

**STATEMENT RE IDIKKI HYDRO-ELECTRIC
PROJECT IN KERALA**

**THE MINISTER OF IRRIGATION
AND POWER (DR. K. L. RAO):** Sir,
I beg to lay on the Table a Statement
regarding the Idikki Hydro-Electric
Project in Kerala. [Placed in Lib-
rary. See No. LT-1351|67].

**FOURTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC
ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE (1967-68)**

SHRI M. C. SHAH (Gujarat): Sir,
I beg to lay on the Table a copy of
the Fourth Report of the Public
Accounts Committee (1967-68) regard-
ing action taken by Government on
the recommendations of the Committee
contained in their 64th Report (1966-
67) relating to the purchase of Defec-
tive Tyres.

**LEAVE OF ABSENCE TO SHRI J. C.
NAGI REDDY**

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have to inform
Members that I have received the fol-
lowing letter from Shri J. C. Nagi
Reddy:—

"Due to my health reasons, I
could not attend the last session of
Rajya Sabha. Doctors advised me
not to move from hospital. Hence
I request you to grant me leave on
health reasons for my absence for
the days I absent in the present
Rajya Sabha Session."

Is it the pleasure of the House that
permission be granted to Shri J. C.
Nagi Reddy for remaining absent
from all meetings of the House during
the current session?

(No hon. Member dissented)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Permission to
remain absent is granted.

The House will meet at 2.30 P.M.
and will sit till 5.30 P.M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch
at half-past two of the clock. **THE
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN** in the Chair.

MOTIONS RE.—

1. REPORT OF THE EDUCATION COMMIS-
SION (1964—66)
2. REPORT (1967) OF THE COMMITTEE OF
MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ON EDU-
CATION—contd.

The Deputy Chairman: Mrs. Reddy
not more than fifteen minutes on side.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY
(Andhra Pradesh): I am extremely
glad and I thank you, Madam, for
having given me this opportunity to
speak. I was listening to the speech
of Mr. Ruthnaswamy and I must tell
you that I more or less agree with
him on almost all the points which he
raised yesterday. But today when I
get up to speak on this Education
Commission's Report and the Report
submitted by the Committee of Mem-
bers of Parliament, I speak with a
heavy heart. The Government of
India and we politicians are experi-
menting with the children, especially
the school-going population, in any
number of ways and sometimes in a
most unforgivable manner. These
politicians, these Ministers, these
Members of Parliament, these people
concerned with universities and
schools who change the curriculum
everyday—unfortunately for them
and unfortunately for us we sit
in an ivory tower, and should
stop preaching. In a State whenever
a new Minister comes or for that
matter in the Centre when a new
Minister comes, new policies, new
ideas, new curriculum are brought.
And who suffer? Not you and me but
the young nation-builders who are
the future citizens of India. It is
these people that are suffering, and
we sit here and talk platitudes which
are no substitutes for the national
integration or what the nation wants.
You see what is happening in the
country. In Maharashtra the Shiva
Sena says that Maharashtra is for the
Maharashtra. In Bengal the Bengalis

day world can be imparted? Have they brought it to that national level where they could teach whatever they want in the schools and colleges? No. They have not done it.

Somebody was saying, you are unpatriotic. Madam, we people who come from the non-Hindi-speaking areas sacrificed everything that was near and dear to our heart when we accepted Hindi. Was it not patriotic? Did we not give everything up? What we are asking? You raise Hindi to the status of national language; you raise all your regional languages to the status of official languages. You say that you require textbooks and teachers to teach these subjects. That is all we are asking. Give us more time. No, they feel that heavens will come down. They want chaos, they want confusion. What good is being done they do not want to retain. They just know one thing, that is to demolish what there is before even knowing what they are doing or replace what they are demolishing.

There are two things in the recommendations which I want to pinpoint. Yesterday the hon. Minister was pleased to say that two revolutionary ideas have been brought in. Absolutely revolutionary, I agree, about the neighbourhood schools and also about the language. I am sorry you did not use that word, I withdraw that word 'revolutionary'. There are two major, important recommendations. There are very many good recommendations, I agree most of them are, but it is better for me to say there are two major, important recommendations. He had an opportunity yesterday to convince this House, to convince the Members, to convince the whole nation how good they were. But he did not utilise that opportunity and he left it to our imagination and to the absolute confusion of the country. I am going to pinpoint my speech on those two points.

I come to the neighbourhood school. It is a good thing. Everybody should go there, whoever he may be; whether they belong to your party or

says that Bengal is for the Bengalis. Maybe tomorrow I will say that Andhra is for Andhras, and the Hindi-speaking people will say that India is for the Hindi-speaking people. At such a time like this here comes the hon. Minister of Education who says hereafter all university education will be in the regional language in 5 years. What does he mean? This sort of approach sounds like a thunder in the air. The one thing which is common between the somewhat revolutionary attitudes in these regional places and the recommendation made by the Minister of Education is that they are dividing India day by day into small regions, small states, and they are not integrating India. Madam, in these small ideas there may be much noise and there may be some glorification but we are forgetting the national aspect, the bigger one, and the casualty is India. They are forgetting that. They are thinking in terms of glorifying these small things. But they are forgetting that the nation becomes a casualty. They are forgetting the allegiance which they owe to the country as a whole. Who says that we do not want our national languages of the States? We realise that the language of each State, every language spoken in India, every language in the Constitution is important. We had our States reorganised on that basis. Did we not? But why so much hue and cry that everything should be done in the regional languages immediately?

You know, Madam, the day when we accepted Hindi, what was Hindi but another regional language? But we non-Hindi-speaking people accepted Hindi at the height of emotion at the height of patriotic spirit, that we should have a common language in India, a link language. But has the Government of India, have the so called Hindi protagonists, done anything to raise Hindi to the national status? Have they brought it to that status where in the schools and colleges it can be taught and the knowledge that is needed for the present-

[Shrimati Yashoda Reddy,]

that party they should go to a common school—rich or poor. But can you prevent a citizen of India from sending his or her own daughter or son to some other school which they like? I will send my daughter to Madras. Are you going to stop it tomorrow and say, you send her to Hyderabad, very near to your house? Madam, why did this happen? It is all because the schools run by the Government are not up to the satisfaction or up to the grade which the children need. Are there buildings enough? Is there furniture enough? Is there enough for these boys and girls? staff enough? If there sitting place. When they go to school, they go there to meet other students, to learn something, to enjoy something. But there are your schools and sometimes they are not worth the name. It is a shame sometimes. You say, no, tomorrow you will be prohibited from sending your children. Certainly there are private schools mostly run by the Christians and I must tell you here and now that some of the Missionary schools are the best in India. They are the best and they have done a great lot to the question of not only enlightening the people of India but the progress, culture and everything. Maybe that was the proper thing. If you want, you can say that any educational institution which is aided by Government should not teach any one particular religion. That is a good thing in a secular State. But according to Gandhiji the essence of all religions could be taught and it had its own moral education. You cannot restrict any good private institution or even for that matter an aided institution. Why do we send our children there? That is because we are not satisfied with yours. Why don't you improve the standards of your schools and raise the salaries of your teachers? Get the best teachers; put enough number of teachers; have good books. Then do you think that I will send my child 500 miles or 300 miles away when I have one of the best schools next to my house? You

first produce them, you show them and then everybody will flock. But you say 'No' in the name of democracy, in the name of socialism. This kind of socialism and democracy, to be very frank, Madam Deputy Chairman, sometimes gets on my nerves. Before you preach do something. Don't ask us not to do something. Are you going to dictate to us where our children should go when you are not going to give us good schools? But you say it is a national policy.

Then somebody said, what a big Report. It is a big Report. But I think the quality is not sometimes necessarily dictated by the volume of such Reports.

Then the next important think is the language. Of course, it is the major thing. What have they done? They say, in the first stage the child will be taught mother-tongue. Very good. The child should be taught its mother tongue. In the second stage, they say, it will be a regional language. Well and good. At the third stage, they say that the child will have an option either to take Hindi or English, and if it has already taken Hindi or English, any other Indian tongue. I do not know what wisdom dawned on these people to say this. In one way you want to eradicate English. In another way you want Hindi to come. And what are you doing by this? I come from a non-Hindi-speaking State. Ninety-nine per cent my child is going to take only the regional language and mother tongue and English because I have no option. What will happen to your Hindi? Hindi will be where it was or it will go farther away. And then what happens here in the North, in Hindi-speaking States? They will take the mother tongue—maybe the regional language—and choose Hindi. Nobody will touch English. Maybe, if they are good enough or wise enough—I do not say good enough, I say wise enough—they will take English. What happens? We learn English and our mother tongue. You

learn Hindi and your regional tongue. And where is the common point? You do not know my mother tongue. If I start today talking in Telugu, I do not know who will understand me. If I speak in English, it is only the people in non-Hindi-speaking States who will understand me. About the Hindi-speaking areas, we do not know their mother tongues and if they speak in Hindi, we cannot understand it. Then, how are you going to bring about this integration? Why do you want to keep away English? I will not agree to it. If ever, at any time, I am to control the educational system of India, I will see that English never goes. What is the purpose of a language? It is for communication. And I ask the hon. Minister what is the real link language today? When he and I am speaking, when I am to speak to others and if I am to address the whole of India, it is in the English language. Maybe, it came by a historical process. It does not matter how it came. But English is the language now that enables a gentleman from Kashmir or Cape Camorin to talk to each other. It was the English language which brought about a sense of national unity. It was that language which taught us to think in terms of a nation. Are you going to deny that its place? (*Interruptions*). Of course, you may say anything. I am not going to agree with you on this, whoever it may be. You yourself say, learn a foreign language because we are living in an international world. Yes, you ought to have communication with the international world. Learn Russian, welcome. Learn German, welcome. But here because of 200 years of historical process, we have the English language. We have a foreign language which millions of our people have already been able to learn. And you want to wipe it out and start things afresh. Why don't you utilise something which is already there and put it to use? No, you do not want to do that.

Then, I want to mention that they want integration of the students, they want exchange of teachers, they want

to have a common all-India standard at the All India Institutes along with only Hindi, no English. Yet at the university stage they are asking to teach in only the regional languages. How are you going to get teachers for this All-India Institute? What sort of children will come to your All-India Institute? Are you going to teach all the 14 languages at this All-India Institute? No; you say that a special provision will be made. But it will be mainly through English and Hindi. On the one side, you want an all-India pattern; on the other side, you want Balkanisation. It is absolutely wrong.

Before I finish, I would like to say one word. In this 3-language formula, it would have been wiser that in every State, the mother tongue and the regional tongue being the same, the child should be taught the regional language at the first stage. At the second stage, that is between the V class and III Form, every student in India shall read English. I am saying that because for technical, technological, scientific and later university education, for higher education and for every purpose, English is the only language developed enough. Unless Hindi within the next 20 or 30 years is brought to that level of English, it can never become the national language. Unless it deserves it you cannot decide. However much you decide, it cannot now deserve that status. English should be taught. And then, ask non-Hindi-speaking States to take up Hindi and for those people who have taken up Hindi, to take up English compulsorily at the 3rd stage. And for those people in Hindi-speaking areas who have already Hindi as their mother tongue and English, they should have any other Indian language compulsorily at the 3rd stage. Then you will have all the three languages—that is the regional language, English and Hindi. It is only in that way by having three languages—one at the lowest level, the second at the secondary level and the third at the highest level—that you can

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have some sort of uniformity and some sort of basis which can be built up for national integration.

(Time bell rings.)

Madam, I would like to say only one thing now because you have already rung the bell. Let us not allow our narrow provincialism or misguided patriotism to come in the way of our progress. We cannot boast of many things. But still we have achieved something. Let us not wipe it out. Let us not do away with English. I am not in love with English. But I know what it can do for the country. Let us therefore not do away with English as rubbish. The Minister, Madam, spoke of priorities. We will have to spend crores to have the regional language in the universities. We are spending crores in these five years to achieve what? To make our Indian university students almost foreigners even across their own State borders. This is all that we are going to achieve.

I appeal to the hon. Minister and to the House to see my point. I think there is some sense and more than some sense in what I have said.

Thank you.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa): Madam, I am more than convinced, in my opinion, that we are starting the debate from a wrong end. Had we discussed first the Language Bill, then perhaps it would have been much better to discuss this Education Commissions Report later because by that we would have been clear in our minds as to what is going to be the language policy of this country, because after all, from that language policy only, we can decide what should be the medium of instruction in all the States. Madam, I am sure that when the debate ends, we will see that there was more of discussion about the language than the education policy of this country, and the entire stupendous Report that has

been produced by the Education Commission and also this Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament will not be of much avail to us because we will have no time to discuss about the other aspects or about the educational policy of the Government and we will be concentrating ourselves on the language issue only.

Since the time at my disposal is limited, I want to say only one or two things. It is known nowadays—and the economists have also agreed—that investment in men is much more important. I broadly agree with most of the aspects in those Reports but I say that in various spheres no concrete suggestions have been given either in those Reports or in this national policy. Nor have they gone into the financial recommendations of those things. I am not going to deal much with them. But I will now come to the neighbourhood school idea which has been expressed both in the Education Commission's Report and here. I am sorry to say, Madam, that when some say that English should be retained here because of achieving this national integration or that Hindi should be the link language, the same persons come and tell us that we should accept this idea of public schools. Are we not, by not accepting the idea of neighbourhood schools, giving some sort of importance to the idea of segregation? Madam, very finely it was been written in the Education Commission's Report on page 256-57 that:

"....such segregation should be eliminated if education is to be made a powerful instrument of national development in general and social and national integration in particular."

If we are for this national integration, are we not for also for social integration? Shall we divide the society in such a way that a few persons only, who have the power of pelf at their back, will have the opportunity to send their children to public schools whereas crores of people in this country, in the name of

social and national integration, will be allowed to suffer and go to these neighbourhood schools? This is a double standard which I cannot understand. If we are so very sincere about national and social integration, I am afraid the education policy will have to support the idea of neighbourhood schools. I agree that the schools in the primary or secondary stage are not very perfect, that they are far from being something about which we should be happy. I agree. But is it not proper for us to give our attention and spend our resources *more and more to see that the very* base of the educational fabric, the primary education, is strengthened? And it will be strengthened only when we concentrate our attention on this very idea of neighbourhood schools.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I want to say here that our Constitution says that we must provide equality of opportunity to all. Is it then proper for us to carry on with these public schools, schools to which only the rich can take recourse, and at the same time talk of this equality of opportunity? I cannot understand the people who talk of national integration, with due respect to them, speaking about carrying on with these public schools in this country.

Madam Deputy Chairman, again, in the name of democracy those who are going to fight against this idea of neighbourhood schools, I can remind them that in England also public opinion has been strengthened against these public schools. It is a very fantastic idea that a few persons only, having the advantage of money, have the opportunity of sending their children, whether they are idiots or intelligent, to these public schools so that they can man the higher services of the country. We should not repeat the mistake which England has passed through. We should also learn from our experience. I know in England there is a small but strong opinion against the abolition of public schools. But the labour policy,

with the very idea of neighbourhood schools, could go to the people and catch their imagination. Madam, I will not speak more about it. But again I will earnestly request my friend that if we are so very sincere about social integration, let him have integration between persons who come from a richer section of the society and those who because of their birth have to suffer under social customs and systems. Let there be integration at that level. Madam, I have no time. Therefore, I will not go into the details of these matters. But I *strongly support this neighbourhood* schools idea. There would be pressures from big persons but let me request the Government that they should not yield to such pressures.

Madam Deputy Chairman, may I again warn that there is a certain opinion that under the Constitution of this country we cannot in any way abolish these public schools? I am not going into the Constitutional aspect of this matter. But again I will earnestly request the Minister that if there is any Constitutional bar to the abolition of these schools, they should at least withdraw all the privileges of scholarships or aid that is being given to these public schools. If these people in the country want to take recourse to public schools in this late hour of the day in the name of socialism, let them send their children to these schools with their own money. We can support this system for some time if the Constitution debars it, but we cannot tolerate it in the name of social integration.

Madam Deputy Chairman, then I come to the question of language. I do not want to enter into the controversy of Hindi and English. Madam Deputy Chairman, I can remind you that I do not come from a State which has Hindi as its mother-tongue, I am a person from a non-Hindi area and I want to say that as long as the Southern States are not prepared to accept Hindi, I would request my

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Hindi friends to tolerate them till a time comes when they also change their idea. I am also warning the Hindi protagonists that if in India there is anybody who is the greatest enemy of Hindi to be developed as a link language, then I am not blaming the Southerners who are suffering under some disadvantage. I am only blaming the Hindi protagonists who try to impose, to a certain extent, Hindi on others in this country in a way which is never happy. I might also say that in our translation also, even words which are commonly used in this country are being translated into Hindi so that those who could have easily accommodated themselves to the changing situation are finding some difficulty. That is not the case with the Southerners alone. That is the case with all those who come from Assam or Bengal or from Orissa who are not so much interested in this quarrel between Hindi and English.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I am in favour of mother-tongue being the medium of instruction in all stages of education. I cannot understand how a few persons, who have the advantage of English education, are in a position to say that English should continue throughout this period. Here I want to plead that in spite of my knowledge of English, when I speak in this House I do not feel so much confident as some of my friends who speak bad English in this House. Madam Deputy Chairman, again I may plead with you that whatever love there might be for English in this country, English can never be a vehicle for expression in this country. Either the mother-tongue should be the vehicle of expression or some language which has some indigenous base. I am prepared to have a long gap for changing the very system of education and the medium of instruction. I know that if this five-year period mentioned here in this national education policy can be implemented, it will be good. But about

technical education there might be some difficulty. There again I will plead with the Government that they should try their best to see that a vocabulary is developed, not the vocabulary or the terminology which the Hindi fanatics are trying to develop. They are trying to make everything Hindi so that nobody in this world can understand. Let me remind those persons of the English dictionary. If you read the very introduction of this dictionary, you will find that more than 50 per cent. of the words are of different origin. So we should have that elasticity if you want to develop a link language in this country. If you think that Hindi will be the ultimate link language, we will have to change our method. We will have to see that the vocabulary is, to a certain extent, fertilised with the words emerging from the other languages of this country, both Hindi and Southern languages also.

