers and reformers and like Ram Mohan Roy, Ranade and Dr. Bhagwan Das. In fact, the time has come to apply the cost-benefit analysis to the National Book Trust so that it may be determined

as to who are the beneficiaries the nation or somebody else.

The Report also speaks about publication of text-books for primary, as well as, higher education. Under the Indo-American text-books programme, the Report says that 1200 books have been brought out because of the availability of the PL 480 funds whereas in the Indian languages no quantitative targets are given, because they do not exist. Add to it the increasing number of yellow books, imported from America that are to be found on the pavements and in book shops. This is the import policy of educational literature. Therefore the obvious conclusion is that the vital interests of Indian authors and publishers have been sacrificed. This cannot be said to be a part of national policy on education. On pages 85 and 86 of the Report, the number of Indian scholars abroad is mentioned. This gives a misleading picture in so far as there is no Indian scholar in America according to this Report. Along with education must grow industries that provide the means of education. It is good that the Government has established three printing presses. But they will not be fully utilised unless there are adequate paper and binding machines, and above all, publishable material. These are the areas in which development has to be accelerated.

There is a mention of teachers' welfare and national awards. The Teachers' Day is also celebrated. All this is like celebrating Nag Panchmi, which provides for one day in the year for snake worship, and the rest of it for killing them. The right course is to provide a national scale of pay to the teachers, and a minimum scheme of social security including provident fund, gratuity, pension, housing and health insurance.

Unless a scheme of integrated educational development is taken up under the auspices of the Union Government, educa-

[Dr. V. B. Singh] tion will not become either an instrument of economic development or a means of emotional integration. The unity and integrity of the country demands that there must be an immediate stop to Balkanisation of education. In completing such stupendous tasks of educational restructuring my sympathies and support are naturally with the Education Minister who is a colleague not only in this House but also outside it.

Thank you, Sir.

**श्री टी० एन० सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** मैं आज हिन्दी में बोलना चाहता हूँ। मैं जब यहाँ पर बैठे-बैठे सदस्यों के व्याख्यान सुन रहा था तो मुझे बह जमाना याद आ गया जब सन् 1920-21 में गांधी जी ने हम लोगों से कहा था कि तुम अंग्रेजों के स्कूल छोड़ कर बाहर निकल आओ; क्योंकि ये शैतान के स्कूल हैं।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** किस को सुना रहे हैं।

**श्री टी० एन० सिंह :** मिनिस्टर को सुना रहा हूँ (Interruption) पुरानी बात है, पुराना दर्द है और इसलिए सब को सुनाना चाहता हूँ। उस वक्त गांधी जी ने बहुत सी बातें हम से कहीं थी और छात्रों के सामने क्रान्तिकारी सुभाव रखे थे। उन्होंने शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में भी क्रान्तिकारी सुभाव रखे थे। हम लोगों ने उस वक्त अपना ध्येय बना लिया था कि हमारी जो एजुकेशन हो वह सस्ती हो और अच्छी हो।

मैं काशी विद्यापीठ का स्नातक हूँ और गौरव के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि वहाँ पर मैंने चार रुपया माहवार खर्च करके पढ़ा।

**श्री महावीर त्यागी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** चार रुपया महीना।

**श्री टी० एन० सिंह :** हाँ, चार रुपया महीना।

**श्री महावीर त्यागी :** क्या खाना भी इसी में शामिल था ?

**श्री टी० एन० सिंह :** हाँ, खाना भी इसी में शामिल था। हम से फीस नहीं ली जाती थी और कहा जाता था कि शिक्षा के लिए इस गरीब मुल्क में फीस लेना पाप है। हम कुछ विद्यार्थियों ने मिल कर एक मंस बना रखा था और उसमें हम स्वयं खाना पकाते थे। बर्तन वगैरह जो भी साधन थे वह कालेज की तरफ से दे दिये गये थे। उस वक्त सस्ती का जमाना था और हम लोग बाकायदा अपने बर्तन माँजते थे। यह जमाना हमने उस वक्त देखा गांधी के नेतृत्व में। लेकिन स्वराज्य आने के बाद किन्हीं पब्लिक स्कूलों में अपने लड़कों की भर्ती के लिए मिनिस्टर और पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर भी परेशान हैं। इन पब्लिक स्कूलों में 150 रु० से लेकर 200 रु० महीना खर्च होता है और इसमें खाने से कोई मतलब नहीं है। फीस में और आने जाने के खर्च में इतना खर्च हो जाता है। वहाँ से लड़के निकलते हैं वे बचपन में ही अंग्रेजी भाषा बड़ी अच्छी बोल लेते हैं और हम उनको अंग्रेजी भाषा का अभ्यास कराना चाहते हैं; क्योंकि उसको पढ़ने से उनको नौकरी मिलती है। गांधी जी ने मातृभाषा पर जोर दिया और हम उसे भूल गये। स्वराज्य होने के बाद से 25 वर्ष से हमारा यह शिक्षा मंत्रालय काम कर रहा है और आज परम्पराएँ वहीं चली आ रही हैं जो पहले थीं। क्या यह दुःख की बात नहीं है मैं तो आलोचना सुन चुका हूँ पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की, वे कहते थे कि तुम बड़े ओल्ड-फैशन्ड हो। उनको भी आजकल के नए तौर-तरीके बहुत पसन्द

थे। मैंने अखबारों में पढ़ा, पता नहीं कहाँ तक ठीक है, हिप्पीज में भी आज प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिबा कुछ गुण देखती हैं। मेरे हाथों में एक ओल्ड ब्याज एसोसिएशन आफ पब्लिक स्कूल का स्कूलर खत आया, उनका वार्षिक अधिवेशन होने जा रहा था, उसमें लिखा था कि एक रोमांटिक सेटिंग में अधिवेशन होगा where there will be wining and dining.

श्री महावीर त्यागी : स्टूडेंट्स की यूनियन का था ?

श्री टी० एन० सिंह : ओल्ड ब्याज एसोसिएशन है एक पब्लिक स्कूल का, स्कूल का नाम मैं नहीं लेना चाहता। ये सब चीजें अपनी आँखों के सामने बढ़ती देख कर दुःख होता है। एक दिन मुझसे जवाहरलाल जी ने कहा था कि स्वराज के बाद चर्चिल से जब वे मिलने गए तो उसने बड़े गौरव से उनसे कहा कि आज अंग्रेज आपके देश में, यानी हमारे देश में, ज्यादा बसते हैं बनिस्बत स्वराज के पहले के और अंग्रेजियत भी ज्यादा है। यह बात उन्होंने ठीक ही कही। तो हमें बड़ा विरोध है इस बात का कि जो शिक्षा प्रणाली आज चल रही है वह जो हमारी परम्परा है, हमारी जो संस्कृति है उसकी बिल्कुल अवहेलना करके हो रही है।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : शिक्षा मंत्री जी बैठे हुए हैं . . .

श्री टी० एन० सिंह : शिक्षा मंत्री जी को मैं बहुत दिनों से जानता हूँ, तब से जानता हूँ जब वे एक नौजवान प्रोफेसर थे, लेक्चरर थे। मैं उनसे अपनी बुजुर्गियत के नाते कह सकता हूँ और इसी वास्ते कह रहा

हूँ, जो नहीं मानता उन पुरानी बातों को फिर से दोहराने में। क्यों न उन पुरानी बातों को दोहराऊँ, उन्हीं में तो पला हूँ। आज इस महान एयरकन्डीशन्ड प्रासाद में बैठ कर हम लोग भूल गए हैं कि हमारा देश गरीब है। यही नहीं, मैंने तो प्रान्तों में जो एजुकेशन है उसको भी देखा है नजदीक से, और मैं कह सकता हूँ कि आजकल स्कूल चलाना भी एक व्यवसाय हो गया है। लड़कों की शिक्षा से कोई मतलब नहीं है। जब व्यवसाय हो गया है तो वहाँ पढ़ाई अच्छी नहीं होगी और पब्लिक स्कूल होगा तो वहाँ बड़े-बड़े महाजनों के लड़के जाएंगे जो डेढ़ सौ-दो सौ रुपये हर महीने खर्च कर सकते हैं, उनकी एजुकेशन का स्तर एक माने में अच्छा है लेकिन वह बिल्कुल पाश्चात्य है, हमारा नहीं है। इस 25 वर्ष के स्वराज के बाद अगर हम लेखाजोखा बनावें तो देखेंगे कि हमने इन वर्षों में अपनी भारतीयता की हत्या की है और एजुकेशन जो दी है, उसकी मांग नहीं, उपयोग नहीं। मान लीजिए कि सेकेंडरी एजुकेशन, हायर एजुकेशन और यूनीवर्सिटी के आर्ट एजुकेशन की मांग यदि ज्यादा नहीं है तो कोई घबड़ाने की बात नहीं। लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि साइंस और इंजीनियरिंग के छात्र पढ़ कर निकलें कालेजों से और 60—70 हजार 5-6 वर्ष से बेकार रहे। ऐसी हालत में कैसे कहा जा सकता है कि हमारी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था मुचारूप से चल रही है? जब कि साइंस और इंजीनियरिंग एजुकेशन के विद्यार्थियों के सामने उनका भविष्य अंधकारमय है तो कोई क्यों उन्हें पढ़ावे। हमें आश्चर्य होत है। इस गरीब मुक्त ने शिक्षा पर रुपय काफी खर्च किया है। मैं योजना आयोग में रह चुका हूँ। उस वक्त हिसाब लगाया गया था कि 1975 तक हम लोग 6 से 11 बा के हर बच्चे की शिक्षा का इन्तजाम कर दें

[श्री टी० एन० सिंह]

उसके अनुसार खर्च करेंगे, लेकिन वह नहीं हुआ। मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि यह जो खर्चों की ग्रांट के बल पर एजुकेशन चल रही है वह चल नहीं सकती। आप को सचमुच निःस्वार्थ सेवक मिलने चाहिये।

मैं जानता हूँ कि आज क्या होता है। मैंने लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी के नाम पर एक छोटा सा स्कूल, जूनियर स्कूल और शिशु विहार शुरू किया और उसको शुरू करने के लिये मुझे कई हजार खर्चा कई जगह से मांग कर खर्च करना पड़ा और मुझ को रिकग्निशन अभी 4 वर्ष के बाद या पांच वर्ष के बाद मिला है। कई लोग ऐसे हैं जिन को पहले या दूसरे वर्ष ही रिकग्निशन मिल जाता है और गवर्नमेंट से सहायता भी मिलने लगती है। तो भाई, हम तो अपने गरीब तरीके से उसको चला रहे हैं। गांधी जी ने कहा था कि गवर्नमेंट से सहायता नहीं लेंगे। आज फिर हमें यह सोचना है कि कैसे कम से कम खर्च में शिक्षा का प्रसार हो सकेगा।

अभी आपकी रिपोर्ट में लिखा गया है कि जैसी प्रगति अभी है उसके अनुसार प्राइमरी एजुकेशन का जो लक्ष्य संविधान में रखा गया वह पूरा होगा 50 वर्ष के बाद। दूसरी शताब्दी आ जायेगी तब जाकर वह लक्ष्य पूरा होगा। यह इसमें लिखा है। तो मैं कहता हूँ कि यह कैसे हम बर्दाश्त कर सकते हैं। हमारे देश की गरीबी, हमारे देश की जहालत क्या बराबर इसी तरह से बनी रहेगी? और हम लोग यहां इन बड़े-बड़े एयर कंडीशन्ड कमरों में बैठ कर व्याख्यान देते रहेंगे और इसी तरीके से गवर्नमेंट चलायी जाती रहेगी? मैं पुरानी कांग्रेस का काम करने वाला रहा। मैं गवर्नमेंट में

बहुत रहा, लेकिन आज विरोध में आने के बाद मुझे यह समझ में आया कि मेरा स्थान यहीं था उस वक्त भी। उस वक्त भी कुछ बातें कहने की कोशिश करता था, लेकिन जवान बंद कर दी जाती थी और मैं नहीं कह पाता था। वह तो अलग किस्सा है, अपना निजी किस्सा क्यों कहूँ?

तो मैं पहली बात जो कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि समय आ गया है सारी शिक्षा प्रणाली पर आपको फिर से विचार करना पड़ेगा। बहुत से कमीशन्स और कमेटियों की रिपोर्ट्स लिखी जा चुकी हैं और वे छपी हुई हैं। उनसे काम नहीं चल रहा है। आपको नये ढंग से सोचना है कि इस गरीब मुल्क में अच्छी से अच्छी एजुकेशन, अच्छी से अच्छी शिक्षा हम कैसे गरीब भौपड़ों तक पहुंचा सकते हैं और इन चंद स्कूलों को नुमायश बना कर दिखलाना कि हम ने इतने बड़े स्कूल रखे हैं बाहर से जो आदमी आते हैं उनको उन स्कूलों को दिखलाने के बाद हम उनकी तारीफ से खुश हो जाते हैं इसका मुझे दुःख है। सरकार के दूसरे विभागों में विदेशी एक्सपर्ट आ कर सलाह देते हैं, हमें खेद है कि हमारी एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री में भी हम को विदेशी एक्सपर्ट आकर सलाह दें रहे हैं। तो हम कब अपने पैर पर खड़े होना सीखेंगे? क्या हमें हमेशा उनकी तरफ ही देखना पड़ेगा? उधर से कहा जाएगा कि आप विदेशी ज्ञान का भी बहिष्कार करना चाहते हैं? मैं भोग चुका हूँ। एक बार जब मैं प्लानिंग कमीशन में था, एक विदेशी कंपनी ने टेक्स्ट बुक्स छापने के लिए आज्ञा मांगी। मैंने उसकी रोक थाम कर दी। कुछ दिन बाद, एक मीटिंग में एक दूसरे मिनिस्टर साहब, जो प्लानिंग कमीशन के मेम्बर भी थे, उन्होंने जवाहरलाल जी से कहा कि आप जानते

है, त्रिभुवन नारायण सिंह जी जो आपके योजना आयोग के सदस्य हैं वह जान और विद्वत्ता अगर विदेशी हो तो उसका भी बहिष्कार करना चाहते हैं। जवाहरलाल जी का विभाग तेज हो गया। उन्होंने आवेश में कहा—क्यों, त्रिभुवन, तुम ऐसा कहते हो? मैंने कहा कि मैं आपको बाद में बतलाऊंगा। क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि क्या यह बात ठीक नहीं है कि फारेन पब्लिशिंग हाउसेज हमारी टेक्स्ट बुक्स आज पब्लिश कर रहे हैं या नहीं? और कई नई टेक्स्ट बुक्स को इन हाउसेज को दिया गया है। इस रिपोर्ट में, आपने 5, 6 सौ किताबें साइंस में लिखवायी गयी हैं उनका बड़े जोर से जिक्र किया है। 25 वर्ष बाद यह (एचीवमेंट) उपलब्धि हो रही है। यह कोई एचीवमेंट है? तो मैं यह चाहता हूँ, भगवान के लिए, आप जरा रुक जाइये और सोचिये कि क्या हम नये ढंग से कोई काम शुरू कर सकते हैं या नहीं कर सकते हैं? वही अंग्रेजी डाँचा एजुकेशन का रह गया है, क्या यह जरूरी है? गांधी जी मर गये नयी तालीम की बात करते करते। मुमकिन है कि उनकी पूरी बात सर्वथा अच्छी न रही हो, लेकिन उस आदमी ने एक नये ढंग से सोचना तो शुरू किया था। हमारे यहां तो वही पुराने हायर सेकेंडरी स्कूल और वही यूनिवर्सिटीज और एजुकेशन का कैरीकुलम करीब-वरीब वही, कितनों की तादाद जरूर कुछ बढ़ा दी गयी है, लेकिन और सब वही चल रहा है। और पब्लिक स्कूलों में शिक्षा का माध्यम अंग्रेजी है। आज हमारी शिक्षा अंग्रेजी की जितनी बढ़ी है, जितने जोरों से बढ़ी है उतनी पहले कभी नहीं थी, उतनी अंग्रेजों के जमाने में भी नहीं थी और हमारा दुर्भाग्य यह है कि यदि मेरा लड़का अंग्रेजी माध्यम से शिक्षा न पाये तो आपके कंपिटिशन में उसको नौकरी

नहीं मिलेगी। क्या यह स्थिति जो है वह काफी नहीं है हम को फिर से सोचने के लिए? ऐसी स्थिति हो जाय कि हमारे गांव के लड़के, जिन्होंने अपनी मातृभाषा में शिक्षा पायी है, वह चाहे कितने ही तेज हों, कितने ही बुद्धिमान हों, कितने ही धीमान् हों, वह सेकेंड डिवीजनर पब्लिक स्कूल के किसी छात्र के सामने गिर जायें, यह क्या उचित होगा? तो क्या हमको इसमें कोई तब्दीली नहीं करना है? मैं मांग करता हूँ कि हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति को फिर से तब्दील किया जाय, उसमें क्रांतिकारी तब्दीली लायी जाय तभी काम चलेगा। हमारे यहां आपने माना है कि एडाल्ट इल्लिट्रेसी बढ़ी है, घटी नहीं है।

क्या हमने सवमुच उन्नति की है? हम जो आलोचना करेंगे तो आप जवाब देंगे कि यदि पार्लियामेंट हमको अधिक रुपया दे दे तो हम सब कुछ कर दें। यह एक स्टाफ-रिप्लाय है, यह जवाब आयेगा, हम योजना आयोग से कहते हैं लेकिन समुचित रुपया ही नहीं दिया गया। अरे भाई, मुल्क गरीब है, नये ढंग से सोचना होगा, सब काम रुपये से नहीं होता। आज वियतनाम जैसा गरीब देश अमेरिका जैसे समृद्धिशाली देश का सामना कर रहा है अपने गरीब ढंग से। उसके पास वैसे साधन नहीं हैं। बहुत से देश हैं, चीन देश है, उसने किसी बाहर के देश से मदद नहीं ली और उसके यहाँ प्रायः सभी को अन्न जान हो गया है। तो आपके यहां क्यों न हो? हम कहते हैं कि हम डेमोक्रेसी के हामी हैं, हम कहते हैं कि हमारी एक बिलकुल नई शैली है, हम चल रहे हैं अपने ढंग से, लेकिन नतीजा क्या हो रहा है उसको सोचना है? तो मैं आपसे एक मौलिक बात कहता हूँ कि आपको फिर से नये ढंग से

[श्री टी० एन० सिंह]

सोचना होगा। (*Time Bell Rings*) दो मिनट।

हमारे नौजवानों की स्थिति इस वक्ता बड़ी चिन्तनीय है। मैं बच्चों को देखता हूँ, अपने नौजवान बच्चों को। मैं कह सकता हूँ कि 1918 और 1920 ई० में जो नौजवान थे वे एक बड़े ही चुने हुये सचमुच में हीरे थे, जवाहर थे, लेकिन आज के जो नौजवान लड़कों को मैं देखता हूँ—मैं यहाँ आ कर दिल्ली शहर की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ, गावों में देखता हूँ—वह हमारी आशा है, बड़ा अच्छा उनमें मैटीरियल है, मैं कह सकता हूँ कि इतना अच्छा मैटीरियल न पिछली पीढ़ी में रहा और कौन जाने शायद आगे की पीढ़ी में भी न आवे, लेकिन दुःख इस बात का है कि ऐसी होनहार पीढ़ी का संहार किया जा रहा है, शिक्षा जैसी देनी चाहिये वह हम नहीं दे पा रहे हैं, उन पर पाश्चात्य शिक्षा की, पाश्चात्य सभ्यता की छाप दी जा रही है। हमें इसमें शीघ्र तब्दीली करना है।

मैं इस वास्ते नहीं खड़ा हुआ हूँ कि किसी अमुक यूनिवर्सिटी की, अमुक कालेज की, कोई निन्दा करूँ या उसकी रक्षा करूँ या उसका समर्थन करूँ, उसके लिये मैं नहीं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ, मेरे यहाँ बनारस यूनिवर्सिटी है, दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी भी मैं देखता हूँ और संस्कृत यूनिवर्सिटी को भी देखता हूँ। सब कुछ देखता हूँ, उसके लिये नहीं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। आज यहाँ इस उम्र में, अगर मेरे शब्दों में कुछ भी ताकत है, तो मैं यह दख्खास्त करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ कि भगवान के लिये हमारी जो नई पीढ़ी आ रही है, उसके नाम पर उसकी शिक्षा में आमूल परिवर्तन करिये, अगर नहीं

करियेगा तो पछताइयेगा, हमारा देश फिर सम्भलने वाला नहीं है। यह मैं तजुब से कह रहा हूँ। आपके खाली सेक्रेटेरियट के सलाहकारों के उत्तर से मैं संतुष्ट होने वाला नहीं हूँ। एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री की मैं क्या आलोचना करूँ? वहाँ तो लाये गये एजुकेशन डिपार्टमेंट के आदमी जो एजुकेशनिस्ट्स थे और 20 वर्ष तक उनसे प्रयोग किया गया है और कोई फल नहीं आया, वह भी आ कर के ब्यूरोक्रेट हो गये, यह मैं कह सकता हूँ। आपने सचमुच में तो कोई मुधार तो किया नहीं। अगर मेरी आवाज़ में कोई भी ताकत है तो मैं बड़े अदब के साथ, बड़े विनम्र भाव से अर्ज करता हूँ, दख्खास्त करता हूँ, प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप शिक्षा में आमूल परिवर्तन करिये। इसलिये आपको स्टेट्स का और सेक्टर का, दोनों का सहयोग प्राप्त करना होगा, उनकी कठिनाइयों को समाझना होगा। लेकिन इस दिशा में विचार सचमुच में शुरू तो होना चाहिए। यह मान लेना चाहिए कि हमारा देश गरीब है, पुरानी बड़ी-बड़ी स्कीमों से काम चलने वाला नहीं है। गरीब ढंग से एजुकेशन पर सोचने की जरूरत है और उसी प्रकार नयी एजुकेशन प्रणाली चलाने की कोशिश कीजिए। यही मेरी दख्खास्त है।

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, for the ills of the present educational system in our country, if anybody wants to blame the Education Minister or the Ministry of Education—for the faulty system that we are pursuing should think twice before doing so because all of us here, with different shades of opinion, have contributed our humble mite to create and make exist disorder, chaos, indiscipline and all that in our schools and colleges. I must thank the Education Minister that at least



the Kendriya Vidyalayas—public schools—and Sainik Schools are comparatively quiet when compared with the other high schools and colleges in the whole country. Education being a concurrent subject, we need not put all the blame here on the Education Minister. And I may repeat that for the present state of affairs all of us are responsible. I went through the report in detail—missing not even a sub-para. Of course, they are doing their best. But for me personally it is a jungle of schemes and projects from which, I am afraid, the planners themselves may not find a way of escape. It is a faithful report of a soulless system we are pursuing zealously. And I have no quarrel with them because I cannot expect them to offer me mangoes from a tamarind tree which we are all nourishing knowing what fruits it will bear. Therefore, there is no mention in the report as to how to reorient our education to check our evergrowing unemployment. There is no mention also of student restlessness often manifesting itself in violence. There is also no mention of foreign elements meddling with our university affairs. Many a time in this House we had discussed CIA money, this and that, angling our professors and brilliant students. Of that I do not find any mention. Anyway, I have my own views on education because education is a subject which we should not view with a political mind. Socialism is a goal for me. It may not be the same for Prof. Ruthnaswamy. Education has certain goals and they may not be the same for Prof. Ruthnaswamy and myself. We have to cooperate with each other and re-establish the values which are vanishing, raise the standards which are falling.....

