

- (2) Consideration and return of the Cotton Fabrics (Additional Excise Duty) Repeal Bill, 1967, as passed by Lok Sabha.
- (3) Further consideration and passing of the Insecticides Bill, 1964, as reported by Joint Committee.
- (4) Consideration and passing of: The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill, 1966. The Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Amendment Bill, 1967. The Maternity Benefit (Amendment) Bill, 1967.
- (5) Discussion on the food situation in the country on a motion to be moved by the Minister of Food and Agriculture on Wednesday, the 29th November, 1967.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सी० आई० ए० का क्या हुआ ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : That will be considered. The Chairman has promised.

श्री राजनारायण : मे चाहूंगा कि इसका खयाल रखा जाय । मंगल बुद्धके अंदर आ जाय तो अच्छा है ।

#### RESOLUTION RE CONSTITUTING A PERMANENT BOARD FOR YOUTH

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra) : Sir, with your permission I beg to move the following Resolution :—

“With a view to utilising fully and properly the strength and energy of the younger generation of the country, this House recommends that Government should immediately constitute a permanent Board for Youth to deal with the manifold problems of youth including unemployment, and to guide the energies of the younger generation towards the social, cultural and economic transformation of the country through participation in activities such as land army, civil defence, agro-indus-

trial and co-operative development, literacy campaign, family planning, Inter-State harmony, cultural programmes, and such other purposeful nation-building activities.”

Sir, I am aware that there are various subjects which can be given priority in our discussions and perhaps they might have secured a lot of publicity as well. But under the present circumstances I feel that though the younger generation was in the vanguard of our struggle for independence, the present younger generation stands neglected. During the last 20 years some programmes might have been taken up. We might have gone ahead so far as educational activities are concerned. But when we think of the younger generation, whether it be the educated or the uneducated, I do feel that these young people who are supposed to be and who ought to be the builders of our country and who ought to stand in the vanguard of our social, cultural and economic revolution in this democratic setup of ours, they are not participating in these activities with that enthusiasm and that energy that all of us expect from them. The other day I read it in the papers, that our honoured Prime Minister had been to Roorkee where there was a convocation for the engineers who had recently secured their degrees and who were to be given their certificates and so on at that ceremony. When the honoured guest, our Prime Minister went there on the stage, these young engineers gave out one slogan and then left the pandal. What was that slogan? That slogan was, “We do not want speeches. We want employment”. And then they were advised that that was not the way of doing things. I also gave considerable thought to this problem and the more I thought of it the more I asked myself this question : What other way is left to these youngsters, to these young engineers? Even after becoming engineers, is their life still to be one of groping in the valley of frustration? What are they expected to do? So if they left the pandal, instead of blaming those engineers, I feel that as the representatives of the people, the time has come when we should search ourselves.

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While considering this problem may I bring to the notice of the House some important figures? Today we find that in the year 1965-66 the students who were taking their education in the primary stage, that is to say, in the age-group 6 to 11, number 5,50,00,000. Those in the middle-school stage, i.e. age-group 11 to 14, number 1,10,00,000. Those getting secondary education, i.e. age-group 14 to 17, come to 52,40,000. Those in the university stage, that is to say, in the age-group 17 to 23 number 11 lakhs. The number of diploma-course students is 49,900 and those who are taking engineering degree courses number 24,700. Doctors who are obtaining medical degrees every year number 10,625.

Now I come to the number of the unemployed that we find in this country. I am speaking only of the registered unemployed that we have. The number of matriculates who are unemployed is 6,19,480, under graduates who have studied the arts account for 40,818 and the number of under-graduates who are unemployed and who had studied the science subjects number 19,501. The number for commerce is 14,132 and for engineering 4,038, medical 579 and others 1,802. When we consider the post-graduates we find that among those who are unemployed, 8,119 are arts students and 2,277 science students and other number 2,315. In all the total is 12,711. And the grand total is 9,17,487 of such persons who have passed matriculation or further examinations. Hon. Minister will bear me out that in this country of ours nearly 16 lakhs of students appear for the matriculation or S.S.C. examination every year. Out of 16 lakhs of students eight lakhs necessarily fail. Why? The reasons shall have to be searched out. Out of the 8 lakhs who pass at the most three lakhs are admitted either in some colleges or in some technical institutions or in some professions or trades and five lakhs of matriculates or S.S.C. students do not get any employment. Taking the eight lakhs of students who

fail, out of 16 lakhs of students in the age group of 6 to 13 years, thirteen lakhs of students are thrown in the valley of frustration every year. In this country of ours if 13 lakhs of students are thrown in the valley of frustration every year, how can we expect that this country will prosper? How can we say that these pillars of this country have a bright future? What guarantee is there? It is in this context that we shall have to look at this problem. In this country of ours there are 15 crores of people who are in between the ages of 16 and 35, who are youngsters. And we know that nearly 50,000 people take birth every day in our country. Taking into account those who pass away 36,000 new faces are being added to our country every day. After 21 years every day there will be 36,000 additional voters who will start having the right to vote. Today more than 11,000 to 12,000 people get that right every day because today 11,000 to 12,000 persons cross that age limit of 21 every day. In this situation if this younger generation is not kept properly employed, if the various avenues for their employment are not made available to them, how can we claim that we are going in the right direction? I feel, Sir, that this is a problem like the Himalayan problem; perhaps a bigger problem than the Himalays, a colossal problem and it is to this problem that we have to find a reply.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : बग़्हाण  
साहब यह समझते हैं कि नहीं। इन्दिरा नेहरू  
गांधी जी से पूछिये, हम से क्या पूछते हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) : Yes; please continue.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : In a democracy I feel particularly those who come here are all leaders. It is not the responsibility of any individual. In a democracy I am not prepared to surrender my right also; I feel that I am equally responsible, and I will play this part along with my colleague, Mr. Rajnarain though we may differ on several issues.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR** (Uttar Pradesh) : To no advantage.

**SHRI M. M. DHARIA** : With all advantages, taking for granted that there will be advantages.

So as I was submitting, every day we will be adding to this country 36,000 new faces. If one person is to be employed in this advanced technological age an investment of 7,000 to 8,000 rupees is required.

**SHRI CHITTA BASU** (West Bengal) : Eight thousand ?

**SHRI M. M. DHARIA** : I know it will be more. I am speaking of the average middle class. I am not speaking of the highly technological course where nearly a sum of Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 16,000 is required for providing employment to one person. I am taking the average and on an average seven to eight thousand rupees are required for providing employment to one person. If after 20 years we have to provide employment to 36,000 people every day a Five Year Plan of more than Rs. 25,000 crores will be required for giving employment to the additional faces that will be born in this country. And where do we stand here ? Whether I belong to this party or that party is not the point here. This is a national problem and it is in this context I feel that if we want to create that sort of a situation in the country, all possible resources shall have to be mobilised. All the 50 crores of people with 100 crores of hands shall have to be properly utilised for creating that new order, that new society. Are we thinking in those terms ? If we refer to the Five Year Plans, it is really a matter of great pity that there is not much of a reference to this younger generation. We have not taken cognisance of their aspirations. It is only in the Fourth Five Year Plan—and I do not know what is going to happen to this Fourth Five Year Plan—in the Draft Outline there is a reference to the Youth Development Programme. A reference is there on page 57 and I quote :

"The Planning Commission Working Group on Youth Programmes recently reviewed the existing programmes relating to both student and non-student youth. It recommended a national programme for developing their potential and enabling them to participate fully in community and national programmes. Removal of illiteracy, eradication of social evils and participation in Works programmes are some of the suggested national tasks in which youth needs to be involved..... In Promoting the national youth programmes, the setting up of an autonomous National Youth Board for coordinating the welfare activities of the appropriate departments, both at the Centre and in the States, and voluntary organisations was suggested."

And it is on this suggestion that my Resolution is based. When I move this Resolution I am aware that there are various bodies, that there are some young . . .

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR** : Turks.

**SHRI M. M. DHARIA** : Not Turks. Some young people are having their own organisations. There are youth organisations. I knew that ; I am having some information about their activities and I have no doubt whatsoever in my mind that these organisations are trying their level best to carry out some creative activities in the country but unfortunately they are not being recognised by the Government. There is no relationship whatsoever of these organisations of the younger generation with planning. We have been planning and we have been taking care of everything in our Plans. We want that every piece of land should be brought under cultivation. But what about this vast number of younger people ? How are we going to relate them with our planning ? Have we got any ideas ? I know that the hon. Minister who is present here is a person with progressive ideas and he will intervene in the debate, would like to know from him what efforts are made by the Government, both at the Central level

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and at States level, to see that all these energies of the younger generation are utilised for the construction of a new picture of our society, for the construction of a new order in the country. Sir, if I may make a mention and refer to the election manifesto of my party . . .

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया  
(मध्य प्रदेश) : उसी का फल हम भोग रहे हैं।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर : क्या 'दक्षिण-भ्रम' करना चाहते हो ?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : . . .  
issued in 1967, it says here :

"Non-utilisation of our vast manpower is one of the central weakness of the economy we inherited at the time of our independence. The whole process of building a new order means providing new opportunities for work and employment. It is now realised that neither agriculture nor large-scale industry nor even both of them together can absorb the growing number of the unemployed and under-employed especially in the villages. Improved methods of agriculture, increase in the number of crops in the year, work on improvement of minor irrigation, building of social service institutions and large-scale industries will, of course, provide employment on an increasing scale, but that by itself cannot meet the needs of the situation. A comprehensive programme of decentralised industry in the rural area implemented with drive and a sense of paramount urgency can make a large contribution to the solution of the vast problem of unemployment. For the purpose of enlarging the opportunities of employment it is imperative that the level of productivity should rise continuously reflecting increasingly effective use of man power and other resources of the nation."

This is the manifesto of the Congress Party and when I moved my Resolution it is with a view to implementing our own pledges that we have given to our people. I do feel that if these

pledges given to the people are to be implemented, naturally the Government will have to formulate schemes and that too urgently and immediately. Nearly nine months have elapsed since we are in power. We have given these manifestoes and pledges to the people. What have we done in this direction. I would like to know it from the hon. Minister. There was a meeting of the AICC here in Delhi and it was decided to fulfil the basic needs of the people. We have pledged to the people five basic things, viz. food shelter, clothing, health and other amenities and these should be substantially fulfilled. With a view to fulfilling these obligations, at our Delhi conference we said in our resolution that we shall immediately take up a socialist charter for children. When we have pledged to the people that we shall take up a socialist charter for children, have we provided for a charter so far? We have not yet done that. May I know from the hon. Minister what he has done? If a blueprint is not ready even within six months, we cannot go forward in that direction. I would like to appeal to the hon. Minister and I would like to warn also that, when we look at the situation in the country, it is absolutely clear beyond doubt that people are having their own aspirations. They do desire that their standard of living should be immediately improved. They want that the problem of unemployment should be solved. I made a reference to the problem of unemployment of those who are educated, have not yet made a reference to those who are not educated and who are rotting in rural areas. We have not reached them yet. In this country there are fifteen crores of people who are in the age group of 16 to 35. In this group of youngsters, there are many who are uneducated. There may be tribal people. There may be people belonging to the backward communities. What about such people? I know even in cities like Poona, which is advanced in education, there are more than ten thousand students who are going to primary schools. Even though it is obligatory on the part of their parents to send these children to school, even though the Government of

Maharashtra has made it clear that those who are having an income of less than Rs. 100 per month need not pay any fees, these children are not going to school. This is not only an economic problem. It is also a social problem. It is also a cultural problem. We shall have to look at this problem from these aspects. If this problem has to be dealt with properly, it is not possible to do so without taking into confidence the younger generation. During the last twenty years, have we generated that confidence in them? At the time of our struggle for independence the urge for sacrifice was there before everybody. Today that supreme urge for sacrifice seems to have been lost somehow. What is that feeling of supreme sacrifice? Have we created any such conditions? When they look at the politicians and politics do not the youngsters feel that they occupy these high offices for their own self and not for social purposes? Why is that feeling there? Why should we create such conditions? Why should we not adopt a kind of behaviour ourselves so that these youngsters feel that we have been working in an ideal way so that this country is improved and it is taken towards progress? How we created such conditions? On the contrary, is it not our experience that even in this democratic and socialist set-up of ours, it is the privileged few who are being protected? Is it not an irony of fate and can we say that we are moving towards socialist ideals? It is not possible to say so. It is not enough to speak of high ideals. It is not enough to make tall speeches. It is our action which is material and we are bound to be judged by our action and I have no doubt that the citizen should judge us by our performance and if we fail in our performance we have no right to live. We should be very clear about it.

I should like to render a piece of advice to the leaders of my Party today. It may perhaps be out of occasion, but I do feel that this is the last opportunity given to us. I have no doubt in my mind that if proper, genuine, *bona fide* efforts, in a planned manner, are made in this country, the

whole country will stand up by this Party, by the ruling Party, not only in the States where we are in power but also in States where we have been defeated. But if we fail in our performance, if we fail in implementing our own pledges, our own promises to the people, morally we have no right to be in power, nor will the people allow us to be in power. I would even like the people to throw us out and they should not allow us to continue if we fail in our performance. We have no moral right.