Madam, in this connection I want to say one or two things. I know the Education Commission have advocated the three-language formula. To a certain extent there was a political overtone when this three-language formula was evolved because we know that when the three-language formula was evolved certain other considerations were taken into account besides the consideration of education. Here I feel that the language policy that is being advocated here, wants to see, to a certain extent, a two-language formula evolved keeping a third language as option. But let me say here that the practical implications which they had in mind are going to be negated because on page 4 they have said that Hindi will be the ultimate link language. But in the very paragraph about teaching of languages, they have mentioned:—

“Only on language, viz., the medium of education, should ordinarily be studied in the first sub-stage of school education covering four or five years.”

"Facilities should be provided, on an optional basis, for the study of regional language when it does not happen to be medium of education. A second language should be introduced, on a compulsory basis, ordinarily at the beginning of the next sub-stage. This may preferably be a language included in Schedule VIII of the Constitution, or English or any other language."

3 P.M.

I do not understand what this "or any other language" means. You can have the languages included in Schedule VIII of the Constitution and because English has not been included there, you can have English also. But I do not know why, after accepting all those languages about which there is no difference, "any other language" has been mentioned, which means that a student in the 8th class will be forced to take a language which is outside the scope of this Schedule VIII and which is also not English. I do not think the purpose is going to be served by having "or any other language" in this way. Also it is mentioned there:

"The study of this language should be continued till the end of class X. A pupil may begin the study, at his option, of any third language, ordinarily from class VIII, provided that a pupil who has not studied either Hindi or English in the earlier classes shall be under an obligation to study one of these two languages at this sub-stage."

What does this mean? Take, for example, the case of any student in Orissa. According to this, he may take Oriya as the mother tongue. The second language in the upper primary stage, which will be compulsory to a certain extent, will be Bengali or Telugu. And he will not have the option of learning either Hindi, which you want to develop as the link language, or English. So here is a lacuna. And subsequently from the 8th class, you want to have a third language as an optional language and it can be "any other language." Madam they want to deve-

lop the two-language formula in this country with the purpose of having ultimately Hindi as the link language. Obviously it is there. But by this method, they are not in any way helping Hindi. So, Madam, I want to say that here it should be revised and we should make ourselves very clear about it because we do not in any way want to estrange our friends who still want that English should be here for some time to come. We may hasten the process by persuasion and persuasion does not mean giving some weightage to Hindi people. I entirely agree with my friend, the lady Member, who said that there will be a certain amount of weightage in States where Hindi is the mother tongue. I entirely agree with her. And you, especially the protagonists of Hindi, will have to answer this point. Otherwise, national integration can never come. I would rather say that if the Hindi people want that ultimately Hindi should be the link language of the country, they should make it a point to see that one of the languages of Southern India is either the second language or the third language, in option, which has been mentioned in this report. If this policy is not followed, I do not think in any circumstances you are going to persuade the Southerners, who have a very strong feeling about Hindi, to change their opinion in any way. That is why, Madam, I am pleading here that in this national policy on Education, if you want to persuade the Southerners gradually to accommodate themselves to this very idea of Hindi being developed as the link language ultimately, the second language of the Hindi States should be a language of the Southern States. I would very much like that to be done. Or if that is not possible, then at least the third language, which will be an optional language from the 8th class, should be a Southern language. Then only to a certain extent you can have this integration. Otherwise, there will be this weightage for the Hindi region and as a result, there will be an animosity against Hindi in the

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Southern region and it would be very difficult for you to develop it as the link language. Madam, I do not want to take more of the time of the House though there are many things on which I would like to speak.

Now I will come to the status of teachers. Much has been spoken in this country about the status of teachers. Perhaps, the status of the teachers in this country is below that of the peons or Class IV employees. Not only are they poorly paid, but the status that the Government is going to give is also very poor in comparison with the status the others are getting in this country. Here I would like to say that through the University Grants Commission and through other agencies, you are trying to do something for the college teachers. But these high school and secondary school teachers throughout the country are not taken care of by the State Government or by the Central Government. What is going to happen? What is going to happen to the very base of the edifice of education, that is primary education? If you want to develop education in this country, the Central Government, just like taking care of orphaned children, must try to see that the very base of education, primary education and secondary education, is developed in a healthy way and that can be developed only if you make an offer to the States, as you are doing in the case of college teachers that you are prepared to share at least 90 per cent of the burden that the State Governments will have to bear because of the enhancement of their salaries. Madam Deputy Chairman, I do not want to say anything more. But I would have been very happy if this debate had taken place after the language debate, so that we would have been able to concentrate our attention on other aspects of the education system in this country. Then, I think, we could have been of more help to the Education Ministry in the framing of a national policy. Thank you.

SHRI RAM NIWAS MIRDHA (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy Chairman, we have before us the Report of the Education Commission and the Report of the M.Ps. Committee which examined some aspects of the Commission's Report and evolved what they have called a national policy on education. I am sorry to say that the language formula that has been evolved by the Commission as well as the Committee is a most unfortunate one. We had up till now what we called the three-language formula which was accepted by all the States in the country. A large number of non-Hindi-speaking States had very sincerely implemented it and even now they have no desire to go back on that. But now we have the two-language formula which is contradictory in many respects. As was just mentioned, at many places the Commission says that Hindi would be the link language ultimately in this country and that it would occupy the status of something like a national language. But the system of education with regard to the languages that has been evolved is such that a man can finish all his education without reading a word of Hindi. This is what, in effect, this formula means. There is no compulsion to read Hindi even at the most elementary stage, or in any of the classes that a man studies. And how can we say that we are sincere about Hindi ultimately becoming the link language? A country like ours must have a link language, however, imperfect it may be to start with. Therefore, I will most strongly urge this House and the Minister of Education particularly to please revise this formula, because still it is not too late, and bring in a formula which will satisfy all people, which will give Hindi at least an elementary status so that an educated Indian would know at least some rudiments of Hindi. I do not say that it should be made the medium of instruction at all levels or that it should be taught all over the country in all the classes up to the highest standard. But I would certainly say that

some years of Hindi teaching must be enforced in all our schools and colleges.

Now university education is going to be conducted in the regional languages. In a way it is good because if you have the regional language as the medium of instruction till the higher secondary stage, the next stage has to be linked with that; and the easiest thing would be to have university education also in the regional language. In a vast country like ours, the best thing would be this to have one language which was the medium of instruction or at least the medium of instruction in the university stage so that scholars could move from one university to another, there could be intellectual interchange between the various universities and our country as a whole could develop a proper national intellectual climate. The best solution would be that Hindi should ultimately be made the medium of instruction in the universities. Until that is done, English might be retained as the medium of instruction in the university and Hindi should be developed so that at one stage we might have one language which would be understood by the scholars of one region and another.

There are other things about which this Committee makes mention and I will make a passing reference to them. On the question of cost that would go to implement this report, many times we say that education has been starved of finances and that we need more and more of them to implement them. I would give some figures to say how much till now we have invested in education. The education expenditure by the Central Government alone in 1950-51 was only Rs. 35 millions and that expenditure amounted to Rs. 295 millions in 1960-61 which means an average annual increase of Rs. 23.7 per cent. If we take together the expenditure incurred by the States and the Centre, the figures are, in 1951-52 Rs. 640 millions and, in 1965-66 Rs. 4,268 millions. What I mean is, money is not the only thing that we are lacking for the implementation of the report. Till

now what we have lacked is a clear directive of our educational policy and it is for the first time that an attempt has been made to link our educational policy with certain national aims and ideals. Fortunately our Education Minister, Dr. Triguna Sen, was a member of this Commission and it is a rare thing that a person who was instrumental to some extent in formulating these recommendations finds himself in a position where he can implement them. For once, we would not have the excuse that he did not have the authority to put the whole thing through. I am very much heartened by certain observations that Dr. Sen made a few months back in which he said that money is not after all everything. While speaking at the Aligarh University Convocation on matters of finance he said:

"But I am not greatly dismayed by this. Probably we have depended too much on money in the past and often proceeded on the assumption that the main, if not the exclusive, method of reforming education was to pump more money into it."

So here is a man with almost, I should say, radical or at least non-conformist ideas in the sphere of education and we are happy and very fortunate that we find him here at the helm of affairs and in a position to implement the recommendations.

A few words about the type of administration that obtains at the Central Government. We have here a Secretary of Education who, fortunately over the years, has not been one of the stereotyped Secretaries, either from the I.A.S. or the I.C.S. and the Ministry has fortunately escaped that for which they have to be complimented. I hope this process would continue but along with that, they have a large set of, what they call, advisers and because the advisers do not go to the field, they do not belong to any other organisation or educational institution, there is a certain amount of in-breeding in the Ministry and no fresh air or fresh talent comes from outside. So I would

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suggest that the administration at the Centre should get at least half its persons from the State Services, from educationists, from people who have worked in the sphere of university administration so that all the new ideas that our Minister wants to put through, and which may come from time to time for implementation could be taken up with a certain degree of freshness and we hope this in-breeding, about which we see some signs here, would not persist for long. We have also to see what exactly is the function of the Ministry of Education in the constitutional set-up. As a matter of fact all the Union Ministries have a tendency to have a field organisation of their own even if the subjects do not come exclusively under their constitutional domain and this happens to be so in the case of Education Ministry also. For instance, they have started Regional Colleges of Education. They are nothing but duplication of the type of work which can be done by any organisation run by the State Governments. So this type of activity which directly takes them into the field, should be stopped forthwith. This tendency to increase one's domain of work should cease forthwith and the Education Ministry in the Centre should concern itself only with research, planning, coordination and things like that so that they can give proper guidance to the State Ministries and it should be a very small but effective nucleus that will put forward ideas which should be taken on by the States, which, after all, are responsible for the implementation of those ideas.

I would say something about sports also. This is one sphere which has not been properly attended to because there have been so many changes in the policy. Sometimes the N.C.C. is made compulsory, sometimes A.C.C. is made compulsory and sometimes it is not made compulsory. So some serious thought should be given as to how and what type of physical education or national service obtains in our country. If you see the number

of people who represent our country in the Olympic games, a very small percentage of it, you will find, are actually students. Either they are from the Railways or the Defence Services or others who have been in service for long and in no other country would you find people of such high age going to represent in the top international competition but in our country there is no mass participation in sports. That is why it is not surprising that students do not find any laces in all the major competitions and they are never at the top and that is a very serious thing. About that we have to think seriously because if you make NCC compulsory, there is hardly any time left for sports. So good sportsmen should be selected and they should be exempted from NCC. As a matter of fact 2 or 3 or 4 alternatives should be given to every student. Either it is games and sports or it is NCC or Social Service or something and a student, according to his aptitude, must choose which side he wants to work, though it should be compulsory. So the idea of compulsion in one sphere should be removed and I think the huge amounts that we spend on NCC can most suitably and much better be utilised by having more sports and more physical fitness and things like that and we should attach more importance to this.

The Council of Sports is doing good work by coordinating all activities in the country but they are also obsessed with the idea of autonomy and so on and so forth. There is no need to give them autonomy. There is the Olympic Association, there are the National Federations. Here we have a body which would clash with all these bodies if they want to become autonomous and have substantive powers of their own. So I request them, the Members of the Council, whose term is over, and also tell the Minister: "Please do not concede them autonomy of any sort. The present system is just all right. They are also committing the mistake that the Education Ministry is committing. They are also going into the field and organising training camps

things like that. I read the other day that they organised at Dehra Dun a camp covering boys from 12 to 16. I do not know whether there is need for Central camps for boys between 12 and 16. Moreover 12 to 16 is not a proper age group. It is neither middle nor matric nor higher secondary. It does not fit in with any accepted concepts, either school sports or high-school sports but they must do something of the sort. So they should confine their activities to coordinating work and to giving advice through the States Councils and National Federations. Sports should receive the most serious consideration from the Government.

Another thing is, there is lack of playgrounds in the schools. When sanctioning schools or upgrading schools, it is never insisted upon that they should have playgrounds. They ask: 'How many rooms you have, whether you have a hall or not' but none asks even in a village school whether it has a playground where the boys can play. I can understand the position in the cities, where also with a little more effort and imagination, a lot more can be done. Even in the village schools there are no playgrounds attached to them. So whenever a new school is sanctioned, it must be invariably the policy of the Government to attach a playground with it so that drills can be conducted there, parades can be held and some sports can be organised.

As regards sports also, it is not necessary that we should go in for foreign and sophisticated games like cricket and tennis. Indigenous sports in our country have a great tradition. They cost almost nothing and they are even now very popular in the villages but they are dying away. So indigenous sports in our country must get top priority. They must be recognised games. Every effort should be made to spread games and sports in the rural areas and in this sphere these indigenous sports should get the proper place and they should be encouraged in every possible way.

One thing before I sit down is about the production of text-books. Now the Education Ministry has formulated certain proposals for having text-books in the regional languages. The proposals are of two methods. One is to produce original text-books and another is to translate books of standard authors. In the first place translation of standard authors should be very strictly scrutinised. Those who used to be the standard authors some 10, 15 or 20 years back are no longer standard authors and old, though wellknown, books are out of date today. So very little money and effort should be spent on translating those books and more and more effort should be made to bring out original text books. Now the method that is being followed for bringing out original text-books is to ask five or six persons to collectively produce these books. I think this is never done generally. No worthwhile text-book can be produced this way. You give different chapters to people who are whole time engaged in that work. This is not the type of way or method by which you can bring out good text-books. You should sponsor one or two wellknown scholars to produce a text-book. You can have it revised according to your own plan of work by some other person and give him your assistance. But this collective production of text-books is a very wrong step. I talked to those people who are working in this field and they themselves feel that this is not the proper way to go about it. To have a whole-time staff of translators and text-book producers is hardly the way to proceed about it. A large number of persons distinguished in this line should, as a matter of fact, be asked to produce these things and that is how they will do it.

Since the Commission has made mention of agricultural universities I should like to say a few words on this also. Normally agricultural education is part of the work of the Ministry of Agriculture, but this Report has mentioned the establishing

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of agricultural universities. Firstly, the term "agricultural university" is a misnomer. Either it is a college of agriculture or it is a university. If it is a university it must have all the subjects. Or you can have a university with emphasis on agriculture or engineering. You cannot have an agricultural university. The two terms are completely antagonistic to one another. Here also I think the idea of agricultural university has to be very seriously thought about. It is envisaged that there should be co-ordination of education, research and extension. That is the American pattern which we are adopting. We in Rajasthan started the same thing. But we found that it does not work. So we abandoned it and we have made it a multi-faculty university. It used to be our Agricultural University. Agricultural extension work at present is being done mostly by the State Governments. It is quite extensive and by expecting a university to duplicate that work in a few villages, do you really give the university the importance that is due to it? It was all right in the American context where there was no State-sponsored extension service, where anything State-sponsored was anathema. They would not touch a State organisation. The people who started the land-run colleges, they really got together, paid some money to the agricultural university and asked the people there to do the research and extension work for the people who had contributed the money. But that pattern is most unsuitable for us here particularly because we have a different idea here. The whole idea here is of a State-sponsored extension service. Simply because certain grants are being made available—and they are not on as large a scale as was once thought—we should not go in for this kind of a thing. The whole concept of agricultural universities should be thoroughly gone into. What I would suggest is that we can have good agricultural colleges or even a university with emphasis on agriculture,

so that they can proceed further and other teaching sections in the university do not also suffer in the process.

One word about the science policy before I sit down. Science, no doubt, is a very important subject and I think a lot more can be done for science in our country. We say that research and science development in India do not get as much resources as they ought to. The Commission has given a lot of details about what is being done in America, what percentage of ~~their~~ Gross National Produce is being spent for scientific research and development in that country and they compare those figures with what is being done in India. This is a most unfair comparison because our needs are not the same as theirs. Some 60 per cent of their research and development fund is spent for space research and defence in America. That must be taken off because we do not need so much for defence here. I wish the Commission had been more objective and had brought out how much effort has been made during the last ten or fifteen years or twenty years and what results have been achieved in this field and what problems or difficulties stood in the way of greater achievement. Instead of that they have presented things in a one-sided way, omitted certain things and they never mention the achievements and the difficulties that the country had to face. So I would suggest that a serious effort should be made and at the national level there should be a group to co-ordinate this work. It should not be left to universities and research organisations to pick up subjects for research and development. There must be a strategy of research. Some particular subjects must be selected or problems must be identified and isolated. The various disciplines, whether they are in the humanities or in the sciences or technology, must bring to bear the force of their intelligence and work on them so that in ten or fifteen years we may have solved at least those

problems which really afflict us. There must be liaison between industry, agriculture, science and research and for this a high-power national body should be established to bring about this coordination so that we may get the most from whatever investment we make. Thank you, Madam.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON (Kerala): Madam Deputy Chairman, I have gone through this Report and I do feel that it is going to help us a good deal. Of course, I do not fully agree with all the suggestions made in it. But anyhow an attempt has been made and Members of various political parties have sat together and tried to understand what are the difficulties, and they have managed to submit a Report which will really help us to some extent. I do feel that our Hindi friends must realise that India is a multi-national country. Most of these nationalities developed much earlier, much before India was ever thought of as a nation. Even during the period of the Mahabharata there were Bengla, Kerala and all those places. They were different regions and they were distinct. Each was having a certain culture, a certain language. These cultures and languages should be respected and they should be understood. Therefore, what I want to point out is that we must understand that our country has become a nation as one India only very recently. In those periods there were various nationalities, having some culture and some language.

AN HON. MEMBER: Were they distinct?

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: They were distinct nations or nationalities. We must seriously analyse this position. My own feeling is that even at an earlier stage—I do not say it was so during the period of the Mahabharata—say from the 9th or 10th or 11th centuries, these nationalities had got formed in our country and in the same process most of these languages

had also got formed by that time. There were certain languages in India which do not exist now. They are no more found in India as a spoken language. For example, Pali was spoken by many at one time. There was one language in the South which got split up into four distinct languages and they have now come up like that. Even in the Hindi-speaking areas, I am sure there are seven or eight languages. You may say that not all of them are developed languages. I do not know, but some of them were developed even much earlier. For example, I am sure Maithili must have been a developed language. So also Magadhi and Bhojpuri and Rajasthani and so on. These are all dialects or languages. But you cannot be sure that the Hindi-speaking area as it is today is going to remain the same after ten or fifteen years. You know there will be various languages, various nationalities come up. The process depends on common language, common culture and contiguity of areas. Why is there so much agitation today? That is because we are yet coming up as a nation. There are various nationalities. For example, take the tribals. Most of the tribal people have got their languages. These languages do not have a script, but they are also languages. So the attempt of the Government must be to help them to find out some script, not to force Hindi on them. That is how we should develop all the nationalities to develop their various scripts. The various tribals must get their languages and..