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON  
(Kerala): How can you divorce the socio-economic system from values?

SHRI BRAHMANANDA PANDA (Orissa): I am developing my point. Do you not have patience? Our educational system has gone bankrupt. Our syllabi are antiquated. Our teaching methods are

outmoded. Our examinations have lost all significance. We hear invigilators being stabbed, Vice-Chancellors being shot at. And recently in an examination hall at Puri the examinees entered the examination hall with a bomb explosion by which an invigilator lost an eye. These are common occurrences in every college. To achieve our objectives social, cultural and economic, we require a new kind of manpower to become new type of leaders—leaders who have passed through the crucible of Seva as Sadhana; leaders who have passed through schools and colleges and mastered the problems of the present and the future in the light of the past; leaders who appreciate the liberal traditions and culture of this great land. Seva turns into Sadhana when any public duty is undertaken and discharged not only with a sense of self-involvement but with complete self-effacement. It should be gone through for the sheer joy of it; not with any personal motive. As our process of education has become a trade, our colleges today are full of prospective bread-winners and degree-hunters; not genuine seekers of knowledge and truth. As a result, colleges have been infected at present by anxiety and perplexity, discontent and indiscipline, irreverence and futility.

Our boys and girls are sent to schools and colleges in order to cultivate discipline, control emotions and canalise passions. They are to learn mutual co-operation, good maimers, humility, compassion and comradeship, adjustment to limitations and overcoming of obstacles with calm deliberation. Are these objectives fulfilled today. Hence our girls learn to become desirable wives, not worthy mothers our boys learn only to clamour for rights with scant respect for responsibility. Our present system of education totally neglects the education of the spirit. We need a philosophy of education which reflects the general philosophy of life as a whole. Its watchwords are truth, righteousness, peace and love. These four pillars of Satja Say's philosophy yield the four ideals

[Shri Brahmananda Panda]

of higher education knowledge, still, balance and insight or vision. Knowledge, as its own end is one of the aims of liberal education. The capacity to think has to be used and applied to new life situation. All knowledge, as Keats said, is a remembrance. It should not be reduced to the state of an encumbrance. The idea of general or great issues in education should no doubt be emphasised. The engineering student should have some poetry or music and the student of literature some science—as a living experience and not as a load on the memory. Our youths have to be provided with an education which, while cultivating their intelligence, will also purify their impulses and emotions and equip them with the physical and mental disciplines needed for drawing upon the springs of calmness and joy that lie in their own heads. Students should be happy warriors balancing action and contemplation. The study of psychology and philosophy, the company of the mature and the detached meditation—all these are necessary to have the three supreme "S", mentioned by Tennyson—"Self reverence, self-knowledge and self-control. These three alone lead a person to sovereign power." Balance is the key to the integrated personality. Vision is the fourth factor. A human being is put purblind without soul-sight. Referring to students, Satya Sai says: "Their higher natures will have to be fostered and encouraged to blossom by means of study, prayer and Sadhana, contacts with the sages, saints and spiritual heroes and heroines of their land". The objectives that animate higher education today are strictly limited to material prosperity alone. It inspires that happiness consists in accumulating money or knowledge or comforts or reputation. Happiness can be attained only by cultivating a state of mind which is unaffected by fortune, good or bad. These objectives richly feed the illusion that you are the body and that you are destroyed with the death of the body. Students, therefore, should be attracted

to cultivating 'Vigyan' or science with 'pragyan' or spirituality together. With our faulty educational system which has made no arrangements to instruct the young men and women of India in the principles of Indian culture, it is very difficult to make our youngsters come to the right path. Saiya Sai says: "When man is not trained to lead the good life, the Godly life, teaching various skills and tricks only make him a danger to himself and others." That is why he insists that "politic\* without principles, education without character, science without humanity and commerce without morality are not only useless, but positively dangerous." And, Sir, we have seen how science without humanity has worked. What is happening in Vietnam? What has happened in Bangla Desh? Probably, today or tomorrow we may be hearing the commencement of the Third World War. Therefore, things should be processed through our educational institutions and the human spirit developed properly through study and meditation. Respect for others and reverence for our traditions should be developed. Not only India, but other countries also have some liberal traditions and they have their own 'theirness', as you may call it, as we have our 'Indian-ness'. These things have to be cultivated by our students so that they can be put on the right path for a bright future. Therefore, Sir, it is high time that we took courage in our hands to change our educational system with a philosophy based on the teachings of Mahatmi Gandhi, Kaviguru Rabindranath Tagore, Sri Satya Sai and Sri Aurobindo for an all-round education of which spiritual education is an essential part. Let us not, Sir, forget that India is a Yoga Bhoomi and it cannot be a Bhoga Bhoomi—a land of skyscrapers, tinned foods and mini-skirts. Any attempt in this direction is a sheer waste of energy which results in utter frustration—a disease which is more fatal than plague or cancer. Let us strive henceforth to keep our young men

and women free from this "Rogam"-frustration.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Yes, Mr. Appan.

SHRI G. A. APPAN (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am very glad to take part in this discussion. It is really very fortunate that we have a very very able Minister of State in charge of Education at present. Though the previous Education Minister a Cabinet Minister, took up office, he had no time to devote to the cause of education. We could have safely ignored his name as a Cabinet Minister. But, Sir, I am very glad that after Prof. Nurul Hasan has taken up office in October last, he has really done a lot. Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray had also his own interest. But there is a practical man, no doubt. We have here Prof. Nurul Hasan. Unfortunately, I have not learnt the art of flattery. But, Sir whatever I say is what I honestly feel which nobody can disagree with.

SHRI N.G. GORAY : Nobody can dare to disagree with you.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS (Uttar Pradesh) : We did not learn it; we know it already.

SHRI G.A. APPAN : Prof. Hasan is aware and I would also like to make it once again clear that I am a teacher of fifty years of standing though I am only 60 now.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : You are not that old.

SHRI G.A. APPAN : I started teaching at the age of 5. Even when I was a student in the I Standard I was the monitor for all the classes. When I was the monitor in the II Class, I used to teach even the III Standard students. There was a single teacher school in my village. This is the type of teachers we had in those days and this is the type of teacher that I was in those days. We as teachers used to work in the past not for six hours or four hours, but from morning till night,

till late in the night. When I was a village teacher, I used to teach the students up to V Standard and after that even the high school classes also. I was even teaching the college boys as a private man. I have taught the law graduates, post-graduates in law. I was teaching M.L. students and I am proud of it. That was the type of teachers we were in those days. That is the type of teachers we want in these days. But what is the type of teachers that we have at present? Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, teachers have become labour oriented. They are indisciplined. They do not clamour for better efficiency. But they go even to the extent of gheraoing Ministers' houses and Secretaries' houses.

I also tell this House and this country that when I was a teacher I was working at Rs. 11 a month. I was very, very happy. The salary of a high grade teacher in those days was Rs. 10. For a Secondary grade teacher, a matriculate, it was Rs. 12 and afterwards it was Rs. 18. The salary of a graduate teacher at the time when Mr. Subramanian was the Education Minister in Tamil Nadu in 1950. was Rs. 28 per month. Now, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the country knows how the teachers are being paid. They are fabulously paid. They are not honest in their work.

I am also the son of a manager of a school. I am also the manager of a school—not only ordinary school but of a number of schools. What I want this country, what I want the teachers in this country, what I want the Ministers in this country, the Managers and Directors, is to train teachers after the way we were teachers in those days. Teachers in those days. Teacher's job is an honest mission in life. It is only teachers who have become very, very great. Even the late Mr. M. C. Raja and a number of other great men have been rewarded for their honest work. But, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, of late there seems to be Government interference in the administration of edu-

[Shri G. A. Appan]

cational institutions being induced by self-interested official class, being induced by vested bureaucracy. They do not look into the case or examine the case put up by the Secretaries. They simply say, 'yes, yes'. There is an attempt both at the Centre and in some States even to take power to control educational managements and private managements to educational institutions throughout the country. I have been telling this House ever since I came here. It is for this purpose and with this mission in life that I have come to Parliament. I am really very proud of it. I have been telling this since 1946. If you will see the papers which were handled by the late Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and by the Ministers of Tamil Nadu, you will see a paper written by me in 1948 that education should be self-supporting. It should not only be self-supporting but it should also be able to earn money—not 10 per cent but even up to 20 per cent. How? You can examine it. I have experimented with it. I have educated a number of boys who were cutting grass, who were rearing cattle. Now a number of them are college professors with three degrees. A number of them are getting a thousand rupees and more. There was a boy who came to me in his 5th class. He is now an M. Sc, 1st Class, A. M. E., 1st Class. He was earning and learning—earning not by way of scholarship. This is the type of education that we should impart in this country. Why do you want to waste money on education like this? I am speaking here from a practical point of view. This is what our Ministers should do. Let us take one small taluk and make it self-sufficient. Reach one, teach one.

When I was in the fifth class I used to go out on adult education. We used to spend our summer vacation by going to villages and teaching the adults and on cleaning campaigns. And nowadays the teachers want to play carrom and cards. I was a teacher myself. In the present day

there are not even 1/10th of the type of teachers that there used to be. They are influenced by the present day glamour of leisurely life. They have learnt their lessons from the trade unionists—I know. I have great regard for trade unionists of socialistic nature. Very seldom do I find trade unionists in our country who have that socialistic bent of mind as we see in the trade union leaders in Russia and other countries. Most of the so-called trade union leaders are sharks; they misguide the people. And I know somebody here who has been saying that he is a big trade unionist and he has done immense harm to the society, not only to the society but also to the whole country. Please pardon me, Mr. Deputy Chairman, when I say I lie is a Cabinet Minister. He is a friend of this type of people who have been spoiling the trade union people. Here is my friend, Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam, and I would like to tell him one thing before his very eyes. Wherever he went he had spoiled that particular place.

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : I really admire your patience that you could afford to sleep even when he shouts !

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Perhaps I would bring down my tone.

Sir, I would like to tell here in this House and to the country some kind of a truth which I know. Please pardon me, and if he has anything to ask I am prepared to answer that. Four or six years back I went to the University of Madras—This I have mentioned sometimes back on the floor of the House, I went there by 11 O'clock. Many people did not come to the office and I enquired "Where is this superintendent?" Where is that Superintendent? Somebody said "No, Sir, they will come only at....." I asked, "Then when do you come?" He said, "We come by 10.30". How do you support it? Then, the same evening I

went there again at 4 O'Clock or so. And you know, the office was supposed to be closed at 4.30. But I found that everybody had cleaned his table and was walking away. I went there on some work and asked somebody about it. He said "No, Sir, please excuse me. We have already closed the office. If our leader, Mr. Mohan Kumaramanglam,—who was an advocate in those days—comes and sees us answering anybody he will take us to task." Do you mean to say that I tell lies here? No doubt, a labour leader has to tell people to come on time and go on time but he cannot ask them to come late and close the work early. I have also been a labour leader myself. I was a labourer myself; as I told you, I used to work as a village coolie on six annas a day. But if this is the way, what happens?

Anyway, let me not transgress the limit from the education point of view. I am just coming to it. I say, please give me one taluk or one district and I will see that the money spent on education in a particular place, in a particular taluk, within ten years, gives you a benefit of 10 per cent. Let us have an experiment. I have been saying this from 1948. If you want I will show you a copy of it which I

sent to Pandit Nehru. I sent it to 3 p. M. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who was then the Prime Minister and to the Education Minister as well as others. Let us try to be practical in approach. Coming to elementary education; have we succeeded in it? Is it not a democratic principle of State Policy to provide elementary education to all? We have passed 22 years and have we succeeded in it? Is it not very shameful for us that even now the percentage of literacy is barely 37%? These days the attendance in the elementary classes is between 40 to 60 per teacher. If anybody or any officer sees this and still keeps quiet when a teacher has 40 pupils to teach, he should be either a dunce or a crook or a misfit in the society. In elementary education, the maximum a

teacher can handle is not more than 15 or 20. It can increase afterwards. The foundation has to be stronger in the beginning stages. I request the Minister to spend any amount for elementary education but not to allow more people in a class. He should see if it is not possible for us to fix up an average attendance of 15 to 20 for a teacher upto the third standard and afterwards it can go to 15 or 30 and high schools it can go to 40. I know a number of schools having even 80 in a class. What can you call it except a flock of sheep? Coming to high school education the best type of education that our country needs and could have been benefited by was basic education evolved by Mahatma Gandhi. How far we have succeeded in it and have we been honest in implementing it? We have simply spoiled the very root of the principle here. In countries like Germany or Russia and other socialist countries, the work-oriented education is paying dividends in hundreds and thousands. Here if a boy passes his matriculation or B. A. he feels he should have only a white-collar job. Pay a labourer more than what you pay a graduate or an IAS and then more people will go for work oriented education. Then people would like to work in the fields and industries and try to save. Coming to the colleges, people are enamoured to start colleges and open universities forgetting that each college needs a Principal and each University needs a Vice Chancellor who can travel throughout the world at his whims and fancies. What a pity that some third class M.As. are Directors of Education and even Vice-Chancellors. Would you not see who are the third class people who occupy the posts of Vice Chancellors of Universities or as Directors? You should not allow anybody to be a Director of any Education Department either here or in the States unless he holds three doctorates. That is the kind of thing but even officers begin to tell lies. I will not tolerate even a single person telling lies. Even the

[Shri G. A. Appan]

Directors tell lies; they see the school and they tell lies. Not only that; they ask their lower officers also to tell lies. That is the type of things that we have. There is a notorious Director of General Education in Tamil Nadu called Chitti Babu who is a teaching lies to his officers, who says that a school which is running for 15 year\* is not paying. I am saying this on the floor of the House; there are any number of such people. If they are well educated they will not stoop to low levels. Supposing one holds three or four Degrees he will not stoop to low levels because he can go anywhere. (Time bell rings) Give me some more time, Sir.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY (Assam):  
Allow him some more time for teaching us.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: Every University wants to start colleges in every place. I say, Sir, for university education up to graduation let people open any number of colleges but after graduation for postgraduate studies and research there should be only one in every State or two or at the most three. Do not allow every college to have postgraduate teaching and frustrate its funds and frustrate its energies. (Time bell rings) Two more points.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : There is no time; I am sorry.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON:  
We are sufficiently educated already.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : I want only three minutes more. Now I have forgotten what I wanted to say.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do; I will call the next speaker Mr. Bipinpal Das.

SHRI MAN SINGH VERMA (Uttar Pradesh) : Let him continue; he is a man of abnormal intelligence.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : Let me conclude.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right; wind up please.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : You have now disturbed me and broken my thoughts. There was some very important point I wanted to tell the hon. Minister.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: You were talking about elementary education.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : I would request the hon. Minister for education to kindly see that the Government appoints a Committee of Members of Parliament to go into—now, it has come, Sir—the working of elementary education, high school education, college education, university education, technical education and adult education in institutions run by Government as well as private institutions. You should not curb the selfless service of private schools and colleges that are rendering great service to this country and saving a lot of money for the Government.

Another point I have. For some time now I have been asking for a Central University for the South. Central Universities are there only in the North. For the last four years I have been asking for a Central University. In fact the then Minister, Dr. Rao, promised to give one. Now a reasonable person has become Minister. They are going to set up one for a small state like Pondicherry.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have called Mr. Das; that will do, Mr. Appan.

SHRI G. A. APPAN : I would request the hon. Minister to give us first a Central University. I tell you a Central University in Tamil Nadu will be able to give greater service to Pondicherry and to other southern States. So a Central

University should be given to us. Let the hon. Minister promise on the floor of the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat.

SHRI G. A. APPAN: With this I request the House to excuse me for taking its time.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam) -. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, at the very outset in this discussion one is expected to refer to the situation regarding literacy in this country. It is an alarming state of things that literacy has reached only 29%—if I am not wrong—by 1971. And at this rate, Sir, I do not know when we are going to achieve the target of making the entire country literate. I am at a loss to suggest anything in this regard. But, if we cannot make appreciable progress in this direction, I think we should make all efforts at least to have compulsory primary education for all children up to eleven years of age as directed by the constitution. In this regard Government is reported to have taken up some schemes. Very good. The only thing that I would like to suggest is, in view of the fact that the progress so far even in this regard has been very slow, my own suggestion in this regard is that in trying to implement a massive programme of compulsory primary education, we must not spend too much money on buildings. I would advise the Government to utilise the existing school buildings, have them improved if necessary, and have two or three shifts in the same building utilising the same equipment and employing the unemployed graduates or the unemployed educated people in the rural areas and also in the towns to accelerate this programme of compulsory primary education.

Now, Sir, the main point I would like to stress on in this discussion is the

question of a complete overhauling of the educational system in this country. It is really a matter of regret that even after twenty-five years of independence we continue that system which was introduced and built up by the British to serve their own interests. They just wanted a class of white-collar job-seekers, and the same system continues even today. I am really amazed why no attention has been paid so far by anybody regarding the necessity of overhauling the entire system. Now, some time back, when I was speaking on this subject, my friend, Mr. Panda, who sits here, posed the question to me. "What do you mean by overhauling?" When I say overhauling, I mean overhauling in the matter of curriculum, in the matter of contents of teaching, in the methods of teaching and also in the examination system. Now, Sir, in this regard I do not want to go into details, nor is it possible in the course of a discussion like this to go into details or put a scheme before the house. It is not possible. I shall only lay down certain broad principle, which should guide us in overhauling the educational system in this country. The first principle in the matter of education, right from the bottom to the top, is that there should be all-round development of the personality of the student. It will not do to teach the student just to cram the text-books, commit it to memory and then vomit it in the examination hall while answering the questions. It is not that. The teaching inside the class and the student's extra-curricular activities, the social and cultural functions, his association and identification with the community around, all these things must be so organised as to develop the all-round personality of the student. Secondly, the student should be tuned to the national ideals right from the bottom. Today in this country, Socialism, secularism, democracy and national integrity, these are no longer party slogans or party policies. These have become national objectives. Now, if you want really to build socialist society

[Shri Bipinpal Das] or a truly democratic society in this country, the spirit, the idea and the principle must be infused into the mind; of the students right from the bottom. The new generation in this country must be taught not only in words, he must be inspired by these ideals. He must realise, on the one hand, the basic values of Indian civilisation and culture and resting on that he should also have, on the other hand, a clear idea in his mind and a realisation of what he wants to achieve by socialism, democracy, secularism and all that. So, these principles must be taught right from the bottom, right from the primary stage. Text-books should be re-written. History should be re-written. In the method of teaching, cultural functions, extracurricular activities and in everything else these ideas should be inculcated.