So far as the youngsters are concerned, they do not want, in the initial stages, the best possible privileges and advantages. A feeling should be created in them whereby they would feel that they are partners in this whole endeavour of ours. There is no such feeling, no such relationship now. Regarding teachers we have mentioned them in our manifesto. On occasions when teachers are going on strike, we have been assuring them they would get the best possible position in society, but there is no such position being given. If we look at the social order, what do we find? In spite of the efforts of the past twenty years they remain as they were. We have not yet been able to break up those walls and barriers. What is our cultural and social programme? We will have to develop the personality of the youth. If the personality has to be developed, the qualities in the youngsters have to be developed. Why is this massacre going on? Eight lakhs fail every year. What does it mean? Where have we been lacking? We should not go ahead with this massacre. Why should we not take lessons from countries which are progressive? Is it not a fact that in Yugoslavia and even in a country like China, it is the younger generation who are given all possible facilities, so that they march ahead. Perhaps they may be getting some wrong directions and I am not here in any way to defend the Red Guard movement, but is it not a fact that the younger generation is all the while being taken into confidence? Why should we not take our younger generation into confidence? It is in this

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3 P.M.

context that I have suggested several programmes. I do not want to go into details but I would like to press and urge on the Minister today that this resolution is the urgent need of the day. I would like to request all the friends on the opposite side and say let us look at this problem not as a political problem. It is a national problem, it is a national responsibility. In our country we want to have that cultural, social and economic revolution. Without taking the help and without utilising this vast and tremendous energy of our younger generation, it will not be possible for us to succeed in our revolution. If this revolution is to go ahead and that too in a democratic set-up, naturally it has to be brought about in such a manner so that these young citizens who are to be the leaders of tomorrow are nourished that way, and that sort of character shall have to be built up. It is not the devaluation of the rupee which is material to me but devaluation of the national character is much more material. It is giving more agony to my mind, and here this resolution gives a call for evaluation of that national character. It is giving a call for taking this younger generation into confidence and to see that this country of ours which was freed with the sacrifice of our great leaders and heroes marches ahead in the world and marches ahead with the support of our youngsters in all possible fields and does not remain a begging country but remains a country where other countries come for some help. In that direction, in order to achieve that prosperity of our country, in order to achieve that prosperity of our society, I have moved this resolution. I would beg of this House that they should unanimously stand by this resolution and pass it.

*The question was proposed.*

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab) :  
Sir, I move :

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

'And this House further suggests that in order to bring about a

betterment of the condition of the youth, the following steps should be taken :—

(a) family pensions must be guaranteed to all inhabitants ;

(b) planned action should be taken to see that all young people are guaranteed jobs ;

(c) taxation of the value of land should be assured in order to provide necessary resources ;

(d) free medical treatment and free medicines and appliances should be made available to all people ;

(e) free education of a compulsory nature should be available, up to the University standard, for all young people ;

(f) attempts must be made to put an end to adult illiteracy within a specified time of ten years ;

(g) all State Governments must be encouraged to bring in similar steps in order to provide for a policy of socialism in action for all people."

*The question was proposed.*

श्री गोड़े मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मोहन धारिया साहब के जरिये जो प्रस्ताव आज हमारे सामने है उससे न मैं इत्तिफाक कर पा रहा हूँ और न उसके खिलाफ हो पा रहा हूँ क्योंकि उन्होंने कहा कि एक यूथ बोर्ड बनाने की बात की जाय, लेकिन वह किस तरह से बोर्ड होगा और वह क्या काम करेगा और कैसे उसका गठन किया जायेगा इसके बारे में उन्होंने कोई जिक्र नहीं किया इसलिये मैं उनके प्रस्ताव के साथ न सहमति प्रगट कर पाता हूँ और न विरोध प्रकट कर पा रहा हूँ। उसका मकसद जो है उसके साथ मैं इत्तिफाक करता हूँ और मैं चाहूँगा कि जो सरकार है वह इन सब चीजों के बारे में भी सोचे।

मैं युवक आंदोलन से पहले से संबंधित रहा हूँ और अगर मैं राजनीति में हूँ तो

युवक आंदोलन के जरिये ही मैं राजनीति में आया हूँ, मेरा युवक जनों से और विद्यार्थी संगठनों से हमेशा ताल्लुक रहा है और अभी तक है और मैं जानता हूँ कि आजकल जो युवाजन-समुदाय है उसमें एक तरह का फ्रस्ट्रेशन आया हुआ है और वह किन्हीं कारणों से है। एक तो दुनिया भर में यह चीज माननी पड़ेगी कि एज का जो फर्क होता है उससे सोचने में और रहन सहन में काफी अंतर पैदा हो जाता है। मैं जानता हूँ कि यहां पर भी कुछ बुजुर्ग मेम्बरान हैं जो आज नहीं हैं लेकिन अक्सर उनकी तक्रारीर मैंने सुनी . . .

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया :**  
सब जवान ही जवान हैं।

**श्री गोडे मुराहरि :** . . . लेकिन वह यहां पर नहीं हैं, खास कर के उनमें से एक सदस्य वे जब तक्रारीर देते हैं तो मुझे ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि ऐसे बुजुर्ग लोगों की वजह से हिन्दुस्तान में जो कुछ भी युवकों की तरफ से, युवाजन की तरफ से एक क्रांति हो रही है वह हो रही है क्योंकि उनका सारा दकियानुमी दिमाग जो यहां पर प्रदर्शन करते हैं अगर उस दिमाग का कुछ भी हिस्सा . . .

**श्री प्रकाश नारायण सप्रू (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**  
आप किनको कह रहे हैं ?

**श्री गोडे मुराहरि :** वह यहां नहीं हैं इसलिये नहीं नाम ले रहा हूँ। वह हैं नहीं आज। मैं समझता था कि वे भी आज बोलगे लेकिन वे आए नहीं। अच्छा है वे आए नहीं।

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया :**  
कह दीजिए, सबके मन में शंका रहेगी।

**श्री गोडे मुराहरि :** मिर्झातालंकार जी। तो इस तरह के दिमाग से अगर आज के जो बुजुर्ग लोग हैं वे सोचने लगे तो फिर उसका लाजमी हिस्सा हो जाता है कि जो युवाजन

समुदाय है वह उसके खिलाफ क्रांति करे। मैं इसलिये यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया भर में आज हम एक फिनोमिना देख रहे हैं, कभी आपने सुनी होगी बीटल्स की बात, कभी हिपीज की बात सुनी होगी, कभी आपने सुना होगा कुछ ऐसे तत्व अमरीका और यूरोप में पैदा हो रहे हैं जो अच्छी बात नहीं है। अमल में एक नर्वस टेन्शन की वजह से जो युवाजन समुदाय है उसमें एक फ्रस्ट्रेशन पैदा हुआ है उसके फलस्वरूप आज हम देखते हैं कि इस तरह की एक चीज हमारे सामने है और अगर उस चीज को हम देखेंगे तो हमको यह भी समझ में आयेगा कि हिन्दुस्तान में हमारे युवाजन में जो फ्रस्ट्रेशन है वह किस रूप से प्रगट होता है। जब यह बात हम सुनते हैं कि विद्यार्थियों में इ डिस्प्लिन बहुत हो रहा है। बार बार हमारे सुनने में आ रहा है कि व्हाइस चान्सलर लोग भाषण देते हैं, कुछ नेता लोग भाषण देते हैं, कि विद्यार्थी लोग आजकल बहुत इन्डिस्प्लिन्ड हो गये हैं, तो उसका क्या कारण है, इसको भी सोचना चाहिये। जो एक सड़ांध हमारे समाज में आई है और जो नेता और बड़े आदमी हमारे समाज में उनके चिंतन का जो दोष है, उसकी वजह से हमारे युवाजन समुदाय में एक रिवोल्ट जैसा पैदा होता है और उसके फलस्वरूप वह इस तरह की चीज करते हैं। इस चीज को भी मानना पड़ेगा कि हम लोग उनको कोई संगठित रूप नहीं दे पाए, अगर हम संगठित रूप दे पाएं तो वे अच्छी तरह से अपने विचार प्रगट कर सकते हैं।

लेकिन इस चीज को मानना पड़ेगा कि हम लोग इसका कोई खाम लाभ नहीं दे पाये हैं। इसीलिए कभी हम यह सुनते हैं कि किसी सिनेमा हॉल के ऊपर कुछ विद्यार्थियों ने जाकर हल्ला बोल दिया, किसी बस को जला दिया, किसी बस के कंडक्टर को पकड़कर पीट दिया या कोई दूसरी चीज कर दी। इस तरह की चीज विद्यार्थी कर

[श्री गोड मुराहरि]

डालते हैं। क्योंकि उनके दिमाग में समाज के खिलाफ फस्ट्रेशन आया हुआ है। वे लोग अपने गुस्से को प्रगट करने के लिए इस तरह की बातें कर डालते हैं और इस तरह से अपना समय जाया करते हैं।

हम लोगों को यह चीज माननी पड़ेगी कि जो बैल्यूज होती है वे समय के अनुसार परिवर्तित होती रहती है। पचास साल पहले जो बैल्यूज हमारे देश में थी वे आज नहीं हैं। आज अगर श्री सिद्धान्तालंकार साहब आकर यह कहें कि वुशशर्ट पहिना एक दकियानुसी चीज है, हमारी संस्कृति के खिलाफ है, तो आज का जो नौजवान युवक है वह यह कहेगा कि इस आदमी का दिमाग खराब हो गया है क्योंकि यह रूढ़िवादी हो गया है। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस चीज को भी हमें देखना चाहिये। (Interruption) हम उनको नहीं कह रहे हैं बल्कि जो इस तरह के लोग हैं, जो इस तरह की भावना रखते हैं, उनके बारे में कह रहे हैं। हमें इस चीज को समझना चाहिये और साथ ही साथ समाज में जो कमियाँ हैं और जिस के फलस्वरूप आज का विद्यार्थी फस्ट्रेट हो गया है, अगर सके संबंध में हम कुछ नहीं करेंगे, तो आगे जाकर हमें एक क्रांति का सामना करना पड़ेगा इस देश में, जिसको हम नहीं रोक सकते हैं।

आज हम लाखों विद्यार्थियों को विद्या दे रहे हैं। हमारी सरकार की यह नीति है कि सब को कम्पलसरी एजुकेशन दिया जाय और हर गांव में स्कूल खोला जाय। लेकिन आज कितने ऐसे गांव हैं जहां पर कोई भी स्कूल नहीं है। कितने ऐसे स्कूल हैं, जहां पर कोई पढ़ाने वाला अध्यापक नहीं है। हमें इस चीज को देखना चाहिये। इसके साथ ही साथ हमें यह भी देखना चाहिए, जैसा कि हमारे मित्र श्री मोहन धारिया जी ने कहा कि कई लाख लोग ऐसे हैं जिनको अभी विद्या पाना है। लेकिन मैं उन्हें बत-

लाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहां पर कई ऐसे लोग हैं जिन्हें अभी तक विद्या का ज्ञान नहीं है कि विद्या क्या चीज होती है। जब हम देश में इस तरह की व्यवस्था देखते हैं तो हम पाते हैं कि इस देश में अवश्य क्रांति होगी। इसके साथ ही हम यह भी देखते हैं कि जिन लोगों को विद्या मिलती है, उनको काम नहीं दिया जाता है और इस तरह से हर साल जो लोग विद्या पाते हैं वे बेकारी को तादाद बढ़ाते जाते हैं। हमारे देश में एक बहुत बड़ा समुदाय है जिसको हम विद्या देते हैं, लेकिन हम यह देखते हैं कि जब यह समुदाय विद्या पा लेता है, तो उसके पास काम करने के लिए नहीं होता है। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि यह समुदाय फस्ट्रेट हो जाता है और उसका गुस्सा फूट पड़ता है और जिसका हमें सामना करना पड़ता है और करना पड़ेगा। अगर इस चीज को ठीक करना है, तो सरकार को अपनी नीति में बुनियादी परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा और जो विद्या हम आजकल दे रहे हैं उसके बारे में भी सोचना पड़ेगा कि यह ठीक है या नहीं? इस समय नव-युवक को जो विद्या दी जा रही है वह सही ढंग से दी जा रही है या नहीं। हमारे देश में जो विद्या का सिस्टम है वह सही है या नहीं, इस बारे में भी हमको सोचना होगा। जब हमारे देश से अंग्रेज चले गये हैं, तो हमें अपने सोचने के ढंग को भी बदलना पड़ेगा।

जब हम देश के लिए प्लान बनाते हैं तो हमें यह ध्यान रखना चाहिये कि हम जो विद्या नवयुवकों को दे रहे हैं उससे देश का रिकस्ट्रक्शन में उपयोग हो सकेगा या नहीं? अंग्रेजों के जमाने में जो व्यवस्था थी कि वे हमारे नवयुवकों को विद्या केवल बर्क बनाने के लिए ही देते थे ताकि बफरों में वे काम कर सकें। अगर उसी तरह की भावना से हम अपनी विद्या को आगे भी चलायेंगे, तो उससे हमारा काम चलने वाला नहीं है और हमें तरह तरह की कठिनाइयों का सामना



करना पड़ेगा। हमारे बुजुर्ग मम्बर यहाँपर अभी नहीं हैं। वे अक्सर यह कहते रहते हैं कि हमारे नौजवान आजकल सिनेमा देखकर बिगड़ गये हैं। कभी यह कहते हैं कि उनका रहन सहन परदेशी हो गया है। जब हम इस तरह की बात करते हैं तो हमें यह सोचना पड़ेगा कि हम अपने युवकों को किस तरह को तालीम आज दे रहे हैं। अगर हम सारी तालीम युवकों को अंग्रेजी में ही देंगे तो उनका आधा जीवन अंग्रेजी को पढ़ने में ही समाप्त हो जायेगा और उन्हें किसी विषय का ज्ञान नहीं होगा। जब उनका सारा समय अंग्रेजी को रटने में ही लग जायेगा, तो और विषयों को किस तरह से पढ़ पायेंगे? अगर वे अपनी भाषा में ज्ञान पाते, तो दो तीन साल के अन्दर ही किसी विषय को अच्छी तरह से हासिल कर सकते या किसी क्राफ्ट को अच्छे तरह से पढ़ पाते। इसलिए मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जबतक हम विद्या के संबंध में जो हमारी बुनियादी नीति है, उसको नहीं बदलते हैं, जबतक इस दश में कोई चीज होने वाली नहीं है।

