

[श्री रमेशचन्द्र शंकरराव खांडेकर]

रख लिया गया, एक के साथ मार-पीट की गई।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Khandekar, you may continue later. You have spoken for ten minutes; you will have five minutes after the lunch hour.

The House stands adjourned till 2.30 in the afternoon.

The House then adjourned for lunch at half-past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at half-past two of the clock, THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA) in the Chair.

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

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have to raise a point. The mover of the resolution himself is not present. When at any time a Minister is absent from the Treasury benches the whole Opposition takes a very serious view of this and I think in order to maintain the decorum and dignity of the House at least the Opposition should be a bit considerate. They should show that much courtesy to the House by being present in the House if they move a particular motion and I hope the Chair will instruct the Opposition to behave properly in the future.

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

STATEMENT RE. CYCLONE WHICH PASSED OVER MADRAS ON THE 3RD NOVEMBER, 1966

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT AND AVIATION (SHRI C. M. POONACHA): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table of the House a statement regarding the cyclone that passed over Madras and the loss sustained to some vessels at the Port of Madras. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-7248/66.]

MOTION RE. WIDESPREAD UNREST AMONG STUDENTS —*contd.*

श्री रमेशचन्द्र शंकरराव खांडेकर : उपमहाध्यक्ष जी, मैं यह कह रहा था कि जिस कार्य के लिये विद्यार्थियों को शिक्षा मंत्रालय से इनाम मिलना चाहिये था उसके लिये उनको उसके बजाय लाठी की मार मिली। हमारे मुख्यमंत्री ने विधान सभा में प्रोवोकेटिव स्पीच दी और कहा कि थातेदार साहब को जो लाइनबन्द किया उसके लिये आपत्ति है, डेमोक्रेसी में सबका अधिकार है और बिना जांच के लाइनबन्द किया गया। समय नहीं है नहीं तो मैं विस्तार में कहता। इस तरह की प्रोवोकेटिव स्पीच के बाद पुलिस को प्रोत्साहन मिला और तीन चार दिन तक ग्वालियर में और मध्य प्रदेश में जो हुआ वह पुलिस की तानाशाही थी, उसका कोई नमूना किसी डेमोक्रेसी कंट्री में देखने को नहीं मिलेगा। मैं स्वयं वहां पर था, मैं जेल में लोगों से मिला। हास्पिटल में गया और विद्यार्थियों से भी मिला। मेरे पास कई प्रकार के ऐसे उदाहरण हैं जिनमें पुलिस ने बिला वजह निरपराध लोगों को मारा पीटा और जेल में बन्द किया।

मुख्य मंत्री ने यह कहा कि इसकी जिम्मेदारी पोलिटिकल पार्टीज के ऊपर है या एंटी-

सोशल एलिमेंट के ऊपर है लेकिन जो तीन चार सौ लोग थे उनमें से एक भी एंटी-सोशल एलिमेंट नहीं था और न किसी पोलिटिकल पार्टी का कार्यकर्ता था। उसमें कौन थे। बेचारे गवर्नमेंट सर्वेंट्स थे, मजदूर थे, विद्यार्थी थे, 15 तारीख फार्म भरने की आखिरी तारीख थी और जो विद्यार्थी दिल्ली से गये थे वे थे, कुछ कार्पेटर्स थे कोई ठेले वाला था, कोई माल लेने वाले व्यापारी थे, इस प्रकार के लोग वहां पर थे और उनको पकड़ करके उनको मार पीट कर के जेल में बन्द किया था। मैं अस्पताल में गया, वहां सब विद्यार्थी थे या कोई मजदूर था जो कि मिल में काम करने को जाने वाला होगा, सरकारी चपगसी थे या सरकारी दफ्तर में काम करने वाले लोग थे। तो इस प्रकार पूरे चार दिन तक वहां पर अत्याचार हुआ। यहां तक कि मेरे एक मित्र है रामदास, मैं पूरी जिम्मेदारी के साथ उनका नाम लूंगा, वह अपने चैम्बर में काम कर रहे थे, उनका जूनियर विद्यार्थी सा लगता था, दीखता था, तो पुलिस आई और उसको वहां पर मारा पीटा, और उनकी पत्नी गैलरी में बैठी थी, इतना बड़ा पत्थर उनके ऊपर फँका, सौभाग्य से उनको नहीं लगा, वह नीचे लगा, उसकी कम्प्लेंट भी वहां पर हुई। इस प्रकार मेरे सामने पुलिस दिन-दहाड़े वहां घरो में घुसती है, प्राध्यापकों को पकड़ती है और कहती है कि आप विद्यार्थियों को उकसाते हैं। एक बार उन को पकड़कर ले जाने लगी तो मेरे इंटरवेंशन में वह छूट गये। इसी प्रकार एक हैडमास्टर साहब बेचारे स्कूल में काम कर रहे थे, पुलिस वहां घुसी और मारा पीटा। तो इस प्रकार का पुलिस का अत्याचार देखने के बाद जिन विद्यार्थियों के प्रति बिल्कुल सहानुभूति नहीं थी उनको भी उनके प्रति सहानुभूति हो गई और उसका जो रिएक्शन है! वह पूरे मध्य प्रदेश में फैला और यही कारण है कि विद्यार्थियों का असंतोष पूरे प्रदेश में हुआ।