The third thing is today there is a divorce between intellectual work and manual work. Once we are educated we feel that it is below our 'dignity' to do manual work. Even an under-matric would feel ashamed to go back to the field for cultivation, not to speak of doing other manual work. This divorce between intellectual work and manual work, which has produced absolutely a false sense of prestige in the minds of those who call themselves educated, was deliberately introduced into our society by the British for their own purposes. This must be done away with. How can you do it? You cannot do it simply by lecturing or simply by teaching. Right from the stage when a student comes to the primary school at the age of six, he should be not only taught, he should also be given manual work. The school curriculum must be so revised as to direct the student not only to do intellectual work but also manual work side by side. The kind of manual work will differ from stage to stage. At the bottom stage the student can do some vegetable gardening. At the higher stage he can do cultivation. In the cities he may go to workshops and do manual

work in a factory. It depends on the stage, but the idea is that this divorce should be done away with. Intellectual work and manual work must be integrated. The whole education and the contents of our teaching should be so organised, the activities of the school should be so organised that there is integration taking place between intellectual work and manual work. This is the third principle that I have suggested.

The fourth and in my opinion the most important point is this. What is the [purpose of this education? Why should we spend so much money on education? Why should we educate a boy? Why should I ask my son to go to a school and then to a college or university? What is the purpose? The traditional thinking is, knowledge for the sake of knowledge. I do not entirely deny the utility of this idea. We must have some knowledge for the sake of knowledge. But my point is we are spending public money on a student. We give him education not just to have some bookish knowledge, but knowledge which will make him useful to the society. Therefore, I would urge upon the Education Minister—I am told he is working on several schemes—to make our educational system right from the school stage more utilitarian rather than pure education. Again, I am not going into the details about what kinds of schemes can be taken up, but my idea is that a student, after being educated, must find himself useful to the society. For the social and economic development of this country, for the strength of this country, for the service of the society, he must find himself useful and thereby he not only finds employment for himself, he also works for the development of the country. In that way, our whole system of education should be revitalised and re-organised. Today we simply produce an army of parasites. After graduation, particularly in the Arts Faculty, a student does not know how he can contribute.



to the society. The knowledge that he has got about history or philosophy or geography or mathematics in his college, he does not know how to utilise that knowledge for the service of the society. He just becomes a clerk for which it is not necessary to become a graduate. Today graduates are becoming clerks. Therefore, education should be reorganised completely right from the bottom and particularly at the secondary stage. And here comes the question of the diversification of courses. Various courses should be opened. If I am not good in the general course, if my mental faculty is deficient to pursue learning in mathematics or history or literature, then I must be told by somebody, I must be advised, to stop there and to take to carpentry or smithy or something else. Why waste your time and energy and your father's money and public money unnecessarily ? That is my idea. Diversification of courses must start in several stages within the secondary education system.

Finally, I would suggest—I know that there are a large number of my friends who will not agree with me—that the university education should be restricted, but not in number. Restriction must come in terms of quality. Only those students should be allowed to go the universities who are intellectually equipped for that and secondly, whose services will be required by the country later on. We must have scientists, historians, experts in geography; we must even have experts in literature. Why not ? But the requirement is very limited. We require a large number of people to do work in agriculture, industry, trade and business and we require a very small number to run the administration and to run education at the higher level. Therefore university education should be restricted in terms of quality. I do not think that anybody can claim a fundamental right to have university education. So, the

course up to the higher secondary stage should be a course which will make the student eligible to call himself a fit citizen, a course which will enable him to stand up in society, in life. The whole course may be revised in such a way as to make it complete, by which a student will be equipped with sufficient knowledge to stand up in life, so that if he is not brilliant enough or if his desire for higher education is not so burning, he may not feel the necessity of going to a university.

In this connection, I may also refer to the question of technical education. In this country we have produced a large number of engineers. But today the engineers are without jobs. In the present stage of our economic development, what do you really require? In my opinion, we are more in need of technicians, mechanics and skilled workers and also trained artisans rather than big engineers. Therefore the diversification of courses must cover all these. A modern trained artisan, a mechanic, a technician is more needed today in the country than big engineers who sit only in offices, only to draft some plans. I may also point out that it is a matter of shame that we are still continuing the practice we had in the British days. An executive engineer, for example, what does he do ? What are his functions ? How does he spend his time. Most of the time he spend in looking through the files and papers. He does not go to the work site. Even the plans which he is expected to draw are drawn by his juniors. I know that from practical experience. He simply signs it. Do we need engineers only to sign papers, to become bureaucrats ? Do we need Civil Surgeons or District Medical Officers, for example, to sit at the desks instead of going to the hospitals, instead of visiting village health centres ? So the whole outlook has to be changed if we want to build up democracy and socialism. The whole outlook must be changed right from the bottom. Let us give a new idea.

[Shri Bipinpal Das] I would request the Government to create a climate in this country so that the false prestige which the degree carries today goes; it must go. If you go to the foreign countries you do not find so many degree holders as you find here proportionately, whether that is a communist country or a capitalist country. The degree which carried prestige in the British days carries the same prestige even today. It must go. And once a student, knows that by education he is going to be utilised for the service of the country, he will make some contribution towards the development of the country, his whole outlook will than Change. He will not rush for university Education He will go in for more and more technical education, agricultural education and other avocations. I take it that I Have made mv point quite clear in this respect I do not want to take more time, this I consider to be extremely important at this stage. Rather it is too late. If we want ultimately to build up a new society, the whole educational system must change. Any educational system will take time to produce results. It does not produce results immediately. If schemes are taken up on these lines and introduced right from today, they will start giving result twenty years hence. Therefore, it is high time to change.

Since you have asked me to conclude I would refer to only one subject and that is the Sapru House Library. If the facts given to me are correct, of the total 1,37,400 books 68,400 books belong to the Indian Council of World Affairs and 69,000 belong to the School of International Studies. Of the total 1,63,000 documents, 1,40,000 documents belong to the I.C. W. A. and 23,000 belong to the S. I. S. The entire, 8,60,000 press clippings and the U. N. depository belong to the I. C. W A. and the entire microfilms belong to the S. I. S. There is no duplication in any of these collections. I listened to the argument given by the hon'ble Minister last time very carefully. Now, if these are facts

and if this library is split up on the basis of what belongs to the I. C. W. A. and what belongs to the S. I.S., then, Sir, I am afraid the academic world will lose, moreover, sentiments are involved in this library. This library has built up a reputation; not only reputation it has also built up some kind of emotional attachment among scholars. Therefore, I think I should request the Minister to reconsider the whole question.

I would put this question from the another angle. What is the justification in shifting this School of International Studies which is situated today near the library to the University Campus and then shift the library itself The 138 registered scholars in this library belong to the Jawaharlal Nehru University. Out of that, 264 belong to the School of International Studies and 74 are from other schools. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of scholars who are using this library still belong to this School. I am not going into other details. So my humble submission is that the Minister should examine, if it is possible, not to shift the School itself from the present location. Let the School of International Studies remain there. What is wrong in it? If the Jawaharlal Nehru University can hope to have affiliated colleges or model colleges in Allahabad, in Nagaland, in Manipur and elsewhere, what is wrong if this University has the School at a distance of 20 kilometers? If the School remains, the library remains because the library is used predominantly by the people of this School. So, I request the Minister of Education to reconsider it and, if possible to advise the Jawaharlal Nehru University-I know it is an autonomous university, but still he can advice—not only as Minister but in his personal capacity also, as he has great influence over this University, to see that this is not split up for reasons which are not at all unavoidable and they agree to retain the School in its present site so that the library can also remain there Thank you.

SHRI fvl. RUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is a platitude, but none the less true, that education is the key to economic, social and even political progress, although we are trying to run universal suffrage on universal illiteracy. In this debate we are expected to confine ourselves to the record of the Ministry of Education in 1971-72. Therefore, I will not indulge in general observations on the present educational system or on the reorganisation of education. However many committees of enquiry you may have and however many reports may come covering the whole range of education from the elementary to the university level, it is the States that must implement all these proposals because according to the constitution, education is a primary and principal concern of the States. The Central Government, because it is a richer Government, is expected to go to the aid of the States in order to supplement the work of the States in regard to the development of education. It is by way of grants and subsidies that the Central Government can forward the course of educational progress.

for me, the fundamental requirement in education is rapid promotion of literacy, Our position in literacy is deplorable. After 25 years of intensified work in the field of education in the States and at the Centre, we have reached only a percentage of about 29. And I used to delude myself by thinking that the rate of progress was one per cent per year. But according to this Report, it is only 0.59 per cent per year. At this rate, it will require about 100 years for India to become totally literate. Recently the Government have taken to what they call functional literacy. The functional literacy movement began in H69, I believe. That is to say, people are to be made literate primarily in regard to the work they do. Agriculturists, for instance, will be made literate in order to make them better agriculturists and better acquainted with the latest developments in agriculture. Now,

what have we achieved in this functional literacy movement? From 1969 to 1972 the report says that 7000" persons have been made literate. That works out to about less than 25000 per year. At this rate, even under the functional literacy system, to make the 100 million working people literate, it will take hundreds of years. And then also it must be remembered that functional literacy system will cover only the male workers whereas half the population of India under this functional literacy system would remain illiterate. And how can you have any progress when literacy of women lags so far behind the literacy of men? And then look at the miserable amount that is allotted to the promotion of adult literacy. Rupees 21 lakhs per year. And this covers not only the promotion of literacy but all kinds of social education. At this rate it is not possible to expect rapid promotion of literacy which is fundamental to any system of education. Then another field of education which must be exploited and developed in order to promote rapid economic progress of the country is technical education, technical training. But here again this technical training is lopsided. Higher education is emphasised— production of engineers through university engineering colleges and through polytechnics. That is how the Central Government promotes technical education in this country. And the result is thousands of unemployed engineers and technicians. Here again what is required is we must go down to the base. The hundred millions of unskilled workers must be trained into skilled workers and they must become trained agricultural workers familiar with modern techniques, modern scientific developments in agriculture. They must become trained mechanics, electrical welders trained to become foremen. It is in regard to this rapid promotion of technical training among the millions of unskilled workers that the Central Government must devote most of its attention and most of the money available. Not a word is said about subordinate technical educa-

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy] tion. All that is said about technical training is in regard to university engineering colleges and polytechnics. Then I come to the vexed question of the Sapru House Library. I will not lose myself in the number of contradictory reports of committees or hesitations of Ministers and their going back on their promises or their original decisions. I will confine myself to this one fact that a library is an integral institution. It cannot be divided into parts, one portion going to one institution and another portion going to another institution. In reply to my remarks about the Sapru House Library partition, I referred to the Minister's own experience as a teacher. When he replied as a research teacher he had to go to a number of libraries. True. But the number of separate libraries were already there. They were not divided artificially. Who would ever think of the Bodleian Library of Oxford, for instance, being divided between the University and the one or two needy colleges which want books and are not able to supply? Who would ever think Cambridge University Library would like to be divided into two parts, one belonging to the University and the other to some needy institutions? If the Jawaharlal Nehru University wants a library, it should have a library, it should have its own library. Is it because the Government of India wants to run away from its financial obligations towards the Jawaharlal Nehru University that it has allowed the Jawaharlal Nehru University steal some thousands of books of the Sapru House Library? They say that the School of International Studies is affiliated to the Jawaharlal Nehru University. But the library is not affiliated. It is the institution that is affiliated. The library should remain where it was born. I hope the Minister of Education will take into account the support which this demand has received from almost all the newspapers of India. There had been agitation for the retention of the library in its present building and that agitation was

supported by almost all the newspapers, not only in the North, but in the South as well. I hope and trust that the Minister of Education will start his career by doing this simple act of justice and by preventing this act of vandalism which will be perpetrated if this good and historic library which is nearly 30 or 40 years old is removed from there. It should be retained as it is at present. I do not want the present Education Minister to start his career by spoiling it, at the very beginning and depriving us of all the hopes and expectations for the future of education under his Ministership by committing what I call an act of sheer vandalism.

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT (Nominated) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, we are discussing today the working of the Ministry of Education. I do not propose—as I wish—to give a Drain Inspector's report on the Ministry of Education. But I should like to confine myself to some larger issues and broader problems. I think everybody in this House will agree with me that there is a crisis in education—a crisis in primary education, a crisis in secondary education and a crisis in higher education. Sir, this crisis is not due to mere lack of ideas. It is not. There have been no dearth of committees and commissions to look into these problems. There is the Radhakrishnan Committee Report, there is the Kothari Committee Report and there is the report by Gajendragadkar and there are reports by various others, all gathering dust with all their brilliant ideas. There have been similar reports on secondary education, primary education and on other aspects of educational activities. In my humble opinion, I submit to the Minister of Education, what has been lacking besides implementation is an overall view, a total plan and linkage between different segments, different sectors and different aspects of the basic problem. Educational reform must be looked upon as a whole and not piecemeal. Often we have picked up this aspect of reform sometimes we have picked up the

other aspect; sometimes we have picked up some aspects of primary education; at other times we have picked up some aspects of secondary education or higher education. Sometimes we have looked into the problem of pay-scales of teachers; sometimes we have looked into research problems; sometimes finances. But unfortunately no overall attention has been paid to our educational system as such. I submit that the educational system has become so rotten that it absorbs all piecemeal changes and still remains out-dated, outmoded and unserviceable. What is, therefore, needed is a multi-pronged attack which includes every aspect of education from primary, secondary to higher education, from examination system to democratisation, decentralisation and salary scales of teachers and all other aspects.

Unless we can bring within the purview of our discussions all the aspects at the same time, I am afraid, it will not be possible to find a solution to the crisis that our education is facing today.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, before I come to the question of higher education, I should like to refer to what some other distinguished honourable Members have probably referred to, that is, the lopsided development that has taken place in our educational system. We have ignored schooling, but have concentrated upon collegeing, if I may invent that word. We have ignored the base, but have concentrated on the super-structure. This House is perhaps aware of the fact that we spend as much on the two million students of colleges and universities as on the 16 million from the First to the Fifth Class and perhaps on the 30 million from the Sixth to the Eighth Class. We have pampered higher education, but ignored and forgotten primary education.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI  
PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY  
in the Chair.)]

If I may give the experience of other countries, Madam, during the period of its development Japan has spent two-thirds of its educational expenditure on primary education alone. The situation may be different in Japan today. But, during the period of its development, during the take-off period, so to say, Japan was spending mostly on primary education. And, then, Madam, take the example of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union achieved universal elementary education in a very short period through a crash programme. It followed a vigorously selective policy for higher education and it still follows a vigorously selective policy for higher education and there is at present almost universal literacy in the Soviet Union. The rate of increase of literacy in our country is pitifully low, as low as than 1% per year, if my figures are correct, and there is a higher rate of drop-outs in the field of primary education. I think that hardly 50 out of any 100 students complete five years of schooling. Now, if we have to learn any lesson from this—because the problem of primary education is that it has to be concentrated on and oriented towards our rural areas—it is this that one of the measures that is essential to make a success of our primary education is to provide mid-day lunch to the boys. Otherwise, it will not be possible for us to enable the primary education programmes to succeed.

Then, Madam, I come to the question of secondary education which has been ballooning almost every six or seven years. It doubles itself every six or seven years. But the direction, the content, the orientation, the syllabi—all need renovation and modernisation. In our country, one out of eight students enrolled in secondary education schools is getting any vocational

[Dr. Vidya Prakash Dutt] training whereas in Germany and Japan at least two out of every three students enrolled in secondary schools go for vocational training. What worries me—and I would like to share my worry with the Members of the House—is that 80% of our secondary school students are out of the purview of science. Even those who go to schools do not get scientific education. They remain untouched and unaffected by the temper of science, by the scientific spirit and by the knowledge of science. I submit, Madam, that no country can make any progress if three-fourths of its population which is getting education remains outside the realm of scientific knowledge. It is not the lack of scientific knowledge alone that worries me. But, what bothers me is that they remain unaffected and untouched by the scientific spirit and by the scientific temper and unless we can promote in our schools, primary and secondary, the spirit of science amongst the students and the knowledge of science, it will not be possible for us to catch up with the advanced countries of the world. In fact, now there is far too much superstition. There is far too much ignorance. There is far too much darkness in our country, precisely because our education, and particularly our secondary education, has not been invested with the scientific spirit, and most of the students remain blissfully ignorant of the scientific spirit and of knowledge of science.

Now, Madam, turning to higher education, I do not want to make all the points that have already been made by many of my friends here, I should like to be brief because, I believe there are many others yet to speak. But turning to higher education, first of all, I should like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the University world is undergoing a quantitative expansion unknown in its long history. But we have done little to prepare for and to meet this explosion in numbers in University education. In fact,

our educational policy has been marked by a neglect of the large mass of undergraduate studies. Sixty per cent of our higher education is subsidized by the State in some form or other. But our planning, I think, is topsy turvy. I will give only one example. We first create facilities for the creation of doctors and engineers and then we plan to provide jobs for them. Instead of first knowing how many doctors, how many engineers and how many other technical personnel we need and then creating facilities for that many, we first create unlimited facilities and then we try to plan how to give employment to them. Obviously, it is a topsy-turvy system.

I should also like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the Planning Commission had made certain projection. Now the projections they made for educational expansion for 1980 have practically been realised by now. Whereas they had projected an economic rate of growth of 6 per cent, in actual practice, the economic rate of growth did not exceed 4 per cent. So there was this tremendous gap, this lag between economic planning and educational planning which has led to what we have called the explosion of numbers. And the situation, if I may put it like this, Madam, is like sitting on a powder keg with a lighted, naked candle. Two different kinds of explosions are taking place in the world today. I refer to the explosion of numbers. But there has also been an explosion of knowledge. Knowledge is rapidly expanding, searching new horizons, opening new frontiers, and posing new problems. The explosion of knowledge requires an action which is inconsistent with the action required for sudden population explosion. The two are contradictory, and the demands of the two are contradictory. To scan the frontiers of knowledge and to keep abreast with knowledge in the world requires a qualitative approach, not a quantitative approach, whereas to keep pace with the explosion of numbers call for a quantitative approach, and not a qualitative approach. We have somehow

to reconcile these two contradictions. I warn that we must not reconcile the two contradictions by sacrificing quality to quantity, No country, I submit, Madam, allows its higher education to stagnate and decline the way we are doing. Quality, as I said, is being sacrificed at the altar of quantity. I can understand and I sympathise with the view that higher education cannot be made too selective in India because higher education is already available only to the top strata of our society. If we make it more selective, obviously we will be narrowing the pace of our education and, therefore, it will not be possible to adopt the same policy that has been adopted in many other countries—that will be totally closing the doors of our education to the poorer and weaker sections of our society. There is the commitment of society to provide higher education to those who wanted and needed but I say that although the commitment of higher education is there, there is no commitment to provide the same kind of education for everyone. There must be different forms of education provided to different categories of people. It is not necessary that the same kind of education must be provided to person 'A' and the kind of education to person 'B' and so on. We can employ different methods, different techniques, different ways of imparting education to different categories of people. We certainly ought to adopt a variety of forms suitable to the conditions of this country, but at the same time have we paused to note what we are doing to our big universities? The way we are allowing big universities to expand in an unlimited way, I suggest. Madam, will spell out sooner or later the death of all these big universities. I have in my mind a number of big universities in the country. There is the Calcutta University, the Delhi University, the Bangalore, Bombay and other big universities, and I am afraid that all our political parties and those in the Government are guilty in this respect by pulling intolerable pressures on these universities that the result at present is

that these universities are becoming teaching shops in our country. The standards that they were maintaining are rapidly declining and at the same time I warn the Government that unless there is a total reorganisation of the management, of the Boards and of the academic situation in our universities, very soon a crisis will be overtaking even the better universities of this country. What we need is not tinkering with the problem which we have done so far. What we need is to look at the total situation as suggested in the beginning, to look at this academic situation and to reorganise the universities, decentralise them so as to have combined responsibility and authority in a suitable democratic manner at the lower level.

We have had many reports. I mentioned some of the reports. The Radhakrishnan Report, the Kothari Report and the latest Gajenaragadkar Committee's Report have been there. Now I do not know what has happened to the Gajendragadkar Report. In my view, even this Report does not go far enough in tackling the problems of the universities. But even to the extent that it goes, we have not yet taken any action to see that those steps are implemented, that those recommendations are implemented. Therefore, I say, Madam, that on the one hand the pressure from political parties, from government at critical times of the university must cease and at the same time there must be decentralisation and democratisation of the universities simultaneously.