PROF. SATYAVRATA SIDDHANTALANKAR (Nominated): Do you mean to say that there are different nationalities in India?

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: No, the nation is being developed. Various nationalities have come up and the process is not over. So these languages will have to be helped to have their own scripts and you cannot be sure that we have come to a

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stage where we can say in India that a particular language has got the right to become the main *lingua franca*.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You mean dialects?

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: Those dialects will have to be helped to become languages. They must have scripts and they will develop. That is the position. We are now passing through that period.

PROF. SATYAVRATA SIDDHANTALANKAR: How can the dialects become languages?

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: Where you have a script it becomes language.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): At one time or another every language was a dialect.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: The dialect or the spoken word becomes a language when you get a script for it. That way it comes up. As I said, there are various languages in this country. I would therefore suggest this. I respect that the majority language is the Hindi because 40 or 50 per cent of our people speak that language and my respect to it is because it is the language of the ordinary people, forty or fifty per cent of the ordinary people of India and therefore it has a place. But, Madam, the languages in the South have an entirely different tradition. They have developed in a different way. You cannot all of a sudden switch over to Hindi. In spite of all the efforts that we have made, we have not yet succeeded. Time is required and patience is required and it is that patience alone which will help up to build up and come together. That sort of fight that we had against the British imperialism, when all of us came together, gave us that feeling of unity. Now don't disrupt that feeling by forcing Hindi on the

South. Let us give time and certainly the people in the South will pick up Hindi also. So I would suggest that the three-language formula must be taken up seriously. You must have definitely the mother tongue and along with that Hindi and also one foreign language. Absolutely there should be no prejudice against any foreign language. Why should there be? It has helped us a good deal. For the last 200 years it has been there. It is through English that we have understood the great literature not only of English but of French, of Russian and of various other languages. All these we have come to know through the medium of English. This sort of thing is there in other countries also. They are also trying to learn some other foreign language. For example, in Russia they make it a point that they have either English or German or French. We too must make it a point to learn a foreign language so that we can have an idea of what is happening all over the world.

Now I fully accept this suggestion about the neighbouring schools. There shall be no privilege for some section of the people to remain separate and to say that they will have better kind of education. All the boys must go to the same place; all the girls must go to the same place. They should study together, live the same life. We are speaking about socialism and all that. The neighbouring school is the thing for it. It will bring all the people together so that they can understand each other. No separate class should be created. As it is in this caste-ridden society, the bureaucrats are coming up as the new class. From the very beginning let us not support it.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Socialising intelligence.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: No; what I would say is that the monopoly of intelligence shall not be of a few people. At one time the monopoly was of the Brahmins; now

let it not be of the bureaucrats and their sons. That is all what I am saying. There was a time when it was for the Brahmins and now you want it to be for the sons and daughters of the I.C.S. and I.A.S. people. We should not allow any monopoly to grow. So the neighbouring school is a very good idea and I feel that we should encourage it.

As far as teaching is concerned, certainly it should be in the mother tongue. As has been suggested the medium of instruction as far as possible should be the regional language. There is nothing wrong. Some of our languages may not have developed to that stage. But you can boldly take foreign words and develop them. There is nothing wrong in doing it. Others are doing it; we shall also do it. Every language has done it; there is nothing to be puritanical about this. If some good words are there in Malayalam, Tamil or English, take them boldly. Similarly if there are good Hindi words we will take them into our languages. Thus slowly we can evolve an Indian language which may be slightly different from Hindi. As we come to know each other, as we come into contact with each other, through the process of our inter-communication the language also gets evolved and developed. That is quite a distinct possibility. So I say we must make a determined effort to strengthen our languages by boldly borrowing from each other so that they become modern.

I am not for any Public School because Public School means separation. As I have said already the bureaucracy is becoming a new class. That was why these Public Schools came into being. The British Public Schools were created for that purpose. But there is now a big agitation against them. We do not want such a thing to continue. All people, whether rich or poor, must be trained in the same school. After all, if you were to look at the culture of India I think mainly it has been the ordinary man who has contributed most to that culture. I am sure it was not

the great Brahmin intellect that gave you the Vedas. It was the son of an ordinary fisherman who collected all the Vedas together and gave it to you. When it comes to the question of Ramayana it was a Harijan who had to do it. So it has been the ordinary children of the man of the plough who have been mainly responsible for the creation of the great works of literature that we have in any language. For example in the South it has been so. It was a Harijan poetess who was responsible for the best poetry in Tamil Nad. So too was Thiruvalluvar who was the son of an ordinary weaver who was mainly responsible for the Tamil literature. For us we have taken both from Sanskrit and Tamil and the script is Dravidian. That is how we have developed our language. And our Ezhuthachan was an ordinary oil-monger's son. So these are the people who gave us our culture, our literature. So I am definite that the children who are the sons of poor men and who have been denied their opportunity all these years, if they were to come together and study in these schools, will be able to make their best contribution to our culture. I am sure our universities have never contributed much. No great man in India ever came out of the universities in this country. Vivekananda never came out of a university; even Mahatma Gandhi was not a product of the university. Rabindranath Tagore never cared to go to a university. I do not believe that the universities have helped us much. So let us have these new schools where the children of the ordinary men of the plough and of the hammer can participate along with others . . . (*Interruptions.*) When I say child of the hammer I mean the worker; and when I say child of the plough, I mean the peasant. It is only figurative. When these poor people come into their own things will become entirely different. Unification has to be there and therefore these people must come together. I am against

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anything which tries to separate them from others.

As for English, as I told you English will have to be there for the time being because we do not want to be isolated from the rest of the world. It is only in that sense that I want to have English and I believe that Mr. Rajnarain with all his love for Hindi will not have any hatred for English because every language is a symbol of the great culture of the various people, the culture of Shakespeare, of Bernard Shaw, of various others. Therefore, while we insist on the right place for Hindi we will not give up the place of English.

The question is production of the necessary literature. It is true that there is great difficulty in this regard. Literature is not mere translation. You have to have original writers. I do not know whether any of you ever cared to have any of the works of great literary artists and writers translated into Hindi.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: It seems there is nothing original in it; it is only translation.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: There is the great poet of the South, Bharati. Have his works been ever translated? You in the North must also realise that we have very great culture, very great language and a good deal of original writings are there which ought to be translated while we translate your writings also. But I am sure by mere translations you are not going to achieve anything. A language develops not because a few people speak that language. How many original writers are there? That is the test. Even if it is a small area, all the writings of that area will exist and it will continue to influence others in the rest of the world. Even in the case of England, which is a small country, it has been influencing the entire

world. Why? English has now become the language of the Americans, which is technically the most advanced country. While I am not very much interested in the American system, one thing which I admire is the American technique and definitely English will be of help to us in understanding it. What I am saying is in this case when we produce literature, instead of translations, original authors will have to be given encouragement.

Here we have seen in this national policy on education that the highest priority should be given to these things. One is to accelerate the transformation of the existing social system into one based on justice, equality, liberty, dignity of the individual, etc. Who can do this? It is the masses which can bring about the change and I do believe that the Indian masses will have to do that. All along no big change has been brought about. Unfortunately, when we became free we never had a clear social objective. We won freedom. After that what happened is, we see the blackmarketeers flourishing, we see the monopolists getting strengthened and the student gets terribly depressed. When we were students we had an objective before us, namely, freedom, but under the present system they do not have any objective. They do not know what is their future. They are asked to have character, but when they go home they see their parents black-marketing. How will they have character? They will have no respect even for their parents. It has come to that stage. Why is it so? The one country which got freedom and did not have a proper social objective, unfortunately, is our country. Unless you make a determined effort now to have a real change in the social order and make it into a socialist order, you are not going to satisfy these youngmen. He is a modern youngman who belongs to the twentieth century, who will not

allow all your old concepts to continue. He will challenge them. Today the student unrest is mainly because the social objectives is absent. I would, therefore, say that, in this sense, we must encourage the students to fight against all these evils. Encourage them to do it. We will have to make use of the student movement also to bring about social transformation. I am sure there are people who get frightened, as to why young people should be dragged into this.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Like communists.

SHRI BALACHANDRA MENON: They must know how they are going to build up the future. You have failed them miserably. It is time they came out boldly and said that they were not going to allow the old conditions to remain as they are. I would, therefore, request that the problems of the students which are given here be taken up seriously.

The difficulties which the South feel may be properly understood. Do not force Hindi to such an extent that the unity, which we have built up during the last few years, and the freedom fight which was responsible for this, gets disrupted and we are taken backwards. I am sure if there is force, there will be reaction to that and this is what happened. There are people who would have gladly studied Hindi and switched over, but recently what has been their reaction? Why is it so? It is because Hindu revivalism made use of Hindi. Unfortunately that is happening here. We are thinking in terms of religion. We are not thinking in terms of our country. We are not thinking in terms of the culture of the entire nation. Muslims have contributed a good deal to it. Hindus have contributed a good deal to it. Other people have contributed a good deal to it. Our country has been able to digest all these various cultures which we have

got. It is not one man's development. It is not the majority's development. With that understanding if you are able to give proper place to Urdu, if you are able to give proper place to Hindi, if you are able to give proper place to the South Indian languages, certainly this unity will be built up. Otherwise, it will get disrupted and if it gets disrupted, do not be under the impression that the small States in various places will not exist. Albania exists. Czechoslovakia exists. Rumania exists. All these countries will exist, as they are existing. But the unity which we have forged ahead should not be lost because of the refusal of a few to see the necessity for unity, because of their intolerance. Do not create such a situation. That is what I have to say. Not that we are anxious, but do not drive any section to that position. So, please think about the unity of the country. Please respect other people. That is all what I have to request you. If you do not do it, even if the majority wants something to be done, it will go against the very anxiety of yours to have one country. It will be disrupted. Therefore, let us not play into the disrupters' hands. That is my request. I again and again request that you do not follow the revivalists. That will create the biggest danger. India is not merely for Hindus. India is not merely for Muslims. India is not merely for Christians. The oldest Christian in India was in Kerala. Long before Christianity came to Britain, we had the St. Thomas's period. The oldest Muslim was in Kerala because even before the Arabs came here we had our trade with Arabia. Even in respect of the Jews Kerala had the oldest Jew. Such is our position. It is a country which has got all this heritage and, therefore, Hindu revivalism should not be allowed. All of us must take a bold stand against this. It is unity alone which can take up forward to a new socialist India, which should be our objective. That objective

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should be driven home to every youngman, so that he knows that in the new order of society, which he is building up, everyone will have a place and there will be no more of this struggle of a child for a street dog for a morsal of food. That is the unfortunate position today. Such a situation should not be there. Such a situation can be created only if you give up your revivalism.

Thank you.

SHRI T. CHENGALVAROYAN (Madras): Madam Deputy Chairman, I deem it a great privilege and honour to commend for the gracious acceptance of this House the Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education. I should have expected, with unseasonable importunity, what we are now attempting to do, we ought to have done immediately after we won freedom for our country. Twenty years have rolled into the limbo of oblivion and several generations have been missed for being trained to the responsibilities of a new set-up in our country. But today we have, in our hon. Minister of Education, a crusader with zeal and zest, for that purpose, for that pattern. In that he is ably assisted by the Educational Adviser to the Government of India, a person of rare erudition and of great scholarship. We had been asked by the Government to report on the purpose, pattern and the immediate objective of education and in so doing we were asked to consider as the basis and guideline the voluminous Report of the Education Commission. I may at once state that the Education Commission's Report is an encyclopaedia on education, so vast, so deep, so thorough and so weighty that it may take perhaps one's own life for the purpose of implementing the several recommendations of the Education Commission. But we in our Committee considered the Education Commission's Report as a foundation for the purpose of giving certain elegant emphasis on cer-

tain selective areas of educational reform and of progress. In that respect we considered some important questions of what we may call proclaiming a national policy on education. For the first time in the history of our country, since freedom, we have now considered the necessity of formulating a national policy on education and I beg of this House, as I would beg elsewhere, to remember that the Report of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education is not going to give a complete picture of all the details and minute considerations as to how education has to be given. The report only envisages certain broad principles, indicates certain attitudes and also gives a certain amount of direction and destiny for the purpose of education. In the first place, Madam, I am deeply grateful to the hon. Members of the side opposite for the great appreciation of how we have adumbrated the national policy in this report. The national policy that this report carries with it is in the first place to give an integrated expression to the fundamental foundations of our constitutional value and virtue. We have given four cornerstones of our Constitution: liberty, equality, fraternity and justice, and the national policy that this report gives is to build a multi-storeyed mansion on these four cornerstones of our constitutional values. In that sense we are thinking of expanding the equalisation of opportunities of education to every child. Thirdly, we want to instill into every boy or girl who goes to the various stages of our schools that awareness of the fundamental and undying unity of our country. Fourthly, we want to instill and inspire the younger generation with scientific and technological study and advance, at the same time not forgetting the basic spiritual, moral and social values. If the national policy as is explained by this report is acceptable to this hon. House, I for my part would not consider the difference of opinion on other details to be of much consequence.

Madam, so far as the debate went, it centred largely on the most controversial question of the language problem in our country. May I submit with very great respect that the Committee has considered the language problem as reflected in the scheme and purpose of education in a very compromising and, if I may say so, in a catholic spirit? During the discussion of the most acute aspect of the controversial problem of language, they have agreed on certain fundamental bases. In the first place we have agreed that the medium of education at all stages should be the mother tongue or the regional language. I am sure that whatever may be the persuasion of the different parties in our country, on this aspect of an educational renaissance, on the medium of instruction in education being in the respective mother tongue or regional language, there cannot be any violent divergence of opinion. But the controversy seems rather to centre round this: at what stages, what should be the speed, what should be the motives, what should be the refinement, with regard to the introduction of this great revolutionary reform with reference to the medium of instruction. I personally am willing to concede that this House and also hon. Members who may contribute to the discussion on this report may give their valuable suggestions with regard to the speed and with regard to the stage where we can use this medium of instruction completely. We are anxious, Madam, that the span and speed must be limited to five years.

I have heard hon. Members pointing out the difficulty and also the despair and also the doubt whether at all it will be possible to finish it within five years. I have thought about the matter. When the Education Minister was suggesting the period of five years, it was more for the purpose of giving a stimulation to the very idea of an education through the regional language, and the speed and the span may certain-

ly be varied according to the exigencies of the situation.

One other aspect, Madam, I would beg of this House to note in connection with this report on education is the principle of parallelism in regard to the language of instruction. In the context of our country, in the context of certain very strong convictions held by vast sections of our people, particularly from the part of India from which I have the honour to hail, we notice that there is a certain amount of despair, a certain amount of doubt, a certain amount of difficulty, if possible a certain amount of deficiency, if the question of one unilateral language. At the next stage we thought I may say so, in regard to this report is the principle of parallelism that has been adopted in regard to the language of study and instruction. We have taken care to see that at the primary stage the mother tongue is the only language; in some cases more often than not it will be the regional language. At the next stage we thought that it must be only the regional language, and at the next sub-stage we thought that there should be a scope for study of all national languages sublimated in Schedule Eight of our Constitution. In the next stage have given option for the purpose of taking either Hindi or English, and at a later stage we have given option for either English or Hindi so that there is a parallelism, there is a scope for switching over from one language to the other. I therefore feel that on the whole the principle of parallelism that we have introduced with regard to the study of languages will greatly commend itself for the gracious acceptance of this House.

May I join with my friends who have spoken before that on the question of Hindi there must be no mistake, and if once we make a mistake we make a mistake standing on the precipice, and one false step will make the country go down into the abyss of destruction and of total disappearance. The question of alter-

[Shri T. Chengalvaroyan.]

native is, if I may say so without any reflection: are we to have Hindi or India? The choice must inevitably be by all sections, India if possible and if necessary with Hindi. Therefore, I would beg of this House that this report has been a result of a compromise, or a chatholic understanding and sympathy and respect of the views, divergent as they were, with regard to the languages. I can assure my friends from this side of the House that there is no fear and there need be no fear with regard to this changeover, and the vast opportunity that the report gives will certainly give wider scope for all persons.

Our esteemed Education Minister was telling us frequently during the deliberations of the Committee that the question of language was purely a question of motivation, and if the question of motivation was to be left to the people themselves, they would choose according to their aspirations, according to their attitudes. I therefore feel that on the question of languages we have done our best, and I submit that there can be certain refinement of views and of the proposals that the Committee has recommended.

One other aspect which has given rise to a certain amount of controversy is with regard to the neighbourhood school. I join my friend, Mr. Menon, who clearly and cogently argued the case for the neighbourhood school. I am told that there is a certain constitutional objection to the principle of the neighbourhood school based perhaps on the decision of the Bombay High Court in what they call the Bombay Schools Society *versus* the State of Bombay. I have read that judgment, and that judgment was given by no less a person than by my esteemed professor and the hon. Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Chagla. I have gone through that judgment. That judgment centres round one constitutional objection, namely, that there cannot be a

compulsion on the ground of religion, race or sex or other respect. The question for legal appreciation is whether that judgment would be a constitutional bar to the enforcement of the principle of neighbourhood school. May I state that article 29(2) only gives the inhibition with reference to religion, race or sex but not with reference to territory? I am prepared to argue before any tribunal that the neighbourhood school is not constitutionally invalid. For example, there can be reasonable restriction in the interests of the public, in the interests of the students. The interest of the coming generations hereafter is going to be education for democracy and democracy for education. We have got twin tasks in our country to educate our democracy and to democratise our education and this Report fulfils the twin tasks that have been set before us.

4 P.M.

One word more and I have done. With reference to the question of the institutional set-up for trying to implement this, we have differed, with very great respect, from the Education Commission's recommendation. They have suggested a vast, cumbersome and complicated administrative set-up. But we on the Committee felt that at least in the field of education, let not the bloody bugs of bureaucracy bite and that will be the only solace that our Committee wants. We want to see that education gets itself completely and totally divorced from the bureaucratic effect of strangulation.