अब सरकार कहती है कि विद्यार्थियों को ऐक्टिव राजनीति में भाग नहीं लेना

चाहिये। मैं इससे महमत हूँ कि विद्यार्थियों का ऐक्टिव राजनीति में भाग नहीं लेना चाहिये लेकिन परिस्थिति क्या है, मध्य-प्रदेश में पूरे इस झगड़े में विद्यार्थी कांग्रेस के लोग पकड़े गये, विद्यार्थी कांग्रेस के लोगों ने वहां पर इन आन्दोलनों में भाग लिया, लेकिन वह बात तो छोड़िये, बात यह है कि सरकार के मंत्री और अधिकारी इस प्रकार का व्यवहार करते हैं कि आने वाले चुनाव को दृष्टि में रखकर लोगों के तबादले करते हैं, प्रोफेसरों से ले कर प्राथमिक शिक्षक तक के तबादले अपने चुनाव की दृष्टि से करते हैं। अगर किसी बोर्ड का एलेक्शन हो या युनिवर्सिटी का एलेक्शन हो तो मिनिस्टर खुद आते हैं वहां पर और आदेश देते हैं कि अगर फनां शक्स को वोट नहीं दिया तो आपका तबादला किया जायगा या आपके ऊपर कार्यवाही की जायगी। ऐसे कई उदाहरण मैं दे सकता हूँ कि जिन्होंने मिनिस्टर साहब को आबलाइज नहीं किया उनका तबादला हुआ या उनको कुछ नुकसान उठाना पड़ा। तो इस प्रकार की राजनीति शासन की ओर से हर प्रान्त में चलती है और विशेषकर के शिक्षकों के बारे में हस्तक्षेप किया जाता है और आप कहते हैं कि राजनीति से विद्यार्थियों को बाहर रहना चाहिये। जब किसी विद्यार्थी के मां बाप शामकीय दल या शामकीय अधिकारी या शामकीय दल के जो मंत्री है उनको आबलाइज नहीं करते तो उनको उनके कहने के मुताबिक नहीं चलने के कारण सफर करना पड़ता है और उनको नुकसान उठाना पड़ता है तो कौन ऐसा विद्यार्थी है जिसमें ताव न आये। अधिक और सामाजिक बातें तो छोड़िये, ये बातें तो हैं लेकिन सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि जब तक इस प्रकार का हस्तक्षेप शासन की ओर से और विशेष कर के ऊपर से जो होता है वह बन्द नहीं किया जाता तब तक कोई भी माल्युशन नहीं निकल सकता।

इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इधर-उधर टटोलने के बजाय अपने खुद के