Madam, we have talked about nationalisation in various areas of our economy and other activities of our life. I do not know whether nationalisation 4 P.M. will provide the answer in every field but I do know that in education at least private industry must end, that in higher education, of all the fields, unscrupulous private entrepreneurship must not be allowed to have their way and to lower standards of our higher education and at the same time to exploit

[Dr. Vidya Prakash Dutt] their institutions for their own private purposes. I believe that out of the colleges that we have in this country at least 80% perhaps are in private hands and I am not the first one. A number of educationists have said that there is no place for private industry in higher education and that higher education must be nationalised. I submit to the Minister—we have a new dynamic Educational Minister now and I hope he will look into all these problems and see that there is an overall and total plan linking primary education with secondary education, with higher education, with the problem of research, with the problem of wage scales, with the problem of democratisation, etc. I hope he will have a total look at the problem and provide an overall solution and will take steps to end the dominance of private entrepreneurship in our educational system but there is one crisis that I would mention about which I do not know if the Minister can do anything. There is a moral and spiritual crisis in our education and when I say moral and spiritual crisis I do not mean religious crisis. I do not mean religion at all. In fact I think religious obscurantism has played havoc with education and therefore I am not thinking in terms of any religious crisis. What I think is a crisis arising from the fact that we preach one thing and practise another. It arises from the fact that there is a credibility gap between the elders and the young. What is this gap? If I may, I would quote a well-known educationist:

"The student is told that he must seek truth and finds around him the denial of the truth of life and liberty of masses of people within his country and outside. He imbibes doctrines of equality and human rights and sees around him racism, discrimination and incessant violation of human rights. He is told that the basis of scholarship is objectivity and finds that his life and that of his parents and society is based on personal pursuits and impersonal egoism. He is told to

use his imagination as an instrument of progress and sees its methodical abuse in the ingenuous transformation of sense into nonsense and nonsense into sense. He is told that all true knowledge contributes to peace, international understanding and human well-being, and he finds that this knowledge has led him to live under the giant mushroom of the nuclear stalemate, on which over 10% of his country's national income is being expended and over which broods "a conspiracy of silence". He is told to bring the spirit of tolerance and charity to his work and to his fellow men and he finds all around him, in Asia, in the Middle East, in Africa and in Europe, minor wars raging, in which thousands of innocent men, women and infants are being slaughtered or maimed for life."

What in fact he finds is that on the one hand he is told that all the good things of life are being taught to him but he finds hypocrisy, lies and deceit surrounding him. This is the dilemma which faces him and when he discovers this dilemma he shouts and says: this is the bloody business, Sir, what am I to do? Now, I do not know whether this dilemma of our society can be tackled by the Minister for Education alone but I do know that this spiritual dilemma, this dichotomy between what is taught and what is practised is very much there and is causing unrest among the young people and it is for all of us to consider what we can do to find a solution to this dilemma. Thank you.

DR. R. JC CHAKRABARTI (West Bengal): Madam Vice-chairman, it is high time that we take a hard look at the education policies of our country. From the Report of the ICochari commission we find that in the last two decades, primary secondary, college and university education has considerably



risen. Enrolment has increased enormously and colleges and universities have sprung up in many places in the country in a haphazard manner without even considering the availability of teaching manpower and other facilities. I would like very much to discuss a few important points in the field of education.

Nowadays there is a craze for change. We always hear that there must be a change; this system is obsolete but no one spells out really what those changes should be. Are we not going to teach Newton's Law and the Laws of Friction to the students? Are we going to teach them something else? The purpose of school, college and university education is to provide a strong foundation in the fundamental and basic theories and laws to make the students competent enough so that after a thorough grinding they would be capable of tackling any job in their line of specialisation. What is this job-oriented education of which we hear so much now? Instead of teaching engineering subjects to the engineering students are you going to teach them how to make sewing machines only or how to make pump sets only to suit a particular industry or some particular industries? College and university education can never be like that. It is just like a foundation of the multi-storeyed building; if the foundation is good and strong you may build any number of storeys you like without any difficulty but if the foundation is weak the building is going to fall after some time. School, college and university education are just foundation-making places. Once this is learnt perfectly, it does not matter where you put the boy, he is bound to come up successful in the world. What is our main evil? Our main evil lies elsewhere. It is in the proper planning of education and in providing full

employment to everyone coming out of schools and colleges.

Now education is a State subject. In the last 25 years we could not agree on a common system all over the country. In some States we have introduced an experiment of having Class 11 with the hope of raising it to Class 12. In some States we have the mixed school system of Class 10 and Class 11 running side by side just like our mixed economy which has failed and is bound to fail. And it has miserably failed in some States as you can see from the fact that some of those States are going to go back to Class 10 again. What was wrong with the age-old system of Class 10? Having worked this system for a long time if you convert the schools to have Class 11 and Class 12 there will be tremendous difficulty in getting properly qualified teachers for the higher classes. A good teacher, a good Master's Degree-holder or having Doctorate will not accept this job because he will have no chance of contact with post-graduate studies or research work. What you are now getting is only third-rate teachers for these schools where you are opening Class 11 and Class 12.

Next we come to the different streams in the Higher Secondary Schools. We have introduced the technical stream at the Higher Secondary level along with science and humanity. The idea was that when the boys will come out of this stream they will have to go to professional trade training so that they can become licentiates and diploma-holders. And the boys from the science stream, they will go for pure science studies—to become B. Sc. and M. Sc—or Medicine or Engineering. But when the first batch of students of the Technical stream came out of the school, they wanted to get admission in the engineering colleges, and when they were refused admission under the conditions for admission on

[Dr. R. K. Chakrabarti] the ground that they had less grounding in some of the science subjects, the students and their guardians started agitation, and then we were forced to take them in the engineering colleges. The guardians said that when this stream was opened, they enquired from the Head Masters, "What is this stream?" And the Head Masters told them that the boys who will go to the technical stream, they only will be admitted in the engineering colleges, and the Science boys will go for B.Sc, M.Sc. I enquired from some of the Head Masters at that time, "Is this true?" They told me that they were advised by the Education Department in the State that unless we tell the guardians like that, no guardian is going to put his ward in the technical stream, because they want their children to be admitted in engineering and medicine. And now we see this is the result; very few schools have introduced the Technical stream and there also not many students are studying in the Technical stream. So, this is a total failure practically.

Now look at the polytechnics which have been opened in different places in the country, because some of the hon. Members just now mentioned that we must give them vocational training and they should not go for becoming white-collar-job-holders or something like that. These polytechnics were meant for producing technicians who will be able to handle machinery and also will be able to tackle supervisory jobs. But in most of the polytechnics what is the picture nowadays? In some of the polytechnics the total number of students is less than the number of teachers in the institution. Why this has happened? What was wrong with the plan? Because there is no guarantee that the boys coming out of the polytechnics and the engineering colleges will get jobs suitable to their training. Our employers are very reluctant to employ any licentiate, diploma-holder or engineering graduate in different capacities. Why? Because, in

that case, they are to pay them a little more. So, what they are doing? They are just taking apprentices on a very meagre salary and teach them how to handle a particular machine. And ultimately what is the result? The result is in the quality of production, about which we have heard this morning. This morning we have heard about and razor blade manufactured here. We have heard that with one blade we cannot shave even one time. Why? What is the reason? If you enquire, probably you will find that the people who are responsible for quality control, or for manufacture, or for know-how or the technique of the machine manufacturing the blade, that they must be coming from a very low level and they are very lowly paid and the employers are very reluctant to put qualified men, properly technically qualified men, men who have had polytechnic education or engineering education, to employ such people in those places to have a development and quality control section. I would like to give an example, a very small example. Probably all of us here are aware that in small towns in our whole country there are compounders who work along with the doctors for some time and then, after several years, they go back to their villages and they start practising medicine independently. And they become full doctors. And then what happens to the treatment of the poor villagers who are there and who necessarily have to go to them? They simply live on the mercy of God. And that is what is happening in the field of technical and vocational training also. We have so many civil contractors all over the country who are doing works worth over a lakh of rupees, every year. But how many of these civil contractors are employing licentiates or diploma-holders or qualified engineers to supervise the proper execution of the jobs? And that is why we get so many failures in the construction jobs done in different parts of the country. And most of the time we put the blame on

the materials supplied by the different people or the different organisations. There may be some difference in the material supplied. But then, there lies also the question or the problem of the supervisory staff, who are really responsible for execution of the whole work. My suggestion is that a registration number should be given to all engineering graduates and diploma-holders and the employers should be forced to employ these people having registration numbers just as only medical practitioners who have registration numbers are permitted to practise medicine in this country. For want of time I will not go into the details of the science and humanities stream. There is large scale frustration amongst our younger generation. They are not taking even education seriously. We find that mass copying is going on in many places in the country. Reform of examination is no doubt needed, but here again my earnest request is that we should not go in for a mixed system. Either we follow the old system of examination which has prevailed for a hundred years or we adopt a sensible system which has been proved to be successful elsewhere in the world. Adequate library facilities must be given everywhere. We have a National Library at Calcutta, but it has a meagre collection of technical and engineering books. We have made several representations to the Ministry to set up national libraries for technical and engineering books at different places in the country. In this connection I find that a controversy has arisen regarding the shifting of the Sapru House library. Is this shifting really necessary at all? It takes a long time to build up a good public library. Shifting will be practically a Tughlakian idea. Tughlak wanted to shift his capital several times. Instead of wasting our time and energy in shifting the library, we should devote our energy in establishing more new libraries.

Next, I would like to devote just a minute to the pay scales of the teaching

and non-teaching staff or primary and secondary schools. It is a great regret that even after twenty-five years of independence the pay of a full-time matriculate primary school teacher is one-third of what a jute, mill worker gets. Do you expect a person who is getting such a meagre salary to pay attention to his job? That also he does not get every month. Sometimes he gets his pay in instalments after two or three months. Now, do you expect these people to devote their full time and energy to the cause of education without looking after the welfare of their families? In some colleges, in most of the private but Government aided colleges in big cities the salary of a professor or lecturer is Rs. 170 and the Government pays Rs. 100 or Rs. 150 as an ad hoc grant. There also the payment comes not every month regularly. It comes in a lump sum after four or five months. How do you expect the man to make both ends meet in the meantime? Now, in the universities we have a different problem. We have different pay scales in different places and these scales are creating tension. Many lecturers are highly qualified. They have a Master's degree or a Doctor's degree. They are young men. Our requirement is three years' teaching experience or five years teaching experience for becoming a Reader. In our pyramidal system of promotion there is very little scope for highly qualified people to go up from the level of a lecturer to a Reader. My humble suggestion to the hon. Minister is that we should have only one or two grades at the university level with a very wide range, so that frustration may not come in our young and talented teachers and then they do no try to migrate from one place to another.

Next about university administration. In the university governing bodies most of the time we find that they are filled by people from outside, about eighty per cent. My suggestion in this respect is that on any university or college

[Dr. R. K. Chakrabarti] governing body there should be proper representation on a 50: 50 basis. The people who are working in the university or college, the employees, must have fifty per cent representation in the governing body. Fifty percent can come from the public because it is run out of public money. Among the employees there should be teaching staff representatives, non-teaching staff representatives and students' representatives also, if possible. And from the public bodies we should have representation; representation from the Government and from the learned institutions, professional institutions and so on.

Lastly, I would like to put a question to the hon. Minister. Why not the Education Ministers of all the States in the 'country and the educationists sit under the guidance of the hon. Minister and have a broad policy regarding the number of years of schooling branching off at different points for different vocations, integral technical education, etc. ? Details about the programme of studies and the curriculum may be taken up by the States afterwards. This committee should meet and come out with their recommendations and if those recommendations are accepted, they must be implemented all over the country without delay.

Thank you.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala) : If I were not a trade unionist, I would have liked to become a teacher because I know, as a trade unionist I help in seeing that those exploited sections get better conditions.

AN HON. MEMBER : Teachers have become trade unionists.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON : I would like to see a young man becoming a new man who will reshape the future

of the country. This is the biggest role I that two people can do—the mass movement man who will improve the conditions of work and also who will help in the reorganisation of the society from that end and the teacher who should guide the new man to come into existence. This is a very big role that he has to play. Unfortunately, this is not being done and why ? Who is responsible for it ? I am not one of those who feel terribly worried when there is an agitation. Something is rotten and the students and the teachers are perfectly entitled to come out and see that these things are changed. In the last 25 years we have inherited a system which has become a fetter in the further development of our country. It has to be broken. If it is to be broken peacefully, I would like to see that it is done; if it cannot be done like that, the only thing is to join the agitators and finish off this system which has been a terrible obstacle in our country's progress.

Now, from the elementary education up to the university education, almost everything is wrong. We have promised that we will see that every young man and every child in this country gets a proper education. Have we succeeded ? No. Why is it so ? It is because in most of the villages there are people who cannot afford to send their boys for education. When education is free, they should be able to send them to school. But why is it that they are not sending them to school ? It is because these children are necessary for agricultural labour and to help them to earn a better living. What do we see ? Twelve-year old boys 13 years old boys and girls also, they are partners in production in the agricultural fields. They cannot afford to send them to school. In every village, there are two types of villagers. One type consists of those who do no work and the schools are meant for them, and the other is, those who 'do honest work but can never get into the school. So, I would suggest, as

has been suggested by certain eminent educationists, that the school timing must be changed. The harvest period must be the period of vacation in the agricultural areas so that at least the family gets a little income through these boys who are working the fields. There is nothing wrong at all in making a living like that. It is not child labour. I am prepared to accept this system because he also learns and earns along with his work. Mahatma Gandhi's concept of labour-oriented education will be successful in the villages, in the agrarian areas, if our boys are given education and if they are also allowed to earn. If agriculture labour gets the minimum of Rs. 5 per day, and when the father, the mother and the children earn there is possibility that the children will be enabled to get education. We have not brought about that change. Some such attempt shall have to be made, I think. Now let us see. Changes are taking place in the villages. Agro-industries are coming up. Tractors are there in certain areas. Tillers are there in certain areas. But when a tractor stops, it has to come to the town and the whole process is over. The tractor cannot be made use of. I would suggest that workshops should be opened with the help of the Agriculture Ministry and in that respect the Education Ministry should also have a new understanding. They should see to it that these boys are trained there. That will be very helpful. Agriculture can participate in it. Industry can participate in it. Education can participate in it. Thus the boys will get good jobs in the village itself. A new kind of education, craft centres will come up. So we can make use of agriculture and industry in certain areas, at least in areas where green revolution is coming up. Where tractors are used in large numbers and new technical hands are necessary our boys who are up till now not having this kind of education will get that kind of education too. I would, therefore, suggest that we change the period of education in such a way that

agriculture labour is in a position to attend these schools.

Now, who should be the teachers ? I feel that complete elementary education should be handed over to women. Up to High School it should be so because they are the best to deal with the children. I would, therefore, suggest that sufficient inducement should be given to educated young women to take up teaching of elementary classes and also classes up to the High School so that they are able to give a new atmosphere in the schools and in the classes.

There should also be reservation of jobs for that section of our people who have up to now been denied proper representation in jobs. That is another suggestion which I would like to make.

Then an atmosphere of education can be further created by involving the villagers in the construction of school buildings. The best thing will be to invite the people of that village to help them build a good school there. If a village is promised a High School and college students and villagers are mobilised for the work, unemployed young men are mobilised, you will be in a position to see that the entire section of the village participates, Schools will be constructed with the help of the local people. Therefore, the problem of construction should be left to the panchayat of that village. Let there be bigger buildings for schools constructed with the help of the village people. Let us not squeeze these people in the same building in so many shifts. Money must be collected in the form of cess from the villagers. Put tax. If you are not able to collect money from the people in the form of tax, then there must be education cess from all those people who have got big lands there and also from industrialists who have got industries there.

(Time belt rings)

[Shri Balachandra Menon]

Then the question of examination comes. The examination has become a bugbear. Our boys have no other job than cramming their books. They do not have time to play. Their life has become miserable. It is time to change the system that there should be no examination up to High School; there should be some tests. And the teachers must be in a position to evaluate their students and see that they are allowed to go to the higher class. I would not elaborate on that because there is no time left. Anyhow, the present education system is very bad.

As for inspection I would suggest that the teachers must be there for inspection. It should be a promotion for the teachers. Why should you recruit students fresh from the University? He has absolutely no understanding of education. Now a post is advertised and the yong man applies and becomes an Inspector. No, somebody who has some experience in education must be the Inspector.

Another thing that I want to point out is, these public schools have become a menace. In big cities you have got such big schools. They have an entirely different outlook. It is high life and they have nothing to do with the ordinary people. Our people are mainly in the villages. These children also should get the same kind of education that the ordinary people get. It is the big man's children who go to these public schools. We do not want that. You speak so much about socialism, this and that. See that at least this pattern is made the same. Let there not be two classes of education in the educational system.

The other thing is about students' participation. In all high schools and universities, there should be students' participation. How to do that? I would say in the university bodies, along with the representatives of the teachers and non-teaching staff, the students should also

have representation; in the senate, syndicate, etc., they should be there. That is one of the suggestions that I would like to make. There is no use thinking that our boys are not fit for that. They are. We are five or six generations away from the modern boy. We do not know what he thinks. He has something new to tell us. He belongs to a different era. He is born after independence. He has something very new to tell us. Let us take him into confidence and let us have him in these university bodies. So, a complete reorganisation is necessary and this should be immediately attended to. As it is, we have theory without practice, knowledge without knowing and life without living. This has to be stopped. Knowledge is through knowing. Life must be through living. And this can be achieved only if better education is given to the toiling people, mainly to the workers and peasants. {Time bell rings.} I have only two or three more things to say. I have got some papers here. One of them speaks about the anarchic conditions in the Mother's International School in Delhi. There we find that the school teachers have no security of service and the teachers are being beaten up by the management. Innumerable complaints have been received. Yet nothing is done even when this school is functioning in Delhi itself. I want an enquiry into what is happening (here, and the conditions of service and other things which other institutions give to their staff must be assured to the staff here.

The next thing is about the Sapru House Library. It has already been mentioned here and I would only want to add my voice that it should not be split. The Sapru House Library should be maintained as it is now. That will be much more helpful. Now there is an attempt to see that it is taken over to the Jawaharlal Nehru University. Why should it be done? Why should this not be allowed to exist as it is? I would, therefore, earnestly request that on no account it should be taken out from its present place.

Only one more point I would like to bring to your notice and that is about technical education. As has been pointed out, what is required now is not too many engineers but sufficient number of technicians. This should be the attempt now. Quite a number of technicians are required. Here what I would suggest is, some kind of training will have to be given to our traditional carpenters, traditional black smiths and so on. Some inducement also will have to be given. Even the question of giving them some grant or something must be considered so that we help these traditional workers of ours and not throw them out on the streets. They be made use of for the further improvement of our technical growth. This is all I have to suggest.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Keraia) : Madam Vice-Chairman, the honourable Minister would have noticed that previously when a Calling Attention Motion was moved before this House on the subject-matter and now in the course of the discussion on this Motion by Dr. Bhai Mahavir, almost every Member who spoke has raised his feelings in respect of the proposed division of the Sapru House Library. The mover of the Motion has dealt with some aspects and the most important point that I would like to bring to the honourable Minister's attention is that not one single member of this House has raised his voice in support of the proposal. That is because the Sapru House Library is a status symbol of India scholarship. It is one of the best libraries in the world and is the best and biggest in Asia and Africa on international relations and area studies. In fact, I understand that this is the only Indian library which has international reputation. As you know, one of our best libraries in the country is the National Library in Calcutta. We have got one more national library, I think, housed at Patna. We have no national libraries in the other great dues of this country like Bombay and Madras. We have no library with a national

status even in Delhi. But national status and international status has been' acquired by the Sapru House Library. In 1971 besides the scholars of the School of International Studies, this Library, I understand, was used by scholars from 35 other Indian Universities and from 22 foreign Universities. Besides, it is used by a large number of journalists, Members of Parliament, diplomatic personnel and the general public. The Sapru House Library is the only Indian library growing in the pattern of the British Museum Library. It has grown in all directions. The preservation of this Library's integrated character is important to the promotion of research and learning in this country. The disastrous effect of a partition of this Library between the Indian Council of World Affairs and the School of International Studies would be seen from the fact that practically every set of books in this Library would be partitioned out. As things stand at present, in this Library there is no duplication in any of the journals or issues. Therefore, any partition between the ICWA and the School of International Studies would inevitably destroy every section of this good Library. Therefore, its preservation as an integrated unit is of utmost national and international importance. This is also important in view of the fact that none of the 78 Indian Universities could build up so far a research and reference library of this magnitude despite the rich resources they had at their disposal. Several thousands of Indian and foreign scholars have already utilised this Library. Seventeen years ago when a proposal was mooted in Great Britain to split the British Museum Library, the British House of Commons rejected the proposal on the ground that a division of the British Museum Library would affect Britain's international prestige. The House of Commons agreed for expansion of the British Museum Library. It has already been brought to the notice of the hon. Minister that as late as 22nd March 1972, 186 Members of Parliament belong'

[Shri K. Chandrasekharan] ing to both House have signed a memorandum requesting that this library should be preserved as it is. Various newspapers including the Times of India, the Indian Express, and the Hindustan Times to speak only a few, have written editorials with facts and figures as to why this Sapru House Library should be preserved and maintained as it is. Madam, the research scholars of the School of International Studies have also passed a resolution stating that the joint library should be kept in tact. Above all. . .