We have also considered with reference to certain other aspects to which my esteemed friend, Prof. Ruthnaswamy, made a complaint. There is a provision, if I may most respectfully draw his kind attention to the Report, with reference to the question of the work-spots, with reference to the provision of what he called the laboratory, the library, etc., Those are all details and I am sure that this

honourable House will consider and give its very valuable suggestions with reference to the details.

And may I conclude with an appeal, if I may, that the Report is only an attempt, the Report is only showing a direction, the Report is only giving a guide-line, and it is for this House and for Parliament to implement and give new suggestions? Madam, this Report is serving a very unique purpose in that, amidst the encircling darkness, this Report is a kindly light that leads us; it may be a candle light but, nevertheless, it is light.

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरडिया :
(मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदया, शिक्षा आयोग के प्रतिवेदन पर और उसके लिए जो संसद्-सदस्यों की समिति बनी थी उसके प्रतिवेदन के ऊपर चर्चा हो रही है। उपसभापति महोदया, अगर हमारे राष्ट्र का शिक्षण अच्छा हो तो हमारा देश आर्थिक दृष्टि से, वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से, राजनीतिक दृष्टि से, सब दृष्टियों से उन्नति के शिखर पर पहुंच सकता है और उसके अभाव में हमारा देश नीचे गिर सकता है।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.]

जो दशा हम देश की देख रहे हैं, कहीं हड़-तावे होती हैं, कहीं अनुशासनहीनता देखते हैं, वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से हम पिछड़े हुए हैं, आर्थिक दृष्टि से पिछड़े हुए हैं, इसका सारा कारण घूम-फिर कर शिक्षण पद्धति पर आता है और उस दृष्टि से सारी शिक्षा प्रणाली में आमूल परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता थी।

इसी उद्देश्य से आजादी के बाद दो आयोग पहले बने और तीसरा आयोग यह बैठा। पहले आयोग ने विश्वविद्यालयीन शिक्षण की ओर ध्यान दिया और दूसरा माध्यमिक शिक्षण की ओर ध्यान देकर रह गया, श्री कोठारी की चेयरमेनशिप में इस आयोग ने सारी

शिक्षण पद्धति पर सर्वांगीण दृष्टि से विचार किया।

उपसभापति महोदया, इस प्रतिवेदन पर मित्र-भिन्न लोगों को भिन्न-भिन्न रायें हो सकती हैं, परन्तु हमारे राष्ट्र के हित में यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हम अपनी राय में, अपने मत में लचीलापन रखें जिससे हम एक दूसरे को निभा कर चल सकें। कई बन्धु यह समझते हैं कि अगर अंग्रेजी चली जायगी तो इस देश का सर्वसाध हो जायगा, कई बन्धु यह समझते हैं कि केवल हिन्दी रह गई तो हमारे देश के कई हिस्से हो जाएंगे। अलग अलग तरह के मत रखते हुए उन पर दृढ़ रह कर हम देश की एकता को कायम रख कर चलना चाहें तो बड़ा कठिन होगा। मैं सब बन्धुओं से, सब दलों से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि अपने मत में लचीलापन रखें, हम अपने देश में एक नीति को निर्धारित करके, एक लक्ष्य सामने रख कर, एक फेज्ड प्रोग्राम बना लें और उसको प्राप्त करने का प्रयत्न करें। अंग्रेजी रहेगी तो बहुत अच्छा होगा या हिन्दी रहेगी तो बहुत बुरा होगा। यह कह कर इस देश में चलें तो कुछ करना संभव नहीं है। जब संसद्-सदस्यों की समिति बैठे तो उसमें कई बन्धुओं के कई मत थे। हमने अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी को साथ साथ रखने का एक कम्प्रोमाइज फार्मूला निर्माण किया कि हम कदम कदम आगे बढ़ें और तब आगे बढ़ें सकते हैं। मैंने असहमति पत्र इस दृष्टि से दिया कि अगर हम इस कम्प्रोमाइज फार्मूले पर चल सकें तो हमें आपत्ति नहीं होगी, मैं उसके लिए अपने मत को झुकाने के लिए तैयार हूँ, अपने सिद्धान्तों का किसी सीमा तक त्याग करने के लिए भी तैयार हूँ क्योंकि चाहता हूँ कि हमारे राष्ट्र में एक नीति चले, मगर उसके लिए अलग-अलग मत प्रगट किए जायेंगे तो मैं भी अपना मत बताने को स्वतंत्र हूँ अतः जब तक अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी को एक फुटिंग पर रखेंगे तब तक हमारे देश का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता। हिन्दी अपने देश की भाषा है, अंग्रेजी विदेश की भाषा है, अंग्रेजी और हिन्दी बराबर के पद

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया]

पर नहीं रह सकती। इसका प्रयत्न करना पड़ेगा कि अंग्रेजी यहाँ से जाय और हिन्दी उसका स्थान ग्रहण करे। देश में एक सम्पर्क-भाषा आवश्यक है, सब लोग मानते हैं कि एक सम्पर्क-भाषा होनी चाहिये। यह कहते हुए हमें लज्जा नहीं आती कि हम बाहर की भाषा को अपने देश की सम्पर्क-भाषा बनाना चाहते हैं? हमारे देश का कोई भी भाषा सम्पर्क-भाषा हो सकती है और वर्तमान में अधिक लोगों की राय यह है कि वह भाषा हिन्दी होनी चाहिये। इसके बावजूद अगर कोई लोग बहुमत में यह तय करें कि दूसरी भारतीय भाषा सम्पर्क-भाषा होनी चाहिये तो मुझे आपत्ति नहीं। देश में अगर एक सम्पर्क-भाषा नहीं हो सकती तो देश की उन्नति नहीं हो सकती। दक्षिण से केरल से आदिशंकराचार्य चले, उस समय देश की सम्पर्क-भाषा संस्कृत थी, उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान के चारों कोनों में चार पीठ कायम किए। अगर एक लिंक भाषा न होती तो ये चार पीठ कायम नहीं कर सकते थे। इस दृष्टि से यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हमारे देश में आज के समय में हिन्दी को सम्पर्क-भाषा के रूप में मान कर उसको बढ़ाने का प्रयास करें। यदि वह नहीं करते तो एक दूसरे से व्यापार में, प्रशासन में, सम्पर्क बिल्कुल असम्भव हो जायगा।

म दृष्टि से अंग्रेजी को बराबर रख कर चलना न्यायसंगत नहीं होगा और राष्ट्र के हित में नहीं होगा।

मैं कोई विदेशी भाषा के विरुद्ध नहीं हूँ। केवल अंग्रेजी ही नहीं, जर्मन, जापानी, फ्रेंच जितनी भाषाएँ सीख सकते हैं सीखें, उसकी मनाही हम नहीं करते, वह ज्ञान बढ़ाने की दृष्टि से साख सकते हैं लेकिन उसका सम्प्लेशन हो इसके में विरुद्ध हूँ। मुझे मालूम पड़े कि जर्मन में अच्छे मेकेनिक्स हैं तो मैं जर्मन भाषा सीख सकता हूँ, लाइब्रेरी लेन्गेज के रूप में आप उनको सीख सकते हैं, लेकिन कोई सम्प्लेशन नहीं हो सकता; ज्ञान बढ़ाने के

वजाय हम इसमें अपना समय नष्ट करें यह कभी भी न्यायमंगत नहीं। इसलिए यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हमारे यहाँ पर राष्ट्र में सम्पर्क-भाषा की दृष्टि से मान्य की गई हिन्दी को उसका उचित स्थान दिया जाना चाहिए। जो दक्षिण के प्रांत हैं उनको एडजस्ट करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये, लेकिन एक फेज्ड प्रोग्राम निश्चित बनाया जाना चाहिये कि अमुक स्टेज तक हमारे राष्ट्र में हिन्दी सम्पर्क-भाषा के रूप में कायम हो जायेगी। 15-20 बरस हो गये, अभी तक हम इसा उलझन में हैं कि हमारे यहाँ पर क्या हो। यह उलझन कई लोग कायम रखना चाहते हैं। हम दक्षिण वालों से प्रार्थना करेंगे कि वे किसी निर्णय पर आये कि राष्ट्र की सम्पर्क-भाषा कौन-सी होनी चाहिये और कितने वर्षों में उसको देश की सम्पर्क-भाषा के रूप में मान्यता देनी चाहिये व उसके लिये प्रतिवर्ष कितना काम हो जाना चाहिये।

जहाँ तक लिपि का सवाल है, मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि जैसे योरोपियन देशों में है कि वहाँ भाषा अलग-अलग है मगर उनकी लिपि एक है, रोमन लिपि, वैसे ही क्यों न हम अपने देश में एक लिपि को लाने का प्रयत्न करें और वह लिपि हो सकती है तो देवनागरी हो सकती है। यदि आज कन्नड या तमिल भाषा में देवनागरी लिपि में हेयर कटिंग सैलून लिखा जाय तो मैं पढ़ सकता हूँ, उनमें संस्कृत के शब्द काफी रहते हैं, लेकिन अगर तमिल और तेलगू लिपियों में लिखा जाय तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आएगा। इस दृष्टि से यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हम अपने यहाँ एक लिपि के विचार का समर्थन करें। आप महाराष्ट्र दक्षिण महाराष्ट्र में चले जाइये, वहाँ मराठी में लिखा रहता है, वह देवनागरी से मिलती-जुलती होने के कारण पढ़ने में आ सकती है और तमिल या तेलगू प्रदेश में जाते हैं तो दूसरी लिपि में होने के कारण समझ में नहीं आता। इस दृष्टि से यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हमारी एक लिपि होनी चाहिये। इस तरह से हम कदम-ब-कदम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। कई भाई

कहते हैं कि रोमन लिपि हो सकती है। रोमन लिपि में दवान (Dawat) लिख दिया तो कोई उसे दवान समझ जायेगा। वह कहता है कि मैं आपको दवान देना चाहता हूँ, पढ़ा जायेगा कि मैं आपको दवान देना चाहता हूँ। ऐसे कई झगड़े हो सकते हैं। यह गड़बड़ देवनागरी में नहीं होगी।

जहाँ तक संस्कृत का सवाल है, उपमहा-
ध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि यह शास्त्र, य भाषा है। नहों सारे देश को एक मूल में बांधने वाला भाषा है और संस्कृत भाषा का अध्ययन हिन्दी के व अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं के मर्हा ज्ञान के लिये आवश्यक है। अगर कश्मीर में चले जायें तो वहाँ भी “शांताकारम् भुजगशयनम्” आदि आदि ही कहते हैं और अगर दक्षिण में कन्याकुमारा में चले जायेंगे तो वहाँ भी “शांताकारम् भुजगशयनम्” ही बहने है, और भी कई तरह के स्वीत है जो सारे देश को, उत्तर से दक्षिण तक और पूर्व से पश्चिम तक को बांधने वाले हैं, एक मूल में बांधने वाले हैं और भिन्न-भिन्न भाषाओं की जो जननी है वह संस्कृत है। इसलिये इसको उपेक्षा नहीं की जा सकती। वैसे भी देखा जाये, अगर इंग्लैंड में कोई पढ़ने जायेगा तो अंग्रेजी पढ़ेगा लेकिन अंग्रेजी पढ़ेगा या फ्रेंच पढ़ेगा तो लैटिन और ग्रीक का पढ़ना अनिवार्य होगा क्योंकि जो मूल भाषा है, वह व्याकरण और शब्द वगैरा की दृष्टि से शुद्ध भाषा है और यदि उसका अध्ययन नहीं होता तो जो रोजमर्रा की भाषा है उसको अच्छी तरह समझ नहीं सकते, इसलिये भी अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हमारे यहाँ पर संस्कृत पर भी विशेष ध्यान दिया जाय।

जहाँ तक पाठशालाओं का सवाल है, हमारी एक सदस्या महोदया ने कहा कि पब्लिक स्कूल खत्म नहीं किये जाने चाहियें और जो नेबरहुड स्कूल है वह ठीक नहीं है और वह नेबरहुड स्कूल के पक्ष में नहीं है। इसका कारण केवल मात्र यहाँ है कि उनकी

शिकायत है कि नेबरहुड स्कूल ठीक नहीं चलते। अब ये ठीक क्यों नहीं चलते? क्या इसकी जिम्मेदारी केवल विगुण सेन पर है, इसकी जिम्मेदारी सब पर है। हम जबानी तो बात बहान करते हैं लेकिन अपने बच्चों को इन स्कूलों में रख कर यह नहीं देखते कि ये ठीक क्यों नहीं चलते हैं। उनको ठीक से चालू रखने का जिम्मेदारी हम पर भी है। यह कह दिया कि ठीक नहीं है तो क्या इसका इलाज नहीं होगा। अगर संसद के सदस्य और हमारे लोग अपने लड़कों को पब्लिक स्कूल में भेज कर उन स्कूलों को वञ्चित रखते हैं और वहाँ की कठिनाइयों को देखने नहीं जाते और फिर कहते हैं कि यह ठीक नहीं है तो कैसे होगा। अगर अपने लड़कों को भेजने लगेंगे तो सब स्कूल ठीक होंगे। सब विद्यार्थी लड़कों को चाहे वह किसी भी जाति के हों, किसी भी समाज के हों, किसी भी वर्ग के हों, किसी भी आमदनी के स्तर के हों, एक स्कूल में पढ़ायेगे तो इन स्कूलों की स्थिति ठीक होगी, अतः यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि पब्लिक स्कूल बन्द कर दिये जाने चाहियें।

जहाँ तक माइनारिटीज का सवाल है उनके लिये संविधान में प्रावधान कर रखा है कि जाति या धर्म के आधार पर या भाषा के आधार पर अगर किसी की माइनारिटी है तो अपने स्कूल चला सकते हैं मगर उनके स्कूल चलाने का यह मतलब नहीं है कि वह अपने धर्म और अपनी भाषा की शिक्षा दें और उसके साथ-साथ सारा का सारा कोर्स ही बदल दें, जैसे कि सर्टिफिकेट आफ इंडियन स्कूल की परीक्षा की बात है कि पढ़ाई सारे हिन्दुस्तान में होती है, कोर्स सारा वहाँ से आता है और स्थिति यह है कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान का नक्शा बताया तो उसमें काश्मीर का नक्शा ठीक नहीं। तो हमारे यहाँ पर शिक्षण देने की छूट दी जा सकती है, मगर वहाँ की शिक्षण पद्धति हमारे यहाँ से संबंध होनी चाहिये, वह हमारे यहाँ के बोर्ड से, हमारे यहाँ की यूनिवर्सिटी

[श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चोरडेय
मे संबद्ध होनी चाहिये, वह अपने धर्म को,
अपनी भाषा को सिखायें, जैसा हो वैसा ही
सिखाय, लेकिन उनका अकेलियेशन हमारे बोर्ड
से और यूनिवर्सिटी से होना चाहिए न कि
इंग्लैंड की यूनिवर्सिटी से या विदेशों के बोर्ड
से होना चाहिये। संविधान में इसकी छूट
नहीं है, संविधान में इसकी छूट है कि अपनी
भाषा या अपने धर्म की शिक्षा दें। साथ
ही एक और निवेदन है कि यह जरूरी नहीं
है कि किसी धर्म या किसी भाषा का वह
अध्ययन करना चाहते हैं तो वह केवल माइना-
रिटीज के लिये ही हों, माइनारिटीज को
एक संख्या में बात कर ऐसा किया मगर आज
क्या है कि उसकी आड़ में उनके पांच परसेंट
लड़के होंगे और 95 परसेंट दूसरों के लड़के
होंगे, तो इस पर भी प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जाना
चाहिये, इस परम्परा को भी बन्द करना
होगा।

अब, शिकायत यह करते हैं कि पब्लिक
स्कूल हैं इसलिये वहां अच्छे लड़के निकल
सकते हैं जो कि राष्ट्र के निर्माण का काम करेंगे
लेकिन अभी तो पब्लिक स्कूल में पढ़ने वाले
नोग वही हैं जिनके पास पैसा है और जैसा कि
अभी श्री बाके बिहारी दास ने कहा कि चाहे
वह ईडियट ही हो अगर पैसा हो तो प्रवेश पा
सकता है और इसी दृष्टि से एजुकेशन कमिशन
ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में सुझाव दिया है कि गमिशोल
स्कूल, गतिदर्शक स्कूल कायम किये जायें,
प्राइमरी स्कूल्स तो कामन स्कूल हों और वहां
पर आकर लड़के पढ़ें मगर प्राइमरी के बाद
कोई लड़का बहुत बुद्धिमान हो, चाहे वह गरीब
का हो या अमीर का हो, तो उसके लिये अच्छी
शिक्षण संस्थाएँ हों, बीच बीच में कुछ केन्द्रों में
वे कायम की जायें और वहां उनकी पढ़ाई हो,
तो इससे पब्लिक स्कूल की समस्या हल हो
सकती है और जो आज कहा जाता है कि कानवेंट
स्कूल या पब्लिक स्कूल से अच्छे छात्र निकलते
हैं वह गतिदर्शक स्कूल से निकल सकते हैं और
वह राष्ट्र के नेता बन सकते हैं। तो इस कमीशन

ने इस रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि हम भी ऐसे स्कूल
कायम करना चाहते हैं, गतिदर्शक स्कूल,
जिनमें कि आसपास के क्षेत्रों के जो बुद्धिमान
लड़के हैं उनको प्रवेश मिले। उनका खर्चा
शासन वहन करे, क्योंकि एक आदमी के पास
पैसा है तो उसको प्रवेश मिल जाय और चाहे
गरीब आदमी का बुद्धिमान लड़का ही हो
उसको प्रवेश न मिले यह समाजवाद और
सोशल वेलफेयर स्टेट के जो सारे सिद्धांत हैं
उनके अनुकूल नहीं बैठता, उसके प्रतिकूल
बैठता है, इसलिये मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस
दृष्टि से हमको विचार करना चाहिये।
संविधान के सिद्धांतों के बिल्कुल विपरीत
बात है यदि हम इस तरह के पब्लिक स्कूलों
को देश में अधिक दिन तक चलने देंगे, इसलिये
यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हम इस पर निर्णय
ले कर गरीबी और अमीरी के आधार पर या
जाति के आधार पर लड़कों का प्रवेश करने
वाली ऐसी शिक्षण संस्थाओं को समाप्त करें।