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अन्तःकरण को टटोले और 20 साल तक जो इस प्रकार के काम किये हैं उन्हें फौगन बन्द करे वरना इसका कोई उपाय नहीं होगा और इस प्रकार का असंतोष बढ़ता जायेगा। कहते हैं, कहावत है कि पानी जो है वह ऊपर से नीचे आता है, नीचे से ऊपर नहीं आता। आप शिक्षकों को सुधारें, प्रोफेसरों को सुधारिये, उनमें डिसिपलिन का निर्माण कीजिये इसमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है लेकिन जब तक ऊपर के लोग सुधरते नहीं हैं, जब तक नीति में आमूलचूल परिवर्तन नहीं होता है, शिक्षा की नीति में पूर्ण रूप से परिवर्तन नहीं होता है तब तक आप कितने भी आयोग नियुक्त करें, कितनी भी कमेडिया कायम करे, कोई माल्युशन नहीं निकलेगा, कोई सुधार नहीं होगा।

वाइसचांसलर की नियुक्ति के बारे में काफी कहा गया। उनकी नियुक्ति के बारे में कितना पक्षपात होता है। एक बात मैं और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह कहते हैं कि राजनीति में विद्यार्थियों की नहीं आना चाहिये लेकिन जैसे कि शामक पार्टी में दो ग्रुप बंटे हैं तो विद्यार्थियों के भी अपने गुट हैं, वे भी ग्रुप में बंट गये हैं, अगर एक मंत्री एक ग्रुप का है तो वहाँ के प्रोफेसर विद्यार्थियों को ले कर के एक ग्रुप के हो जाते हैं और दूसरे ग्रुप के खिलाफ इस प्रकार की कार्यवाही करते हैं कि विद्यालयों में उनके खिलाफ अवाज उठती है और अगर कोई प्राध्यापक किसी दूसरे ग्रुप का हुआ तो फिर वह दूसरे के खिलाफ प्रचार आन्दोलन चलाता है। तो इस प्रकार काम होता है। तब तक यह ऊपर से बन्द नहीं होगा तब तक यह नीचे समाप्त नहीं होगा। इसलिये जब तक कि शासकीय नीति नहीं बदली जाती, जब तक इस प्रकार के जो नाजायज काम हो रहे हैं वे नहीं खत्म किये जाते, जब तक नीति में बदल नहीं होता तब तक यह जो असंतोष बढ़ता जा रहा है उसका रोकना बिल्कुल असम्भव है। अगर आप देखते हैं कि परिस्थिति

ऐसी है जो कि आप काबू में नहीं कर पाते तो उसका पूरा दोष पोलिटिकल पार्टीज पर लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी पर या एंटी-सोशल एलिमेंट्स के ऊपर या जनसंघ के ऊपर डाल देते हैं लेकिन उसे कोई माबित नहीं कर पाता कि इसमें पोलिटिकल पार्टीज का क्या हाथ है। पोलिटिकल पार्टीज के साथ आप स्वयं खेलते हैं, आप उसमें स्वयं दखल देते हैं और जब मिचुएशन संभलती नहीं है तो सारा दोष दूसरी पार्टी के ऊपर डाल देते हैं तो मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि नीति में आमूलचूल परिवर्तन किया जाय और यह नीति तभी बदली जायगी जब कि यह सरकार बदली जायगी इसलिये पहला काम यह है कि सरकार बदलनी चाहिये नहीं तो तब तक यह असंतोष ऐसे ही बढ़ता जायगा।  
धन्यवाद।

SHRI SHANTILAL KOTHARI (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Education Minister, in his statement has rightly imaged the student community. Student is a metal composed of triple elements, viz., patriotism, idealism and dynamism of youth. Nothing more could be said about the student and I am quite sure the student community in this country would be most responsive to our dynamic Education Minister who has called upon the students to implement these very basic and high elements in their academic career. We are discussing the causes of, and the cure for, student unrest. We are feeling anxiety about it. I wonder if the word 'unrest' would really be appropriate in this context. It is distortion in my view. It is a series of distortions that we find in the life of the student, in the educational field, as in any other walk of life in this country wedded to development in a democratic framework. The Minister has felt rightly that there is a lack of amenities, but we have also to remember that we have limited resources. We have got to look to the needs of all sections. Surely as a result of the expansion of educational facilities and educational institutions, there is