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (PROF. S. NURUL HASAN): May I seek a clarification? The library should be kept in tact where?

AN HON. MEMBER : In its present location.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : The resolution as it stood did not say where. Subsequently, I understand that the research scholars have submitted a memorandum stating that the library should be preserved in tact and that the library could be moved to the location of those research scholars. The question of location is of minor concern as far as I am concerned. I should make it quite clear \* that I am for maintaining the integrity of this library. Whether it is to be housed in Sapru House or not, is more a matter of economy and may be prestige to some extent. But so far as I could see, I can understand no reason if the research scholars and all others concerned want the integrity and unity of this library to be maintained as to why it should be moved from Sapru House at all. That is a minor thing, even though it is my view.

Madam, the hon. Minister of Education at the time. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, had also agreed with the Chandra Reddy Committee's recommendation that the joint library at Sapru House should not be divided and

he had stated that some method should be found by which the organic character of the joint library should be kept. I submit that the proposed bifurcation of the Sapru House Library is not certainly in the interests of this library and the library movement in this country. I would, therefore, plead with the hon. Minister that this government should exert all its influence and pressure on the autonomous organisations concerned to see that the unity of the library is maintained. I would also plead with the government to see that this library is raised to the status of a national library of this country.

Madam, the other aspect that I would like to touch upon is the development of Hindi in the non-Hindi speaking States. I submit that according to the Constitution it is the responsibility of the Central Government to see that Hindi is developed in the non-Hindi speaking States. But I must say that in spite of various efforts of various Education Ministers, the development of Hindi is not being attended to in a proper or adequate manner by the Central Government. It is stated in the report that has been given to us that in the matter of appointment of Hindi teachers of non-Hindi speaking States, 100 per cent grant would be given, but in practice this is not being implemented because there are limitations. It is surprising and shocking. Madam, that as a result, in most of the non Hindi-speaking States, particularly a non-Hindi speaking State like Kerala, where there is absolutely no prejudice against Hindi, there are a large number of temporary hands for Hindi teaching, a large number of part-time hands for Hindi teaching, the entire scheme of Hindi teaching has been affected.

Then, Madam proposals for the establishment of Hindi Teachers' Training Colleges in the non-Hindi-speaking States have come through to a certain extent. But the trained teachers are not able to get jobs because there are limitations on the



appointment of Hindi teachers and limitations in the matter of hours of teaching in Hindi. Again, Madam, in the matter of opening Hindi-medium Colleges or establishing Hindi-medium sections in the existing colleges in the non-Hindi speaking States, absolutely nothing has been done so far by the Central Government. There was a proposal at one stage, when Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao was the Minister, to have a Hindi-medium college located in Bangalore. The Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha had sponsored the idea of a Hindi-medium college to be located in any of the Southern States and yet the proposal has not been implemented, the proposal of a Hindi-medium college or Hindi-medium classes in the existing colleges in the non-Hindi-speaking States.

Then, Madam, the third point that I would like to stress in the question of sports. Madam, the Central Government had been rather playing with sports, if I would say so, because the All-India Council of Sports was functioning quite efficiently and in spite of the fact that the All-India Council of Sports working efficiently, on the 10th December 1970, the National Council of Sports and Physical Education was formed and after two years or less years of working of the National Council of Sports and Physical Education, it was found that that organisation was not working properly and now the Government has reverted to the All-India Council of Sports which has now been reorganised. Then, the system of grants by the Government to the All-India Council of Sports and from the All-India Council to the various State Councils is, if I may say so, absolutely inadequate and so far as certain States are concerned, totally discriminatory. As a result, the sports agencies in the various States and particularly in my State of Kerala have not been able to develop to the extent they can on account of pure lack of finances even though the Central Government is by and large spending quite a lot for sports as a whole in the country.

Then, Madam, there is another thing with regard to sports which has come up in the form of questions during the last two or three years in this honourable House and every time vague answers only have been given and that is the question of tennis balls. Our country has got a high place in tennis and cricket. But, Madam, it is rather tragic that during the last two or three years there has been a very great shortage of tennis balls and in the tennis ball factories there have been strikes and lock-outs and there has been an absolute lack of raw materials and import of the necessary raw materials for these tennis balls had not been there and there has been nobody to look into this question and there has been no rational distribution of tennis balls so far as the various States are concerned.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala):  
The Foreign Trade Minister, Mr. Mishra,  
should take note of this.

SHRI K.P. SUBRAMANIAM MENON  
The Foreign Trade Minister should take  
note of this.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN :  
Madam, before closing, the only thing that I would like to do is to make my very humble support to the very great proposals, if I may say so, made by the honourable Member, Dr. V.P. Dutt, in his remarks, particularly on university education. It has been a very sorrowful thing for me to hear from another previous speaker that there should be selective college education and that we should go on the basis of quality. If you want to restrict college education in this country, it has got to be on a fundamental basis. But we are not able to take that fundamental basis on account of various factors, particularly as the hon. Dr. Dutt very rightly stressed, on account of the very bad economic growth that we are having. And I completely support the expression of the view that the hon. Dr. Dutt made against any selective process in the matter of colleges education. If any selective

[Shri K. Chandrasekharan]  
 approach comes it will be the backward communities in this country that would suffer and anything that touches the backward communities in this country would certainly be against the interests of the nation as a whole.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) Mr. Gulam Nabi Untoo.

SHRI GULAM NABI UNTOO (Jammu and Kashmir) : Madam, Vice-Chairman as I happen to come from an area where education is free from primary education right up to the University education, my experience may be a bit different. All the speakers here, right from Mr. T.N. Singh down to Mr. Chandrasekharan, have almost put forth a common point: That is; the system of education is not only defective but it is abhorrent.

I cannot speak on University education, but with whatever little experience I have of primary and secondary schools—that too of my own State—I feel that what education gives to us and schools give to us is that a lot of boys and girls who come out have no purpose in life and are alien to their own home and to their society. That is the achievement of education in schools. My experience, though our State has free education, is that the present working of schools is such that only those who go to very good schools generally owned by private institutions or who have parents rich enough to pay for their tuitions, get their matriculation or higher secondary. The rest of the boys and girls, not less than 70 to 80 per cent, are never able to cross. Or, if at all they are able to pass their matriculation, it will always be in third class. Therefore, my impression has been that this type of education, this type of policy, is a capitalistic type of policy. It will only create such classes and such people only will go to the Universities whose parents are rich enough to maintain

them in the school\*, to pay for their tuitions, to spend money for their education. The remaining boys and girls and millions of people will not be able to touch universities.

Much is being said about literacy. We have not yet touched that level of literacy which we have promised in our Constitution. But a question is being posed to us that whatever number of literates we produce in the schools or in the colleges, so far they have no purpose, they are alien to the society, they are alien to their own home. What purpose will it serve if we send another batch of boys and girls to schools? I once asked a peasant in the village, "Why don't you send your boy for higher education after he passes the middle school examination?" He said, "Now I feel he is somehow useful to me in my work as a peasant. But if he passes matriculation or goes to college, then he will be completely and perfectly useless for me".

AN HON. MEMBER : An unemployed.

SHRI GULAM NABI UNTOO : Employment is not the question. We should not confuse it with unemployment. When he comes out of the school or college, it is not that he does not get employment, but he becomes useless in any other field because the education that is given to him in the school for 10 or 15 years makes him feel helpless. He feels purposeless in life. Thus if we go on creating millions of people who have no purpose in life, what will happen to our nation, a nation where more than 50 per cent of the boys and girls are less than 18 years of age? The result will be that this nation will turn out to be a purposeless nation, an aimless nation. Now this concept of free education should not be ill conceived in the sense that none should be asked to pay or contribute. Maybe there are poor people who cannot afford to pay. But the community as a whole, the village as a whole, can give us the building, can give us the playground, can give

us the land where we can construct the school.

Now the important factor in every school is the teacher. What is the status of our teachers in the present-day society? He is being looked down upon. Nobody likes to be a teacher. Only that person comes to this service who is rejected elsewhere. Therefore, only third-raters come here. In order to attract better people to this service, we have to treat it on a different ground. We cannot treat it on the level of other services because we have to accept this fact that a teacher cannot afford to earn in other ways as a Patwarl earns, as a man in Irrigation earns, as a PWD clerk earns. He is not holding a position where he can wield power. He should command respect from the society but he cannot now, due to the economic position or status that we enjoys. Therefore, we have to give him such a status that the society gives him recognition and the society thinks that his is a useful service, so that other people are also attracted to it.

As far as the training of the teachers is concerned, I am not satisfied with the training college after graduation or the training college after matriculation. Just as we have engineering colleges, medical colleges and other professional colleges, we should have a college of education where people from the matriculation or the higher secondary stage will join after proper test and those boys alone will be entitled to serve in the educational service. Why should others who have no experience of education come to this service? Why should it not be restricted to those who are fully qualified as teachers? Then alone can we have better teachers. But the primary thing that we have to take into account is that the pay and other amenities of the teacher must be double that of other services.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Please finish now.

SHRI GULAM NABI UNTOO : Then alone better people will come to this service and this service will be treated as an honourable service. Otherwise, the people would think of this service, as they do at present, as the most deteriorated, most outdated, most looked-down-upon service in the society. Thank you.

5. P.M.

PROF. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN (Nominated) : Madam Vice-Chairman, Paradoxical as it might appear but it is both satisfying and embarrassing to have an eminent educationist presiding over the Ministry of Education—satisfying because at long last we have been able to find a specialist in a place where no generalist will work better and embarrassing for a person like me attempting to speak rather presumptuously about the problem of education to one from whom one would like to learn. But nevertheless I will first mention some general problems of education and then pass on to what seems to be an important and urgent question.

It has been mentioned in this House that what is needed today is a more organic perspective of what ought to be called not only education for national reconstruction but also, education for socialist transformation. This has to be emphasised in this 25th year of Independence particularly because a certain pattern of national consensus has already been evolved which cuts\* across party-lines which cuts across ideological lines and for which a considerable national mandate is available. If the landslide victory of the Congress in the 1971 parliamentary elections and the 1972 Assembly elections is to be understood it can only be in the context that the people have given a massive mandate for a rapid fundamental transformation of this ancient land into a modern polity. Modernisation without the basic impulse of equalitari-

[Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan] anism, without the basic impulse of socialism will not solve the problems. I venture to suggest to our learned Minister that I hope he will during his tenure of office i try to make all possible efforts to transform the structure of education to suit the basic requirement of socialist transformation of society.

I will now mention two other respects. First of all I would like to draw attention to the increasing violence, I may add, criminality on the campuses of the universities. I feel almost heartbroken as a person who has been associated with a university for 22 long years located in a city which was known for its harmony, its culture, and its compassion, that in the campus of the Osmania University in Hydrabi I in this year a most dastardly murder of a brilliant student has taken place. This is alarming. I would only mention that this is to be investigated into thoroughly and remedial measures proposed. What type of intellectual culture, what type of political culture are we trying to build in this country ? If we are clear about the type of structure of values which we would like to give to the future generation, then we will have to do something immediately and it cannot be done by making speeches but it will have to be done in a concerted manner by all the parties, by all the sections, by all of us individually in this country.

**श्री जगबन्नी प्रसाद यादव :**  
लेकिन सरकार तो विदेश से विशेषज्ञ  
मंगायेगी कि वह बताये कि हम किस  
प्रकार की शिक्षा चलाये ।

**प्रोफेसर रशीदुद्दीन खान :** हमें  
जम्मीद है कि हमारी सरकार अपने मुल्क  
की तरफ ध्यान देगी ।

I would now like to mention briefly about the 'textbooks racket' to which Dr. Dult has already referred. One of the aspects in which a very systematic attempt is to be made is first to check this racket of private enterprise in text-book trade and then to build the whole structure of educational corpus of knowledge which should be available to the people. Text-books should reflect national values.

After this I would pass on to a very specific problem and I crave the indulgence of the Minister and also my friends and colleagues in this House. Madam Vice-Chairman, I speak with some hesitation but with some faith in the objectivity of the Honourable Members. I am a member of the f"Indian Council of World Affairs and I am also a member of the Faculty of Jawaharlal Nehru University, I am also one who has done his Ph.D. in the intellectually salubrious climate of Sapru House. I love it. I may even mention that I am 'addicted' to it. But let us examine the whole question with some sort of consideration for the principles involved. I would Mart by saying that it was a veiy welcome debate on the so-called Sapru House issue. It was an indication of the intellectual maturity of the people of the city of Delhi if not of India that a whole debate was going on regarding a library. I am happy for the first time a debate has taken place about books, about knowledge. To the extent that it was about a libraiy it was welcome. But while the impulse for the protection of a library was laudable, the proposal made in this regard, may I submit with alt humility, was self-defeating. It will destroy the very thing which the Members would like to protect. What are the issues involved ? I will first mention that the honourable members of the sovereign parliament of India, or even if it is not as sovereign because of the federal structure as it should be, ought

to also remember that there are autonomous institutions and corporate bodies within the sovereignty of India whose autonomy is derived from the sovereignty of the Republic which has also to be respected. I submit that the autonomy of universities, the autonomy of educational institutions has to be very carefully respected by us in this House. But I find to my chagrin a total disregard of the autonomy of a new and upcoming University—a University which has been established by an Act of Parliament—as reflected in the otherwise vociferous demand of some Members. I am however certain that they did not have that in mind. If not a single voice was heard against the so-called Save Sapru House Library Action Committee I would only say that it was because the members of the Jawaharlal Nehru University Faculty and the students were very conscious not only of their autonomy but also careful not to impinge on the sovereignty of the Parliament. And because I was in an embarrassing position of being a Member of this House and also of the University even I until today avoided speaking about it. I would like to tell you not merely as a member of the Jawaharlal Nehru University...

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : स्वामीनाथन  
टाइप का डाइरेक्टर कोई हो जायेगा तो  
उस तरह की बाड़ी का क्या हो जायेगा ?**

PROF. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN : that is another matter altogether. Here we are speaking of a University which we have established with considerable hope, I agree with the Member that if you have an abnormal person—V would not like to associate myself with the name he has mentioned—we can surely deal with the problem as it arises, but here is a question of a University having been built up with lot of hope, with a lot of expectation and

I will add with considerable talent. The facts are simple. The library is an integral part of an academic atmosphere. The library is also an integral part of the development of intellectual consciousness of the people. The Sapru House Library, I submit, is a specialised library by and large. Peripherally it serves the general readers as well but it is very specialised library. But we should remember that while it is specialised library it is not necessarily a library which can be called a National Library, because a National library should include the entire corpus of knowledge. The Sapru House Library is specialised in terms of international studies. Either we call it a National Library or reduce it to the position of a general library for lay readers. National libraries in composition and character are like the library of Congress, in U.S. or like the Library we have in Calcutta. I submit that the Sapru House library is a specialised Library and not a National library. The main problem is this. Between 1955 and 1970, the Indian School of International Studies attempted to build this library in order to serve the expanding demands of scholars who were working on international problems. In terms of cost Rs. 28 lakhs have been spent by the erstwhile Indian School of International Studies which is now affiliated to the Jawaharlal Nehru University and is now called the School of International Studies and only Rs. 5 lakhs have been spent by the Indian Council of World Affairs. I am mentioning the monetary factor only to underline the fact that the School was the main builder of the Sapru House Library. Whatever the number of books I may also add that almost half of the total cost of Rs. 28 lakhs was in foreign exchange. And how was it built up ? It was built up by the scholars going abroad. I am myself a Ph. D. of the erstwhile Indian School of International Studies and when we used to go out on field-trip and return we used to bring books and documents. All of us used to do that. That way it was built brick by brick with tremendous hope and

[Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan] expectation that the benefit of this library will become available to the students and others who are extending the frontiers of knowledge.

This School got affiliated to Jawaharlal Nehru University in 1970. Please remember that this School was a 'deemed University' within the framework of the U. G. C. Act. All the same, the Governing Body of the School, 'in their wisdom, wanted it to become part of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, and they wanted this precisely because they thought International Studies cannot be developed in isolation from other cognate disciplines. As a matter of fact, without making any adverse comment I may say that despite the achievements of the Indian School of International Studies which are well known, there was one very obvious lacuna. And it was this : that International Studies was attempted to be developed in isolation, away from social sciences and advanced study of foreign languages. Therefore, they joined Jawaharlal Nehru University in order to become part of the wider academic complex. In the Jawaharlal Nehru University you have the School of Social Sciences, you have the School of Foreign Languages, and other Schools of which I need not mention in this connection, and the School of International Studies is now an organic link in this chain. Therefore it is expected that once this Library becomes part of Jawaharlal Nehru University, the Library would in a matter of another fifteen years, become an excellent library for studies in all branches of social sciences. It will not only be the members of the Faculty and the scholars of the Jawaharlal Nehru University who would use it, but also, I am sure, other people from different parts of the country as well. Today we are overlooking this basic fact. Now let us see as to who are the users of this library. I do not want to go into all these facts. I have been reading the paper in which it has been mentioned

that there are 26,000 and odd readers in one calendar year. If you go through this paper so often cited in this House you will find that they have mentioned that while the users and readers of the School are 338, that of other 35 Indian Universities are 230, and out of this 230, 108 are from the Delhi University, 22 are from Aligarh and then between one to eight from the other 33 Universities. Now these people are still welcome to the Jawaharlal Nehru University. After all, as you are aware the British Museum Library housed in the city of London, one of the biggest cities in the world is not locationally near to all its users. Therefore, if this Library is shifted from Barakhamba Road to Vasant Vihar, it will still be in the city of Delhi, which will mean that locationally it will be available to everybody. Scholars from other universities are most welcome to the new Campus also. After all, these scholars do not come to read in a particular location or even a particular city. They come only to read the relevant material in this Library.

Then it is said that there are 25,000 "general readers" in a year in this Library. My own submission is that, probably in their anxiety, those who are trying to call themselves saviours of this Library, have calculated it on a very simple basis. 70 persons multiplied by 365 days does come to something more than 25,000. After all, Madam, these 25,000 are not readers. These are visits and they have been calculated on that basis. There are some of the facts. I would not like to take more time of the House. I will only say that what I have submitted is the unsaid story of this whole controversy. I am afraid even today it has been said rather inadequately. I am available at any time not only to the Members of the House but to others also to clarify their doubts, But I will plead that the Minister for Education must kindly take care of the belated submission of a joint memorandum by the members of the Faculty of Jawaharlal Nehru University.

city School of International Studies and the scholars there who have argued out their case. The whole controversy about the Library is unfortunately mounted by those who come to read a few newspapers or a few books here and there, who are not research scholars. But the pity is that nobody speaks about us—the real users. All the same, I can assure this House, because the University authorities are very conscious of the autonomy, that they would not like to enter a public debate unless it is called for, and I am certainly not speaking on behalf of the authorities though in a certain capacity I am also a part of the authority.

Therefore, Madam Vice-Chairman, I would like to submit with all sincerity, with all humility, that this problem has been exaggerated out of all proportion from one side. The fact is that this Library will grow with expanding service facilities, staff facilities, book facilities only in the atmosphere of a University. The Indian Council of World Affairs ought to be promoted. Funds should be found both from Government source and private sources, but that Library must be basically available to those who have built it. Therefore, I submit three alternative proposals, One : as some friends have mentioned in the House, the whole Library in tact may be allowed to be taken over by the Jawaharlal University and be located on the campus of the University. Two, on the basis of the recommendation of Mr. Chagla made in April, 1971 and Prof. Ganguli, former Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University, in February 1972, the functional distribution of books and materials should take place. The definition of the word 'functional' being determined by finding out as to what is the function of the Indian Council of World Affairs and what is the function of the School of International Studies. Some understanding should be reached on this basis. The third alternative is this. This is an alternative which I would not like to commend. I would

just state it without my approval. On the basis of ownership distribution of assets, the library may be divided. Distribution of assets has always taken place when one institution got merged with another. I would like to mention one more thing which has not been mentioned. Unfortunately the Jawahar Nehru University has not publicised enough in the newspapers and probably it would not like to enter into a public debate. But in a country which has always respected the value of patience the University would like to wait patiently and see that light dawns on the minds, of those who are today spreading darkness about its role. The authorities of the Jawaharlal Nehru University given an understanding to the authorities of the Indian Council of World Affairs that anything that is acceptable to them will be acceptable to us. I am afraid no more generous offer has ever been made by an absorbing institution to the governing body of an erstwhile institution as was given by the authorities of the Jawaharlal Nehru University to the authorities of the Indian Council of World Affairs. It is on record, as the Minister himself knows. It is an open thing which is available from the University and the ICWA. Hence I plead, let our concern be transformed into a constructive proposal. One constructive proposal is this. If you want to keep integrity per se of the Library, then it should become an integral part of the Jawaharlal Nehru University intact. But please understand that there is nothing wrong in the division of a Library, because division, is not equivalent to destruction. Division is a functional thing. Let us understand that, in a parliamentary debate we should not lose sight of the larger issues involved.