अब एक निवेदन और कर दूँ। योजनाएं
बहुत बनती हैं लेकिन योजनाएं बनती हैं
कागजों पर और किताबों में ही रह जाती
हैं इसलिये मैं यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक समझता
हूँ कि जो भी निर्णय लिया जाय उसको इम्पली-
मेंट किया जाय, यदि केवल एक त्रिगुण सेन
माहब अपने पर यह जिम्मेदारी लेते हैं तो मुझे
कोई आपत्ति नहीं है किन्तु यदि उनके सहयोग
के लिये कोई समिति की आवश्यकता हो तो
उसको बनायें या जो वर्तमान में समिति है या
उपसमिति है उसके सहयोग की आवश्यकता
हो तो उसको बनाये रखें लेकिन जो भी निर्णय
लिया जाय उसको इम्पलीमेंट करने के लिये उस
समिति पर भी जिम्मेदारी डाली जाय। अगर
ऐसा नहीं किया गया तो हमारी ये योजनाएँ,
हमारे ये डिसकशन वैसे के वैसे ही रह जाने
वाले हैं। एक और निवेदन कर दूँ कि वैसे
तो आपका नाम है त्रिगुण सेन, अर्थात् आप में
तीन गुण हैं, सतोगुण, रजोगुण, तमोगुण ये
तीनों हैं, किन्तु हमको अभी तक सतोगुण के
ही दर्शन हुए हैं, समिति में बैठ कर के हमने

देखा है कि आपने सब लोगों को एडजस्ट करने का प्रयत्न किया है, जैसे भी हो एक कम्प्रो-माइज्ड फारमूला बनाने का प्रयत्न किया, तो अगर इस मतोगुण से काम चलने वाला नहीं है तो अगर राज के डंडे की आवश्यकता है तो रजोगुण से भी आपको काम चलाना है और यदि रजोगुण के अपनाने पर भी आपको किसी तरह की कठिनाई पड़े तो फिर तमोगुण से भी पीछे नहीं हटे, जो भी निर्णय लिया जाय उसको सः माधनो को ले कर इम्पलीमेंट करे। हवा में बातें करने से काम नहीं चलेगा, इन तीनों गुणों को उपयोग में लाना पड़ेगा। जो आपने निर्णय किया है कि हमारे यहाँ पर रीजनल लेगूएज में शिक्षा हो, हमारे देश में हिन्दी भी सब लोग सीखे, हमारे देश में पब्लिक स्कूल समाप्त होकर नेबरहुड स्कूल शुरू हो, हमारे यहाँ गतिदर्शक स्कूल हो, ये सारे जो निर्णय हैं यदि ये इम्पलीमेंट नहीं हो पाये तो मैं त्रिगुण को भुला कर उसके बदले में निर्गुण कह दूँगा। आपका कोई गुण नहीं है ऐसा आरोप लगाना पड़ेगा। धन्यवाद।

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (प्रोफेसर शेर सिंह). उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सदन के माननीय सदस्यों ने जो विचार रखे हैं, जो रास्ता दिखाया है, जो दिशा दी है, उसके प्रकाश में ही नई नीति का उदय होगा और जिस प्रकार से माननीय सदस्यों ने रुचि ली है इस विषय में, शिक्षा के विषय में, उससे ऐसा लगता है कि देश का भविष्य उज्ज्वल है...

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
चन्द्रमा हो गया, चन्द्रमा हो गया।

प्रोफेसर शेर सिंह . . . शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में और जो रिपोर्ट सदन के सामने है उसके बारे में बहुत बातों की तो सभी सदस्यों ने प्रशंसा की है और यह माना है कि कोई नीति हमें राष्ट्र की शिक्षा की बनानी चाहिये।

दो एक बातों पर विचार-भेद मालूम पड़ता है, एक तो यह कि भारतीय भाषाओं को हम ऊँची शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाने चले हैं, ऊँची शिक्षा का क्योंकि नीचे की शिक्षा और माध्यमिक तक की शिक्षा में तो भारत की भाषाएँ माध्यम बन चुकी हैं। प्राथमिक शिक्षा और माध्यमिक शिक्षा, चन्द स्कूलों को छोड़कर के जिन पर अभी इतनी ले दे हो रही है बाकी सभी स्कूलों में भारतीय भाषाओं में हो चुकी है, अब ऊँची शिक्षा में भारतीय भाषाओं को माध्यम के रूप में लाये यह एक सवाल है। पहला सवाल है। कल एक माननीय सदस्य ने एक बात कही, उन के सिवाय शायद इस सदन में मुश्किल से कोई उस बात को मानेगा कि मैकाले ने जो नीति बनाई इस देश में अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से शिक्षा देने की—उन्होंने कहा कि इसको भारत की जनता ने कबूल किया था, यह मैकाले की नीति नहीं थी, भारत की जनता ने इसको कबूल किया, भारत की जनता की नीति थी। अब मैं थोड़ा सा आपको इतिहास बताऊँ कि कब से यह माग शुरू हुई इस देश में कि ऊँची से ऊँची शिक्षा भारत में भारतीय भाषाओं के माध्यम से दी जाय। यह बान कब से चली। हमारे देश में तीन बड़ी यूनिवर्सिटियाँ, विश्वविद्यालय, सन् 1857 ई० में बने, बम्बई, कलकत्ता, और मद्रास। आज से तकरीबन सौ वर्ष पहले, पहली अगस्त, 1867 को, जिस को आज हम उत्तर प्रदेश कहते हैं उसी प्रदेश से यह आवाज उठी और उन्होंने एक ज्ञापन दिया, मेमोरेण्डम दिया, वाइसराय को, जिस में यह लिखा—

“We very humbly and earnestly solicit the Government of India to establish a system of public education of the highest class in which the arts, sciences and other branches of literature may be taught through the instrumentality of the vernacular, and that an examination in the vernacular be annually held in those subjects in which

[प्रोफेसर जे. ए. सिंह]

the student is now examined in English."

यह 1867 में, आज से 100 वर्ष पहले, आवाज उठी थी। और उसका जबाब क्या दिया उस समय की अंग्रेज सरकार ने? वही जवाब जो इस सदन में बहुत सारे माननीय सदस्य इस निर्णय का विरोध करते हैं और बाहर भी जो बहुत सारे महानुभाव इस निर्णय का विरोध करते हैं कि भारतीय भाषाओं के माध्यम से उनको शिक्षा न देना। आज जो कुछ कहा जाता है वही बात 100 साल पहले भी कही गई थी और यह बात कही थी उन्होंने

"There is not enough literature in the Indian languages to use them as media of education."

आज से 100 साल पहले यह बात कही थी कि भारतीय भाषाओं में अभी उतना साहित्य नहीं है कि उन को हम माध्यम बना सके, साहित्य पहले बनाना होगा, जब साहित्य हो जाय या भाषाये सम्पन्न हो जाय, समृद्ध हो जाय उस के बाद माध्यम बन सकती है, आज नहीं माध्यम बन सकती हैं, नहीं तो सारी शिक्षा बिगड़ जायगी। यह अंग्रेज ने कहा 100 साल पहले और आज 100 साल बाद भी कितना दुर्भाग्य है इस देश का कि हम वही के वही खड़े हैं और वही सौ साल पहले की बात सुनने को मिलती है।

मैं आप को थोड़ा सा इतिहास बताने लगा था कि माग कैसे-कैसे उठी हमारे देश में अंग्रेजों के राज में। यही नहीं कि उसके बाद समाप्त हो गई, खत्म हो गई, उस के बाद भी राष्ट्र के जितने नेता थे, जितने विचारक थे सभी ने यह बात कही। हम सभी विश्व-कवि रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर को जानते हैं, सारा ससार उनको जानता है, उन्होंने भी कहा कि अगर हम विदेशी भाषाओं के जरिये, अंग्रेजी के जरिये, सारी शिक्षा दें, तो उसका अर्थ यह

होगा कि हम उच्च शिक्षा को चन्द आदमियों तक सीमित रखना चाहते हैं, जनता को उसमें हिस्सेदार नहीं बनाना चाहते हैं और राष्ट्र-पिता महात्मा गांधी ने तो साफ शब्दों में कहा, बहुत ही सुन्दर शब्द है।

"I must cling to my mother tongue as to my mother's breast in spite of its shortcomings. It alone can give me the life-giving milk." And then he said, "I am certain the children of the nation that receive instruction in a tongue other than their own commit suicide. It robs them of all originality. It stunts their growth and isolates them from their home. I, therefore, regard such a thing a national tragedy of the first importance."

यह राष्ट्रपिता के शब्द हैं। भारत आजाद होने के बाद जैसा कि आपके सामने पहले भी जिक्र हुआ एक विश्वविद्यालय शिक्षा आयोग बना, यूनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन कमिशन। डा० गंधार्वणन् जी उसके अध्यक्ष थे और उन्होंने भी अपनी जो सिफारिश की इस बारे में कि माध्यम क्या हो तो उन्होंने कहा :

"Higher education be imparted through the instrumentality of the regional language as the medium of instruction either for some subjects or for all subjects."

इसके बाद आपको मालूम है, नेशनल इन्स्टीट्यूशन काउन्सिल ने 1962 में जब अपनी रिपोर्ट पेश की, तब उन्होंने भी, इससे और आगे जाकर बड़े सुन्दर शब्दों में कहा—मैं सारा पढ़ू तो बहुत लम्बा हो जायेगा लेकिन थोड़ा सा जो आवश्यक है वह सुना देता हूँ :

"Further, India's university men will not be able to make their maximum possible contribution to the advancement of learning generally and science and technology in particular. . ."

वर्षों कि हम समझते हैं कि साइन्स और टेकनालाजी तो अंग्रेजी के द्वारा पढ़ा जा सवती

है। इतिहास कहते हैं

"... unless there is continuous means of communication in the shape of the regional language as between its masses, its artisans and technicians and its university men. The development of talent latent in the country will also, in the view of the Council, be retarded unless regional languages are employed as media of instruction at the university stage."

इन्हीं बातों पर जब यह नेशनल इन्स्टीट्यूशन काउन्सिल ने अपनी रिपोर्ट दी तो हमारे देश की यूनिवर्सिटीज के, विश्वविद्यालयों के उप-कुलपति इकट्ठा हुए और उन्होंने इस पर विचार किया और विचार करने के बाद 1962 में ही उन्होंने भी उन सफाईयों का स्वागत किया जो नेशनल इन्स्टीट्यूशन काउन्सिल ने की थी। एजुकेशन कमिशन, जिसकी रिपोर्ट पर आप चर्चा कर रहे हैं, उसने भी अपनी जो सफाईयें की, उन के बारे में उन्होंने लिखा है कि

"The change-over should take place as early as possible, in any case within about 10 years. What is required is to formulate a clear policy, to express it in unambiguous terms and to follow it up with firm, bold and imaginative action"

अब आप के सामने फिर एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर्स कांफ्रेंस, जिस में सभी राज्यों के शिक्षा मंत्री आए, अप्रैल में हुई। उन सब ने भी उस के ऊपर मोहर लगाई और दोनों मदनों के माननीय सदस्यों की जो समिति बनी, जिसकी रिपोर्ट आपके सामने आज राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति के रूप में उपस्थित है, उसने भी यही बात पेश की है बल्कि यह कहा है कि पांच साल में ही पूरा करना चाहिये। तो मैंने ...

श्री प्रकाश नारायण सप्रू (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
यूनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन कमिशन ने जो कहा है वह हायर एजुकेशन के बारे में भी कहा है, या सिर्फ यूनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन के बारे में ?

प्रोफेसर शेर सिंह : नहीं, यह हायर एजुकेशन के लिये कहा है ...

"... pointed out the steps that have already been taken by several universities to adopt Indian languages as media of education and we suggest that the U.G.C. and the universities should carefully work out a feasible programme suitable for each university or a group of universities. The change-over should take place as early as possible in any case within about ten years."

अब ये सारी चीजें सदन के सामने हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : अब स्थिति कुछ साफ हो गई है।

प्रोफेसर शेर सिंह : दुःख इस बात का है कि आज जब कि 8 अगस्त है, यानी आज से 100 वर्ष और एक सप्ताह पहले, एक सदी और एक हफ्ता ...

श्री महेश्वर नाथ कौल (नाम-निर्देशित) :
बीस वर्ष कहिये।

प्रोफेसर शेर सिंह : मैं 1867 की बात कह रहा हूँ। एक सदी और एक हफ्ता बीतने के बाद भी आज अगर हम वही बात सुने तो आश्चर्य की बात है, जो बात 1867 में कही गई कि हमारे पास पुस्तकें नहीं, साहित्य नहीं, कैसे पढ़ें, कैसे पढ़ाएँ और अगर पढ़ाएँ तो हमारा पढ़ने का स्तर गिर जायेगा, हमारे विद्यार्थी पढ़ लिख कर भी अनपढ़ हो जायेंगे। आज यह बात सुनाई देती है।

श्री महेश्वर नाथ कौल : यह कौन कहता है। सब कहते हैं, होनी चाहिये। मुखालिफ कौन है, बताइये ?

प्रोफेसर शेर सिंह : यहां कई माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा, आपने सुना नहीं। अभी एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा ऐसा लगता है यह

[प्रोफेसर शेर सिंह]

आप पास तो कर देते हैं, रिपोर्ट भी छाप देते हैं लेकिन योजनाएं सब पुस्तकों में रखी रह जाती हैं। अब उलटी बात होती है, अब पुस्तकें योजनाओं में आ जायेंगी योजनाएं पुस्तकों में नहीं रहेंगी, अब जो योजना बन रही है क्योंकि एक ही बात थी कि साहित्य उपलब्ध नहीं, साहित्य कहां से लाएं, कैसे पढ़ें।

श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी (मध्य प्रदेश):
पुस्तक में आकर ही रह जायेंगी ?

प्रोफेसर शेर सिंह : वही मैं कहने लगा हूं। मैंने यह कहा योजना पुस्तकों में नहीं रहेगी, पुस्तक योजना में आ जायेगी। तो योजना में पुस्तक कैसे आ रही है, वह आपको बताऊं। अभी 18 करोड़ ६० मंजूर किया इस काम के लिये कि भारत की सभी भाषाओं में साहित्य पैदा करें। तकरीबन 1 करोड़ ६० के करीब हर भाषा को इस काम के लिये पैसा मिलेगा, सभी स्टेट्स में जिसमें भाषाएं चलती हैं, स्टेट्स भी कुछ थोड़ा बहुत उसमें सहयोग देंगी और शायद 50 प्रतिशत या 75 प्रतिशत उसमें भारत सरकार की तरफ से होगा और उसके द्वारा सभी भारतीय भाषाओं में पुस्तकें लिखी जायेंगी।

श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी : पुस्तक योजना में आकर ही रह जायेगी अथवा कार्यान्वित भी की जायेगी ?

प्रोफेसर शेर सिंह : और यही नहीं कि केवल अनुवाद ही होगा। समाचारपत्रों में यह टिप्पणी आई है, कुछ ऐसी बातें कही जा रही है कि हम कुछ पुरानी पुस्तकों का अनुवाद करने जा रहे हैं और ऐसा लगता है कि यह देश दूसरे लोगों की सहायता लेता रहेगा और उधार लेता रहता है। इस तरह से सरकार अनुवाद कराना चाहती है और अपने आप से वह कुछ नहीं लिखवाना चाहती है। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इसके लिये योजना बनाई गई है और

देश में अलग अलग विषयों के जो अच्छे अच्छे विद्वान हैं सारे देश में किसी एक भाषा के जानने वाला कोई अच्छा विद्वान है जिस विषय पर भी कोई अच्छा विद्वान होगा, वह उस विषय पर अच्छी पुस्तक लिखेगा, मौलिक ग्रन्थ लिखेगा, किसी की नकल नहीं करेगा और न अनुवाद ही करेगा। इस तरह की बहुत सी पुस्तकें लिखने का कार्यक्रम है और इसमें विद्वानों को प्रोत्साहन दिया जायेगा। देश के किसी भी कोने में चाहे कोई विद्वान हो उससे अच्छी पुस्तक लिखवाई जायेगी। एक ही आदमी यह काम नहीं करेगा बल्कि विश्वविद्यालयों में जो अच्छे अच्छे पंडित हैं, विद्वान हैं, वे बैठेंगे और बैठ कर इस तरह की पुस्तकों को लिखेंगे। नई से नई पुस्तकें और अच्छी से अच्छी पुस्तकें जिस भाषा में मिलेंगी, चाहे अंग्रेजी भाषा में मिले, चाहे रूसी भाषा में मिले, चाहे जर्मन भाषा में मिले, जो भी अच्छी से अच्छी पुस्तक मिलेगी, उसको विश्वविद्यालय के अच्छे से अच्छे विद्वान और प्राध्यापक बैठ कर उमका चयन करेंगे। इसके बाद जो अच्छे विद्वान इस विषय के माने हुए हैं, पंडित हैं, वे पुस्तक लिखेंगे, मौलिक ग्रन्थ लिखेंगे। अगर आवश्यकता हुई तो दूसरी भाषाओं में उसका अनुवाद करेंगे क्योंकि हमें इस काम में जल्दी करनी है। समय लम्बा खिच गया है अब और समय नहीं खोना है। लेकिन हमें यह कार्य करना है और कोशिश यह करनी है कि पांच वर्ष के भीतर यह कार्य पूरा हो जाय। इस लिए यह भी जरूरी हो गया है कि कुछ विषयों में जिसमें हमारे देश में इस प्रकार के अच्छे प्राध्यापक नहीं हैं, ऐसी स्टैंडर्ड बुक नहीं है जो काम चाहिये, जिन्हें हमें भारतीय भाषाओं में बनाने की आवश्यकता है, तो उसके लिये यह आवश्यक होगा कि दूसरे देशों में इस तरह की जो अच्छी पुस्तकें किसी अच्छे विद्वान ने लिखी हों, तो हम उन पुस्तकों का अपने यहां अनुवाद करें। इस तरह से अनुवाद का काम भी होगा और पुस्तकें भी लिखी जायेंगी और इसी के लिए यह धनराशि मंजूर की गई है ताकि सभी