paucity of teachers and paucity of many things in the educational field. Only this morning the Mover of the Resolution, Hon'ble Mr. Chordia, wisely referred to the constant use of the student community for parochial political purposes. Everyone will agree to condemn it. We have only heard the other day my hon. friend opposite, Hon'ble Mr. Rajnarain, calling upon the students to combine with the other elements dissatisfied for one reason or another, to oust the Government. Does my friend want to displace the Government by violence? Has he lost faith in votes? And is it right for a Member sitting in this august House to make statements which could not be termed as responsible? We want to evoke response in the student community by ourselves being responsible, by ourselves giving an example as to how a representative should and must function here as well as outside the House. There has been a constant talk about political exploitation of the students. While discussing about political exploitation sometimes the question comes of political participation of students. As one who has participated in the quit India movement, I have seen it from outside as well as inside the jail—I feel that there is need to redefine the concept of politics. Is politics to be equated with rowdyism? Does politics mean an unhygienic civic sense or lack of any civic sense? What does politics mean? Would we be here without the best traditions of democratic politics? We would not be here. Politics is nothing but an instrument for giving our best to the maximum in the best manner in an atmosphere of maximum consultation process. Therefore, participation of students in political education is the most important thing. They must know it. They must be encouraged to know what sort of personalities are growing, what sort of institutions are growing around for them to participate. Political agitation is another thing. We must differentiate between the two. Political agitation is for a parochial purpose indulged in by a short-sighted politician, whether right

or wrong. But I think political education must be emphasised at least at the post-graduate level and we must not club them together. Political agitators are mainly a batch of permanent and professional students, meaning those who always fail as students, and they must be dealt with, if you really want to encourage and allow the large number of genuine students to work within the precincts of any university and schools to study calmly and peacefully.

Then, there is reference made to political leadership. Politicians do this and that, some say. The time has come for us to comprehend its implications. The moment you encourage the trend to discredit all political leadership in the country, what else would be left between the direct mob action and the Government? Political leadership alone is the insulator to transmit both ways. Let us for heaven's sake not discredit political leadership. It may be Opposition Members, it may be our own ruling Party. Political leadership has a positive role to play. It must directly come into contact with students as any other community. It has to explain to them the future fabric of the policy that they are going to inherit from us, what are their duties and responsibilities, what are the challenges and what are our experiences. Sometimes we got lost. We as link question of today were involved in the movement for India's freedom. But now India is free and each politician must help to enlighten his colleague, in whatever walk of life he or she may be. Also, we must restore the image of a politician. I think a politician as such is the only person who take responsibilities and risks. No one knows what would happen today or tomorrow. It is not a small thing. Therefore, we must all collectively help in the restoration of the dignity of politics and let us thereby bring about political hygiene in this nation once again.

The Education Commission has brought out some of the things which I have discussed myself with some

[Shri Shantilal Kothari]

students. It recommends for joint councils of students, for institution of a Dean of Student Welfare. The Minister has invited all of us and others too to help him and the Government with more suggestions. This is our task. I think our contact with students should be to explain and interpret it and also warn them that when we die they will have to run the Government. They will have to bear the brunt of what they are doing to the society. Let them be prepared in the art of politics properly. We will have to show them the positive meaning of politics by our own behaviour and performance. They will have to construct their own language. The foundation must be sound and healthy. My friend, Mr. Chordia, has referred to a sort of repression. He very often repeated that the Government bows down to any agitation. I do not know if it can be called bowing down or accommodating. The Government accommodates because of the democratic machinery that we have got. It accommodates views and differing ones in a democratic manner. Also they may be out-of-date, they may not be sound or some of them may be sound. This is democracy. Democracy is not the rule of one man. It is a rule of wisdom dawning from the masses; as far as they want to go the Government can stretch. He also said that they must be repressed—agitation must be dried down—and curiously confuses accommodation with surrender. Does he mean that the Government must be insensitive to wishes of the people? What sort of Government is he thinking of it one differs with the ruling party? Does he relish a Government as we have today where he can discuss matters freely and without fear, or he suggests for an autocratic despotic one? I am sure this latter one—dangerous thesis—should be re-examined by them with a sense of perception. Let us tell the students to study, despite the problems which are there and nobody can deny them. The other day the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad

University said that the entry of the police in the campus to say the least was a most unholy thing done and no sane man can disagree with him. But how do we prevent that? Is it by bringing premature and immature students in front of us to be killed, to be shot dead? But none of the politically premature leaders would take risk to lead the student community in a wrong agitational movement because of fear of their lives. What a shame! If we are convinced that the students have been right, let us lead them. Let them not lead us. There must not be erosion of sense of responsibility. That is where sincerity is tested. The students have very sound and instinctive judgment. They can probe into our mind.

I also plead this for the consideration of the Government that there is nepotism in recruitment at important levels, in the university life, in academic life, in admissions, in scholarships, and so on. There is. But the Government is endeavouring to remove it through studies, through appointment of Commissions, and they are sincerely approaching the problem. Bureaucratic lethargy and unperceptive leadership vitiate and delay the progress and this must not repeat. Did the Government not engage itself with the problem, before this motion came in? The Education Commission was appointed long ago when there was no unrest or distortion and we should have waited for the Commission's report to come in. I admit of the unnecessary and undue delay. The Education Commission Report tells the students to deliberate over a charter, it reminds them "this is your charter; ask us what else we can do or add." That can be a positive approach of an enlightened political leadership irrespective of political ideologies. This is politics of patriotism. I am sure my friends would do it henceforth.

I request the Government to consider the desirability of the composing of the councils or committees of the parents' associations. Sometimes

what happens? The series of students' agitations led by negative minds for negative ends resulted, as in Germany in 1934-35, in their being cannon-fodder of the most terrible dictatorship of the age. Let us also realise that there must be purposive councils where parents are represented, where teachers are represented, and these composite councils of parents, teachers and students will besides delivering the goods to the students continue the chain of age and image of the generation and re-establish the centres of mutual understanding and mutual enlightenment. On the other hand if we allow the bane of violence to continue to spread what will be the result? The result will be that no institution can function within the framework of the rule of law without which many worse things can happen. However, India is the only country of the postwar world where twice succession had been solved in a democratic manner. There is no country in the world where in a democratic way this solution was found by the people. This is a fabric of the democratic polity which we intend to hand down to our own generation a bit more healthier. There was another country, Israel, where there was a change, peaceful change of succession. But unfortunately the man who was succeeded left the party. India is the only country. See the distortions of political sociology. Distortions are there. But on certain fundamentals there should be agreement. I appeal through you to our friends that if there is a lapse and erosion in political responsibility on the part of the ruling party or Government, let it not be countered by lapse and eroded sense of civic responsibility on the part of the growing generation. Let them grow with us and the country will grow with them. Thank you.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I find that as usual when I speak I have the good luck of having you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, in the Chair! I

have another piece of good luck to be thankful for, that the trinity of the Education Ministry are in their seats and particularly one of them who is so very rare in this House. That is my second piece of good luck.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): Which is that one?

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I leave it to your imagination. This question of what has been called the student unrest is one of the biggest things to which all of us who have the good of India at heart must give our most careful consideration. I remember how often in the history of different countries this kind of situation affecting students became the harbinger of revolutions and big changes. When in any country, the students rise up in revolt, rightly or wrongly, when in any country students go out into the streets taking the law and their own lives into their hands, then something is happening with which the nation must reckon. We have seen from the papers that Vice-Chancellors; Ministers and many other big people have been sitting together and giving thought to this problem of what is moving the students. But what they are discussing and what they are proposing do not seem to have the slightest effect upon the situation. There is a gap between thinking and action. It is a very fateful gap, if I may say so. In matters like this when you have proposals and schemes, to implement, time is the essence of the matter. Delay means not only not doing something but creating new conditions in which you cannot act at all. I must say that I am one of those conversant with students and student problems. When I am not sitting in this House, I am all the time in the midst of at least two thousand students with whom I move daily, whom I meet daily, whose problems come to me and to which I react. And it is my very firm conviction that the Indian stu-

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dent is as good as a student in any other country of the world, that if the Indian student is approached in the right manner and given the right treatment, he can be the greatest asset to this country. We have now seen in other countries—when all other sections of the people have been pushed back and defeated, the students have come up to rejuvenate their countries. Look at Indonesia. Maybe at the moment it is going in one direction, it may equally go in another direction. To begin with, therefore, let no one look upon the students as a kind of nuisance in the country, as a problem in the country. They are not a problem at all. The problem is yourself and myself. It is the student who is willing to solve problems if you and I will not solve them in time.