यह तो विद्या की बात हुई। इसके साथ ही साथ हमारे गांवों में जो युवक समुदाय है, वह सारे दिन खेती का काम करता है। इसी तरह से फ़ैक्टरी में काम करने वाले हैं, उनके लिए भी कुछ न कुछ कार्यक्रम सरकार का तरफ से होना चाहिये। अपना दिन भर का काम करने के बाद उनके बहलाव के लिए कुछ न कुछ कार्यक्रम अवश्य होना चाहिये ताकि वे भी कुछ विद्या पाकर अपने जीवन में कुछ कर सकें तथा अपन फ़ालतु समय का सदुपयोग कर सकें। लेकिन इस तरह की कोई व्यवस्था हमारे देश में नहीं है। मैं जानता हूँ कि कई देशों में इस तरह के प्रोग्राम यूथ्स के लिए बनाये गये हैं। मैंने कई बड़े देशों में रूस से लेकर योरोप तथा पश्चिमी देशों में देखा है कि यूथ्स के लिए खास तौर पर प्रोग्राम बनाये

जाते हैं और इसके लिए वे प्रधानता देते हैं क्योंकि वे समझते हैं कि ये ही यूथ्स आगे जाकर दश में भविष्य के नेता होंगे। इन यूथ्स के हाथों में ही देश की बागडोर होगी। इसलिए जब वे कोई प्रोग्राम बनाते हैं तो सर्वप्रथम यह देखते हैं कि उसमें यूथ्स और बच्चों की दिलचस्पी का कोई प्रोग्राम है या नहीं। उनकी तालीम, उनके रहन सहन तथा उनकी दूसरी जरूरत की चीजों के बारे में वे सोचते हैं। इन चीजों के लिए वे लोग काफी खर्च भी करते हैं। लेकिन हम अपने देश में यह देखते हैं कि यहाँ पर मंत्रिमंडल बनाने में ही देश के नेताओं का समय चला जाता है और इधर उधर होने में लग जाता है। वे लोग जो बुनियादी चीजें हैं, उनके बारे में नहीं सोचते हैं। तो मैं चाहूँगा कि यह जो प्रस्ताव हमारे सामने आया है वह कोई मामूली प्रस्ताव नहीं है और इसके बारे में हमें बहुत गम्भीरता के साथ सोचना चाहिये।

इसके साथ ही साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहूँगा कि हमारे जो विद्यार्थी कालेजों में पढ़ते हैं, वे लोग कई बार स्ट्राइक कर देते हैं और जिसकी वजह से स्टुडेंट यूनियन के ऊपर रोक लगा दी जाती है कि वे लोग अपना यूनियन न बनायें। जब इस तरह की रोक लगा दी जाती है, तो इसका लाजमी नतीजा यह होता है कि विद्यार्थी उसके खिलाफ आन्दोलन करता है। अगर कहीं पर यूनियन बन भी जाती है, तो वहाँ पर प्रिंसिपल इस तरह की स्थिति पैदा कर देता है कि विद्यार्थियों को आन्दोलन करना पड़ता है। इसलिए मैं शिक्षा मंत्री जी से खासकर यह चाहूँगा कि वह इस चीज को अनिवार्य कर दें कि जहाँ जहाँ कालेज या स्कूल हों वहाँ पर स्टुडेंट अपनी यूनियन बना सकें और उसी के जरिये सारा कामकाज हो। खाली यूनियन बना देने से काम नहीं चलेगा बल्कि उनको आजादी के साथ अपना सारा कामकाज करने की इजा-

[श्री गोड मराहरि]

जत भी होनी चाहिये क्योंकि हमन कई जगह यह देखा है कि जहां पर यूनियन बनाई जाती है वहां पर प्रिंसिपल यूनियन के मेम्बरों को नामिनेट कर देता है और कहता है कि ये लड़के यूनियन बनावेंगे। इस तरह से यूनियन नहीं बननी चाहियें। यूनियन सब कालेज और स्कूलों में जल्दी बननी चाहिये ताकि वे अपनी मांग रख सकें।

इसके साथ ही हमने यह भी देखा है कि जो राजनीतिक चिन्तन है वह हम लोगों ने बंद कर रखा है, इसके फलस्वरूप जब भी विद्यार्थी कोई आन्दोलन करता है, तो वह सिनमा या कहीं और जाकर धावा बोल देता है। मुझ मालूम है कि जब कभी कालेजों या युनिवर्सिटी में कुछ राजनीतिक यूनियन बनती है, यूथ्स यूनियन बनती हैं, तो वे इसलिए बनती हैं कि जो देश के नौजवान हैं, वे देश के लिए जो कुछ करना चाहते हैं, वे हम यूनियनों में आकर अपने विचार बतलायें और राजनीतिक और सामाजिक विषयों के बारे में अपने विचार प्रकट कर सकें।

उससे सारा मन और सारी दिशा बदल जाती थी। उनका जो भी कार्यक्रम होता था वह राजनैतिक या सामाजिक विषयों पर केन्द्रित होता था। लेकिन आज कल कोई ऐसी चीज उनके सामने हम लोग न रख कर के उनको हमने इन चीजों से वंचित किया है। इसका नतीजा यह है कि आज स्टूडेंट्स जब कोई प्रदर्शन करते हैं, तो वे इस तरह की चीजों में अपनी सारी शक्ति लगाते हैं। इस लिये मैं चाहूंगा कि यह भी हम शुरू करें कि हर कालेज और युनिवर्सिटी में यह छूट होनी चाहिये कि वे कोई राजनैतिक संस्था बना सकें और उसमें वे चर्चा और डिस्कशन कर सकें।

साथ साथ इस विषय में जब मैं बोल रहा हूं, तो मैं इस चीज का

भी जिक्र करना चाहूंगा कि जो युवक समुदाय के अन्दर कुछ फारन एली-मट्स, कछ विदेशी शक्तियां करप्शन करने की आजकल कोशिश करती हैं, चाहे वह सी० आई० ए० का हो, चाहे वह किसी का हो, एक बड़ पमान पर हिन्दुस्थान में यह चीज चली है। व समझत ह, "कैच दम यंग," उनको जवानी म पड़ो। किमी युवक संगठन जरिय या किसी और जरिये कुछ पसा या प्रलोभन दकर के उनका मत एक तरफ या एक दश की तरफ खींचन की कोशिश की जाती है। इस चीज का भी हम लोगों को सामना करना पड़गा और इसको बन्द करन की कोशिश होनी चाहिय। कई फाउंडेशन्स के जरिये, कई संस्थाओं के जरिय यह चीज हो रही है और इसका हमें सामना करना पड़गा।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): It is time to wind up.

श्री गोडे मराहरि: जो उन्होंने प्रस्ताव दिया है बोड बनाने के बारे में, उसके बारे में सिर्फ इतना ही कह सकूंगा कि बोड अगर बन जाता है और उसमें कोई एक या दो संस्थाओं को या कोई सत्ताधारी दल के साथ जुड़ी हुई संस्थाओं को कछ ज्यादा पैसा देने की कोशिश होती है, तो फिर उसका कोई मकसद नहीं निकलगा। जैसा कि मैं जानता हूं कि भारत युवक समाज को काफी पैसा मिला, उसी तरह से अगर कुछ संस्थाओं को सरकारी पैसा मिल जायेगा और उसके लिये इस तरह का कोई बोर्ड बनेगा, तो इसका कोई फायदा नहीं होगा। लेकिन मैं जानता हूं कि कई देशों में ऐसे बोर्ड बने हैं जहां पर जितनी भी युवक संस्थाएं हैं उन सब का ले कर बराबर उनको प्रधानता दी जाती है। अगर वसी कोई चीज बने तो देश का कल्याण हो सकता है।

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the resolution

moved by Mr. Dharia. The younger generation, Sir, forms 40 per cent. of the total population. The figures have been given by the mover. So I need not repeat them. The young people from several groups. There are children up to 14. Then there are adolescents up to 21 and, after that, there are young people up to 35 or 40. Their requirement and their problems are different at each age. As they grow they require education, recreation, games and sports for the full development of their mental and physical faculties.

Sir, there are some special features of the young people. They have plenty of energy, both mental and physical. As they are growing people, they want to express themselves in different directions. Their emotions are growing too and they seek their expression in different fields. The life is before them, and therefore they want to look forward to their future. They want to have a bright future and they want to have a prosperous life. They indulge in thinking about their future.

Different people have different talents. Different young people have different aspirations and they look forward to fulfilment in their life. Who is responsible for that? Who is to give them all this? It is the responsibility of all of us. It is the responsibility first of the parents in whose homes the children grow. Then it is the responsibility of the teachers with whom they have their education.

Sir, it has been very ably said before and our Education Minister has expressed only yesterday and even this morning and many times before that the status of the teacher should be raised. They should have more respect in the society and they should have better remuneration and wages.

After that, Sir, it is the responsibility of all the leaders, political leaders including that of the ruling party because the young people have enthusiasm and energy and they want to have some ideal to follow. And what do they follow? When we put before them something and say something

else, indulging in corrupt practises both in politics and outside, what will they think? The character of the nation is falling very low. What do these young people see around them? They copy what they see. That is the reason why there is growing indiscipline among the young people.

There is growing frustration among the young people. As has been said just now by the mover, there is a great deal of unemployment among the educated. When lakhs and lakhs of students fail in their qualifying degrees there is frustration. When they find that there is no hope of employment for them they indulge in anti-social and unsocial activities and we wonder what to do about them. Really the fault is ours.

Then, Sir, I would like to bring to your notice another type of youth which, of course, the mover has mentioned. But I would like to tell you that there are lakhs and lakhs of children who have had no opportunity for education, for good homes, for sunshine, for recreation, for games or for anything that is so essential for the development of the youth.

Sir, they live in slums. They live on footpaths. They live in jhuggies and in the dirty streets of the slum areas and rural areas also. I would like to give you the reaction of a young boy who has published a letter in today's *Hindustan Times*. He has said :—

"When I go to my school every day, early in the morning, several scenes on the way make me sad. At day-break life begins on the city's footpaths where men, women and children get up from sleep and prepare themselves for another day—with hope and expectation. I often think and ask : what does democracy mean to these unfortunates? The VIPs come and go, with great pomp and splendour"

And then he goes on to say :—

" . . . We speak of democracy and democratic ideals. Our leaders

[Dr. (Mrs.) Mangladevi Talwar]

exhort the people to make democracy a way of life. But have they ever cared to see how many down-trodden people there are in the country for whom democracy means nothing? What future does our democratic country hold for them when they grow up? Left to their own fate they will go their own way and probably later on be branded as pick-pockets or anti-social elements. Then the cruel hands of law will put them behind the bars."

So this is the situation. This is a very serious problem. If we want to solve the problem of the young people, we have to take care of this very unfortunate element of our society. I am glad that in the Fourth Five-Year Plan, although it is not in sight yet, they have thought of this element. I am quoting from page 363 of the Draft Outline of the Fourth-Five-Year Plan. "For the Fourth Five-Year Plan, a provision of Rs. 50 crores has been made for social welfare programmes. The following are the principal programmes; family and child welfare, special programmes for women, special programmes for children, welfare projects for non-student youth"—I am very much interested in that—"eradication of beggary, rehabilitation of handicapped persons," and so on. Then on page 366, they go on to say "After a careful evaluation of past experience, leading social workers are agreed that in proposing schemes of development for women and children, the family should be treated as the basic unit and a composite family and child welfare programme should be adopted." This is a new idea, a new conception of the welfare of the children as well as the family, because the child is part of the family and unless you look after the family, unless you look after the mother, unless you look after their emotional and economic background, the child does not grow properly.

Then, again on page 369 regarding non-student youth, it is stated "A working group on youth programmes

set up by the Commission has recommended the establishment of a Central Youth Board"—which is, of course, the subject matter of this Resolution—"and corresponding State Boards in enabling and assisting young people to participate more fully in the tasks of national development. The programme envisages a scheme for both student and non-student youth in urban and rural areas. Provisions for different aspects of the programme are to be made under different heads and details are being worked out. As part of the plan for social welfare, a provision of Rs. 2 crores has been made for welfare activities, specially among non-student youth." Then there is the other problem—eradication of beggary. Mostly they are children. Beggary is a curse in our society. It is like cancer in the body that has different roots and to eradicate this, you have to look after child welfare, because some of the people use children as beggars. They make children professional beggars only to feed the evil doer. The Third Plan has referred to beggary as "an age-old social evil which has been allowed to continue for too long." So in the Fourth Five Year Plan, they have thought of this important section of the people also.

Then there is the programme of rehabilitation of handicapped persons. That also forms part of the great responsibility of our society. In the Fourth Five Year Plan, it has been stated :

"A number of schemes for handicapped persons, specially the blind, the deaf-mute, the orthopaedically handicapped and those who are mentally deficient or ill, were implemented during the Third Plan. Besides developing existing institutions such as the Model School for blind children, the workshop for the manufacture of Braille appliances and the Central Braille Press at Dehra Dun, some new institutions were also established including the National Library for the blind, Training Centre for the Adult Deaf and Model School for Mentally Deficient children."