भाषाओं के अन्दर इस तरह की पुस्तकें लिखी जा सकें ।

इसी तरह से एक समस्या हमारे देश के सामने पुस्तकों के बनाने की भी है । हमारा एक कमीशन है वह टर्मिनीलोजी की शब्दावली तैयार करता है । साइन्स और टेक्नीकल विषयों में भी उसने की है और ग्रेजुएट लैबल तक हो चुकी हैं । उन्होंने ऐसी पुस्तकों का अनुवाद किया है जो हमें अपने कार्य के लिए जरूरी है और इस तरह की 120 पुस्तकों का अनुवाद हो चुका है । ये अच्छी पुस्तकें हैं, लेकिन कमीशन के सामने भी एक समस्या है । जब वे किसी पुस्तक का अनुवाद करने की कोशिश करते हैं जो कि किसी विदेशी लेखक की हो, तो उसके लेखक या प्रशासक के साथ पत्र व्यवहार करने में बड़ा लम्बा समय व्यतीत हो जाता है और कई बार इस बारे में कोई फैसला नहीं हो पाता है । इस तरह की दिक्कतें सामने आईं और 10 पुस्तकों के बारे में बातचीत शुरू की गई और उनके साथ पत्रव्यवहार किया और मुश्किल से चार पुस्तकों के बारे में फैसला हो पाया है । तो इस तरह की दिक्कतें थी, इस तरह की रुकावटें थी । इसलिए स्टोकहोम में इस विषय पर बर्न कन्वेंशन के संबंध में जो रिविजन हुआ था, उस में यह समस्या आई कि जो पिछड़े हुए मुल्क हैं, जिन मुल्कों का साहित्य इतना समृद्ध नहीं हो पाया है, जिनको दूसरे देशों का साहित्य लेकर अनुवाद करना पड़ता है, रिप्रोड्यूस करना पड़ता है । उन पर इस संबंध में जो पाबन्दियां हैं, उन पाबन्दियों की वजह से वे तरक्की नहीं कर सकते हैं, तो इसके लिए क्या किया जाय । भारत की तरफ से यह सुझाव आया कि कोई ऐसा प्रोटोकॉल बनाया जाना चाहिये जिस के द्वारा पिछड़े हुए राष्ट्रों को सहायता मिले या आराम मिले कि वे अगर किसी पुस्तक का अनुवाद करना चाहें, उसको रिप्रोड्यूस करना चाहें, अनुवाद करना चाहें या और किसी प्रकार उसका उपयोग करना

चाहें, तो इस तरह की पुस्तकों का वे अनुवाद आदि कर सकते हैं जो कि उन्हें अच्छी लगे । अभी तक तो जो लेखक अपनी पुस्तक का अनुवाद करने तथा उसका उपयोग करने की इजाजत देने में मनमानी करता था जिससे पिछड़े हुए राष्ट्रों को बड़ी कठिनाई का सामना करना पड़ता था । विदेशी लेखकों को उनकी किताबों के उपयोग के लिए पहले मुआवजा विदेशी मुद्रा में देना पड़ता था, मगर अब यह तय हुआ कि उन्हें विदेशी मुद्रा में नहीं दिया जायेगा, अपनी देश की मुद्रा में यानी रुपये में दिया जा सकेगा ।

इस तरह की जो हमारे सामने समस्या थी और भारत ने वहां पर जो प्रस्ताव रखा, उसके लिए पिछड़े हुए राष्ट्रों ने अपना पूरा सहयोग दिया । इस तरह से भारत तथा सभी पिछड़े हुए राष्ट्रों ने मिलकर एक शक्ति बनाई और उस शक्ति का प्रभाव यह हुआ कि जो पिछड़े हुए राष्ट्र चाहते थे कि उनको सुविधा मिले, आराम मिले, उसमें उनको सफलता मिल गई । वहां पर इस मुझाव पर विरोध भी बड़ा हुआ और इंग्लैंड के अन्दर अब भी जो प्रकाशक हैं वे इस का विरोध कर रहे हैं और वे समझते हैं कि इससे उन्हें एक करोड़ पौंड का नुकसान होगा और विदेशी मुद्रा का नुकसान होगा और जो निश्चय हुआ है उसके कारण हमें विदेशी मुद्रा नहीं मिल सकेगी । लेकिन यह जो निश्चय हुआ उससे हमारे सामने जो रुकावटें थीं, हमारे रास्ते में जो रुकावटें थीं, इस कानून के पास हो जाने से, इसके कबूल हो जाने से, सभी राष्ट्रों ने इस दस्तावेज को माना, इंग्लैंड वालों ने भी माना और उस तरह से पिछड़े हुए राष्ट्रों के रास्ते में जो रुकावट थी वह खुल गई । इस तरह से हमारे रास्ते में जो रुकावट थी वह काफी हद तक दूर हो गई । इस रुकावट के हटने पर अब हमारी योजनाएं पुस्तकों में नहीं रहेगी, जैसा मैंने अभी कहा कि अब पुस्तक योजना में आ जायेगी और इस तरह से पांच, दस हजार पुस्तकें इस योजना के अन्तर्गत आ जायेंगी अनुवाद के

[प्रो० शेर सिंह]

रूप में और भौतिक ग्रन्थों के रूप में। इसके बाद इन पुस्तकों द्वारा जो इस तरह का साहित्य निकाला जायेगा उसके द्वारा भारतीय भाषाओं के माध्यम से हम सभी विश्वविद्यालयों में ऊँची से ऊँची शिक्षा दे पायेंगे।

मैं मदन का ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ, केवल भाषा के सबंध में इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ जो तीन लैंग्वेज का फार्मूला है, उसके सबंध में इस समय काफी विवाद हो रहा है। मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह निर्णय इस मदन के सदस्यों को करना है अभी इस सबंध में कोई अंतिम निर्णय नहीं हुआ है। जो रिपोर्ट आपके सामने है वह भी अंतिम निर्णय नहीं है। जब मदन के सदस्य इस पर अच्छी तरह से अपना विचार प्रकट कर लेंगे तब ही इसी फैमले पर पहुँचा जा सकता है। आखिर सरकार को कोई फैमला करना ही है और वह फैमला तब ही हो सकता है जब मदन के सदस्य इस संबंध में अपने विचार प्रकट कर लेंगे और उसके बाद जिस फार्मूले का उद्घरण होगा, वही देश की नीति होगी।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं माननीय सदस्यों को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ जिन्होंने इस संबंध में अपने सुझाव मदन के सम्मुख दिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : श्री राजनारायण जी।

श्री राजनारायण : धन्यवाद . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : श्री राजनारायण जी, मैं आपको पीछे दिक्कत न हो, यह बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि आपको 20 मिनट का समय मिला है।

श्री राजनारायण : अगर आप ऐसा कहते हैं तो हम बोलेंगे नहीं। आपकी जगह पर जो बैठते थे वे भी काफी अन्याय करते थे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : मैंने बतला दिया है कि इतना समय आपको दिया गया है। अगर मैं बीच में कहता कि 20 मिनट हो गये, तो भी आपको मालूम हो जाता। लेकिन मैंने शुरू में ही कह दिया ताकि आपको समय का ख्याल रहे।

श्री राजनारायण : आपन बड़ा कृपा की और मैं इसके लिए बहुत आभारी हूँ। इसी तरह से अगर आप और सम्मानित सदस्य को और माननीय मंत्री श्री शेर सिंह जी को भी बतला देते तो अच्छा होता।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : डॉ० का भा बतला दिया था।

श्री राजनारायण : पहले नहीं बतलाया। लिख कर मकदूरी न बतलाया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : सेक्रेटरी न रहा लिखा, यह ख्याल आपका गलत है।

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN (Nominated): May I ask how long do we sit today?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Up to 5.30 P.M.

श्री राजनारायण : आमतौर पर भाषा और विषय, यह जो स्पष्ट है समझें सदस्यों की, यह भाषा और विषय दोनों में मशगूल है। क्या भाषा होनी चाहिये, क्या विषय होना चाहिये और उनी के साथ साथ उद्देश्य भी लिखा हुआ है कि हमारा क्या उद्देश्य होना चाहिये। इन ताना पर जो ससदाय समिति को स्पष्ट सामने आई और उन सदस्यों में हमने गंगा बाबू का नाम देखा, कुछ और लोगों का नाम देखा, तो मैं बहुत ही आश्चर्यचकित रह गया कि क्या सही न इन कमेटी की स्पष्ट लिखने समय यह वहाँ बैठे थे सशरीर या नहीं।

यह जो स्पष्ट है यह 1950 से भी पीछे चली गई है। 1950 में हमारा सविधान बना

है। उसमें लिखा हुआ है अनुच्छेद 45 में :

“राज्य, इस संविधान के प्रारम्भ से दस वर्ष की कालावधि के भीतर सब बालकों को चौदह वर्ष की अवस्था समाप्ति तक निःशुल्क और अनिवार्य शिक्षा देने के लिये उपबन्ध करने का प्रयास करेगा।”

यानी 1950 में हमने एक प्रतिज्ञा की है कि 14 वर्ष की अवस्था तक के सभी बच्चों को निःशुल्क और अनिवार्य शिक्षा देगे। अब जरा यह जो रपट है सदस्यों की शिक्षा संबंधी, इसका खंड 20 पढ़ा जाय। यह खंड 20 कहता है :

“निःशुल्क और अनिवार्य आधार पर अच्छी और प्रभावकारी प्राथमिक शिक्षा प्रजातंत्र और राष्ट्रीय विकास की बुनियाद है। इसे सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता दी जानी चाहिए। और यह दो अवस्थाओं में लागू की जानी चाहिए। पहली अवस्था में समस्त बच्चों को ग्यारह साल की उम्र होने तक शिक्षा दी जानी चाहिए और दूसरी अवस्था में यह आयु सोमा चौदह वर्ष तक बढ़ा दी जानी चाहिए।”

यानी जिस बात का 1950 में हमारे संविधान ने राज्य को एक निर्देशन किया, उस बात को उससे छड़ित कर के यह संसदीय समिति अपनी रपट पेश कर रही है। तो संविधान की मंशा जो थी, उस मंशा को इस सरकार ने पूरा नहीं किया। इस संबंध में संसदीय समिति के सदस्यों को कुछ कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं थी।

अगर 345 से 351 तक हम संविधान के अनुच्छेदों को देखेंगे, तो अनुच्छेद 351 बहुत ही स्पष्ट है। यह जो रपट है, यह उससे बहुत पीछे है। यानी संविधान के अनुच्छेद की जो मंशा है, जो भाषा है, उससे लाखों करोड़ों कोस पीछे यह संसद् सदस्यों की रपट है :

“351. हिन्दी भाषा की प्रसार-वृद्धि करना, उस का विकास करना ताकि वह 949 RSD—7.

भारत की सामाजिक संस्कृति के सब तत्वों की अभिव्यक्ति का माध्यम हो सके, तथा उस की आत्मीयता में हस्तक्षेप किये बिना हिन्दुस्थानी और अष्टम अनुसूची में उल्लिखित अन्य भारतीय भाषाओं के रूप, शैली और पदावली को आत्ममात करते हुए तथा जहां आवश्यक या वाछनीय हो वहां उस के शब्द भंडार के लिये मुख्यतः संस्कृत से तथा गणतः वैसी उल्लिखित भाषाओं से शब्द ग्रहण करते हुए उस का समृद्धि सुनिश्चित करना संघ का कर्तव्य होगा।”

जिस संविधान ने सब के कर्तव्य को अंकित किया है, उस संविधान में जो कर्तव्य दिया है उसके मुताबिक सरकार को चलना चाहिये था। आज उससे वही पीछे यह रपट है। जरा इसको सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य देखें।

हम नाम लम्बे-लम्बे शब्दों के लेते हैं जैसे भारतीय स्वातंत्र्य संग्राम, राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी और इधर उधर से न मालूम कितने नाम लेते हैं। तो पहले अपनी कुछ सम्मतियों को रख कर के, फिर अपने मूल भाषण पर आऊंगा और अगर आप समय नहीं देंगे तो मैं बैठ जाऊंगा। मैं इस सम्बन्ध में गांधी जी की आत्म कथा से कुछ सत्यों को पढ़ देना चाहूंगा। यह गांधी जी का वाक्य है :

“मैंने शुरू से ही यह माना है कि जो हिन्दुस्तानी माता पिता अपने बालकों को बचपन से अंग्रेजी पढ़ना और बोलना सिखा देते हैं, वे उनका और देश का द्रोह करते हैं।”

अब मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि यह संसद् सदस्यों की शिक्षा संबंधी जो रपट है, यह गांधी जी के शब्दों में देशद्रोह का पाठ हमें पढ़ायेगी या नहीं और यह संसद् सदस्यों की रपट खुद देश-द्रोहिता से परिपूर्ण है कि नहीं ? मैं कहूंगा कि शुद्धतः परिपूर्ण है।

श्रीमन्, गांधी जी को लार्ड चेम्सफोर्ड

[श्री राजनारायण]

ने बुलाया था। मैं उनका अंतिम वाक्य पढ़ देता हूँ :

“अंत में सभा में हाज़िर हुआ, हिन्दुस्तानी में बोला। अपने ही देश में देश संबंधी सभा में देशी भाषा का बहिष्कार दुख की बात है।”

गांधी जी को जब रंगस्टों की भरती हो रही थी लार्ड चेम्सफोर्ड ने बुलाया था और उस समय बड़े-बड़े फौजी कमांडर बड़े-बड़े राजा थे दिल्ली में, उस पर गांधी जी ने कहा था कि मैं उसमें तभी आऊंगा जब कि मुझ को अपनी भाषा बोलने का अधिकार होगा। पहले उस पर लोगों ने प्रोटैस्ट किया, मगर गांधी गांधी था, जिस बात को सही समझता था, उस पर आखड़ होता था और वह आखड़ हो गया और आखड़ जब हो गया, तो चेम्सफोर्ड को लिखना पड़ा कि नहीं, आप आइये और अपनी भाषा में बोलिये और तब गांधी वहा गया।

मैं गांधी जी के कुछ वाक्य और सुना देना चाहूंगा। गांधी जी ने कहा है कि :

“जब तक इस राज्य की भाषा, राजभाषा अंग्रेजी रहेगी तब तक मैं भारत को मुकम्मल आजाद नहीं मानूंगा। अगर मैं तानाशाह होता तो अंग्रेजी को हटा देता।” ये सब गांधी जी के वाक्य हैं।

श्रीमन्, 1958 में “अंग्रेजी हटाओ” एक सप्ताह हम लोग मना रहे थे। डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया उस अंग्रेजी हटाओ सप्ताह के मनाने के निर्देशक थे। श्री पुरुषोत्तम दास टंडन जी को यहां याद बिना किये नहीं रहूंगा। पुरुषोत्तम दास जी टंडन के यहां हम लोग गये। श्री मोहन लाल जी गौतम उस समय हमारे यहां उप मंत्री थे और उनके यहां वे ठहरे हुये थे। टंडन जी का दम फूल रहा था। उन्होंने कहा कि हम से क्या लिखवाओगे। श्री आत्मा राम गोविन्द खेर, जो हमारे अध्यक्ष थे विधान

सभा के, और श्री मोहन लाल जी गौतम कहने लगे बाब जी, आप इनके चक्कर में मत पड़ें, आप कुछ मत लिखो सन्देश। तब वे बैठ गये और लोगों से कहा कि तकिया लाओ। और बैठ कर के उन्होंने कहा कि डा० लोहिया ने अंग्रेजी हटाने का जो आन्दोलन शुरू किया है, मैं उससे पूर्णतया सहमत हूँ।

त्रिगुण सेन जी, बैठिये। अच्छा उधर बैठ रहे हैं। ठीक है, ध्यान से बैठिये।

शिक्षा मंत्री (डा० त्रिगुण सेन) : ध्यान से बोलेंगे तो सुनेंगे।

श्री राजनारायण : आप ऐसा मत करिये। आप का सतोगुण, रजोगुण, तमोगुण, तीन गुणों का विभूषण बना दिया चौरङ्गिया जी ने। हमें तान अवगुण बनाने पड़े क्योंकि चन्द्रमा का नाम आ गया था। चन्द्रमा के वर्णन में कहा गया है :

“खिन्न, मलीन, विष, मैया अवगुण तीन,
यह कहि चन्द्रबदनिया . .”