I have never had in the last 40 years of my life even one experience in which, with the right approach, the student has not responded. They respond much more quickly than any other section of the people, with the right approach. So, the students are not a problem. We are creating problems for them. And the biggest problem we have created is the educational system into which millions of these students are being thrown today. The whole of the system requires a radical change. I know, the Education Minister is sitting here, and we have now the Report of the Education Commission. But I have seen many Commissions and Reports, Sir. They remain on paper. Many things will remain on paper. I know that the present Education Minister is a very active person, a courageous person. But I am not sure that even he is going to see that the recommendations of this Education Commission are implemented entirely in this country. But that is a different matter. The entire system of education has many glaring faults which we are not able to correct. To begin with, whom do we really mean now when we talk of the students? Not the primary school

students, the innocent boys and girls who know nothing, who do no harm, who listen to us and obey us; not even the high school students except here and there because the high schools furnish a fairly peaceful scene in this country. It is at the university and college levels that the boys are breaking themselves up, kicking and struggling, but kicking and struggling for a new life for themselves.

Now, the first thing that strikes anyone who is an impartial observer—not somebody running away with foreign ideas, Russian or French or British or American ideas of education—is that our students grow up as aliens to their own culture. There is no such thing as Indian culture in the midst of which our boys are growing up in the universities. I am not pleading for anything narrow. Having been a student at the Viswa Bharati and having learnt my lessons at the feet of the greatest Internationalist of this Century in this country, I do not want to plead for any narrow nationalism. But without a background of Indian culture, your university education is a complete mockery. How many of our students know anything about Indian culture? Ask them about any of the great figures of India, about the cultural traditions of India. They are only names to them. We talk a

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

great deal about Indian culture. I have heard Mr. Chagla waxing eloquent over Indian culture. But look at the universities. What is happening in the universities? Is there anything called Indian culture in which our boys and girls are growing up even today in the year 1963, after so many years of the freedom of the Republic of India? Everything has changed in this country. Most things have changed in this country but university education has not changed. It is going along the old ruts. Now, unless our students have a deep cultural background in the soil of India, how will they passionately love this country? The other day, Acharya Kripalani was asking somewhere:

"What is it that we are to love in this country? Our food habits are no longer Indian, our dress is no longer Indian, our language is no longer Indian, and no tradition is an Indian tradition. Everything Indian is treated with contempt and still we talk about Indian culture". That is the first point. It is the truth of the matter.

Unless our boys get deeply rooted in the culture of India, they will not in their hearts develop a deep passion and love for our country.

Then, will not the students, I ask you, Madam, respond to the environment? What is the environment in India today? Disciplines have broken down all over the country. Look at what happened yesterday and the day before yesterday in the City of Delhi. Can anything be of a greater shame to the Capital of the Republic than what happened in this city the other day—blind violence running riot? People knew that this would happen, and then everything happened. And after everything has happened—this is the present tradition of India—wise men sit round a table doing some kind of post-mortem examination of the problem. We do not anticipate what will happen. We do not take steps to prevent something happening. Wisdom always comes late in this country, particularly in the last few years of our history. What will the students of Delhi do, the university students and the college students? And there are universities and colleges in and around Delhi. They look at these things. What is it that they are to learn and respond to in the environment which surrounds them? And who has created this environment, if not the leaders of this country? They brush aside all problems, they will not look at the problems in the face and solve them in time. They have no courage to take charge of a situation as soon as it arises and to do things that are necessary. Evading, evading, all the time. What are the young people to learn from us?