The rehabilitation of these handicapped children is doubly important because they are a responsibility to the family where they were born and where they live and, therefore, to teach them at least to self-reliant and independent in their daily life would be a great step forward.

Sir, at the end I would say that the young people form a very important part and ingredient of our society. If we look into the history of our freedom struggle, it is the young people who sacrificed their lives and went forward and plunged into all types of dangers without caring for the consequences. Without the enthusiasm of the young people and the older people who think that way, no revolution can take place. No radical change can take place and no change in the society can take place without the help and co-operation of these young people. And above all, it is not only the co-operation that we seek, it is their development and progress that we seek and they should be able to get their ambitions fulfilled in a manner befitting their capabilities, talents and their intelligence. Thank you.

#### श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया :

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय धारिया जी ने जो प्रस्ताव रखा उससे उन्होंने अच्छा अवसर दिया इस विषय पर चर्चा करवाने के लिये। पहले तो मैं माननीय धारिया जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि जो बात हम पिछले कई वर्षों से कहते आ रहे हैं वह उन्होंने भी कही और इस बात की प्रशस्ति हमारी सरकार की कि हमारी सरकार की गलत योजनाओं के परिणामस्वरूप, हमारी सरकार की गलत नीतियों के परिणामस्वरूप आज भी लाखों लोग हमारे यहां पर बेकार हैं, उनको काम नहीं मिल पा रहा। हमने संविधान में जितनी शपथ ली हो, संविधान में चाहे जितनी व्यवस्था कि हो उसके बावजूद भी हम उनको काम दिलाने में असमर्थ रहे। मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि जिसे वह अपने दिल में हल नहीं कर सकें, उसके चेम्बर में

हल नहीं कर सकें उसे यहां हल करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। हम उनका साथ देते हैं और चाहते हैं कि इस समस्या का हल होना चाहिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो हमारे देश में सारी अव्यवस्था चल रही है, जितनी अराजकता फैल रही है और जो भी विधायियों की हलचल और दूसरी चीजें हो रही हैं उनका मूल कारण घूम-फिर कर आता है उनकी बेकारी, नौकरी न मिलना। हजारों इंजीनियर आज भी बेकार पड़े हैं। क्या उसका कारण केवल हमारे त्रिगुण सेन साहब का है कि उन्होंने इतने इंजीनियर क्यों निकाल दिए। मेरा ख्याल है कि अगर उनपर हर यह आरोप रखा जाएगा, तो यह उनके साथ अन्याय होगा। यह सारा दोष घूम-फिर कर आता है, यह जो हमारा ४-५ मंजिल की इमारत में योजना कमीशन है उस पर। उस योजना कमीशन ने मूल में भूल की। उसने त्रिगुण सेन साहब के विभाग को लिखा कि आप इस वर्ष तक इतने इंजीनियर हमको दे दीजिए। उन्होंने बड़ा प्रयत्न करके, मोरारजी साहब के विभाग की खुशामत करके वंसी योजना बनाई, लेकिन आज इंजीनियर हजारों की संख्या में बेकार मारे-मारे फिर रहे हैं। आज उनके पास बी० ई० की डिग्री है लेकिन वे कहते हैं कि कम से कम हमें जो मजदूरों के लिये रजिस्टर होता है उस पर उनकी हाजरी नोट करने के काम के लिए ही रख लो जिससे वे अपने पेट का गुजारा कर सकें। हमारी सरकार की ऐसी योजना के परिणामस्वरूप आज इंजीनियर मारे-मारे फिर रहे हैं, उनको दो-जून खाना नहीं मिलता। पहले कहा जाता था कि तकनीकी लोगों की कमी है, बड़ी तादाद में टेक्निकल लोग चाहिए, और अब काम नहीं है। हमारे यहां पर हाथ तैयार हैं, मगर हमारा आर्थिक नियोजन ऐसा है कि वे दो हाथ अपना एक पेट भरने में भी समर्थ नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। क्या इसका दोष उन लोगों को दिया जाय जवानों को दिया

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया]

जाय जो काम करने को तैयार हैं मगर हमारी सरकार की ऐसी योजनाओं के परिणामस्वरूप मारे-मारे फिर रहे हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं धारिया साहब का बहुत बहुत अहसानमन्द हूँ कि उन्होंने ऐसा अवसर ला कर प्रस्तुत किया कि जिससे इसके बारे में चर्चा हो सके। तो हमें इसको हल करना होगा, लेकिन जैसा कि उन्होंने भी भाषण दिया और भाषण देत हुए कहा कि भाषणों से हल होने वाला नहीं है और मैं भी भाषण दे रहा हूँ और कहता जा रहा हूँ कि भाषण से हल होने वाला नहीं है, तो इसका हल क्या होगा ?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA : That was meant for the Government, not for Members.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया : मैं तो भाषण की दृष्टि से खड़ा हुआ नहीं, सुझाव की दृष्टि से जरूर खड़ा हुआ हूँ और मैं धारिया साहब से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि यह जो योजना कमीशन को भी हम दोष देते हैं, तो उसका दोष नहीं है, यह दोष है कांग्रेस दल का जो कि उस पर थोपना चाहता है कि अमुक अमुक सिद्धांत के आधार पर ही योजना बनानी चाहिये, उनके सामने यह लक्ष नहीं रखा जाता है कि बेकारी दूर करो, इन लोगों को काम में लगाओ और ऐसे एवेन्यूज खोलो जिससे कि अधिक से अधिक लोग काम में लग सकें, मगर उनके सामने यह चीज रखी जाती है कि समाजवादी समाज की रचना के अन्तर्गत हमको अमुक अमुक ढंग से ही योजना बनानी पड़ेगी, समाजवादी समाज रचना के अन्तर्गत प्राइवेट सेक्टर को बिलकुल नहीं चलने दिया जायेगा, समाजवादी समाज रचना के अन्तर्गत जो भी उद्योग खुलेंगे वह सरकारी क्षेत्र में खुलेंगे, डांग इन दि मैनजर की पालिसी अपनाई जाती है। तो इस तरह बेकारी की समस्या हल नहीं हो सकती। सरकार करे तो आपत्ति

नहीं है, कोई व्यक्ति करे तो आपत्ति नहीं है, हाँ, उसके गलत तरीकों पर करने पर आपत्ति हो सकती है, उस पर नियंत्रण लगाया जा सकता है, कंसेंट्रेशन आफ कैपिटल को रोकने के लिये दूसरी व्यवस्था हो सकती है लेकिन अगर कोई हमारे यहां उद्योग प्रारंभ करे, तो उसको रोका जाय, बेकारों की संख्या कम करने के लिये कोई नया कारखाना प्रारंभ करना चाहे, तो चूंकि यह नेशनलाइजेशन के सिद्धांत में फिट नहीं होता इसलिये उसको बढ़ने नहीं दिया जाय, मैं इसको आत्मघाती नीति कहता हूँ, यह राष्ट्र के हित में नहीं है। कंसेंट्रेशन को, प्रभाव को, रोकने के दसियों रास्ते हो सकते हैं लेकिन अगर हमारे चन्द्र शेखर जी कोई कारखाना खोलते हों और हजारों बेकार लोगों को काम में लगाना चाहते हों, तो मैं यह नहीं कहूंगा कि चन्द्र शेखरजी दाढ़ी रखते हैं इसलिये इनको कारखाना नहीं खोलने दिया जाय, मैं तो यह चाहूंगा कि की कोई भी खोले, चन्द्र शेखरजी खोलें, धारिया जी खोलें और चाहे ओम मेहता साहब खोलें हमारे यहां ऐसे कारखाने खोले जाने चाहिये, ऐसे उद्योग प्रारंभ किये जाने चाहिये जिससे कि हमारे यहां की बेकारी की समस्या हल हो सके, नहीं तो बेकारी बढ़ेगी और आप जानते हैं कि जब खाली दिमाग होगा, तो वह शैतान का घर होगा, आज यहां लूट पाट होगी, कल वहां आग लगाने जायेंगे और परसों उस रेल को तोड़ेंगे और यहां घेराव किया वहां घेराव किया और एक रोज ऐसा आयेगा कि त्रिगुण सेन साहब का घेराव कर दिया कि तुमने हमें पढ़ाया क्यों, यह भी गुनाह किया। तो, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि केवल किसी को दोष देने से काम नहीं चलेगा, दोष आप में है, आपकी नीति में है। आपने गलत नीति का अनुसरण किया, केवल वाद से बंधे रहे कि समाजवाद के अन्तर्गत ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये, जो वाद का चश्मा आंखों पर चढ़ाया, तो फिर उसके आगे देखें नहीं सके और उसी का परिणाम यह हुआ

कि हमारे देश में हजारों लोग बेकार मारे-मारे फिर रहे हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो आंकड़ों की किताब है इसमें बताया गया है कि 1960-61 में इम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंज में जो एप्लीकेंट्स रजिस्टर्ड किये गये उनकी संख्या 16 लाख 6 हजार थी और 1965-66 में वह 25 लाख 85 हजार हो गई, ज्यों ज्यों दवा की त्यों त्यों मर्ज बढ़ता गया। इसका क्या कारण है। इसका प्रमुख कारण यह है कि हमारी वाद से बन्धी हुई नीति है और केवल वादों के चक्कर में पड़ कर हम समस्याओं को हल नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि अगर सचमुच इसको एक राष्ट्रीय समस्या समझते हैं, तो वादों से उठ कर काम करना होगा। दल के दलदल में फंसे रह कर आप किसी तरह की समस्या हल नहीं कर सकते और फिर चाहते हैं कि दूसरे आ कर हमको निकालें, लेकिन हम अपने को आपकी समस्याओं में फंसाना नहीं चाहते, कोई दूसरा दलदल से किसी को निकालता है तो खुद इसमें फंसता है, जो उसको खींचने की कोशिश करता है वह भी उसमें फंसता जाता है।

**श्री ओम् मेहता (जम्मू और काश्मीर) :** मगर ताकतवर अगर होता है, तो निकाल सकता है।

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया :** आप दलदल में से निकलने की कोशिश करें। बंगाल वालों से पूछन इसके बारे में।

तो हमारी सरकार की यह जो नीति है वह ठीक नहीं है जिसके परिणामस्वरूप यह स्थिति है। आप भी जानते हैं धारिया साहब भी जानते हैं कि जो कई भारतीय लोग विदेशों में जा कर अध्ययन कर के आते हैं, जो कि वहाँ हजारों रुपया मासिक तनखाह प्राप्त करते होते हैं, वह कहते हैं कि जीरो कम कर दिया जाय चाहे उसका दसवां हिस्सा भी हमें दिया जाय हम आना चाहते हैं, मगर उनकी हमारे यहां

इम्प्लाय नहीं किया जाता है, उनका उपयोग नहीं किया जा सका। किसका दोष है! विरोधी दल का है! नहीं। धारिया साहब का भी दोष नहीं है, दोष है धारिया साहब के दल का जिसमें ऐसे लोग कार्य करने को बैठे हुये हैं जो कि ऐसे लोगों का उपयोग नहीं ले सकते।

**श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी (मध्य प्रदेश) :** कई स्थान पर आपके दल के लोग आ गये हैं वह करें।

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया :** कर रहे हैं। आप बेकारी की एप्लीकेशन दीजिये आपको जरूर एम्प्लॉयमेंट मिलेगा।

तो उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा निवेदन यह है कि जो सारा दोष है वह सरकार की गलत नीति पर है। केवल शिक्षा विभाग के श्री त्रिगुण सेन को यहां बैठा कर कि उनके ऊपर सारा प्रहार होने लगे, इससे काम नहीं चलेगा, मोरारजी देसाई भी आये और प्लानिंग के, योजना विभाग के लोग भी आये, मगर योजना विभाग का काम तो बड़ा विचित्र है, उसका काम है ऐसी प्लानिंग जिसमें कि कमीशन हो, कमिशन मिले। यहां कमिशन कैसे मिलें, बेकारों को इम्प्लाय किया, तो उसमें कमिशन मिलने वाला नहीं, कमिशन तो मिलेगा जब कि विदेशों से कोई सौदा किया जाय।

**श्री हयातुल्ला अन्सारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** पब्लिक सर्विस कमिशन भी मौजूद है।

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया :** वहां तो सर्विस कमीशन है तो यहां प्लानिंग कमिशन के लिये है।

**श्री एम० एम० धारिया :** विरोधी दल जो कमिशन की मांग करता है उसका अर्थ आज समझ गया।

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया :** इसमें कमिशन की मांग नहीं की, बोर्ड की मांग की है, बोर्ड के बाद कमिशन आ जायगा,

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडीया]

मेरे लिये बोर्ड भी कमीशन की गिनती में आ जायगा। यह बोर्ड इस समस्या का हल निकाल सकेगा माननीय धारिया साहब यह समझते हों, तो मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वह इस भ्रम में न रहें क्योंकि इस आशय से योजना कमिशन बना और कई तरह की कमेटियां और सब कमेटियां चला करती हैं लेकिन कुछ नहीं हुआ, हां, यह जरूर है कि कुछ बेकार लोगों को उस बोर्ड में जगह जरूर मिल जायगी और अंत में पांच सात आदमियों की बेकारी जरूर दूर होगी मगर इससे जो हमारे देश का जवान है, जिसमें शक्ति है, उसको उपयोग में ला सकेंगे यह कतई सम्भव नहीं है और इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इसकी जो जड़ है, यह कि हमारे लोगों की शक्ति का उपयोग नहीं लेने की जड़ है, उसके लिये योजना भवन में ऐसी योजना बननी चाहिये जो कि दल से प्रभावित न हो मगर राष्ट्र के हित में हो और राष्ट्र के बेकारों को, राष्ट्र के जवानों को काम में लगा सके और उनकी शक्ति का उपयोग कर सके। हमारे यहां समस्याएँ बनाते रहें और धारिया साहब भाषण दे दें, हम भी उसका समर्थन कर दें, बोर्ड का तो नहीं मगर भावनाओं का ही समर्थन कर दें, तो उसे कुछ हल नहीं होगा। इसलिये यही निवेदन है कि इसके बारे में गम्भीरता से विचार करें और हमारी योजनाएँ ऐसी बनाई जाय कि जिनसे हमारे यहां पर बेकारी कम हो, जो दो हाथ हैं वह एक पेट भरने के लिये नहीं बल्कि चार का पेट भरने की हिम्मत रखते हैं मगर यह उनका उपयोग लाने वाले की नीति पर निर्भर करता है जो कि आज नहीं हो रहा है। इसका सारा कारण यह है कि हमारी कांग्रेस सरकार की दलीय भावना के आधार पर चीज हो रही है, राष्ट्र के हित को अपने हित से अपने दल के हित से सोचते हैं और यह इसका परिणाम है।

धन्यवाद।

SHRI M. C. SHAH (Gujarat) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to congratulate my friend, Mr. Dharia, for moving this Resolution which highlights the very critical situation with regard to our youths. Our youths are the greatest asset of our country and they can make or mar the future of our nation. Therefore it is very necessary that all the sections of our people must join hands to find out how best they can be utilised or their energy can be utilised in a constructive channel.