With these few words, I thank you very much, Madam Vice-Chairman, and I hope the Minister will also take into account any solitary voice, but a voice which I hope also reflects the silent consensus of the House

DR.'BHAIR MAHAVIR: May I just ask this ? Is there a case for the School itself having to be shifted from its present premises ? It was constructed at an expense of Rs. 20 lakhs. These are not being fully utilised even now. New structures are being built up to house that in a country which is poor. In view of the fact that the Nehru University professes to affiliate far-flung universities from Khada-kvasla and Dehradun, can any institution working at Barakhamba Road be treated as too far away from this University campus ?

PROF. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN : If I have your permission, Madam .Chairman, I shall reply. I am happy Dr. Bhai Mahavir, who is also an academician, apart from being an active Member of the House, has raised this point. It is like this. He will agree with me that we cannot develop a corporate residential university without having the cognate disciplines fused with each other by the interaction of scholars and by the interfacing of courses and syllabi, and by making available the talent in one branch of social sciences to another branch of social sciences. When we speak of affiliation of institutions from all over India, that is sue generis a different problem from the problem of having a University housed in one campus. No university,— and Dr. Bhai Mahavir I am sure will agree with me—and no Vice-Chancellor would like his school scattered in different parts of the city. Firstly, students should be freely available to each other. I find from my own School of Social Sciences that the students would like to have a dialogue with the scholars of the School of International Studies. This is not possible in a city where the transport system is inadequate. As is known to all, the transport position is a very difficult one. Secondly, why should we not think of developing the Jawaharlal Nehru University in a good national institution in which all these allied disciplines can grow? After all what is this love for Barakhamba Road?

I was also in love with Barakhamba Road and the lawns of Sapru House. But why should we only think of the comforts of Connaught Circus ? With wilderness all around the Vasant Vihar has the most charming natural environment with the birds twittering and peacocks dancing . . .

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN :  
Mohammad Bin Tughlak was for shifting the capital and then he reshifted back his capital.

PROF. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN :  
This is a pure debating point. I have never attempted to get into a debate. Mohammad Bin Tughlak was different from the Vice Chancellor of Jawaharlal Nehru University. They are a study in contrast. Daulatabad from Delhi is very far, but Barakhamba Road and Vasant Vihar are in the same city. I would not like to enter into polemics. If I fail to convince the honourable Members I would just feel ashamed, I would not like to score a debating point. Let me add again that I am available at any time of the day or in the evening to explain to my friends, the facts of the matter.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON:  
In discussing this Report of the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, one is struck by the number of problems dealt with in this Ministry, the number of subjects and all sorts of things under the sun. But going through the Report, I find that the most important aspect of the educational problem in this country has been very cavalierly dealt with in this Report and that. Madam, is the question of literacy. And the hon. Minister of Education pointed out recently in an address to the Secretaries and Directors of Education of States in this City that India has a population of 3U crores of illiterates, which is more than 50 per cent of the illiterates all over the world. Now, this is a great credit for this country. We get the first place at least in one thing. And after 25 years



of the benevolent Congress rule, our country seems to be the first in illiteracy in the whole world.

Now, Madam, according to the Minister, at the existing rate of growth, it would be impossible to achieve free and primary compulsory education by 1981, a task which should have been completed by 1960, according to the Directive Principles. The other points that the hon. Minister made was this : The present position was that of every 100 children of the school going age, only 80 joined class I, The drop-off by the time they were 11, was 40, while only 25 remained in schools when they were 14. At 17, the number was further reduced to 10, and by the age of 21, it fell down to about 2. In the 6-21 age group, only 20 per cent was studying in schools.

Here is the crux of the problem we face in this country. And it is a shameful thing that even after 25 years of independence this country could not solve the problem of illiteracy and 70 per cent of its people do not know how to read and write. We talk of big things, of having college education, having standards of education. But where is the standard of education in a country where 70 per cent or seven out of ten people cannot read and write. All these fancy schemes of increasing the standard—and even sometimes this library question though it has its own importance—are there but they are all insignificant when you compare them with this problem. And this is precisely the problem to which our country is not giving any attention; nor does this Report give.

Now, in Chapter II of this Report, there is the view of the Central Advisory Board of Education at its 35th meeting held on the 2nd and 3rd May, 1970. The Board has put the problem in a succinct manner. It says :

"The Board views with concern the progress of primary education in the country. On the basis of the present trends, it appears that no State would be able to realise the goal set in Article 45 of the Constitution earlier than 1980, and several States will be able to do so only in the 21st century."

What a shameful thing ? What are you going to do to solve this problem ? More than two-thirds of the people of this country will not be able to attain the goal of primary education until the 21st century. Then why should we remain as a country ? Why should we have a government here if this simple thing cannot be done. These are statistics of all the States put together. Madam, if you take out the three or four States of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Punjab and Gujarat, then in the rest of the country the situation is much worse. In most part of the country, I would say in the entire Hindi belt literacy is less than 20 per cent. And as far as women are concerned it is less than 10 per cent. There are whole Divisions in the State of U. P., Bundelkhand, for example, or the Barmer districts of Rajasthan or the Chhattisgarh Division of Madhya Pradesh where literacy is less than even 5 per cent. What are we doing about this problem ? We have got average literacy of 30 per cent, But that is nothing if you take these States separately and the specific areas in these States.

The Kothari Commission report on education rightly quotes Heilbroner (The great Ascent) to emphasise the need for social change as a prerequisite for social development. It says :

"The mere lay-in of the core of capital equipment, indispensable as that is for further economic expansion does not yet catalyse a tradition-bound society into a modern one. For that catalysis to

[Shri K. P. Subramania Menon] take place, nothing short of a pervasive social transformation will suffice; a wholesale metamorphosis of habits, a wrenching reorientation of values concerning time, status, money, work; and an unweaving and reweaving of the fabric of daily existence itself."

In this social transformation "of society education is a vital instrument. And if we neglect this vital instrument then we cannot have pervasive social transformation. We cannot attain any goal, let alone socialism even in the ordinary sense. Therefore, Madam, spread of literacy, spread of education is a vital thing for the reconstruction of our society or even our economic development. But all that is being neglected.

Then, I come to another problem, the problem of class structure in education because it is not only that the vast masses of our country are uneducated, illiterate, but that in education class structure is being perpetuated with wasteful results. I am referring in this context the system of private schools which are called public schools which are, I would say, anything but public. These private schools are a very powerful instrument of solidification of the class structure in this country. They have got great bearing on the social structure. There are over 2,500 of these public schools in this country. And you will be surprised to know that the fees paid in these schools are fabulous. I hear that in the Wellan Public School, Dehradun, a child has to pay Rs 100 per month. Who pays for this education? While the system meant for the masses is starved of funds, is denied equipment, is denied good teachers, these schools meant for the few are lavishing funds, where do they get the money? Is this money their private property? It is the national wealth of this country and this national wealth is being utilised for the benefit of a few.

What is (his Government) doing about it?

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN (Tamil Nadu):  
Socialism.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON:  
This is their socialism. How can we help it since the socialism-shouting and progressivism-trotting Ministers and Members of Parliament, and even Communists, want to send their children to these public schools? This is a shameful thing, Madam. Now it cannot be said that some people can spend and so they get this type of education. These are not barber shops where if you have got money you go to an air-conditioned barber shop and get a shave and if you do not have money, you have it on the read side. Education is no barber shop that if you have money and can spend any amount of money, you get a higher type of education and if you do not have money cannot get any education at all. This sort of inequity and inequality should be put a stop to. Now, Madam, why is it dangerous to continue this sort of thing? It is because it is precisely the products of these public schools who dominate our services, our corporations and the entire bureaucracy of this country and even politics. It is dangerous because the products of these educational institutions are divorced from the Indian reality and are isolated from the Indian people. They develop a sort of alien culture. It is these hybrid products of this alien culture, who go about lisping the clipped accents of Oxford or the Yankee dJoll, who do not have any understanding of the culture of the country, who are going to dominate our life and that is why it is dangerous. Another thing is, this public school education system in India is modelled on the western capitalist system of public schools as prevalent in America or England. They imitate Americans in every thing. They import wholesale the decadent culture of monopoly capitalism of America. As a result, because there is dose-peddling in America, we have also got it here in these

public schools. Because in America there is this decadent Hippie culture, you have it here also. They do not have any independent standards to judge things. They go by foreign standards, alien standards I do not mind these brats the bourgeoisie being doped, drugged or corrupted by this sort of education. But it is dangerous for this country because it is these brats who are going to sit on our heads and control our destinies and rule our country. That is why it is dangerous. Another thing, Madam...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : No, another thing You must conclude.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON :

I have got one more point. Let me complete. Now the Government has started 210 free merit scholarships for these public schools. I would say that this is an indirect way of subsidising these public schools. Now it should be understood as to what happens when boys who may be poor are recruited in these public schools. As you know, once Karl Marx pointed out, "the more the ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of a ruled class, the more solid and dangerous is its rule." And this is precisely what you are doing, taking away the most bright, the most aggressive the most promising, of the young men from the working people to recruit them into the upper class strata. And you take away natural leaders of the working class people from their surroundings and draft them and thus create an illusion that here is equality of opportunity. Does it mean equality of opportunity? It does not mean equality of opportunity. Equality of opportunity can only come when the special privileges of the ruling class are abolished and the people of all walks of life are able to enjoy the same standard, the same sort of education. Equality of opportunity cannot be granted by drafting a few bright boys from among the poorer classes into the richer classes. Therefore, in our conn-

try—whether it is socialism or progressivism, I am not concerned—I am concerned only with modernising this country. If that is to be done, then the whole system of class education has to be abolished. And not only that. At least primary education should be spread without delay. And for that funds should be found.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Two years back we passed a national policy on education. What happened to that policy? According to that policy we were to spend 6 per cent of our national income on education. May I know from the Ministry what is happening to it? I think it is also put in cold storage. I want to mention this one point and that is the problem of National Fitness Corps. Now the Government of India has been creating all sorts of fancy schemes and employing people in all sorts of jobs. Now the people employed in this National Fitness Corps are faced with immediate retrenchment because the Government of India in its wisdom is trying to transfer all administrative control of this to the State Governments which do not have a pie to spend for that. Therefore, unless the Government of India, along with transferring the administrative control, also gives the money for administering the scheme, these people will be retrenched and they will be thrown out. Lastly, I would also request that the Sapru House Library should not be split up.

SHRI HABIB TANVIR : Mr. Deputy Chairman, many very valid points about education have been made on the floor of the House. I have been rapt, most absorbed, in listening to them. It is an area very tricky. I myself would not be able to speak in depth about education though we all, and I as an artist, feel very agitated about problems connected with education because we all use that it is the one subject which is at the root of all that is wrong

[Shri HabibTanvir] with this country. There is an awareness of this on all levels, pre-primary level, primary level education, secondary, higher secondary education, university education, technological education; there is an awareness to find out how to spread education, how to make it job oriented, how to make it craft-oriented, and so on. A point was raised that education should be connected with the class structure of the society and education should be connected with the economic developments of the country. Those laws of economic developments, after all, are obvious and they can be analysed tangibly and there are books to be referred to and there can be two or several opinions about these. Scientific discussions can go on on these. But I am talking of a realm about which not much research has been made and that is the abstract area of art and culture which not only does not follow the economic laws of growth; but often times contradicts those laws. In the matter of economic development one may say that in a society the tools of production may become obsolete, generating forces which go counter to the status quo and friction is created and change is brought about. Therefore, change in society goes one step further either through evolution or through revolution. In matters of art and culture, it does not happen in this fashion so that we cannot say today that the culture or the present India is by any means higher than what it was 2,000 years ago or the Greek culture is primitive compared to the present day Greek culture. In this field we cannot say that we have attained a higher level of culture than 2,000 years ago. Often times it goes in a very haphazard manner. What I am trying to say is that you are removing poverty and you are removing illiteracy. These are essential things. Nobody can say anything against these steps. Progress must be made and modernisation must come. Industrialisation only can eventually improve the rural economy of this country. Yet one very obvious fact is forgotten. This country is by and large an agrarian

country with an agrarian economy. This agrarian country must be transformed into a modern industrial economy. But this country ie richest is its culture in its countryside. The countryside is rich in dialects. Almost all your culture is couched in your dialects. Neglect of dialects is the neglect of your culture to a large extent. We are going to celebrate Ramachrit Manas quite soon and if many of the modern students of Hindi who write and read in Khari Boli have no background of the dialects of U.P., they will utterly fail to follow Tulsidas. I know it is mentioned in the report that in the pre-primary and other areas of education dialects must be taken into account. But I have been in this field and [ have gone to Chattisgarh and Baster area. I have noticed that the tribals and villagers there are developing a sense of contempt for their own culture though they are getting a smattering of Hindi of a very bad type. This is the net result. We cannot absolve ourselves of the responsibility for this. I am not by any means saying that it is an easy thing to do. It is a point easier made than a deed accomplished. Yet an awareness and absolute vigilance and some action in this matter are called for. It is an area where rampant illiteracy is producing the richest possible culture. So, illiteracy being removed and culture being killed is a simultaneous process and this is a heart-breaking experience. This has got to be reoriented together with job orientation and other kinds of orientation. Our cultural policy has got to be oriented towards our rural culture, not in the conservative sense, but in the modern sense. Because, unless this culture is assimilated and absorbed into the body of the coming urban culture, which has not yet come, which is not yet there, not substantially, until then, what will happen is that the youths of your big cities will only look to Paris and New York for the kind of culture that they want and will never give you a continuous process of transformation and of growth and progress. This will

happen if, not only the dialects, but also things like minority languages are ignored, a minority language like Urdu, which is considered to be a non-State language. It is mentioned like this in the report. It is very painful. I do not know how and why Urdu has come to be a non-State language. We must do something about it. There is this scandalous record of the Urdu Academy and other organisations in U. P. In U. P. the State Government sabotaged all the efforts by the Central Government to do something about Urdu. This is not only detrimental to Urdu, but to the cause of Hindi as well. I want to say this, because the two sister languages have grown hand in hand and they have nourished one another and they have grown together. There is the heritage of Kabir, Tulsidas, Nazir Akbarabadi, all of which our students will fail to understand if a new language is brought in in the name of 'shudh Hindi'. There is no such thing in a language as 'Shudh' and there is no question of there being any 'shudh' language. One does not know in history whether there was any 'shudh' language ever born: The only 'shudh' language that man ever created was pure silence, inarticulate dumbness, animal-like moanings and exclamations that primitive man might have attempted. But, ever since we began to have speech, then came the process of hybridisation and speech became richer only through mixing. Urdu and Hindi grew like this. Today, we come across phrases of all kinds in Hindi so jarring to the ears because it has been divorced from Urdu. It will be pure folly if Urdu is neglected and is not given a place in the schools, in the system of education. Though there is an Urdu Committee for the development of Urdu—many committees have been set up in the past—I am only making a plea that some thing much more needs to be done in this regard and I hope it will be done.

Then, in the matter of development of Urdu language, many things are being done, for instance, translations of Scientific terminology, which too seems wrong. Now, how can you ever create terminology in a language unless the language is spoken, taught and used. Without usage no new terminology can ever flourish.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Urdu is dominated by love affairs.

SHRI HABIB TANVIR : Sir, I have no answer to it because I do not make any sense of it.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : It is one of the most beautiful languages.

SHRI HABIB TANVIR : So, in those matters nothing has been really done. Now, I will cite only one example to show how the usage comes. I remember, in Bombay, at the railway station, how the coolies use the word for air-conditioned compartments. They are just thrown up ; words are thrown up through work. These coolies just throw up words in their work and for the words "air-conditioned compartment", they say, "tandi gadi" which, I think, is very beautiful, very simple and a very easily understandable translation of the word "air-conditioned" for this tropical country, whereas, in places like Hyderabad, in some academic studios, the dictionary-makers were finding words for the same thing, like "bad" for "air" for "conditioned" "mashrutul" and for "compartment" "hujree" and so on and I have forgotten the compound they made, but to caricature it, it was something like "hujra-e-mashrutul bad". This is how your terminology will end up unless the language comes to be used.

Now, there is the National Book Trust and one would like to kill\* something about it. There are the

[Shri Habib Tanvir] Academies but at this stage I would not like to say anything about the Academies. A Committee has been constituted for these and we are waiting for the Khosla Committee Report. There is a lot of controversy about the Academies and there is a lot of heart-searching going on and the time will come when we will talk about the Academies when the Report comes. I think likewise that something needs to be done in regard to the National Book Trust. It must be looked into as to what is wrong with its sales machinery. Books are lying there in shelves for years

Then, in regard to other matters there is the Department of Culture attached to the Education Ministry I am quite sure the hon. Minister himself is perfectly aware that very inadequate cultural work has been done or is being done by the Education Ministry. Once upon a time there used to be drama camps run by the Education Ministry, Even these were erratic. Now for many years in the past there has not been any such camp. We are in 1972. By now we should have really been agitating for drama to become part of University education, to become a faculty in the Universities, and colleges of India.

On the other hand, the policy in regard to grants needs complete revision. I am not saying anything new. I know the Ministry officials are involved and are thinking about it. Look at the money that is being

distributed. It does not have any folk orientation. In the matter of awards you will find very few folk artists get awards. You will find excellent, far more excellent, artists in the countryside than what your urban areas can throw up. It is because of a lop-sided policy or lack of policy. That this is what is happening. In the matter of awards, one is no longer sure whether it is the awards which are creating artists

so that they can get these awards or whether these are really proving to be incentives and a means of encouragement for artistic endeavour. In the matter of grants, one is no longer sure whether groups are not being created in order to become eligible for grants rather than otherwise. Similar is the case with professional theatres. These things have to be looked into. Theatre halls there are none. Whatever exist are far from adequate. Take the Mavalankar Hall. This is under the Housing Ministry, so we may ignore it just now. Old Delhi is completely neglected in this respect. There are no theatre halls in old Delhi only some New Delhi theatre halls are being subsidised, for instance the Fine Arts Theatre. What is being done with this money? As far as I know, their constitution should be gone into. According to this constitution there ought to be members from this House on their Committee at least one member. There ought to be two members from the Lok Sabha. There ought to be representatives of five or six Ministries—Finance Ministry, Education Ministry and others. There ought to be representatives from the States of India. But they are not there. There are several such halls connected with big business people. The Goenkas, the Birlas, the Nawabs, the Rais, the landlords, contractors and so on are mentioned in the first committee of the A. I. F. A. C. S. All this has got to be looked into.

Now this is the general sort of picture. I am glad there is going to be a seminar in Simla. One is looking forward as to what kind of percolation of ideas takes place and what kind of cultural ideas and cultural Policy emerges from out of the deliberations of many right thinking people that will gather there and what kind of policy follows next.

I have merely mentioned these points. Sir, so that the Ministry is more vigilant about these matters.

Thank you very much.

श्रीमती सीता देवी (पंजाब) : श्रीमन्, उपसभापति महोदय, एडुकेशन सब से ज्यादा इंपॉर्टेंट चीज है। शिक्षा किसी भी देश की भावनाओं और उसके सामाजिक मूल्यों की प्रतीक हुआ करती है और आर्थिक विकास की प्रक्रिया में भी उसकी बड़ी अच्छी भूमिका रहती है। यदि हम आज की शिक्षा प्रणाली को इस कसौटी पर कसें तो देखना होगा कि वह ठीक उतरती है या नहीं। क्या आज की शिक्षा प्रणाली तथ्यों और ज्ञान का विकास कर के रोजगार के अवसर प्रदान करने का कोई प्रयत्न करती है? क्या आज की शिक्षा हमारे लोगों को इतना ज्ञान प्रदान करती है कि सामाजिक उच्छ्वलता और कुरीतियों का उन्मूलन कर वे समाज उत्थान का कार्य करें? इन सबका जवाब नहीं मैं आपको मिलेगा। अब नव निर्माण का युग है। जब से स्वतंत्रता मिली है, नव निर्माण हो रहा है। नव निर्माण दो तरह से होता है। एक तो भौतिक और दूसरा नया पीढ़ी का निर्माण। भौतिक निर्माण में तो हम बहुत आगे गये हैं। इन 25 वर्षों में काफी कुछ बना, कई डैम बने, सड़कें बनीं, कॉलेज बने, यह सब कुछ बना, पर जो नया पीढ़ी का निर्माण है, उसमें मुझे बड़े दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आज 25 वर्ष आजादी को हो गये हैं, फिर भी हम बिल्कुल ही पीछे हैं। मुझे तो आज लाडें मैकाले के वह शब्द याद आ रहे हैं, जो कि उसने कहे थे कि :

"We must do our best to form a class which may be interpreters between us and millions of whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste".