तो कही चन्द्रमा की तरह आप तीन अवगुणों से परिपूर्ण न हो जायें।

अब मैं दूसरा वाक्य श्री टंडन जी को सुनाना चाहता हूँ। जितना रोकते गये श्री आत्मा राम गोविन्द खेर और श्री मोहन लाल गौतम उतना ही वे दृढ़ होते गये और अंत में उन्होंने यह लिखा :

“आज जो लोग भारतवर्ष में अंग्रेजी कायम रखने के पक्षपाती हैं, मुझे यकीन है कि वे एक न एक दिन भारत में अंग्रेजों को बुला कर रहेंगे।”

यही श्री पुरुषोत्तम दास जी टंडन के सन्देश का आखिरी वाक्य है।

तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और बहुत ही अदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि क्या अपने राष्ट्रीय स्वातंत्र्य संग्राम से सना हुआ सेनानी

जो यहां पर बैठा है, वह संसद् सदस्यों की समिति में बैठ कर के अंग्रेजी को निरन्तर सालों तक चलने देने की रपट हमारे सामने पेश कर दे और उस पर बैठ कर के हम गौर करें, विचार करें। श्रीमन्, हम कुछ सम्मति देना चाहते हैं यहां पर। बहुत से लोग अंग्रेजी के बारे में बहुत सी बातें कह गये हैं कि इस समय हिन्दी लादना, अंग्रेजी हटाना, ईमानदारी के साथ जरा हम बैठ कर के अपने देश की स्थिति का अध्ययन करें।

जय

मैं दक्षिण में गया हूं, मद्रास गया हूं, मद्रास में "अंग्रेजी हटाओ सम्मेलन" था आल-इंडिया। वहां के एक नेता हैं शिवज्ञान ग्रामणी तमिल अरसु कजगम के, उन्होंने उसका उद्घाटन किया। शिवज्ञान ग्रामणी का कहना था कि आज मद्रास में जो लोग हिन्दी के विरोधी हैं मैं उनको डके की चोट पर कहना चाहता हू कि जरा तमिल प्रदेश के देहात में जाकर अंग्रेजी में भाषण दे तो लें। वे अंग्रेजी के पक्षपाती ही कैसे सकते हैं? आज जनगणना करा ली जाय, मद्रास की भी करा ली जाय, केरल की करा ली जाय, देश के सब हिस्सों की करा ली जाय। क्या वहां अंग्रेजी बोलने वालों की संख्या ज्यादा है? मैं जानना चाहता हूं संसद्-सदस्यों की समिति में जो लोग रहे हैं उनसे कि क्या वे लोकशाही पसन्द करते हैं। अगर वे लोकतंत्र को पसन्द करते हैं तो क्या लोकतंत्र के लिए लोकभाषा की अनिवार्यता है या नहीं? अगर लोकतंत्र के लिए लोकभाषा की अनिवार्यता नहीं है तो हमको बहुत ही खूबी के साथ कहना चाहिए कि हमारा लोकतंत्र यकीन नहीं है। लोकतंत्र बिना लोकभाषा के चल ही नहीं सकता। इसलिए मैं इसका पक्षपाती हूं कि पलक मारने में भी जितनी देर लगती है उतनी देर भी न लगा कर अंग्रेजी को राष्ट्र के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र से हटा दिया जाना चाहिए।

मैं सफाई से कहना चाहता हू कि मैं हिन्दी लादने का पक्षपाती नहीं हूं। मैं हिन्दी का

उतना ही पक्षपाती हूं जितना तामिल का हूं, जितना उड़िया का हूं, जितना बंगला का हूं, जितना मराठी का हूं, मगर मैं अंग्रेजी का विरोधी हूं। जितनी मुहब्बत हमको उर्दू से है, हिन्दी से है, उतनी ही तमिल से है, तेलूगू से है, हम उनमें बड़ी और छोटी बहिन का रिश्ता मानते हैं। हिन्दी, उर्दू में कोई विरोध नहीं है, हिन्दी अगर बड़ी बहिन है तो उर्दू छोटी बहिन है। जो आज उर्दू का विरोध करते हैं, तमिल या तेलूगू का विरोध करते हैं, सही माने में मैं उनको राष्ट्रीय नहीं मानता हूं, मैं उनको अराष्ट्रीय तत्व मानता हूं। अगर विरोध करना है तो शुद्ध रूप से अंग्रेजी का विरोध करो। मैं अपने मित्र से सहमत हूं कि अंग्रेजी के लिए हमें कोई धृणा नहीं है, मगर अंग्रेजी किसके लिए? अंग्रेजों के लिए, अंग्रेज अंग्रेजी पढ़ें, जरूर पढ़ेंगे, हम उनसे धृणा नहीं करते, मगर यह कहा जाय कि अंग्रेजी भारतवर्ष के राज-काज की भाषा बनी रहे, शिक्षा का माध्यम बनी रहे अनन्त काल तक तो हम कहना चाहेंगे कि जो शिक्षा-शास्त्री हैं, शिक्षा-विज्ञान-वादी हैं वे सही माने में शुद्ध शिक्षा देना पसन्द नहीं करते। श्रीमन्, मैं एक रपट का थोड़ा सा हिस्सा पढ़ूंगा—यह लैंग्वेज लाइब्ररी 1963 की 'इंगलिश डाइलेक्ट्स' वाई० जी० एल० क्रिपू से है :

"The replacement of English by Hindi is proving a slower process than was expected but it is less true today than it was 50 years ago to say that a knowledge of English is essential for advancement in India."

बहुत ही सफाई के साथ दिखाया गया है कि एक अंग्रेज क्या कहता है—यानी 'भारतवर्ष के ज्ञान के विकास के लिए अंग्रेजी जरूरी है' जो लोग यह समझते हैं वे वस्तुस्थिति का सही माने में अंकन नहीं करते। फिर आगे देखा जाय।

"Normally in the British Universities of India English tends to be bookish and not sufficiently in touch with the living English of today."

[श्री राजनारायण]

कहते हैं कि जो भारतवर्ष में अंग्रेजी है वह बुकिश है और आज जो लिविंग अंग्रेजी है उससे दूर है, कोसों दूर है, ये जो भारत के अंग्रेजी के जानकार लाग हैं, ये बाबू अंग्रेजी जानते हैं, 'बाबू-अंग्रेजी' शब्द का इन्होंने इस्तेमाल किया है —

"Indians have a good deal of difficulty in distinguishing between one level of English and another and many of the examples of what has come to be called Babu English . . ."

आज भारत के लोग जो अपने को अंग्रेजीदां कहते हैं वे केवल बाबू-अंग्रेजी जानते हैं, जो अंग्रेजी की आत्मा है, सार है उसको छू तक नहीं पाते और घमण्ड करते हैं कि हम अंग्रेजी बहुत जानते हैं। इसी के साथ उसने कहा है कि कवित्वपूर्ण, साहित्यिक देशी भाषा के माध्यम से ही सही माने में हृदय-तंत्री खिलती है।

एक बात और बता दूँ जो इसने कही है। उसने कहा है कि ब्रिटेन में जो लोग लेटिन पढ़ते हैं वे सिसरो की लेटिन से उतने ही दूर हैं जितना भारतवर्ष में जो अंग्रेजी पढ़ते हैं वह लिविंग अंग्रेजी से दूर हैं। वे प्रयत्नशील रहते हैं कि विक्टोरिया के जमाने की अंग्रेजी सीखें, शेक्सपियर की अंग्रेजी सीखें, आज की लिविंग अंग्रेजी से दूर हैं। भारतवर्ष में बुकिश इंगलिश बाबू लोग पढ़ते हैं और अपने को कहते हैं कि हम भाषा के बहुत बड़े जानकार हैं।

एक उदाहरण और देना चाहता हूँ। कहा जाता है कि भाषा का बड़ा भारी द्वन्द है। भाषा का द्वन्द कुछ है नहीं, यह खड़ा किया गया है। ओमन्, मैं बंगलौर गया हुआ था। बंगलौर में कारपोरेशन है। बंगलौर कारपोरेशन में तीन आदमियों की एक उपसमिति बनाई गई जिसमें एक सोशलिस्ट था, दो कांग्रेसी थे। तीनों की सब-कमेटी ने यूनेस्को रपट पेश की कि अंग्रेजी को फौरन

हटा दिया जाना चाहिए। उसने यहां तक लिखा है कि माइनबोर्ड अंग्रेजी के तमाम मिटा दिए जाने चाहिए और बड़े-बड़े मोटे अक्षरों में कन्नड़ हो और उसके नीचे हिन्दी लिखी रहे—यह रपट है। मगर मैं क्या कहूँ, कहां राज छिपा है। जब बंगलौर कारपोरेशन की सब-कमेटी की वह यूनेस्को रपट आई तो श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने यहां से तार खटखटाया, उस रपट को छपने तक नहीं दिया, उस रपट को प्रकाशित तक नहीं होने दिया और सोचा गया कि अगर यह रपट आ जायेगी तो चन्द भाष्य-विघाताओं ने अंग्रेजी को कायम रखने के लिए अंग्रेजी के साथ जो समझौता किया हुआ है—गोपनीय हो या प्रगट—वह कैसे पूरा होगा। एक इतिहास लिखा जा रहा है विल्सन के आदेश पर भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम का, उसमें देख लिया जायगा, शायद कहीं न कहीं किसी पन्ने पर आ जाय कि भारत छोड़ते समय जिन लोगों ने समझौता किया था उनसे भारत में अंग्रेजी भाषा को बराबर कायम रखने का अंग्रेजी ने कोई न कोई शर्तनामा करा लिया था, यह चीज कहीं न कहीं आयेगी, सत्य होगी।

मैं एक तथ्य और कहना चाहूंगा कि जरा अंग्रेजों को देखें कि वे अपनी अंग्रेजी के लिए क्या करते हैं —

"Though no direct references in books on the History of England in the Library to the fact of the English people having been punished for using the French language or for not using English for specific purposes could be located reference to the English language being ordered by King Edward III to be used in the law courts have been traced and the relevant extract is appended."

उस समय झगड़ा यह चल गया था ग्रेट ब्रिटेन में कि फ्रेंच लैंग्वेज की पढ़ाई होनी चाहिए या नहीं। उस समय जो किंग एडवर्ड थर्ड था उसने कहा कि हरगिज नहीं, फ्रेंच

नहीं पढ़ाई जाएगी इंग्लैंड में। तो लोगों ने कहा कि कोई आदेश होना चाहिए। यद्यपि आदेश नहीं हुआ, मगर बाद में ला कोर्टस के ऐसे रिफरेंसेस मिलते हैं जिनमें फ्रेंच का पढ़ना अपराध माना गया, जिन लोगों ने फ्रेंच पढ़ा उनको सजा दी गई, इतना तक इसे क्रिमिनल बनाया तब जाकर अंग्रेजी ने अपने यहां अंग्रेजी को प्रतिष्ठित किया, अंग्रेजी भाषा पढ़ो। यह एक्सट्रेक्ट हमारे पास है। ज्यादा समय आप नहीं देंगे, जो जानकार पढ़ना चाहे, पढ़ें। इलाहाबाद हाईकोर्ट का मैं जानता हूं। हमारे जज, सपू, अपने चीफ जस्टिस मूथम को, जो अंग्रेज था, जानते होंगे। जब मूथम की विदाई हुंने लगी, उस समय तमाम एड-वोकेट्स का एक सभा हुई, उसमें मूथम ने कहा कि मैं आश्चर्य चकित हूं कि भारत-वर्ष में अंग्रेजी राज का खात्मा हो गया फिर न्यायालयों में हाई कोर्टों में अंग्रेजी क्यों चले। यह उसका भाषण था।

श्री महेश्वर नाथ कौल : जाते समय का? तो जिसको अंग्रेज निन्दनीय समझते हैं वही यहां किया। लार्ड मैकाले ने मकड़-जाल फैलाया और श्रीमान्, हमको अफसोस है कि गंगा बाबू हमारे सहायक नहीं हो रहे हैं कि लार्ड मैकाले का मकड़-जाल हम तोड़ें, हम समझते हैं कि गंगा बाबू हमारे सहायक बनेंगे, वह हमारे अगुआ थे, हमारे लीडर थे, किन्तु इनके करकमलों से ऐसी रिपोर्ट आ गई तब तो मैं आश्चर्य चकित हूं।

5 P.M.

अब मैं, श्रीमान् थोड़े से और तथ्यों को रखू दुनिया के और और मुल्को के।

शिक्षा मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री भागवत झा आजाद) : जोशी जी भी शामिल थे, श्री एस० एम० जोशी।

श्री राजनारायण : जब मैं गंगा बाबू कहता हूं तो उसमें जोशी जी आ गये, ये लोग एक ही स्तर के नेता रहे हैं, हां यह सही है कि

गंगा बाबू इस समय राजनीति से थोड़ा पार्टी लाइन पर अलग हैं।

श्रीमान्, मैं यहां पर जापान का एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। जापान से 1860 के आसपास कुछ जापानी बच्चे, इंग्लैंड, जर्मनी और अमेरिका में पढ़ने के लिये भेजे गये, साइंस का ज्ञान लेने के लिये भेजे गये, जब वे ज्ञान ले कर पांच या दस वर्ष के बाद अपने देश में लौटते हैं तो उसी भाषा में काम करना शुरू किया। इस पर वहां कैबिनेट की बैठकें हुई हैं, आठ घंटे तक कैबिनेट की बैठक चली है जापान में और अन्त में उन्होंने कहा है कि अगर तुमको कहीं कोई शब्द जापानी भाषा में नहीं मिलता हो तो जिस किसी भाषा में सीख कर आये हो उसीको जापानी में लिख दो मगर अंग्रेजी नहीं चल सकती, दूसरे देश की भाषा नहीं चलेगी। वहां के बच्चों को पढ़ाने के लिये जापानी भाषा का इस्तेमाल सरकार ने अनिवार्य किया। मैं जानना चाहता हूं, श्रीमान् इस रिपोर्ट पर बोलने के लिये थोड़ा सा समय आप बढ़ा देंगे तो बड़ी कृपा होगी, अनुग्रहीत होऊंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : समय तो दो मिनट आपका बढ़ गया।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान्, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि झगड़ा है क्या? यह झगड़ा शुद्धतः उन लोगों ने खड़ा किया है जो कि अंग्रेजी सभ्यता में पले हैं। मैं बहुत दूर नहीं जाना चाहूंगा, मैं अपने मित्रों से कहूंगा कि लार्ड मैकाले के समय में भारत में अंग्रेजी को इंट्रोड्यूस करने के लिये पार्लियामेंट में जो बहस हुई है उसका भी अध्ययन कर लें। अंग्रेज कहते हैं कि जब तक भारत में अंग्रेजी इंट्रोड्यूस नहीं होगी तब तक वहां अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद की जड़े मजबूत नहीं होंगी। तो यह बिल्कुल मानी हुई बात है। तो भाषा का सम्बन्ध किस से है? यह मैं अन्य लोगों से नहीं

[श्री राजनारायण]

गंगा बाबू से ही जानना चाहता हूँ, और लोग क्या रिप्लाय देंगे, रपट तो आई गंगा बाबू की मिनिस्टर के रिप्लाय से हमको क्या मतलब ।

श्री भागवत झा आजाब : यह रपट गंगा बाबू की है ?

श्री राजनारायण : भाषा का सवाल आज है । आत्मसाक्षात्कार के साथ आत्मालब्धि के साथ भाषा का प्रश्न जुड़ा हुआ है । श्रीमान विचार यानी बुद्धि और विषय की अनुभूति यानी मन, बुद्धि और मन से सम्बद्ध है भाषा तो हमारी बुद्धि हमारा मनहृदयतंत्री को किस भाषा में खिलायेगी, उसी भाषा में हृदयतंत्री खिलेगी जिस भाषा को हमने मातृभाषा के रूप में स्वीकार किया है, मातृभाषा के रूप में जाना है । तो बुद्धि और मन इन दोनों में जो भावना प्रकट होती है उसी को तो हम भाषा के माध्यम से निकालते हैं । किस भाषा के माध्यम से ? आज हमको यह गंगा बाबू और हमारे वह लोग जो कि भारतवर्ष में अनन्तकाल तक अंग्रेजी को हिन्दी के साथ साथ पढ़ाई का माध्यम बनाये रखने की बात करते हैं बतायें । मैं अब के साथ इस रपट के बहुत से अंशों को आपके सामने रखना चाहूँगा पूरी रपट पढ़ ली जाय हिन्दी में भी है, समय थोड़ा है . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : समय हो चुका है ।

श्री राजनारायण : संसद् सदस्यों की समिति ने जो रपोर्ट दी है वह क्या है ? शिक्षा प्रणाली के कार्याकल्प की बात सिद्धांत रूप में लिख दी, यह जरूर लिख दिया कि कार्याकल्प होना चाहिये मगर कार्याकल्प के लिये एक भी ठोस सुझाव इसमें नहीं है । बहुत बेहूदी के साथ कहा जा रहा है कि राष्ट्रीय एकता को मजबूत करना है । राष्ट्रीय एकता को मजबूत करने

की बात यहां पर कही गई यह बिल्कुल फिजूल है, राष्ट्रीय एकता राष्ट्रीय एकता की रट लगाने से राष्ट्रीय एकता नहीं होगी । अंग्रेज यहां पर थे तो, अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद को हटाने के लिये जो राष्ट्रीय एकता थी स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त होने के बाद वह राष्ट्रीय एकता मरी क्यों ? कारण ढूंढा जाना चाहिये । तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक संघर्ष अपरिग्रह और भोग, तीनों के माध्यम से शिक्षा की आत्मसाक्षात्कार की और आत्मज्ञान की व्यवस्था नहीं कर पायेंगे तब तक राष्ट्रीय एकता नहीं होगी, हमको आज संघर्ष और अपरिग्रह और भोग इन तीनों को साथ साथ पिरो करके भाषा के माध्यम से अपने बच्चों के पढ़ाने की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये ।

कहा गया है कि समानता लानी चाहिये, विषमता मिटा देनी चाहिये और इसके लिये सुझाव इसमें दिया गया है कि पढ़ाई स्कूल हों । यह पढ़ाई स्कूल शब्द कैसे आ गया ? हम इसके पक्षपाती हैं कि सब लोग एक ही तरह के स्कूल में पढ़ें, स्कूल नजदीक से नजदीक हों अपने घर से पैदल चलते हुये बच्चों के साथ बात करते करते बच्चा चला जाय, मगर हमें डर है कि कहीं पढ़ाई स्कूल का विकल्प फैंसी स्कूल और पब्लिक स्कूल को कायम रखने के लिये तो नहीं किया गया है । तो हमको पढ़ाई स्कूल के लाग में लपेट के फैंसी स्कूल और पब्लिक स्कूल के बराबर कायम रखने की बात नहीं करनी चाहिये । पढ़ाई स्कूल को गंगा बाबू और समित के सदस्य खोलें, कोई बात नहीं वह पसन्द करते हैं तो ठीक है, मगर यह कहना चाहना हूँ कि फैंसी स्कूल और पब्लिक स्कूल को खत्म किया जाना चाहिये । इसमें एक लैकुना है मन में यह आता है श्रीमान . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : श्रीमान अब भाषण भी समाप्त किया जाय ।

श्री राजनारायण :

जैसे कि यहां दिल्ली में कोई सब्जी मंडी है, सब्जी मंडी के इलाके में अगर कुछ मंत्रिगण ज्यादा पैसा लगाकर कुछ पड़ोसी स्कूल खोल दें और अपने बच्चों को पढ़ाने लें तो फिर इसका कोई प्रतिबन्ध नहीं है, यह कहीं नहीं लिखा है कि पड़ोसी स्कूल में एक तरीके की शिक्षा एक ढंग की व्यवस्था होगी। तो विषमता मिटनी चाहिये, असमानता दूर होनी चाहिये, कैसे होगा, कैसे अमीर के बच्चे और गरीब के बच्चे दोनों में सामूहिक जीवन विकसित होगा, विचार विनिमय होगा, अगर यह नहीं लिखा गया कि पड़ोसी स्कूल एक ही ढंग के रहेंगे, एक ही समान रहेंगे और पड़ोसी स्कूल में किसी प्रकार डिस्टिक्शन नहीं होगा, खर्च का डिस्टिक्शन नहीं होगा, रहन-सहन का डिस्टिक्शन नहीं होगा, अध्यापकों का डिस्टिक्शन नहीं होगा, तनख्वाहों का डिस्टिक्शन नहीं होगा। यह शुद्ध साफ ठोस भाषा इसमें नहीं है। इसी के साथ साथ इसमें बहुत से विषय हैं। इतना ही निवेदन करना है कि 10 मिनट केवल बोल लेने से काम चलने वाला नहीं है; अगर आप समय देने तो माननीय मंत्री जी की खिदमत में दिल्ली विश्व-विद्यालय में आज जो तमाम खुराफात हो रहा है उसको रखता, उस खुराफात को आपकी आज्ञा से सदन के सदस्यों को बताता।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : किसी और समय बताइयेगा।