Mr. Dharia has given certain figures as to how many students are unemployed after passing the S.S.C., at the collegiate level, at the post-graduate level, and that gives us a very dismal picture. But then what shall we do? The greatest source of employment in our country is agriculture and industries. What do we find in our agricultural areas? The brightest students in our villages find no employment and they migrate to the cities. Wherever you find a bright student in village, he will not stay in that village; he will go to the city and thereby increase the number of unemployed youngsters. That situation has to be remedied and how can that be remedied? On our countryside a carpenter gets about Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 a day, a mason gets about 12, a tailor gets about Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 a day, while a graduate does not get even Rs. 5 a day. That is the actual position in which we find ourselves. What shall we do with our agriculture and with our industries to make our youngsters get employment there and thereby allow them to work for the improvement and betterment of the rural areas? Of course agriculture is coming up. We are trying our best to increase the per acre production. We are also trying to see that the farmers get proper remuneration for their agricultural produce but the rural areas should be modernised. They should be provided with electricity, with good roads, with medical facilities, etc., and if these are provided, I am sure, not a single bright student from the rural areas would like to migrate to a city where the situation is much worse.



But are we doing it? Mr. Dharia pointed out that in the Fourth Plan a paragraph is devoted to show how we can utilise the energies of our youth in a constructive manner. I admit that the critics have something to legitimately criticise our ruling party. In the last 20 years we have tried to industrialise the country but all those industries are in the cities. We are talking of diversification of the industries. We are talking of an agro-industrial climate to be created but nothing, as a matter of fact, has been done. So there is a great gap between our promises and our performance and that is the reason why we are facing such a bad situation. In a big country like India, with so much of natural resources, this high unemployment is a thing which one cannot understand. Somebody remarked that India is a rich country with poor people. We do not know how to utilise our resources and how to distribute them among the various parts of the country. Therefore, I would urge that a limit should be placed now and we should not permit any new industries in the big cities. They must be forced to go to the rural areas and we should provide them with all the necessary facilities. Unless this is done the youths from rural areas cannot get employment. Of course the pace of industrialisation in the country has brought some benefits to us but there are disadvantages also and that has to be remedied. Secondly, I know that in foreign countries there is a system of learn and earn. A student, while learning, can earn something. That requires some concrete thinking. In the rural areas we do not get a labourer for agricultural purposes for Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 a day and even then, if we ask our students in their vacations, to go to the villages and work, they will not do it. Why? It is because they have lost what we call the sense of importance of physical labour. Therefore, for that also we are to be blamed. Once in my State, Rama Shankar Maharaj said that a labourer works for ten hours a day and gets one rupee, a supervisor who supervises above the labourer gets two rupees a day and the engineer who drafts the scheme in

his office gets ten rupees a day. This is the way in which we are distributing our wealth of the workers and the officers. That has to be reversed. As a matter of fact the worker who works for eight to ten hours a day should get equal to if not more than what an officer gets sitting in his chamber and drawing the paper plan. Unless that is done how are we going to say that in our country physical labour is a respectable thing? That does not happen.

Then with our industrialisation, with the requirements of our population, we increased so many educational institutions, so many universities, so many colleges, so many high schools, etc. Of course they are necessary but what is the result? There has been a tremendous unemployment in the country. So I wish that we have some plan as to how many engineers were required for the coming five years, how many medical men we require and how many technical men we require and in accordance with this, young students should be selected for the colleges and the technical institutions. Unless this is done, unemployment is going to increase. We find that with every Five Year Plan, unemployment has increased, and we do nothing about it. With this wastage, how is the country going to come up and how is the country going to meet this situation? Another problem is what shall we do with those who do not get admission in these institutions? These problems cannot be discussed here and we cannot have solutions in a debate like this but which our leaders must consider but I feel them seriously for solutions that for the time being no new university should now be established. What is the position of the teachers? We always say that we are not fair to our teachers but why? Who does not want to pay higher salaries to the teachers? The main thing is finance. Unless there is finance, all our high talks are not going to fructify and we are to stand where we are. Therefore it is very necessary that we must cut down all the unnecessary expenditure. We must save as much as possible and whatever is the saving must be utilised in the best interests of the country.

[Shri M. C. Shah]

Unless that is done, finance is going to be the greatest handicap for us in all our future programmes and it will be the wall against which we will be striking our heads but we cannot proceed further. In foreign countries young students are working for eight to ten hours a day but here even for five hours our students do not like to work and we have so many hartals for holidays and on any flimsy account, we see that the students do not attend the classes. How are we going to improve it? I would therefore urge that the students must have a feeling that they are doing something for the welfare of the country and for instilling this feeling, they must be respected and their energies channelised. They must feel that they are a very important factor in the development of our country and we should see that there is no frustration on their part. As said by my friend, three thousand engineers—electrical, mechanical and civil—are finding no employment. What will be the reaction of this frustration? What are we going to do about it? In any other country there would be a revolution. How can one tolerate this situation when after studying for so long, after getting first-class marks, there is no employment and there is no work to do? What else can we expect but a revolution in a country like ours? It is very good that our past tradition and the Indian culture is such that our students are not usually prone to violence.

But there is a limit up to which they can go, and I would therefore urge that we must plan in such a way that those who come out must be of the highest quality and they must be provided with necessary jobs. As for others, they must be told to work in factories or in agricultural farms or in other places, but not to go to these colleges. Secondly, after the passing the S.S.L.C. examination, they rush in to all colleges. They would like to enter the medical college, and if admission is not available there, then they would like to go to an engineering

college, and if that too is not available, they would go to the arts college. Is this the way in which we want to have our students trained?

I would also urge that it is very necessary that in our education we must have some emphasis on character-building. With this material progress in our country we have lost the importance of character. Honesty and sincerity, have become scarce. And for that we also are to be blamed. What do we see here? How do we work in parliament? How many hours do we devote to work which can yield results? We waste hours and hours over discussion which leads us nowhere. And that reflects on the minds of our youngsters, and if we want youngsters to improve, we must behave in a better manner. We must note that the eyes of the entire country are upon us. They watch how we work here and how we utilise precious time of Parliament when we are here. And if they feel that the Parliamentarians do not utilise their time in the best manner possible, how can we expect the students to utilise their time in the proper manner.

(Time bell rings)

Is my time over?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Yes.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: I would therefore conclude by saying that it is very necessary that the youngsters must have the feeling of doing something useful for the country. For that they must be given necessary training and necessary facilities, and this practice of admitting all sorts of students in all institutions and then providing them with nothing but frustration caused by their not being able to find employment, this has to be stopped, and for this the Government must consider how best this could be achieved in as short a time as possible.

Thank you very much.

**श्री चन्द्र शेखर :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं श्री मोहन धारिया जी को इस बात के लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इस समस्या के ऊपर विवाद करने लिये अवसर दिया।

किन इस समस्या का विवाद तब ही तक संगत हो सकता है और उसका अर्थ तब ही निकल सकता है सही मानों में जब इस प्रस्ताव के साथ श्री दास के उस हिस्से को भी मिला कर सोचें जो उन्होंने इस संबंध में दिया है। अगर श्री धारिया जी और श्री दास जी की भावनाओं को एक साथ जोड़ दिया जाय तब ही इस देश में नौजवानों की समस्या का समाधान निकल सकता है।

अभी हमारे मित्र श्री चोरड़िया जी ने योजना के खिलाफ अपने विचार व्यक्त किये। उन्होंने कुछ अपने, तरीके से सीख देने की कोशिश की कि अगर कोई उद्योग करना चाहता हो तो उसके ऊपर रोक नहीं लगानी चाहिये। मेरे ख्याल में उनकी समझ में बेकारी की समस्या और नौजवानों की समस्या का यही समाधान है। मैं अपने मित्र श्री चोरड़िया जी की भावना का आदर करता हूँ। मैं यह भी मानता हूँ कि बेकारी की समस्या का अगर कोई समाधान करना है तो इस देश में अधिक से अधिक उद्योग पैदा करने पड़ेंगे। लेकिन अधिक से अधिक उद्योग किन परिस्थितियों में पैदा होंगे; जब प्लानिंग कमिशन नहीं था, जब योजना आयोग केन्द्र नहीं था, तब क्या उसके पहले उद्योग के अधिक साधन थे; क्या उसके पहले हमारा औद्योगिक विकास अधिक हुआ था; मैं उन आंकड़ों में नहीं जाना चाहूँगा क्योंकि श्री चोरड़िया जी को मालूम ही होगा कि प्रथम योजना के आने के पहले इस देश का विकास आधा प्रतिशत से भी कम हुआ था, नगण्य था और कोई विकास नहीं हो रहा था। योजना आने के बाद भी विकास की गति तीव्र नहीं हुई और विकास तीव्र गति को अप्रसर नहीं हुआ। जब मैं यह कहता हूँ कि बड़े बड़े उद्योगपतियों पर रोक लगाई जानी चाहिये, तो इसलिए नहीं कहता हूँ कि उनसे कोई बुरा भाव है।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN): in the Chair]

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस समय हमारे पास जो भी उत्पत्ति के साधन हैं, जो कुछ भी साधन मनुष्य के पास हैं, उनका सही इस्तेमाल होना चाहिये। जब देश में साधन न हों तो कुछ भी साधन हमारे पास हैं उनका इस्तेमाल सही ढंग से होना चाहिये। आज क्या हो रहा है? एक ओर तो हमारे भाई धारिया जी ने आंकड़े दिये कि करोड़ लोग इस देश के अन्दर बेकारी में मुबत्तला हैं और उनकी जीविका चलाने के लिए कोई साधन नहीं है। हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री जी बैठे हुए हैं और हमारे नौजवानों को उनसे आशा थी कि वे उनकी समस्या का कोई हल निकालेंगे। लेकिन आज हम यह देखते हैं कि अगर देश में 20 नौजवान हैं तो उनमें से दो नौजवान विद्यार्थी हैं और 18 नौजवान वे हैं जो गलियों के अन्दर, सड़कों के अन्दर, खेतों और खलिहानों के अन्दर मारे मारे फिर रहे हैं। केवल एक शिक्षा मंत्री के बस की यह बात नहीं है। इसमें मौलिक परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा। मैं अपने माननीय मित्र श्री शाह साहब से कहना चाहूँगा कि अगर किसी समय नौजवान लोग किसी बात पर क्रोध करते हैं तो इसलिए नहीं किसी व्यक्ति के विरोध में कोई बात कहना चाहते हैं, कोई इसलिए नहीं कि उनको संसद् की मर्यादा का ध्यान नहीं है। लेकिन मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मर्यादाएं टूट रही हैं। अतीत के वैभव पर और अतीत की बातों की दोहरा कर भविष्य का निर्माण नहीं किया किया जा सकता है। अतीत हमारी धरोहर है, लेकिन भविष्य हमारी कल्पना है और उस कल्पना को संजोने के लिए नई पीढ़ी को नये सिरे से काम करना पड़ेगा। मैं अगर मोहन धारिया जी से असहमत हूँ तो केवल इस बात पर कि बोर्डों से यह मामला हल होने वाला नहीं है। यह मामला मौलिक परिवर्तन का है और विचारधारा के परिवर्तन का है। पुरानी पीढ़ी अपना फर्ज अदा कर चुकी है।

[श्री चन्द्र शेखर]