बिल्कुल वही चीज हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर ठीक घट रही है, जैसा कि लाडें मैकाले ने

कहा था। अंग्रेज चाहते थे कि इस प्रकार की तालीम दी जाय जिसके बाद लोग रूप रंग में तो हिन्दुस्तानी हों पर विचारों में वे अंग्रेज हों। इस शिक्षा ने 25 साल के अंदर हम को क्या दिया? जो हमारे कर्णधार बनने वाले हैं, हमारे बच्चे, जो पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर बनने वाले हैं, जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर बनने वाले हैं, जो बच्चे प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनने वाले हैं, आज उनकी हालत क्या है? उनके अंदर किसी भी प्रकार के कोई अच्छे भाव नहीं भरे जाते, न धार्मिक भाव भरे जाते हैं और न किसी और प्रकार के। शुरू से यह होता रहा कि हमारी शिक्षा प्रणाली में सुधार होना चाहिए। जब से आजादी मिली, हमारे स्वर्गीय पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने अपनी स्पीचों में कई दफा कहा कि शिक्षा को ओवर-हाल करना चाहिए। इसी तरह से हमारे प्रथम राष्ट्रपति डा० राजेंद्र प्रसाद और डा० राधाकृष्णन् ने भी अपनी स्पीचों में कहा कि इसको ओवरहाल करना चाहिए। यानी 25 साल से हम इस चीज का सुनते आ रहे हैं, पर प्रैक्टिकल कुछ भी नहीं हुआ। यह जो हमारे विश्वविद्यालय हैं, यूनिवर्सिटीज हैं वहां पर चरित्र का गठन होता है। आज मैं आप को याद दिलाना चाहती हूँ कि विश्वविद्यालय की रूढ़ियां चरित्र निर्माण में बड़ी सहायता देती हैं। भारतवर्ष की उपरेखा बनाने में नानन्दा और तक्षशिला ने बहुत बड़ा पार्ट अदा किया था। इस नालन्दा और तक्षशिला यूनिवर्सिटी को हमारे देश में ही नहीं, इतिहास इस बात का गवाह है कि दूसरे देशों में भी उनकी कितनी चर्चा है और आज देश में उन की चर्चा होती है। इन यूनिवर्सिटियों ने भारतवर्ष की रूप रेखा खींची और हमारे पाठ्यक्रम को ठीक बनाया। अब सवाल यह है कि आज कल की जो शिक्षा है उसमें सांप्रदायिक सद्भाव और राष्ट्रीय एकता का

[श्रीमती सीता देवी]

भाव बिल्कुल नाम को भी नहीं है। हम सेकुलरिज्म की बहुत लम्बी चीड़ी बातें करते हैं और उसके दावे भी करते हैं पर अगर आप स्कूलों और कालेजों में जा कर देखें तो हम यह पाते हैं कि इन चीजों का बिल्कुल एक किस्म से अभाव है। कई साल हुए यह फैसला हुआ था कि स्कूलों और कालेजों के जो पाठ्यक्रम हैं वह बदले जावें। एक कमेटी बनी, मिस्टर सईदुद्दीन की समिति नियुक्त की गयी, उसकी रिपोर्ट भी आयी, कई साल हो गये और उसका उस के बाद कोई इंप्लीमेंटेशन नहीं हुआ। मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि 25 साल हमें 6 P. M. आजादी मिले हो गये हैं, कई स्कीमें बनीं, कई कमेटियां बनीं, सब कुछ हुआ, किन्तु हमने जो अपनी पाठ्य-पुस्तकें हैं, जो अपनी पाठ्य प्रणाली है, उसमें बिल्कुल परिवर्तन नहीं किया। सबसे बड़ी दुःख की बात क्या है? आज भी हमारे बच्चे यही पढ़ते हैं कि औरंगजेब था और अकबर बादशाह हुआ और यह बादशाह हुआ, वह बादशाह हुआ। मैंने पहले भी पंजाब के अन्दर कई सम्मेलनों में यह कहा कि बच्चों को अपनी स्वतंत्रता का जो इतिहास है वह पढ़ाना चाहिये। आज हमारे बच्चों से यह पूछो कि आजादी कैसे मिली तो वह नहीं जानते, बच्चे क्या बड़ों से भी पूछो तो नहीं जानते कि आजादी कैसे मिली, उन्हें नहीं पता कि गदर कैसे हुआ, क्योंकि उन्होंने तो वही पुस्तकें पढ़ी हैं, वही इतिहास अभी भी चल रहा है कि 1857 में गदर हुआ अंग्रेजों को निकालने के लिये। उन्हें नहीं पता कि गदर के जो करने वाले थे, जिन्होंने इतनी कुर्बानी की वह कौन थे। मैं कई कमेटियों में हूँ, एडमिशन कमेटी में हूँ, कई जगहों पर हूँ, तो जब बी० ए०, एम० ए० हमारे पास इंटरव्यू करने आते हैं और उनसे

पूछें कि आपके राष्ट्रपति कौन हैं, डा० राधा-कृष्णन् कौन हैं, तो कुछ पता नहीं, बिल्कुल ब्लैंक दिमाग है लेकिन अगर उनसे यह पूछ लीजिये कि सबसे अच्छी एक्ट्रेस कौन है तो आपको फटाफट बता देंगे। उनसे पूछिये कि सबसे अच्छी फिल्म कौन लगी है तो वह भी बता देंगे। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि हमारे शिक्षा के अन्दर नैतिक शिक्षा भी बिल्कुल नहीं और धार्मिक शिक्षा भी बिल्कुल नहीं है। मैं इस प्रकार की धार्मिक शिक्षा के विरुद्ध हूँ कि कहीं यह लिखा है कि हिन्दू कालेज, सिख कालेज, मुस्लिम कालेज, यह तो धर्म नहीं है, यह तो हमारे अन्दर साम्प्रदायिकता का एक इन्जेक्शन देने वाली चीज है। मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि सारी शिक्षा का हमारी गवर्नमेंट राष्ट्रीयकरण करे और सबके लिये विशेष प्रकार की पाठ्य-पुस्तकें तैयार कराई जायें। रोज सुनती हूँ, अखबारों में पढ़ती हूँ कि कमेटी बनी है पाठ्य-पुस्तकें तैयार होंगी, लेकिन पता नहीं क्या बात है कि वह छप गई और फिर पब्लिशर में मिल कर छः महीने के बाद नई लग गई। आप भी पढ़ें हैं, हम भी पढ़ें हैं, कभी पहले ऐसा नहीं होता था कि हर साल जो तीसरे दर्जे में बच्चे पढ़ते हैं उनकी किताबें बदल जाती हों और उनके लिये भी किताबें पचास-पचास रुपये तक की आ जाती हैं, क्योंकि पब्लिशर्स से मिल कर करते हैं और यह सब चलता रहता है। तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जब तक जो हमारी शिक्षा प्रणाली है, उसको बिल्कुल ओवरहाल नहीं करेंगे जब तक कोई चीज नहीं हो सकती।

इसलिये मैं एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर साहब को सबसे पहले कहूंगी कि आप स्वतंत्रता का पच्चीसवां साल, रजत-जयन्ती मनाने जा



रहे हैं तो कम से कम इस शुभ अवसर पर यह कर दीजिये कि जो पाठ्यक्रम है, जो पाठ्य-पुस्तकें हैं उनको बदल दीजिये, कम से कम इनका इतिहास तो परमात्मा के वास्ते बदल दिया जाय, यह अकबर और अलाउद्दीन खिलजी से तो हमारा पीछा छूटे। कई दफा मैंने पढ़ा कि स्वतंत्रता का इतिहास लिखा जा रहा है, लेकिन वह कहीं किसी स्कूल में नहीं लगा, किसी पाठ्यक्रम में नहीं लगा। अगर शुरू से ही बच्चों को ऐसी शिक्षा नहीं देते हैं तो बच्चे नेशनलिस्ट कहां से होंगे, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है।

फिर देखिये कि नैतिकता का क्या हाल है, हमारे बच्चे नैतिकता से इतने गिर रहे हैं। आप दिल्ली में ही हैं। आप जानते हैं कि यहाँ पर जो स्कूल है, जो बड़े-बड़े कालेज हैं, यूनिवर्सिटी है वहाँ पर जो हमारे बच्चे हैं, जो हमारे स्टुडेंट्स हैं वह नशे की गोलियाँ खाते हैं। वह इतनी ज्यादा चल पड़ी है। क्यों खाते हैं? यह भी सोचने की बात है। लड़कों को ही कसूर देते हैं सोचने की बात यह है कि उन बच्चों को हैल्दी एटमासफेयर ही नहीं मिला, ऐसा एटमासफेयर ही नहीं मिला जिसमें वह कुछ और बन सकते, जिसमें उनके अन्दर नेशनलिज्म आ सकती, जिसमें उनके अन्दर देश भक्ति आ सकती। वह एटमासफेयर नहीं मिला। उन्हें एटमासफेयर मिला है फिल्मों का। पंजाब में मैंने इस आवाज़ को कई दफा उठाया कि फिल्मों का कड़ा सेंसर होना चाहिये। पता नहीं सेंसर कैसे होता है। वह इतनी बाहियात होती है कि आप बच्चों के साथ उनको देख नहीं सकते। उनको हमारे बच्चे देखते हैं। ये सब चीजें हैं। मैं एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर से कहूँगी कि कम से कम इतना तो करें कि फिल्मों पर सख्त सेंसर होना चाहिये, कोई अश्लील टाइप की चीजें

उसमें नहीं आनी चाहिये और जो स्टुडेंट्स हैं उनके लिये कम से कम यह बैन तो कर दें कि कालेज टाइम में, स्कूल टाइम में स्टुडेंट्स वहाँ न जाएं। होता क्या है कि घर से जाते हैं इसलिये कि स्कूल जा रहे हैं, कालेज जा रहे हैं लेकिन सिनेमा हाल उनसे भरे पड़े हैं। तो अगर हम अपनी नैतिकता की तरफ ध्यान नहीं देंगे तो फिर कुछ बनने वाला नहीं है।

एक चीज और है। कोई भी पहले स्कीम बनायी जाती है तो प्लानिंग की जाती है, प्लानिंग के बाद चीज तैयार की जाती है। हमारे यहाँ तो अभीव ही होता है—कोई प्लानिंग नहीं। मेडिकल कालेज खुले हुए हैं, इन्जीनियरिंग कालेज खोले जा रहे हैं और ट्रेनिंग कालेज खोलते जा रहे हैं। जिम एम० पी० ने जरा जोर लगाया, उसने कहा हमारे यहाँ होना चाहिए, मध्य भारत में होना चाहिए, तो मध्य भारत में खोल दिया, पंजाब में होना चाहिए कहा तो पंजाब में खोल दिया। कोई प्लानिंग नहीं है। जा पढ़ लिख कर निकल रहे हैं उनकी एग्जाम कैसे करना, कैसे लगाना है? जो ट्रेन्ड टीचर्स निकल रहे हैं उनका क्या होना है। (Time bell rings) वक्त हो रहा हो, मैं जल्दी-जल्दी में कुछ फिंगर्स देना चाहती हूँ। मैं यह जताना चाहती हूँ कि कितने टीचर और इन्जीनियर कितने लाख की तादाद में बेकार हैं। हम बातें तो सोशलिज्म की करते हैं, समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं, पर इस बेकारी हालत में जब फ्रस्ट्रेशन बढ़ेगा तो सोशलिज्म कैसे आएगा? देखिए, 4215 नम्बर के प्रश्न के उत्तर में लेबर मिनिस्टर ने 26 अगस्त, 1970 को बताया कि 31-12-1969 को इतने अनइम्प्लॉयड रजिस्टर हुए।

श्री उपसभापति : बस, हो गया ।

श्रीमती सीता देवी : भाई दस मिनट बोले तो क्या बहिन बोले पांच मिनट भी नहीं ? ज़रा दिल बड़ा करना चाहिए । जो शोर मचाते हैं वह तो इतना समय ले जाते हैं । हम तो अपने को डिस्टिन्शन में रखते हैं ।

तो इसमें उन्होंने बताया 34 लाख 23 हजार 885 अनप्लाइड रजिस्टर हुए । फिर 2 जून, 1971 को लोक सभा में 1078 नम्बर के प्रश्न में हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब ने यह बताया कि इन्डियन इन्स्टिट्यूट ऑफ मैनपावर रिसर्च ने जो फिगर्स दिए हैं—मैं सारे नहीं पढ़ती, क्योंकि एक एक करके बताऊँ तो बहुत टाइम लगेगा—उन्होंने यह बताया कि अगर इसी तरह से अनइम्प्लायमेंट बढ़ता रहा तो 1974 तक सिर्फ इन्जीनियर्स और टीचर्स—और बाकी जो अनइम्प्लायड हैं उनका तो कोई हिसाब ही नहीं है—वे दो लाख से ऊपर बढ़ जाएंगे, यह हमारी राज्य सभा के ही एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में उन्होंने बताया है, हमारे लेबर मिनिस्टर साहब ने । इन्जीनियर, टेक्निकल आदमी, मेडिकल शिक्षा प्राप्त 2,45,076 अनइम्प्लायड हैं । मैंने जल्दी में थोड़े ही फिगर्स दिए हैं, सारे दूंगी तो और टाइम लग जाएगा । मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि हमारी शिक्षा बेकारों की एक फौज पैदा कर रही है । मैं एक दिन जालंधर के अंदर किसी बेचारी विडो की लड़की की सर्बिस के लिए एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज के दफ्तर में गई और वह लड़की एम० ए०, बी० टी० है, वहाँ के एम्प्लायमेंट आफिसर ने बताया कि इतनी बड़ी शीट आप यह समझ लें वहाँ तक—1967 में जो रजिस्टर हुए हैं, उनकी है, अब 1972

आ गया है, अभी उनका नम्बर नहीं आया जो बी० ए० पास है, बी० टी० पास है । हलात यह है कि बी० ए० पास चपरासी का काम करते हैं, इन्जिनियर्स बल्क का काम करते हैं । तो मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से प्रार्थना करूंगी कि इस तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिए कि ये जो अनइम्प्लायड हैं उनका एम्प्लायमेंट करें और फ्यूचर में कालेज घड़घड़ खोलने की बजाए जितनी जरूरत है उनका ही पैदा करें नहीं तो ज्यादा फ्रस्ट्रेशन पैदा होता है । (Time bell rings) एक ही पॉइंट है । मैंने पढ़ा था कि कोई कौंसिल बनी है, उसमें माइन बुक्स तैयार होंगी जो कि नेशनल लाइन पर हों, कोई मजहब का झगड़ा न हो, जिससे कि हमारे बच्चे अच्छी शिक्षा प्राप्त कर सकें...

श्री उपसभापति : बस ।

श्रीमती सीता देवी : वन पॉइंट ।

श्री उपसभापति : वन पॉइंट तो चलता ही रहेगा ।

श्रीमती सीता देवी : यही लास्ट पॉइंट है । बहुत इम्पॉटेंट चीज है जो मैं कहने जा रही हूँ । हमारे देश में जो पब्लिक स्कूल हैं उनको सरकार 95 परसेंट तक ग्रान्ट देती है । आज हालत क्या है ? वहाँ पर जो फीस है वह बेहद ज्यादा है और गरीब आदमी अपने बच्चों को वहाँ पर पढ़ा नहीं सकता है । गरीबों के बच्चे ही इन स्कूलों में पढ़ सकते हैं । मैं मिनिस्टर साहब के नोटिस में यह बात लाना चाहती हूँ कि वहाँ पर जो पुस्तकें पढ़ाई जाती हैं, वे इंग्लैंड और अमेरिका में छपती हैं और इस तरह से हमारे देश का पैसा बाहर

जाता है। हमारे बच्चे वहाँ पर यह पढ़ते हैं कि अफ्रीका के लोग जंगली हैं। हम सब देशों के साथ मित्रता का व्यवहार करने हैं और हमारे बच्चों को इस तरह की तालीम दी जाती है। तो मेरा आपसे यह कहना है कि इस तरह के जो पब्लिक स्कूल हैं, उन पर सरकार को विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये; क्योंकि आप उनकी ग्रांट देने हैं और सब कुछ सुविधा देते हैं। आप कम से कम उनका कोर्स तो देख लिया करें कि वह नेशनलिस्ट थ्यू का है या नहीं। आज वहाँ पर हमारे देश के खिलाफ चीजों को पढ़ाया जाता है। मैंने उन किताबों को पढ़ा है, क्योंकि मेरी छोटी पोती इस तरह के स्कूल में पढ़ती है और मैंने उसकी किताब में इस तरह की बातें पढ़ी हैं, जिसमें हमारे देश के खिलाफ ही खिलाफ बातें हैं। मैंने यह पढ़ा कि अंग्रेज हमारे रुलर थे और उन्होंने ही हमें अक्ल सिखाई। हिन्दु-स्तानियों को कुछ नहीं आता है।

...

(Time bell rings)

मैं इन शब्दों के साथ आपको धन्यवाद देना चाहती हूँ। कहने को तो बहुत कुछ था, लेकिन अब समय नहीं है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now it is already almost 6.15 and the Minister has to reply.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE (Maharashtra) : I have been awaiting an opportunity to speak. Sir.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : He is a new Member and he has given his name to speak, I hear.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then I will give you exactly two minutes.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would restrict myself to dealing with one activity of the Social welfare Department. The Social welfare department administers a scheme known as the scheme of Post-Matric Scholarship for scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes, this scheme was introduced for the first time in the year 1944. At that time, the scholarship payable to a student pursuing graduate course was Rs. 27. This was paid by way of maintenance charges. In the year 1944 when Rs. 11 were paid as maintenance charges, I think at that time Rs. 27 could purchase three bags of rice. Now today, for one bag of rice, we will have to pay Rs. 100 during this span of 27 years not a single Naya Paisa has been added to these maintenance charges. It is for the first time, I believe in the year 1961-62, that the Commissioner for scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes made a very strong recommendation that in view of the high cost of living it is very desirable that this amount of Rs. 27 should be increased. Since that year 1961-62, every year the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has reiterated and emphasised that in view of the high cost of living it is very necessary that the maintenance charges must be increased. But, nothing has been done. Then we have had as many as three Committees. We have had one Committee which was appointed by the Planning Commission known as the Shilu Committee for Tribal Development Programme. That Committee has also recommended, probably in the year 1969, that the amount of the maintenance charges should be linked with the cost of living and must be given a proportionate increase. But nothing has been done. Then we have had another committee known as the Elayaper-umal Committee, and that Committee, in its very lengthy report, has also dealt with this amount of scholarship, and have also said that the amount must be increased. That was the committee known as the Committee on untouchability, and Economic and Educational Development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

[Shri N. H. Kumbhare] I do not know what has happened to that recommendation. Then we have had another committee's recommendation and that recommendation has come from the Parliamentary Committee on welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. That Committee has also emphasised the need for increasing the maintenance charges, but surprisingly enough I find that even that recommendation has been turned down. Now, it is true that ever since this scheme came into force the number of students taking advantage of it, is increasing every year. As far as my information goes, about 2,30,000 students are taking advantage of this scheme. But we should not forget one thing. Only twenty out of one thousand from among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are pursuing higher education. We have to go far in this respect. There are ten crores of people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which constitute one fifth of the total population. I would say that this sum of Rs. 27 is very meagre. It does not represent even half of the bare subsistence. That would mean a great setback to the cause of the education of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This may result in a very serious consequence and, therefore, I would request the Minister to give serious consideration to the demands for increase in the amount of scholarship to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The present rate of scholarship is not enough. It has to be increased two-fold.

**श्री श्याम लाल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**  
मान्यवर, मैं केवल दो बातों की तरफ नरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ, एक तो उर्दू के सम्बन्ध में, जो कि संविधान की 14 भाषाओं में दर्ज है। आज देश में वह स्थिति आ गई है कि उर्दू को उचित स्थान मिलना चाहिए और सम्भवतः जिस प्रकार का प्रचार है, कांग्रेस पार्टी ने भी यह आश्वासन दिया था कि उर्दू को भी वह ऐसी सुविधा देगी जो

दूसरी राजभाषा को प्राप्त है। यह स्थिति स्पष्ट होनी चाहिए। इस पर सरकार का क्या मन्तव्य है, क्या आपकी स्थिति है और क्या आपके वादे थे ?