श्री राजनारायण : यह रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने मौजूद है, इसमें विश्वविद्यालय किस ढंग के हों, विश्वविद्यालय की उपलब्धि क्या हो, ये सारी की सारी बातें लिखी हुई हैं, यह इस रिपोर्ट के प्रसंग में है लेकिन समय के अभाव में कह नहीं पा रहा हूं।

हम इतना ही निवेदन करेंगे कि आज में शब्दों के जाल में नहीं जाना चाहिये,

हमको ठोस होना चाहिये, डेफिनिट होना चाहिये, निश्चित रूप से कोई सुझाव देना चाहिए जिसके दो अर्थ लग न पायें और अब तक जो भाषा के साथ साथ और देश की तरक्की के साथ, विकास के साथ, खिलवाड़ किया गया है वह नहीं हाने देना चाहिए। बहुत ही अदब के साथ कहता हूँ, पूरे आदर और सम्मान की भावना समिति के सदस्यों के प्रति रखते हुए कहता हूँ कि समिति के सदस्यों ने अपने कर्तव्य का निर्वाह नहीं किया है और वह समिति अपने कर्तव्य का निर्वाह कर ही नहीं सकती जो समिति एक न एक रूप में अंग्रेजी को कायम रखने का सुझाव दे। तो श्रीमन्, मैं आज सब से, श्री रत्नस्वामी और सभी लोगों से, अदब के साथ, विनम्रता से, कहूंगा कि हम हिन्दी लादने वाले में नहीं हैं, हा, यह सही है कि अगर हिन्दी अपने आप लद जाय किसी पर तो उसको भी बुरा नहीं मानना चाहिये, मगर जैसा कि हमारे मित्र बाका बिहारो दाम ने कहा कि हर एक क्षेत्र की क्षेत्री भाषा के माध्यम से, मातृभाषा के माध्यम से, शिक्षा दो जाय लेकिन उसके साथ-साथ लिंक भाषा भी हो। हम यह नहीं कहते कि हिन्दी हो, मद्रास, मैसूर या केरल वाले लाग हिन्दी को लिंक भाषा नहीं रखना चाहते न रखे, हमारा कोई कहना नहीं है, हम उन पर लादना नहीं चाहते, मगर इतनी रिक्वेस्ट जरूर करूंगा कि अंग्रेजी के लिये जो मान है उसको दूर कर दो। झगड़ा हिन्दी और तामिल का नहीं है, हमारे मित्र रत्नस्वामी और दक्षिण के हमारे लोग इस बात को हृदयगम करे कि आज झगड़ा तामिल और अंग्रेजी का है और जब तक अंग्रेजी कायम रहेगी तब तक तामिल अपने सही रूप में विकसित नहीं हो सकती, बंगाली अपने सही रूप में विकसित नहीं हो सकती, उड़िया अपने सही रूप में विकसित नहीं हो सकती, उर्दू भी अपने सही रूप में विकसित नहीं हो सकती; ये जो राष्ट्रीय भाषाएँ हैं इनमें आपस में कोई संघर्ष नहीं है, यह संघर्ष तो

[श्री राजनारायण]

कांग्रेसी के कुछ बड़े-बड़े सेनानियों ने करा रखा है जो कि दो तरह की बातें करते हैं...

श्री भागवत झा आजाद : कितनी अच्छी बात कर रहे थे, क्यों खराब कर दिया ?

श्री राजनारायण : कांग्रेस के नेता दक्षिण गये तो उन्होंने वहां के नेताओं से कहा कि हिन्दी का साम्राज्य नहीं होना चाहिए और जब उत्तर आये तो कहा कि अगर उत्तर वालों ने हिन्दी के निये शोर मचाया तो दक्षिण के लोग अलग हो जायेंगे। श्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के मुखारविन्दु से दोनों बातें हमने सुनीं, दक्षिण को कहा कि उत्तर वालों का हिन्दी का साम्राज्यवाद नहीं चलेगा और उत्तर को कहा कि हिन्दा का शोर मचेगा तो दक्षिण अलग हो जायेगा। एक ही सांस से दोनों बात कहना मुल्क के लिये बहुत ही अनर्थकारी हुआ है। इसलिये भागवत झा आजाद...

श्री भागवत झा आजाद : पंडित जी तो गुजर गए, अब काहे नाम ले रहे हो।

श्री राजनारायण : तो मैं उनका नाम नहीं लूंगा। मैं भागवत झा आजाद की बड़ी इज्जत करता हूं मगर जो ये खेलों में चले गये हूँ, इनको नहीं जाना था क्योंकि इस मुल्क में खिलाड़ी बहुत हैं और खिलाड़ी जो हो वह जाये, जो खेल में पारंगत हो...

श्री भावत झा आजाद : आप जिस खेल में चाहें मुकाबला कर लें, कुश्ती में, बैडमिन्टन में, हाकी फुटबाल में...

श्री राजनारायण : मैं मान लेता हूँ कि उनकी बात सही है, हमको हरा देंगे, मगर उनसे ज्यादा अच्छे खिलाड़ी लोग जो यहां हैं उनको जाना चाहिए था, उनको एक टिप्पटी मिनिस्टर या स्टेट मिनिस्टर होते हुए वहां नहीं जाना चाहिए था, यह मेरा मत है और इसी तरीके से दूसरे लोगों को

भी हम कहेंगे कि इस तरह से विदेश जाने के लोभ को रोकेंगे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं पुनः आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने हमारे ऊपर विशेष अनुकम्पा और कृपा की, यद्यपि हमारा भाषण खराब कर दिया और हमारा बोलने का मूड नहीं रहने दिया गया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महावीर प्रसाद भार्गव) : राजनारायण जी, नियम सब के लिये एक से होते हैं, यह आपको ध्यान रखना चाहिए। श्री रामचन्द्रन् ।

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like you to listen. I wish to register a very courteous but very emphatic protest against the discrimination you are practising from your seat in the Chair. You have given my friend, Shri Rajnarain, 40, to 45 minutes...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): I hope the Members will restrain themselves.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I am going to restrain myself in a minute. You have given him nearly 45 minutes. I have no quarrel with Mr. Rajnarain

श्री राजनारायण : 25 मिनट से अधिक नहीं हुआ है। कुछ शायद घड़ी का ज्ञान आपको कम है।

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: You do not interrupt me Sri Rajnarayan. You have spoken for 45 minutes. I have no quarrel with Mr. Rajnarain. It is good to hear him because he speaks from his heart. My quarrel is with the Vice-Chairman. I want to know how you, who all the time tell us that we have 15 minutes and nothing more, allowed yourself to give Sri Rajnarayan 45 minutes, and now you are asking me to exercise self-restraint.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): I am not asking you particularly. Do not misunderstand

me. I am asking all Members to restrain themselves.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: You are asking all Members, but it is your duty when you sit there in the Chair to see that that restraint is imposed on all Members. You have failed to do so, and I register a very courteous but very emphatic protest against this discrimination which you have practised, and as my protest should be registered in a proper manner, I withdraw from the debate and I do not wish to speak.

(Interruption).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): It is the pleasure of any Member to speak or not to speak

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I would request, with your permission and that of the House, Mr. Ramachandran to speak. I hope I am voicing everybody's desire when I say this.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: In order that this must never happen again I do not wish to speak and I still withdraw.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): Mr. Akbar Ali Khan.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, we have had several reports of Commissions on this important problem of education since independence, the Radhakrishnan Commission Report, the Mudaliar Commission Report, etc., and we had reports on technical education. This is a report in which some of our experts and best persons have tried to evolve some formula, some principle and some programme of work. I express my thanks to all the members of the Kothari Commission as well as to the members of the Parliamentary Committee headed by my esteemed friend, Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha, that they have done their best so far as this most difficult and most complicat-

ed problem was concerned. In the limited time at my disposal I would like to confine myself to one or two points. The first thing in the very realm of education which is a very potent and very important and strong means to improve the mind and heart of the people is how far we have improved. I would submit that when I judge how far during the last so many years of education the human values and the aims and objects of education have been instilled—that everybody should feel for truth, for humanity, that when there is any truth which has to be said, that person who has had the education would be the man who would feel rightly, who would think rightly, who would act rightly—when I judge from that standard, I feel not very happy. In my younger days the education we received however defective had this thing on account of several other factors also, environment of the family and other factors, and we used to feel that if there was any injustice done, it was an injustice to us. We had an idea of sin, of 'pap guna'. If we ever thought that somebody was being victimised, we used to feel as if one's own self was victimised. Now there are people who are murdered and killed and looted, but others do not feel it as if their own people and human beings are suffering, as it happens unfortunately in the communal, the sectarian and such other conflicts. I would like, if the implementation is to be done, the first thing should be that these human values should be enshrined in our boys, and those who receive the education, when they come out, must have this desire to find out the truth, this desire to do justice, this desire to feel for the trouble, for the agony and for the misery of very other human being, as they would feel for themselves.

The other criterion that I would like to say in the implementation is patriotism, love of the country, irrespective of religion, irrespective of caste, irrespective of creed. I would emphasize it because I have been in

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this august House for fourteen years and every time we discuss the Education budget I have drawn pointed attention to the fact—that we think and feel as Hindu; as Muslim; as Christian; but not as an Indian. When I see these things going on, then one feels what is the use of these Commission reports, what is the use of all this expenditure that the country makes? Similarly, I would also say that so far as the dignity of labour is concerned, so far as manual labour is concerned, our education has proved a total failure. There are certain very good suggestions, there are some very practical suggestions given by Mahatma Gandhi on the question of human feeling as well as the dignity of manual labour in his several speeches and writings and the recommendations of wardha committee headed by Dr. Zakir Husain, our respected President.

Now, the Education Ministry and the authorities concerned will have to give serious thought why that scheme failed. It is no use bringing forward schemes and schemes and doing nothing. Those schemes failed because, as you know, we had no teachers who could take up that work they failed because there was no equipment through which manual work and labour could be properly dealt with. Those schemes failed because there were not people who used to establish, by their own examples, that this was a good thing and we should do it. What I would like to say is this. If you really want that the people of the country should rise above all these linguistic and other narrow considerations, you must see that you give them that education, that training, that culture to the heart and to the mind and to the hand, as will make our young generation worthy citizens. Now it is not the three Rs. it is the three Hs—head, heart and hand. I think practical steps should be taken to see that our development is on these lines.

Sir, the other point that I want to submit—and I have repeatedly said that—is that I feel that there is no doubt that education should be through the mother tongue. There is no difficulty; there are no two opinions about it. But when you come to the university stage, you cannot forget the development in science and technology etc. in the advancing world. So, you will have to draw a distinction. I am of the opinion that at the university, so far as humanities are concerned, education could be in vernacular. So far as the technical and scientific education is concerned, it should ultimately be in Hindi, but till Hindi assumes that position, English should continue and that will be in the best interests of the country. Sir, I have had some experience of the Osmania University where in 1917, forty years before, the medium of instruction used to be Urdu. I had the privilege of being its student, of being its lecturer, of being a member of its Senate and of being a member of the highest executive of that university and I can tell you that in science and technology, notwithstanding the fact that thousands of rupees were spent not only in translating but also in writing books, we did feel greatly handicapped. When I used to lecture on law, there also I had to consult English books. But we could make up something in our own language because the courts were also working in Urdu there. So, my submission is, with great respect . . .

श्री राजनारायण : मन् 1950 में संविधान पास हुआ था और आज 1967 है ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: . . . to my esteemed friend, Shri Rajnarain, that here you have to decide what is the language for the university. I have no dislike or hatred towards English. I know that Lord Macaulay introduced it for his own purpose. But I am one of those who think that the teaching of English has done good to India. True, the other aspect is also there, as pointed out by Shri Rajnarain, that it gave strength to the

continuance of the foreign rule. But so far as science, new way of life and modern education are concerned, I think that English has played a great part and I am happy that we have English in our country.

Now, so far as universities are concerned and so far as inter-mingling and exchange of views is concerned, I want to ask my friends—suppose you eliminate English today, what is the other alternative? What is the other link language? Hindi cannot come in so quickly and particularly in education, it is bound to take some time.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : मैं अपने मित्र से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हैदराबाद में उर्दू कैसे आ गई ?

SHRI RAJNARAIN: What is the definition of 'quickly'? जब कोई चीज़ आयेगी तब विकास होगा या विकास होकर तब आयेगी ?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: My own view is, if you will pardon me, Shri Rajnarain, that I would not mind English continuing for 25 years more provided within that period in the whole of India, on the technical side of education, English is substituted by Hindi. But till then I think it is not in the interests of the country or in the interests of the advancement of science . . .

श्री राजनारायण : मैं माननीय सदस्य से यह . . .

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: As I was saying, so far as humanities are concerned, I am opening the door for the higher university education, for all vernacular languages. But so far as the technical education is concerned, I do not want fourteen languages or sixteen languages at the universities to be the mediums.

श्री राजनारायण : जापान का उदाहरण ले लिया जाये ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: One language, that is what I say. Let there be one language. And I fully subscribe to the view that, that language, in the circumstances, could be Hindi and Hindi alone. But what I want you to appreciate is that the people who live in the southern regions, obviously and quite correctly, feel that they will not be able to compete with you whose mother tongue is Hindi for their mother-tongue is not Hindi.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : मेरे प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं दिया । मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आंध्र प्रदेश में उर्दू कैसे आ गई ?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: We started it. But we were not successful in all the aspects and in 40 years we did not do satisfactorily in technology.

श्री राजनारायण : कम्प्यूटेटिवली कितना समय लगेगा ?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: My own view is, even if it is 25 years, let it be there. Otherwise, as there will be 14 linguistic States, what I am afraid, is that fissiparous tendencies, disintegrating tendencies, will raise their heads. Let us not forget our history, let us not forget our weakness, let us not forget that there are elements in our country, in our society, which would like things to disintegrate. For that reason, I think that English should continue on the technical side till we come to a stage when that will be substituted by Hindi. We will have to make up . . .

कुमारी मनिषेन बल्लभभाई पटेल (गुजरात) : कितना समय चाहते हो, वह बतलाओ ।

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Approximately, say, 25 years. But in these matters, you cannot rush things. And the other States should continue

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English on Scientific side; they should accept ultimately Hindi as the medium for scientific studies.

श्री महेश्वर नाथ कौल : हैदराबाद के मेडिकल कालेज में क्या मीडियम है ?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You may . . .

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : आपने उर्दू रखा या ?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Urdu was in Usmania University. Even in 40 years we could not keep up to standard in medical and in engineering branches. It was only in name. Anyhow, my own view is English should continue in this sphere . . . (Interruptions).

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Mr. Vice-Chairman, he should not be disturbed. Let him proceed.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I would suggest even in all the High Courts it should be English till it is replaced by Hindi. I do not want the High Courts and the universities on the technical side to have 16 languages. I know that even people from my State do not subscribe to my view and they may be very angry. But in the interests of the country, I feel very strongly that there should be one link language and till that link language is developed, let English be the link language and let it continue. Sir, my time is about to finish. I will only draw your attention to one thing. Now, according to the scheme, education should be through the mother tongue at the highest level. And it is a big surprise to me that a period of five years has been set up. I do not think that any educationist or anybody with a serious mind can say that it should be accomplished in five years and ten years. Well, I am sorry that in this matter whatever view has been expressed regarding the

period, according to me, it is very unsatisfactory and is unpracticable.

Sir, I wanted to say something—if I am wrong, the Education Minister will correct me—and that is that neither in this Report nor in the permanent members' Report did I see anything about Urdu. Urdu cannot be a regional language of any State. And when there are people who know Urdu and whose mother tongue is Urdu, people irrespective of religion or caste, what have you provided for that? You must come out with a scheme that in the North as well as in the South you will have colleges through the medium of Urdu. You will also have to have a University through the medium of Urdu. The Osmania University will, in course of time, have the medium of Telugu. And it is perfectly right and perfectly correct also. But so far as Urdu is concerned, I think it is the responsibility of the Government of India. (Interruption by Shri Niren Ghosh) Please sit down.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): In Uttar Pradesh, the non-Congress Government should have given to Urdu the second status. It is regrettable that it has not done that.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I am proud to say, I have come across very few people who have got so much affection for Urdu as my esteemed friend, Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha—Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee. It was really a surprise and shock to me that I find in this report of my esteemed friend, Shri Sinha, that no mention is made of Urdu and how it is to be taken up in higher education.

Now, I would submit, Sir, that so far as Urdu is concerned, I must pay my homage to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. There are hundreds of people who have contributed their best for Urdu. Munshi Prem Chand, Chakbast and now Dr. Kunzru and many others; they love Urdu. Therefore, in the

new context I want to ask the Government and in his reply I would like to now from the hon. Minister what provision they are making for Urdu for higher and Secondary education Sir, there is no State for Urdu; there is no region for Urdu. When there are people whose mother-tongue is Urdu, you must provide colleges and a University for the learning of Urdu for students whose mother-tongue is Urdu. I hope this report will start a new era, a new chapter in the development of education of my country, in the development of character, intellect and technical knowledge of the younger generation, and the younger generation will be of such a character which will help the progress and advancement of my country.

One word more and I have finished. Sir, so far as industries and technical education are concerned, I have come across a big problem. That is to say, these B.Es and Diploma-holders are being retrenched and freshers not being re-employed. I am trying to put them in small-scale industries. The other day Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed

and our State Minister started an Information Centre. But on enquiry I find that the industries people say that these B.Es and Diploma-holders do not fit in in their programme as they would fit in in some government services. I think there is something very seriously to be looked into this aspect. I think in the course of education these B.Es and Diploma-holders should be very closely associated with industry. Through that process, I think we can give a new life, a new vision to these young engineers who, even after these accomplishments, unfortunately think only of service. No, they should be the pioneers of industry. In that way the industrial development of the country can also take a new turn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at thirty-four minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 9th of August, 1967.