हिन्दुस्थान जैसे देश में, जोकि अविकसित देश है, जिसमें समस्याएं जटिल हैं, उसमें खतरा मोल लेने की ताकत होनी चाहिये। वह ताकत हमारी पुरानी पीढ़ी में नहीं आ सकती है चाहे उनके विचार कितने ही स्पष्ट और उज्ज्वल क्यों न हों। मैं कोई ऐसी बात नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो नई बात हो। कल सायंकाल मैं शिक्षा मंत्री जी को एक उद्धरण दिखा रहा था। महात्मा गांधी जी से जब किसी ने कहा कि आप कांग्रेस का अध्यक्ष हो जाइये क्योंकि कांग्रेस के ऊपर संकट है। मैं महात्मा गांधी जी के उद्धरण को शिक्षा मंत्री तथा राज्य मंत्री के सामने उदाहरण के तौर पर रखना चाहता हूँ। उस समय महात्मा गांधी जी ने कहा था कि पुरानी पीढ़ी अपना काम खत्म कर चुकी है और अब नौजवानों को जिम्मेदारी लेनी पड़ेगी और पुराने लोगों को मर्यादा के साथ उस जिम्मेदारी को दे देना चाहिये। अगर वह नहीं देते हैं तो समय उनको ठुकरा देगा और जिम्मेदारी नौजवानों के हाथ में दे देगा। यह महात्मा गांधी जी की बात थी। मैं आपके द्वारा श्री मोहन धारिया जी से और उनके मत के किसी भी व्यक्ति से कहना चाहूंगा कि आज निवेदनों से सामाजिक परिवर्तन नहीं होता है। सामाजिक परिवर्तन संघर्ष से होता है। मानव जीवन शुभ और अशुभ शक्तियों का संमेलन है और उन शक्तियों में हमेशा संघर्ष होता है। हर एक नौजवान का कर्तव्य है कि वह शुभ की शक्तियों को विकसित करे और अशुभ की शक्तियों का परभाव करे।

आज हमारे समाज में नौजवानों की कल्याण की समस्या इसलिए है कि चन्द लोगों के पास जो साधन उत्पत्ति के हैं वे उनके ऊपर कब्जा कर के बैठे हैं। उनके ऊपर उनका एकाधिपत्य है और उस एकाधिपत्य को तोड़ बिना समाज में परिवर्तन करना और नौजवानों की समस्या का हल करना असम्भव है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपको एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। मैं यह नहीं मानता हूँ कि नौजवानों को सारे सुख और वैभव मिलने चाहिये। मैं यह भी नहीं मानता हूँ कि नौजवानों को बिना काम किये सारे सुख और सुविधा मिलनी चाहिये। लेकिन मैं यह मानता हूँ कि नौजवानों को एक आशा, एक आकांक्षा और भविष्य के प्रति आस्था मिलनी चाहिये। नौजवान यह समझे कि अगर उसको कुरबानी करनी पड़े देश के विकास के लिए, देश के भविष्य के लिए, इस मुल्क के मूस्त-कबिल के लिए, इस मुल्क के मुस्तकबिल को बनाने के लिए, तो उसके लिए नौजवान को बड़ी से बड़ी कुरबानी देनी पड़ेगी और ऐसी कुरबानी उसे देनी होगी। लेकिन महोदया, आज क्या हो रहा है? चारो तरफ लालच का समुद्र भरा हुआ है। व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थ की लहर लहरा रही है और उस बीच में हमारे नौजवानों से कहा जाता है कि कुरबानी और उत्तरदायित्व का दीप जलाओ। इस तरह से दीप जलने वाला नहीं है। जब मैं दो साल पहले क्यूबा गया था मैंने हवाना की गलियों में यह देखा था कि फीडेल कास्ट्रो से लेकर नौजवान विद्यार्थी तक एक ही ड्रेस पहिनता है। हिन्दुस्थान और जापान जैसे मुल्कों में 200 वेंचराइट्री के कपड़े पहिने जाते हैं। शिक्षा मंत्री जी को मालूम होगा कि हिन्दुस्थान में इसकी गिनती ज्यादा हो सकती है। वह दो हजार और कई हजार तक हो सकती है। हमारे देश में पिछल छः वर्षों में 45 करोड़ रुपये का ऐडवर्स बेलेंस आफ ट्रेड हमने इस लिए किया कि चन्द लोगों को पहनने के लिए मर्सराइज और मसलिन कपड़ा चाहिये। इस मनोवृत्ति के साथ हम चाहते हैं कि देश के नौजवानों का भविष्य हम सुधारें। वह नहीं सुधारने वाला है। क्यूबा में हमने देखा क्या हुआ। वह एक कम्युनिस्ट कंट्री है। हमारे बहुत से मित्रों को कम्युनिज्म से बड़ा विरोध होगा। लेकिन मुझे वह दिन याद आया जब महात्मा गांधी की बातों को हम विद्यार्थी के नाते पढ़ा करते थे। महात्मा जी ने क्या कहा

था ? उन्होंने कहा था कि इन बड़ी बड़ी कोठियों में मजदूरों के बच्चों के लिए अस्पताल खोल दो। मैंने देखा कि हवाना की गलियों में सब स अच्छी लोकेलिटी है जहां पर अमरिकन लोगों ने बड़ी बड़ी कोठियां बनी रखी थीं, उन सब के ऊपर आज सरकार का कब्जा है। आठ या दस देश के दत्तावास वहां पर हैं क्योंकि कम्युनिस्ट देशों के साथ उसका दौत्य सम्बन्ध है। बाकी सारी कोठियों में किसी में दस, किसी में 15, किसी में 20 और किसी में 25 कौन रहते हैं ? गांव के उन किसानों के बच्चे जिन्होंने अपनी जिन्दगी में सात पुस्तों से पढ़ाई का नाम नहीं सुना था। उसी तरह स उनम कार्पेंट लगे हुये हैं, उसी तरह से गलीचे लगे हुये हैं जिस तरह से बड़े से बड़े पूंजीपति अमरिका के उन मकानों को छोड़ गये थे। आज भी वैसे ही उनको मेंटेन किया जाता है और उनम रखा कौन जाता है ? उनमें रखा जाता है वह बच्चा जिस के साथ पुस्त म शिक्षा देने के लिये किसी ने कोशिश नहीं की।

मैं एक दूसरी घटना आपको बतलाता हूं। हवाना में एक हिल्टन होटल था। उसका नाम आज है लिबरल हवाना होटल, आजाद हवाना होटल। उस होटल में कौन रहता है ? हिल्टन होटल के बारे में आप जानते हैं महोदय कि उनमें कौन रहता है। ईख के खेतों में काम करने वाला जो सब से अधिक मजदूरी मेहनत कर के अधिक पैदावार करता है, वह मजदूर एक महीने के लिये सरकारी खर्च पर उस हवाना के हिल्टन होटल में ठहराया जाता है। क्यों ? इस लिये कि राष्ट्र निर्माण के काम में उसने काम किया है। यहां उबेराय इंटरनेशनल और अशोका होटल में मैं किसी पूंजीपति का नाम नहीं लूंगा वह लड़का जिस ने जिन्दगी के पहले दिन से मौत के दिन तक, श्मशान तक पहुंचने तक देश के निर्माण के लिये कुछ काम नहीं किया, उसकी सारी जिन्दगी बीतती है। लेकिन दूसरी तरफ जो देश को बनाने के लिये पांच वर्ष की उम्र

से सड़कों पर घिसटते हुये और मौत के समय तक, श्मशान के घाट तक जाने तक इस शस्य श्यामला को सरसब्ज बनाने के लिय मेहनत करता है, उस नौजवान को शायद उसकी दीवार म कभी जाने का मौका ही नहीं मिलता है। इन परिस्थितियों म आप चाहते हैं कि देश बनगा। नहीं बनने वाला है। म माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री जी से कहता हूं कि इन बोर्डों से यह मामला हल नहीं होगा। यह मामला हल होगा मनोवृत्ति बदलने से। आप मनोवृत्ति बदलिये, जह्नियत बदलिये। अगर आप समझते हैं कि देश का नौजवान अपना उत्तरदायित्व समझे तो उममें आस्था पैदा कीजिये कि इस देश के निर्माण की जिम्मेदारी उसके ऊपर है।

मैं यह भी मानता हूं कि नौजवान जो आज करते हैं, वह नहीं करना चाहिये कि कहीं पर ट्राम जलाना, बस जलाना, रेल जलाना। यह कोई नौजवानों का काम नहीं है। लेकिन ऐसा क्यों होता है ? इस लिए कि उसको कोई नेतृत्व नहीं मिलता है। उसके अन्दर शक्ति है, उसके अन्दर साहस है, लेकिन कोई उसको नेतृत्व देने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। हम लोग संसद सदस्य हैं। नहीं जानता कि मैं नौजवान हूं या नहीं। नौजवान हम लोग कहे जाते हैं यद्यपि 40 के ऊपर हो गये हैं। हमारे मित्र मोहन धारिया जब जब बुड़े हो गये तो उनको नौजवानों की याद आ रही है। तो मैं आपसे क्या कहूं। हम को तो डर लग जाता है जब हम सोचते हैं कि आज अगर हम उनकी आकांक्षाओं का नेतृत्व करेंगे तो कहीं हमारे माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री त्रिगुण सेन जी को कोई दुख न लग जाय। इन भावनाओं के अन्दर देश के नौजवानों का संगठन नहीं किया जा सकता और उनको निर्माण के कामों म नहीं लगाया जा सकता। मैं बुजुर्ग लोगों से कहना चाहूंगा कि इतिहास की दीवार पर जो रेखाएं खिंच रही हैं उनको पहचानिये। या तो आप स्वयं नेतृत्व दीजिये उन नौजवानों को, कम से कम उनको इस बात का अनुभव

[श्री चन्द्र शेखर]

कराइये कि कल का भविष्य बनाने की जिम्मेदारी उनके ऊपर है या अगर वह आप नहीं करें तो जो अपने को नौजवान कहते हैं, चाहे वह बांक बिहारी दास जी कहते हों, चाहे मोहन धारिया जी कहते हों, वे इस नतुत्व को देने के लिये संकल्प करें चाहे इसके लिये उनको बड़ी से बड़ी कठिनाई क्यों न उठानी पड़े।

बांक बिहारी दास जी ने एक सही दिशा दी है अपने दूसरे प्रस्ताव में। उनका प्रस्ताव यह है कि इस भारत देश में किसी परिवार की आमदनी डेढ़ हजार में अधिक नहीं होनी चाहिये। एक तरफ लाखों रुपया बरबाद किया जायगा, दूसरी ओर कहा जायगा कि प्रारंभिक शिक्षा के लिये पैसे नहीं हैं। मैं आप को बताऊँ कि बाड़मेर के इलाके से, जसलमेर के इलाके से श्री अमृत नाहटा जो लोक सभा के सदस्य हैं उनको शायद हमारे माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री जी जानते होंगे। कहा जाता है कि प्रिवी पर्स छोटी छोटी है। वहाँ के एक राजा को दो लाख मिलता है। वे किस तरह से उसको खर्च करत ह किसी को नहीं मालूम है। लेकिन अगर कहा जाता है कि बाड़मेर के किसी गांव में पानी पीने के लिये पांच हजार रुपया कुएं के लिये दीजिये, तो दो वर्ष से कहा जाता है कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है। कौन नौजवान इस बात को मानने के लिये तैयार होगा।

माननीय महोदय, मैं शिक्षा मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या आप हम को विश्वास दिलाना चाहते हैं कि जब हम कहें कि नौजवानों को खलने के लिय सुविधाएं दीजिये, जब हम कहें कि गांवों में जो हाई स्कूल फ़ैल करके या पास करके नौजवान बैठा हुआ है उसको 50 रुपया इस लिय दीजिये कि वह बपढ़े-लिखे लोगों को गांवों में घूम कर के शिक्षा दे, तो आप कहें कि पैसा नहीं है और दूसरी तरफ हमारी आंखों के सामने उबेराय

होटल में पांच पांच सौ रुपया एक दिन में एक एक आदमी पर खर्च हो. . .