दूसरी बात इस सिलसिले में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ मुस्लिम यूनीवर्सिटी अलीगढ़ के सम्बन्ध में। सौभाग्य से पो० नूरुल हसन साहब उस यूनीवर्सिटी से बहुत दिनों से सम्बन्धित रहे हैं। उस यूनीवर्सिटी की स्थापना में जो भावनाएँ थीं और जिन भावनाओं के साथ आज देश के बहुत से लोग सम्बन्धित हैं, उन लोगों की इच्छा है कि उस विश्वविद्यालय का जो स्पेशल करेक्टर है, जो माइनारिटी करेक्टर है वह कायम रखा जाय। इस सम्बन्ध में प्रो० साहब ने लोक सभा में एक बयान भी दिया था 13 अप्रैल को इसी साल कि जो मौजूदा स्वरूप है उसमें कोई परिवर्तन नहीं किया जायगा, लेकिन वह स्वरूप क्या होगा इसकी तारीफ आपने नहीं की थी। हम चाहते हैं कि आप इस बात को स्पष्ट करें कि आपका क्या मतलब है ? 51 का जो एक्ट बना, जो आर्डिनेंस निकला 65 में उससे जो स्वरूप बना वह कायम रखा जाय या जो इसका स्पेशल करेक्टर है वह कायम रखना चाहते हैं। अभी एक बिल पेश हुआ था राज्य सभा में, वह फिर आगे नहीं बढ़ा, शायद कोई नया बिल आप बना रहे है, वह भी आपके शास्त्री भवन में पड़ा है। आपकी स्थिति क्या है, क्या इसको आप स्पष्ट करेंगे ? मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस विश्वविद्यालय ने देश में महान नेतृत्व दिया है, इसका योगदान हर प्रकार से प्रशंसनीय रहा है और इसका जो स्पेशल करेक्टर है उसमें परिवर्तन नहीं होना चाहिए।

**डा० साई महावीर :** आपने कहा इसका नेतृत्व प्रशंसनीय रहा है।

**श्री इयाम लाल यादव :** समय नहीं है, नहीं तो विस्तार में कहूँ।

श्री इयाम लाल यादव : इसने तो देश का

**विभाजन करवाया है।**

श्री इयाम लाल यादव : देश का

**विभाजन नहीं करवाया है।**

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: Sir, how long do I have to speak !

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: As short as possible.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : I am in your hands and that of the House. I would like to start by making one observation with which I am sure every one will agree. It was a genuine pleasure to listen to the debate on education and it was a befitting debate for a House which has so many intellectuals academicians and statesmen who are deeply conscious of the role of education in our society. I have benefitted very much myself by listening to this debate. All that I will submit is that in the educational policies which are at the moment being shaped, many hon. Members will find their ideas reflected, I wish, Sir, I had the time to deal with the individual points raised by the hon. Members. All these points are so weighty that I will be failing in my duty if I do not refer to them. But looking at the clock and the expression . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: On the face of the hon. Members.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : . . . on the face of the hon. Members, I feel that I should not go into detailed points; I shall try my best to satisfy the hon. Members individually and privately to the best of my ability and to take up only a few of

the more important issues that have been raised and some points which I think deserve to be clarified so far as the record of this House is concerned.

I shall take up, first of all, the question of the instructors of the National Fitness Corps, which was raised by my lion friend, Mr. K. P. Subranunia Menon. I am making this statement to clarify any misunderstanding. The policy of the Government is that the Central Government would meet in full the expenditure on pay and allowances of the staff absorbed in the States till the Sixth Finance Commission makes its award, that is to say, till the end, more or less of the Fifth Plan period and secondly, to recommend to the Sixth Finance Commission that this expenditure should be treated as the committed expenditure of the State in assessing the State's future financial requirement. We have also decided that any instructor who is not absorbed by the State for reasons other than his personal refusal to go over to the State service, will not be retrenched but will be retained in service till he is found alternative employment under the Central Government. I hope that this will satisfy the hon. Member.

The second very specific point which I would like to deal with is the question of the promotion of Hindi particularly in the non-Hindi speaking areas, the point which was raised by my friend, Shri Chandrasekharia. I would first of all, like to say unhesitatingly that I am unhappy at the progress that has been made in the propagation of Hindi in the non-Hindi speaking areas. And even more than that, I am unhappy that all has not been done to bring out quality literature in Hindi which would make a modern, advanced student consider it worth his while to read, or to acquire modern knowledge through the medium of Hindi. I would have also liked a situation when, because of the quality of literature

[Prof. S. Nurul Hasan] available in Hindi, our friends in the non-Hindi speaking States would find it worth their while to learn Hindi if for no other reason than to acquire knowledge through its medium. Whatever is possible I will do my best. I am naturally not in a position to say very much more at this stage except that we are working on various proposals to accelerate the production of quality level books in Hindi. However, a provision of Rs. 5,35,00,000 respectively is available during the Fourth Plan for the appointment of Hindi teachers in non-Hindi speaking areas and for running of Hindi teacher training colleges.

During 1971-72 financial assistance totalling Rs. 1.6 crores was given to the various non Hindi-speaking States for meeting expenditure on the salaries of nearly 7,300 Hindi teachers already working. Grants amounting to Rs. 12 lakhs were also given to those 13 non-Hindi speaking States which are running Hindi teacher training colleges. An amount of Rs. 12.50 lakhs was realised to the Government of Kerala for appointment of Hindi teachers during 1971-72. A request for enhanced grant for this purpose was received last year but it will be considered during the current financial year.

Unfortunately, Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have not yet succeeded in persuading the Planning Commission about our scheme of establishing Hindi medium colleges in non-Hindi speaking areas. They have agreed that Hindi medium sec-lions in existing colleges may be set up. But the proposal is still under consideration in consultation with the University Grants Commission. I hope that some decision will be taken fairly soon so that action may start, if possible, in the coming academic year.

I would have liked to take up many of the problems.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : What about Urdu? After Hindi you should have mentioned something about Urdu as well.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : About Urdu the hon'ble Member knows that my party has given a very definite commitment in its election manifesto and there is every intention of honouring this commitment.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI . In the

श्री महावीर त्यागी : लखनऊ का एक  
शेर है :

तेरे वादे पे तसल्ली हमें हो जाती है ।  
झूठ तो हम भी समझते हैं, नादान नहीं ॥

प्रो० एन० नूरुल हसन :

तेरे वादे पे जिए हम तू यह जान झूठ  
जाना ।

कि खूबी से मर न जाते, अगर एतबार  
होता ॥

manifesto there is mention of encourage-  
ment to Urdu. Has any practical step been  
taken in that direction ?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE  
MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING  
(SHRI I. K. GUJRAL) . The chairmanship  
has been set up. What more does the hon.  
Member want ?

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : Nothing  
more tangible than the presence of the  
honourable Chairman of the Committee in  
this august House is needed to prove that we  
mean business. Roughly, our policy is that  
we will ensure and steps are being taken that  
primary education is given to the children of  
Urdu-speaking people through the medium  
of Urdu. Secondly, all those who wish to  
study

Urdu as a subject upto the High School level will be enabled to do so. Thirdly, those who wish to answer their questions through the medium of Urdu, we are trying to persuade the various boards to agree . . .

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Among the foreign languages previously Persian also used to be one of the languages. Is that continuing still or has it ceased ?

The teaching of Persian is continuing in a very large number of our universities and colleges and I do not think that there is more demand than the facilities which are already available. And Persian is being taught at two levels, as was correctly pointed out. It is being taught as a classical language and it is also being taught as a modern language. Because of the relationship between India and Iran as well as Tajikistan, there is need for some people in our country to know modern Persian. Therefore, facilities have been provided for them. Moreover, another thing has been taken up in some of the universities and that is, early Persian, pre-Islamic forms of Persian. They are also very important. Not only for understanding the civilisation of the West Asian countries throughout the medieval period but also because of the close relations which the Iranian people had with the Indians in early and ancient times, knowledge of early Persian is useful. It is one of the Indo-European languages closely allied to Sanskrit.

I would like to refer very briefly to some of the points raised by Dr. Mahavir. I wish I had the time to take up all the points which my hon. friend raised, but I am afraid because of the shortage of time, I must give him the explanations orally . . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : I have sufficient patience in any case. If you can go into all of them, I am ready to listen.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : There is one very important point which I think should be explained here; that is, with regard to the Chair of the Economy of China in Delhi University. Although the committee which recommended the creation of the post had felt that one of the persons sent for training to the USA had completed his training and was expected to return in July 1969 and that his record as an economist and a student of Chinese Studies was outstanding, when the post of Professor of Chinese Economics was advertised on the 29th September 1969 and the Selection Committee met on the 30th December, 1969, it did not find any candidate suitable for the post. Therefore, the post could not be filled.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : The post was created specially for a particular person and when that person was called, the conclusion was that he was not found suitable for it.

DR. VIDYA PRAKASH DUTT : A post is never created for any person in any university in this country.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : This House has itself framed the Act and given the statutes to each of the Central Universities. Delhi University is one such university. It cannot create a post for an individual except under a scheme of personal promotion which is a special scheme. But even there if is the Selection Committee which has to meet under the statute and decide. Without the recommendation of the Selection Committee, no person could be given, or has been given, appointment as a Professor or even personal promotion. Therefore, whatever may have been the thinking of the people who proposed that a post be created—they might have thought that there was a suitable person available—unless the Selection Committee makes a concrete recommendation, it would not be lawful for a university to appoint a person to a University chair.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : So, the chair remains unoccupied ?

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : It is better that a chair should remain unoccupied rather than appoint someone who is not considered by a properly constituted Selection Committee to be suitable for the post. There is one other point raised by Dr. Bhai Mahavir about which I must make an observation and disagree w/vh him rather strongly. I know that the arguments that he has put forward are sound arguments. But I am afraid looking at the wider picture I must disagree with his conclusions, and that is with regard to student participation. The Gajendragadkar Committee has given detailed reasons why it wants participation of students at various levels of university administration. And they have pointed out that there are two very important factors which have to be taken into account the first is that the process of learning requires the active participation of the one who teaches and the one who learns. It cannot be a one way traffic if it is to be a meaningful process. And therefore, if the students have the opportunity to express themselves in appropriate forums where their wishes, their views and their attitudes could be ascertained, it would help them, it would also help and enable the teachers to decide how to shape their courses, how to plan their teaching programme; otherwise the only occasion where a teacher got to know what a student's response to his teaching was when the examination results came out. And as most of my teacher colleagues in this House would agree, we can no longer entirely depend upon the traditional system of examination. We do not even know whether the student's response as reflected in the examination result is a correct response...

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Why not seminar rooms, why not class room discussions ? It is not only examination...

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : That is what I am saying. It is a total process of involving...

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Nobody differs from that. I did not differ from that.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : What the Government of India have declared is that they have broadly accepted the recommendations of the Gajendragadkar Committee and if the honourable friend does not disagree with that, then I do not think there is any disagreement between us--

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : The point is participation in administration, in pure and simple administrative matters, whether that is also necessary part of teaching process,

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN: I wish I could complete.

The second major argument was that we also want to train our young people to take decisions and it is better that they are given this training in a suitable atmosphere rather than that they should only stumble and learn from their mistakes. Therefore, the Gajendragadkar Committee has recommended widespread participation of students and even the control being given to students in a whole number of activities where they are in a position to take decisions, for example, mess management, extra-curricular activities, sports activities, running of cultural clubs, organisation of social service, and so on...

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Agreed.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : Then they have recommended joint committees where there participation with senior members can take place at the level of consultation, for example, departmental consultation committees, faculty consultation committees and college consultation committees. Then they have recommended the establishment of an authority of the university called the students' councils



with a nominee of the Vice-Chancellor as chairman and this body is a body which will have the right to convey its views to the Academic Council and the Executive Council of the university. It is much better this view is expressed in a manner which is appropriate to a higher academic institution rather than in some of the ways which none of them think is good for the young people of our country. The Gajendr-agadkar Committee has also recommended that 10 to 15 per cent of the members of the Court should be from among the students and I feel that this is also a good recommendation. Gajendragadkar Committee has not recommended membership of students in the Executive Council or in the Academic Council where questions dealing with examinations, appointment of examinees, action to be taken when the pass percentage is too low or fail percentage is too high, moderation of results, etc. are discussed and settled. Here the Gajendragadkar Committee has not recommended participation of students. I hope that in the light of this explanation, my hon. friend would be satisfied.

Shri T. N. Singh and a few others have referred to the fact that there is a very large body of unemployed engineers and Education Ministry is not paying enough attention to the training of technicians as this country needs more of trained technicians and less of engineers. I would like to offer two clarifications. Firstly, training of technicians is not within the purview of the Ministry of Education and therefore in a way I can escape responsibility.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : That is good.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : That is the easiest way of answering.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : I do not wish to do so. Having said this, I want to take this matter up further. It is not only during this period that the engineer

was unemployed. We also found that the diploma holder was unemployed and a very large number of trained certificate holders are unemployed. Let us try to understand where the malaise lies. If the economy of the country is not going ahead at a rapid pace, then its capacity to absorb people and to provide them with employment will be strictly limited and therefore you will find that a large number of individuals are unemployed. I am extremely worried about unemployment of educated people. But I think that no Member in this House will think that the unemployment problem is solved if the educated are given employment because the rest of the young people who were unable to go to colleges or schools also remain unemployed. There was a classic imperialist solution that was put forward in the thirties during my boyhood that if there are too many unemployed educated persons, stop giving others education, as if that would solve the problem. Therefore, I would submit for the consideration of the hon. Members that unemployment has to be tackled at the economic level and we should not say : "Do not give education because employment is not available".

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Partly our Government has also followed that policy. Admissions to the engineering colleges were reduced.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : The hon. Member should not say that, knowing fully well what I have been saying all these years.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : That is why I am saying.

PROF. S. NURUL HASAN : He and I, Sir, hold very similar views on this matter.

Sir, What I am trying to make out is that we do need a total manpower planning in the country. I hope it will be possible for the Government to take it up. But,

[Prof. S. Nurul Hasan] unless there is a satisfactory manpower planning, we should not start saying things like this. I mean, when we open an arts college, we are told, "Don't open so many arts colleges. The country has got enough of arts colleges. Open only science colleges." And, Sir, if science colleges are opened, we are told, "Our science graduates are unemployed" and we are asked to diversify and vocationalise and yet, people who take trade certificates or diplomas or degrees in engineering are unemployed, they tell us, "Don't put any restriction; do not restrict it". So, Sir, the real problem is that there will be unemployment unless the economy gets momentum and when the momentum comes, those who are unemployed will find employment. But, what I would like to submit is that we must adopt a forward-looking policy. Suppose there is a recession and we immediately decide to cut down the facilities for technical and scientific education. The result would be that when the economy gathers momentum, we will take five years to produce the engineers that we need and the technical personnel that we require.

Sir, there has been another difficulty. Unfortunately, there was, on a vast scale, an import of technical know-how and not sufficient attention was paid to the development of indigenous know-how. The present policy of the Government is to go in for self reliance in a massive way. The Minister for Planning has given an assurance that within two years all the technically educated people will be given employment and that would include all M.Sc.'s. This is a very hopeful sign and, therefore, the Education Minister should not be asked unnecessarily to restrict higher education.

Furthermore, Sir, the Education Commission had made a recommendation that at least 6% of the people in the age group 17-23 should be going to some institution of higher education or the other in the country by 1986. The present percentage

in the country is 3.1. Therefore, there is scope for increasing the overall percentage of persons going in for higher education. This figure of 3.1 is very much less than the figure of any of the advanced countries and one of the honourable Members said that even in the advanced countries so many people are not going in for higher education. What is wrong is that we have not yet been able to implement that part of the recommendation of the Education Commission which said that the proportion of post-graduates to under-graduates must rise and that the proportion of persons going in for technical education must be more than the proportion of persons going in for it at the present moment.

Secondly, Sir, if you compare the percentage of students going in for higher education in science and arts, you will observe, Sir, that the percentage of those who are going in for science is still not as much as has been recommended by the Education Commission and I entirely agree with the recommendation of the Commission in this regard. Therefore, there is a great deal of need for proper planning of higher education, and I hope that this planning will be taken up by the Planning Commission in consultation with the Ministry of Education, the U.G.C., the State Governments and that this would depend on the tempo of economic development and change.

Sir, looking at the clock I am a little worried. But I would, if I may, take another ten minutes to explain what the Government is attempting to do in the field of primary education, which has been emphasized so much by many hon. Members, and in my opinion, quite rightly. The focus was on the removal of illiteracy and giving primary education a new direction.

Sir, the main point which we should all remember is that the present appalling figure of illiteracy has arisen because we were unable to enrol all children in the age

group 6-11 in the primary schools, and even where we did succeed in enrolling them they dropped off very soon, usually after one year. If this had not been happening continuously over a large number of years, the present figure of illiteracy would not have been as high as it is today. If we make an analysis of those who are not yet going to the elementary schools in the age group of 6-11, we will find that the greatest shortfall is among girls, among scheduled castes, among scheduled tribes and, as two of the lion. Members quite rightly pointed out, among those who want their children to add to the family income. Therefore, we have to provide for 110 per cent enrolment because that seems to be the objective, because there would always be in village^ people who do not remember their ages, there would be some a little below, a few who would continue after that age and then there would be shortfalls occasionally, and, if I may say so, our statistics given j by village schools are not exactly as accurate as the figures given by a computer. Therefore, we must plan for 110 percent enrolment. Now this involves a new strategy. We have to take into account all the suggestions that have been made; for example, by Shri Balachandra Menon that the timings of certain schools must be changed. We should also think in terms of providing-part-time education where it is impossible to provide whole-time education. A flexible approach is needed. Then we must utilise the resources locally available in a village. For example, there are many retired persons who are educated —may be matriculate, may be graduate— who have settled down in a village, who have nothing to do and who would be quite prepared if you give them a token honorarium which is more in the nature of a recognition. We can also utilise the volunteers, fresh graduates, and we are working out a scheme to employ on a fairly large scale University graduates, fresh graduates, as volunteers who would be going to the villages and working in the village schools. We can also utilize other ways. For example, senior students, high school students,

college students coming back to the villages during vacations. Their services could be utilised. We can organise camps where the students are living in very small hamlets and a big and proper school cannot be provided to them. Then we can take these children to the camps, may be a one-day camp or a two-day camp, once a month to the nearest good school where they can be exposed to proper schooling. The second strategy that we are thinking of is to go in for the concept of community school. Our concept of community school is that the school would be in a sense the centre of community life. To this would be attached a balwari for the little children because so far as girls are concerned, most of the older girls have their responsibility of looking after younger children. So if there is a good balwari, then the younger children could be brought there, could be bathed there, could be given one meal. This Ministry has a scheme of nutrition programme for little children. They can be provided with one meal and many of those older girls could learn how to look after the younge. babies under the guidance of some teacher. And this would be a good (raining for them and this could be a part of their work experience as well as their social service. We also want that these schools should be the centres of adult education. By adult education y am really thinking of the youth, especially between the ages of 14 to 25. While I recognise that we must think of everybody feel that we should leave to the voluntary agencies the responsibility for educating all those who are above 25. We should also try to use the mass media for providing education for those who are above 25. But we must concentrate vin a very big way on the age group 14-25 which is out of school but which should be provided with physical culture, with recreation as well as with literacy and continuing education. we should also mobilise those forces for various social service activities and utilise all the various ways and techniques of giving them real education, exposing them to museums, science museums,

[Prof. S. Nurul Hasan] cultural museums, organise mobile laboratories, take them to see mobile laboratories, explain the modern scientific principles, explain the main features of Indian art and sculpture, and so on, so that they can develop a sense of identity with our national traditions as well as with modernity and a modern outlook. I am also keen that the present complete compartmentalisation of the student and non-student youth should end. Therefore, I hope that the youth centres and the youth movement which we hope will be started during the Silver Jubilee Year of our Independence will try to bring the student youth and the non-student youth together, one helping the other in various ways. The third major aspect of our strategy is of quality improvement. Now I am not again going into details, but I will make a brief reference to what we are attempting to do. For quality improvement we are thinking that by the end of the Fifth Plan at least 10 per cent of all school-going children should be living in schools which give a very high quality of education. For this purpose we are thinking of establishing 7 P. M. one comprehensive model Higher Secondary School in each district and one community Elementary School if possible in each of the Community Development Blocks. These institutions would be pace-setters. They would also be taking up extension work, provided facilities for in-service training of teachers, to mobile laboratories, to mobile libraries, and mobile counter vans would be based in these places and those schools which do not have proper facilities, their children could be brought to these schools. In these schools we hope that about half would be resident students so that its facilities are spread over to the whole area and 25% of the total enrolment would be reserved for children belonging to the most deprived sections of the population and they will be paid scholarship which

cover the entire cost of the stay in this residential school. We hope that this would be an opportunity whereby even those sections of our people who have remained deprived for all these years will have the opportunity and the access to receive the best education which the country can give. I am unable to make that announcement and as hon. Member quite rightly pointed out, ours is a federal Constitution. We must try and persuade the State Governments and we must also persuade our fellow academics because without explaining the scheme to them, without listening to their criticisms, without bringing about modifications in the light of their criticisms, we should not dogmatically put forward a scheme in its present form. I hope, however, that it would be possible for us to get the cooperation of all the parties concerned and if this cooperation is forthcoming, then we will be able immediately to experiment with the new syllabus, the new set of text-books which would be free from some of the defects which have been mentioned by several Members. I thank once again all the Members.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : Nothing about the Sapru House Library ?

PROF. S. NURUL HAN : I have already told my friends that any solution which is acceptable to the two parties will be acceptable to the Government and we will do our best to help them. I have been meeting the authorities of the two bodies—the Jawaharlal Nehru University and the ICWA—but I do not think it would be proper for me to bring any pressure on either of these two bodies. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A. M. tomorrow.

The House adjourned at four minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 12th May, 1972.