श्री प्रकाश नारायण सप्रू: पांच सौ रुपया बहुत कम है।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर: मैं जानता नहीं क्योंकि मुझे उसका ज्ञान नहीं है। तो मैं आपसे कहूंगा शिक्षा मंत्री जी महोदय, कि आप के ऊपर बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है और इस लिए जिम्मेदारी है कि दुनिया के सारे देशों में जब चारों ओर अंधकार दिखाई पड़ता है तो प्रकाश की किरण कहां से आती है। आज से नहीं, पुराने जमाने से प्रकाश की किरण केवल विद्या मंदिरों से आती है। वहां से समाज एक नई आशा रखता है। शिक्षा मंत्रालय का यह काम है कि अगर इस सरकार में नीतियों के प्रति ज्ञान स्पष्ट न हो, तो शिक्षा मंत्रालय उनको भी ज्ञान देने का काम करे।

आप जानते हैं कि किसी भी देश में नये समाज को लाने के लिये, नई फिलासफी को लाने के लिये, नई जहानियत, नई जिन्दगी को लाने के लिये केवल दो तबके काम करते हैं, एक तो मजदूर जो कि मेहनत से समाज को बनाता है और दूसरी तरफ वह विद्यार्थी, वह पढ़ा-लिखा नौजवान जिस की कलना भविष्य के प्रति होती है। आज इन दोनों का मिलन अगर इस देश में हो सके और अगर शिक्षा मंत्रालय इस दिशा में कुछ कर सके तो मैं यह समझूंगा कि मोहन धारिया जी ने जो प्रस्ताव किया है, उस प्रस्ताव का जो संकल्प है, उसका जो उद्देश है वह पूरा हो गया। अगर यूँ ही यह भावना आती है अपने आप तो हमारे लिये दूसरा कोई रास्ता नहीं रह जायगा सिवाय इसके कि बांक बिहारी दास जी के दूसरे प्रस्ताव पर आये और इस देश में अपरिग्रह की भावना पैदा की जाय, कफायतशारी की जहानियत पैदा की जाय। ये दोनों बातें नहीं चल सकती हैं कि एक ओर हम कहें कि गरीबी, भुखमरी, बेकारी, बेरोजगारी से हम नौजवानों

को बचायेंगे और दूसरी ओर अंदर लगा हो घन का, दूसरी तरफ व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थ और व्यक्तिगत लाभ के लिये लोग खुले आम झूठ के साथ व्यापार करते हैं और इस संसद को भी महीनों और वर्षों लगे इस बात को रोकने में। तो सब से बड़ा खतरा वह नहीं है जो मोहन धारिया जी ने कहा कि 36 हजार लोग कुछ दिनों में आयेंगे, सबसे बड़ा खतरा यह है कि शायद जनतंत्र से लोगों की आस्था उठ जायेगी। गरीब को वाणी को इस संसद में, इस पवित्र स्थान में उठा कर के भी शायद हम अगर कुछ कर न पाये तो नौजवान यह समझेगा कि आज दूसरा कोई रास्ता नहीं सिवाय अराजकता के और फिर नौजवान को आप को दोष दना छोड़ दना चाहिये। मुझे विश्वास है, मुझे आस्था है कि हम शायद नाकामियाब हो जायें, हम यह विश्वास है कि हम शायद असफल हो जायें, लेकिन इतिहास की गाड़ी को कोई रोक नहीं सकता। नौजवान कल के हिन्दुस्थान की आशा है। वह अपना क्लेम, वह अपना अधिकार ले कर के रहेगा। दुनिया की कोई शक्ति उसे रोक नहीं सकती। मुझे खुशी होगी अगर पुरानी जनरेशन के लोग, पुरानी पीढ़ी के लोग वह अधिकार मर्यादा के साथ दे दे, अन्यथा नौजवान उनसे वह अधिकार ले कर के रहेगा।

**SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON** (Kerala) : While I support this Resolution I am sorry to say that none of these pious wishes will ever come true unless we who honestly believe in socialism come together, take a bold stand and see that a scientific socialist order of society is built up. After twenty years we have not been able to do much. During the period the monopolists have become stronger; we have allowed the semi-feudal conditions in Agriculture to remain as they were before. We have been speaking too much about our ancient past and looking backward with the result that our younger generation born during this atomic era has absolutely lost faith in us. I am sure even my friend, Mr. Dharia, who is decidedly much youn-

ger than myself he must be about twenty years younger than myself is also far removed from the new generation. They have become completely callous.

**SHRI LOKNATH MISRA** (Orissa) : Politically and mentally also.

**SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON** : Why is it so? It is because you have not been able to give them a social objective. While we got into the movement during the thirties we had something to fight for; we wanted the freedom of the country. When we got into the socialist movement or the communist movement—you may not agree with us—there was at least an objective before us; but what have you got for our young men now? What have you got to tell them? Can you inspire them in any way? What does the young man see when he comes back to the house from his school or college? He sees his father going to the black-market to get a morsel of food for the children. What does he see in the school? He sees his teacher selling the examination papers for a few rupees because he gets a pittance as pay. And the child learns from his elders. Well, the younger generation all over the world has got disgusted with us, with the elders. Post-war younger generation is now a challenge before us. In America the bitter battle is being fought out. The youngmen say : "No more, we will have nothing to do with wars". And the boys are taking out processions. The stage has now come when everywhere in the capitalist world they are now up in revolt against the old order. And some of those people who still have no way out and do not want to fight out are now turning into beatles and hippies. With this, flowing hair and unshaven faces they are also rebels of society. We have such a large number of youngmen and women both in rural areas and towns who have no jobs. Now let us see what is happening to the large number of these students. Of course they have no jobs when they come out of schools. Even so, I am happy that more schools are coming up. That is good. Whether you are able to give them jobs or not, let them at least study. Let them know what the world

[Shri Balachandra Menon.]

is. Once they get educated they will turn their holy wrath against you and smash you when they know that there are other countries progressing under a difficult social order. Let them get that holy anger. I am glad that education is spreading. However costly it is, it does not matter. Let us educate them so that at least we can help them to have that holy anger against us who are depriving them of their jobs and opportunities to develop. I am glad that at least some small attempts are being made in the field of mass education; not that I am happy with the results. A more determined attempt for a purposeful education has yet to be made. Even if we starve, let us starve as educated men. When the youngman gets educated he knows how the world is going on and he will certainly rise in revolt against the present system. We have inherited a past; I do not think there is much to be proud of it. We have crawled on for 4,000 years or more. There is much to be proud of this hoary past. But what is our position today? We have divided our society. From the very beginning, from the Varnashram days men have been dividing the society. Now the country is divided into warring linguistic groups. The gap between the rich and the poor has been ever widening, monopolists on the one side and unemployed millions on the other. This is how we are progressing. There are even people who dream of the old order with revivalist slogans speaking about the past. They say "We will continue as before, exploit as before". No, Sir; that will not be allowed in this country. If there are people who believe in socialism, let them come forward honestly and let them not allow this unashamed exploitation that is taking place in the name of a "socialist pattern" of society. I ask you: "Have we been serious?" For twenty years you have toyed with this; should you continue it? Of course it is a fact that we have allotted to the public sector some industries but we have also painful private sector. As our Plan goes forward, the private sector should have been controlled more and more. The

wealth that we create, our workers create, our peasants create, should go to the society as a whole. Why should it go to the few monopolists and landlords? But we have developed an order of society where we allow both the private sector and the public sector to continue and finally it is the private sector that is eating up the other. We know this; otherwise how can these monopolies grow? You have allowed the public sector to be eaten up by them. The public sector has become the handmaid of the private sector. That is what has come about and we have come to a stage when we don't even dare talk about our Plan. Shouldn't we be ashamed? Will the youth get inspired by this sort of thing? Why should he get inspired? What is there for him? Today the youth is desperate. I can tell you that the sands are running out. I am sure the glorious experiment which we are trying today of building India on a socialist order of society through democratic methods can very well be achieved even now. If honestly you make an attempt our boys will give us some more time; otherwise they will throw you out. I will be only too happy to be with those who do so. Today what has he got? He has to go with the street dog and fight for his morsel of food. Should we allow this to continue? It is a pity. In socialist societies—whatever may be your differences with them—you can see that the child is treated like a prince. For the fiftieth anniversary of the great October revolution I had been to the Soviet Union and I have seen what is happening there in their pioneer camps. I have seen that the children are very happy and I am sure that in most of the socialist societies the position is the same. Today the young men are questioning and it is a good thing. In the capitalist order of society there are armies of unemployed young men. The youngsters have nothing to do. When at the age of 18 they find they have no jobs what else will they become except anti-social beings? For years they get no jobs. And you allow even people over 55 years of age to continue in jobs. You don't ask them to retire. They are allowed to go up



to 60 or 65. Whether it is public sector or private sector we must decide that all those—and I would include politicians also who are above 55—should get out. We have to provide for our young men. Let them take over the things. It is time we boldly hand over the country to them. Even if they mislead, it does not matter. Let them mislead; there is nothing wrong; they will learn from the experience. Let the political parties accept this that one-third of their partymen, those above 55, will withdraw and will allow the youngsters to come up. In the factories and all avenues of employment the same thing must be done. There will be so much of weeping, I know. Now our educated young men don't get jobs. But what is happening? Some of those who get technical education take up jobs as carpenters, as smiths and throw the hereditary workers out of their jobs who become beggars. And the same thing happens regarding agriculturists also. There was a suggestion for a land army and all that. I say, your vocation shall not be at the cost of my job. I object to it. After all what does an agricultural worker get? He gets just a rupee or so, and he should not be deprived of even that. If our youngsters must go to the land, if they want to study on the spot, if they want to build roads and other things, should they throw out the workers or the peasants? This is not the way of doing things. The educated youngsters must have something to do with production; I accept that, but not by throwing out the producer. But let him go to the factories. Let them become apprentices in the factories. Let all big factories devise some method by which college students and high school students can be taken as apprentices and trained there. I will have no quarrel with such attempts but if your idea is to see that the middle class youths slowly drive out the carpenters and the blacksmiths for their traditional jobs, then I say, no. Our whole planning has been absurd. We have had really no planning at all. It is an unplanned plan. The result is that you have built up monopolies. The result is you have industries which are not run properly. This is

not the right way of planning. Every kind of production must come under the plan. The private sector should gradually get restricted and finally eliminated. There will be protests; there will be parties which are against it but such parties must be shown their place. In an undeveloped country no more is it possible for the old capitalist methods which were tried in the 17th and 18th centuries in England and other places to succeed. In America they started with a clean slate when the Pilgrim Fathers went there. We have got such a huge country and a backward economy and if we do not have the courage, how can we reshape the society? So, either boldly come out for a planned socialist economy or boldly lead these youngsters in their revolt. Even if a man dies fighting, that is much better than continue to be unemployed, cringing and finally getting frustrated. It was Bharati who once said: "In the new India which we create, if there is a single person who has no bread, smash that society." It was the poet of Tamilnad, exiled in Pondicherry who said it. He was right. At least you must have the courage. In spite of the fact that I do not approve of the Naxalbari methods, I would rather be with them than with you, Sirs, who still allow the present generation to rot, all the semi-feudal conditions to remain even after 20 years of our freedom. I may not succeed, but that does not matter. It is better to die fighting than be a crawling worm. You have failed the younger generation. You have failed the country. You have not been able to take this country forward along the socialist path, to give our boys their right place in such a rich country with such high traditions and great possibilities. In spite of the fact that most of our people are illiterate, and can easily advance; they have got high traditions and rich inheritance, if properly led. You are quarrelling with China, which has done something. It may be that they may not have done it the way you think to be correct at least they have smashed the old order and laid the foundation for a new one. That at least is there. Let us have the courage to question. Nobody dare question the

[Shri Balachandra Menon.]

father, who too exploits his child unashamedly and make use of his labour for earning a few coppers to keep his family going. Here you say that child labour should go, but what is happening in the bidi factories, where child labour is rampant? In the small industries, and other sweated industries child labour is being used unashamedly. The CPWD and P.W.D. make use of child labour and woman labour for very hard jobs and yet this is your socialist society, the new order you have built. This is your progressive administration. If you believe in a capitalist society, say that. We will not waste our time here. We know what we should do. That is all. This waste of time can very well be avoided if honestly you say that you are with the Birlas, you are with the Tatas, you want only a capitalist development for our country. Whatever help you get from the socialist countries, you make use of them and pretend to be socialists to hoodwink the masses. There is a limit to this hypocrisy. In the ruling Party at least those who believe in socialism would take a bold stand and kick out those elders who refuse to move forward. Why are you afraid? You kick them out and I am sure there is quite a possibility of those who believe in socialism coming together. We might have differences. Do not think we would take anything as a dogma. No. It is our honest attempt to find out new methods. The fight among socialist minded people is a shadow fight. Let us not have that fight any further. I think the time has come when we cannot divide our people like this. We have done it too much and somebody else is benefiting by it. I appeal to those who honestly believe in socialism to take up this challenge that is before us and come forward unitedly to rebuild our society on a scientific and socialist basis. I believe that when we got into the national movement, we had this dream. Let us lay its foundation now at least. It is only in such a social order, our youths can have their future assured.

I thank you.

SHRIMATI SHYAM KUMARI KHAN (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am grateful to my learned friend, Shri Dharia, for having pin-pointed the problems of youth in this House by bringing forward this Resolution. I am not quite sure in my mind whether the solution of the problem is a youth board which will solve everything, but I do feel that the problem of youth is growing so much in its dimensions now that we must sit back and think. We must pause and see what has to be done and what must be done for the youth of this country. In the olden days, those of us who were young remember with gratification that the first non-co-operation movement was a call to the educated youth of the country to come out of schools and colleges. Mahatma Gandhi realised that unless he had the youth of the country with him nothing could be done. I had the honour to belong to that generation of youth which formed the first Youth League. We came out of our colleges and sacrifice willingly. We had our ups and downs. We were extremely disappointed when the non-co-operation movement was withdrawn suddenly after the Chari Chaura incident. We were students who had spent four years in the wilderness and we were suddenly halted in our activities, but under the inspiring leadership we had we went back to our studies. We were four years delayed, but we went back with a sense of discipline, and we studied. We realised to serve humanity and the country wherever we were and we equipped ourselves under the great leadership we had. Therefore, it is not that the youth of the country now falters or fails. We of my generation may have grown old, but youth is youth and youth always looks forward to something to be done. Are we giving them an ideal to look forward to? Have we even considered this in the last twenty years? I concede that after freedom we got too busy trying to build up the nation. Various Plans, the First Five Year Plan, the Second Five Year Plan, industrial and agricultural development and all sorts of programmes occupied our attention, but what did we do specifically for the

youth of the country? Did we associate them in our Plans. It was not till the Third Five Year Plan, after a great deal of agitation by social welfare workers, that the children of India were included in that Plan. We are always told that when education is there, education will equip and develop the youth, and education will serve the child. We are having a great deal of upsurge in our educational system. My humble submission is that schools may have multiplied fifty times. Colleges may have multiplied similarly, but the problem of youth persists. It is the right of every citizen to get as much education as he or she wants to get. We cannot stop our colleges from growing. We cannot stop our schools from growing. We must give the education required but mere education will not solve the problem. There must be an ideal before us. What I feel very strongly is that youth today is absolutely desperate because it has no clear idealism before it. Political Parties have utilised students, but they have not given them an ideal to live for. Youth has been canalised into Socialist, Communist, Congress and other Parties, but only for political purposes. Youth has not been inspired to develop a desire to build up this nation, into a desire to do something to serve the nation and it is also my contention that if youth is brought up in that spirit, youth will not be found wanting. Education has been given to them. Even the village boy is getting educated today. He finds no employment in the village, and he migrates to the city. He comes up against all sorts of economic problems. He does not get a job. There is unemployment. Then he gets absolutely dissatisfied and he is almost on the point of desperation. What does he see round about him in society? We are full of conflicts in India today. We have the conflicts between politicians. We have conflicts in our social system and ideas. We have the conflicts in our education system. We do not give priorities properly and therefore there is a general confusion all round in social conditions. Youth gets frustrated. Youth wants to do something. Youth wants that it should be one with us in the building up of

the nation and have a sense of participation. Are we giving the youth the idealism and the ideas to do it? I agree with my friend, Shri Chandra Shekhar, who has said that unless social conditions change, unless society is revolutionised, unless we built a new world, we will not be able to do anything. I think it is high time that it was done, and a beginning made. Otherwise youth will get into the habit of throwing bombs or creating disturbances or resorting to strikes in order to be heard.

In another big country of the world, Mr. Churchill told his people that he had nothing to offer but blood, sweat and tears and yet the people were prepared for it. My contention is that the people of India are capable of tolerating and putting up with every misfortune, of facing every disaster that comes to them, and the youth of this country is not far behind the people of this country. They are even tolerating mismanagements, they are tolerating all sorts of social evils, and they are trying to struggle—a little blindly perhaps—but the struggle is very much there. I had the good fortune of visiting some of the socialist countries, and I have seen how youth is harnessed from childhood there. It is not harnessed merely for party purposes as politicians always do. It is harnessed from the beginning into right channels. The child is looked after in every detail. Each child is practically taken care of. The Pioneers' Palace of Moscow is a joy to visit. If you go and see the young pioneers of Russia, you see that these are the boys and girls who will be future architects of the nation, and how, one can hope it will be a beautiful one. My submission is, unless we do this, unless we harness them, unless we have institutions for them, unless we have "Palaces" for them where they can go and relax, where their hidden talents can come out, we will not be able to advance far and we will not be able to solve our problems.

There is nothing wrong with the youth of today. I am one of those who join issue with everybody who says that the youth is indisciplined, that youth is not within control, that youth

[Shrimati Sham Kumari Khan.]

of India is going wrong. They are not going wrong. They want to do something. They are desirous of doing something worth while. Our schools and colleges are not good enough to tell them the way how to do it. Our educators do not have the time. I do not blame them. I do not blame the teachers because they themselves are involved in a struggle for their very existence.

The child goes home. He sees that in the house he cannot even get food, and he finds his parents involved in a struggle for life itself. He goes outside in society. He sees some people enjoying everything possible and the vast majority having nothing at all. After all the educated youth will have ambitions; he will have desires; he will want to get something; he will want to have some sort of relaxation in life. Unless we can provide that, I am afraid this problem is not going to be solved. Mere words will not solve the problem. There must be a way and a means of tackling the problem, and I feel convinced that the problem has to be tackled. I wish very strongly to join my voice with both Mr. Dharia and Mr. Chandra Shekhar that this problem must now be tackled seriously. It must be tackled in a sympathetic way. We must give the youth of the country a meaning to his life. We must inspire youth despite all its drawbacks, to come forward and take its correct place in society—to share our burdens, and, where necessary, we must retire and allow it to take our place.

**SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN** (Kerala) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, the problems that are attempted to be projected through this resolution so far as the youth of this country are concerned are more or less, I feel, the result of the absence of a national policy on education during the years after independence and the conspicuous absence, if I may say so, of an employment bias so far as education is concerned. Here and there, now and then, attempts have been made for a national policy in regard to education. Several attempts

have been made in that regard, but still I feel that we are even today not having a national policy so far as education is concerned. I am not at all speaking, Sir, with reference to the language question. I know there are controversies around it and I do not propose to touch it at this stage. But apart from the question of language, the question of a common school pattern, the system of having a common and similar syllabus, the question of having a pattern in regard to university education in the several States, in regard to all these matters it would have been possible to attempt something, but there have been diversified systems existing in the States today. No doubt resolutions have been passed, decisions have been taken in the past in conferences of Education Ministers, but those decisions have not been honoured, those resolutions have not been implemented. The difficulty today is therefore apparent that the youth of the country being educated in a particular State cannot continue in the same way his education in another State. That is the apparent result of what has happened in the past.

Then again so far as the question of employment is concerned, we have never thought about it. It has often been said that there should be a technical and technological bias for education. Attempts have been made in this regard but those attempts, if I may say so, have ended in a dismal failure. I shall quote just one instance of what is happening in one particular State, Kerala, where conditions are known to me. It would be seen that there is what is known as the Industrial Training Institute, the I.T.I., which was sponsored for the purpose of giving technical education to the young boys who pass the S.S.L.C. examination. In Kerala today there are about 9 or 10 such institutes working over the years and the result is that there are about 16,000 in the age group of 19—23 who have passed the I.T.I. course and are wanting employment. It is not as if employment is not at all available but there again a definite and deliberate policy is being pursued by the industries in the public sector establishments.

They have decided that the I.T.I. course is not good, that the I.T.I. trainees are not good, and they would prefer to take mere S.S.L.Cs. for the purpose of giving technical training of their own instead of these I.T.I. diploma-holders.

The position is not very much different in the various other States also. Even, therefore, in regard to persons who have got some sort of technical education, it is not possible to get employment because of the wrong policies, if I may say so, pursued by the managing directors and the general managers of our public sector industrial establishments.

We thus see that there are great discriminations and imbalances created as a result of education itself. Education has not been able to give the youth of the country any future at all and in the years to come, the number of persons who have passed the SSLC, the number of university degree holders and the number of technical personnel that come out of the technical institutions would all be wanting employment. This Resolution has attempted to project the aspect of unemployment. But the most important problem, the most critical problem, if I may say so, that faces the youth of this country is the problem of unemployment. How are we going to solve it? How are we going to approach it? And if this generation is lost, the next generation at least that comes out of our schools and colleges must have some hopes and aspirations. So far as their personal future is concerned, a complete change in the system of education, a reorientation of education with an employment bias would be absolutely essential and the question is whether we are even thinking in terms of such a change.

It was referred to by earlier speakers that even in the matter of education, even in the matter of passing examinations, there is great discrimination and great suffering so far as the students are concerned. I do not know, Sir, why the present system of examinations should be continued at all. The present system of examinations by which a student's success or failure is attempted

to be decided is not at all a correct approach, is not at all fruitful, is not at all a test; so far as the student is concerned, the system of examinations not only has become an absolutely corrupt system both at the school stage and at the university stage but also belied the opinion of experts, psychologists, in that matter to test the students so far as their general abilities and qualifications and educational aspects are concerned. Therefore, it is time for the Central Government to review, if I may say so, this aspect, whether the system of examinations that is now prevailing in schools and universities should be continued at all. I would even go to the extent of suggesting to the State Governments in turn also and see that it is accepted that, as an interim measure or as an emergency measure, the passes in the various examinations are doubled. I say arithmetically doubled because that is the only possibility by which you can give some sort of interim relief so far as the economy of the country is concerned because finances are being wasted, time is being wasted, energy is being wasted. Till such time as Government may decide that the system of examinations in the present day should be completely abolished, some other test by way of attendance in schools, by way of discipline being maintained in the schools, by way of testing their abilities, by way of the activities in the sports field and all that could be taken as an accepted test. So far as assessing the students' abilities are concerned, I would suggest that some sort of innovation so far as the examination results are concerned, should be introduced. I am emboldened to say that because it is not as if on an objective approach this examination or test is being now carried on. It is decided beforehand by the inner circle in the universities, by what may be called as the nucleus of the examination board, so far as the SSLC examination students are concerned, for the September examination and for the April examination, what should be the highest percentage of passes. They decide upon that percentage as 35; they decide upon it as 40; they decide upon it as 45 and then on that basis, the examination

[Shri K. Chandrasekharan.]

papers of the students are corrected and then grace marks are given, if necessary, to add up to that percentage or marks are deducted, if necessary, to reduce and get down to the percentage already, previously fixed.

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) :** Was it the system under the British? Even today this percentage is fixed in the examinations and the results announced?

**SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN :** In most of the States it is like that. I do think, Sir, that this is a tradition which we have inherited from the British. My hon. friend, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, has asked me whether this was the system prevailing at the time of the British. I must say, for what I know, that even at that time this fixation was there and we have just carried on that fixation without taking into account the very large number of schools and colleges which we have created in this country and the large number of students that go out into the country out of all proportion to what was in existence in the year 1946-47.

**SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN :** Quite right. It must go.

**SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN :** It has often been stated that so far as the youths are concerned, there has been a fall in their standards of education and their standards of discipline. That is a criticism made by the elders, that is a criticism made by those in office to cover up the failures of the elders and the failures of the Government. It is not as if there is indiscipline in the country amongst the youth or the students of the country; it is not as if the standard of education or the capacity to imbibe what is being instructed has been lost or reduced. So far as the present generation of youth is concerned, there is absolutely no such thing. So far as the youth are concerned and so far as the school-going students and the college-going students are concerned, I can certainly say that the instruction that is being received by them is an instruction which is undoubtedly

better and larger, so far as their intake capacity is concerned, than at twenty or thirty years ago. But the question is, what is the use of that reception of education, what is the use of that discipline that he has been able to get for himself during his school and college education? When he goes out, as has been stated by an hon. Member, he has to walk along the streets because there is no possibility of employment at all. And today with computers coming in, with automation machines coming in in the larger public sector projects, the youth of the country is being threatened, if I may say so, with starvation. It is not as if I am against automation. But so far as the question of employment is concerned, so far as the question of solving the problems of unemployment is concerned and so far as the problems of youth are concerned, the automation that we are trying to put in in the most of our public sector projects is going to be, at this stage, a great danger to the youth. Sir, automation has to be introduced at a particular economic stage; automation has to be introduced in a country which has grown and not in a developing country, and about India, we cannot say that it is even a developing country, it still continues to be in the under-developed stage. We are trying to imitate fashions and economies which have no comparison with our country; we are trying to imitate Western Europe; we are trying to imitate the United States of America and Canada. But the economies that are existing in those countries, the conditions of life in those countries are absolutely different from the economy and conditions of life in this country where a large amount of human material is involved, which cannot be tackled or utilised at all. That is why my hon. friend, Mr. Mohan Dharia, has rightly referred in this Resolution to the raising of land armies. When we in this country have got to raise land armies and such other projects for the purposes of our unemployed educated youths, the introduction of automation machines in the public sector projects and in the railways now would be a drag so far as the economy of this country is concerned.

Sir, the question that we have to pose before ourselves, both the Government as well as the youth of this country, is how best we can solve this problem of unemployment and unless we are able to solve this problem of unemployment it will be only of academic interest to refer to any other problems of youth in this country because the foremost problem that has got to be solved in this country is the problem of unemployment. Thank you, Sir.

5 P.M.

STATEMENT MADE ON CALLING ATTENTION MOTION RELATING TO THE SITUATION ARISING OUT OF THE STRIKE OF WORKERS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESSES, NEW DELHI AND FARIDABAD

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI P. K. KUMARAN) : Now Members can put questions on the statement made regarding the Government of India Press strike.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : There was a talk going on for settlement. May I know if anything has come out of that talk?

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT (Madhya Pradesh) : Sir, I have . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Let him reply my question.

THE MINISTER OF WORKS, HOUSING AND SUPPLY (SHRI JAGANNATH RAO) : Mr. Akbar Ali Khan, he met me this morning. We had a talk. Perhaps he wants to say something on that...

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT : Sir, I have carefully gone through the statement placed on the Table of the House by the hon. Minister. The statement, as it is, gives only a lame expression and does not convince as to the reasons why the demands of the workers were not conceded. Sir, in para. 2 of the statement, there is a mention about the appointment of a Categorisation Committee which was appointed on the recommendations and

directives of the two Pay Commissions to review the various categories of unskilled, skilled, semi-skilled and supervisory staff. Now the directives are clear. When the Pay Commission could not do justice to the individual problems of the various categories a deputation of the workers met the predecessor of the present Minister, Mr. Khanna. They explained to him all these difficulties. Mr. Khanna had assured them that a second Committee would be appointed to go into this question. I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to what were the reasons that the second Committee was not appointed. Was it due to a second thought that the appointment of the second Pay Committee was dropped and the workers' grievances were allowed to remain where they were?

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO : As far as I know from the records, Sir, I do not find any noting made by my predecessor that he agreed to the appointment of a second Committee to go into this question.

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT : Sir, a deputation of the workers had met the hon. Minister on the 27th of July, 1967. He gave them a very patient hearing and he asked them to give a detailed memorandum to him. A memorandum, as required, was submitted to him. We would like to know what were the reasons for any action not being taken on it.

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO : It is true, Sir, that some of the workers met me and we had discussions. The hon. Member, Mr. Bhatt, also met me. Shri Kashinath Pande and my friend, Mr. Arjun Arora, also met me. Some of the recommendations of the Categorisation Committee were given effect to. There were other recommendations such as the revision of pay scales. It could not be agreed to. I am now prepared, which I told them then also, to reconsider those recommendations which were not accepted by the Government except the revision of pay scales which is not possible unless the Pay Commission again recommends it. We have accepted some of the recommendations and I am