Look at what is happening in Parliament? Is there any discipline in Parliament? Members are shouting at each other as if they are in the market place. The students are watching them from the galleries. They will open the paper tomorrow and they will see this and they will see that the whole country is in the grip of indiscipline. Then they join the fray and try to have a grand time. We must change the environment in this country. The leaders must set an example of discipline, of sacrifice and of devotion. Those are all dead today. Discipline, devotion, sacrifice! Where are they today? Everybody wants to grab as much as he can and the student is watching it all, from behind and says, "All right. I will also try to grab as much as I can." Where is the example of selfless devotion that leadership is furnishing in this country?

Madam, the other day when I was coming in the plane from Madras there were two gentlemen sitting on either side of me. They were talking about student indiscipline and they attributed the entire indiscipline of the students to Mahatma Gandhi, saying that Mahatma Gandhi was the first leader to call out the students. I let them go on for some time and then I came to grips with them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Did anyone of them join the Ministry?

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: Luckily not. I think the next one who might want to join the Ministry will be Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. They were discussing the matter. And then I told them when Gandhiji called out the students in this country he called them out to liberate India from subjection. I asked them, "Do you know, gentlemen, that when the First and the Second World Wars came, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were lying empty and the flower of the youth of the Universities were in the battlefield?"



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What Gandhiji was trying to do was to liberate India in which every one had to participate. And mind you, the students who participated in the non-violent revolutions of India were the most disciplined people in this country. They never broke the windows or burnt buses. They never attacked others. They followed their commander, and stood up against lathi charges and the police. They were not indulging in indiscipline but in the most disciplined resistance to tyranny. In fact, Mahatma Gandhi's acts of rebellion were always acts of supreme discipline by those who were participating in it. Nobody can today challenge the fact of our history. People who never came within a ten-mile distance of the freedom struggle are now sitting back and talking such nonsense today. Mahatma Gandhi inculcated the greatest discipline in the youngmen of this country. I was one of those who grew up under such discipline.

Madam, we want genuine leadership. And who are today the leaders of the students? Here I come to the crux of the problem. We must not neglect the teacher—every time we are talking of discipline of students and the well-being of students. No two sections of the people are closer to each other than the teacher and the student. What is the plight of our teachers? They are poorly paid, frustrated, official kind of people, who come to the class room, deliver the lecture and walk out. After that there is absolutely no link between the teacher and the student. Mr. Chagla knows that in every University, in 90 per cent. of the cases, the teacher and the student have no link with each other. How can you build up the student life in this country under these conditions?

We have a modern University education but there are none of the things which make University education really modern. I have some little experience of Universities in other countries and I must tell you

that there is close link between the teacher and the student in the American Universities and even in the conservative British Universities, and certainly in Russia and Germany, Belgium, Poland and other countries I have visited. There is a close link between the teacher and the student. The teacher knows his student. Here there is hardly a teacher who knows his student. The numbers are so vast. And I do not know who developed the stupid idea that all colleges must be brought into one campus. I do not know why. What we require is to spread out the colleges and the campuses instead of concentrating twenty or thirty thousand students into one campus. You are creating a problem where there is no problem. We want to decentralise. We want to throw open the area wider and wider. On the other hand we bring everything into one single campus and the result is that these problems come up. There is really no link between the teacher and the student. What will Mr. Chagla do? I am asking him. What will others concerned with the implementation of the Education Commission's Report do to establish a friendly atmosphere between the teacher and the student, instead of this high-low relationship, to create an intimate, personal, cordial, friendly relationship between the teacher and the student?

When Mr. Chagla was moving the Jawaharlal Nehru University Bill I pleaded that that University should set an example to the rest of India of being a students' Republic. Do the Universities belong to the students or the teachers? I think the Universities belong 90 per cent. to the students and only 10 per cent. to the teachers. We should build up students' Republics. Mahatma Gandhi, in his scheme of education, stressed on one thing which is totally neglected in education today—students' self-government based on self help. I have a primary school.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ramachandran, I do not want to interrupt you but you have taken about 15 minutes.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I accept your warning. I have a High School and four colleges in Gandhigram. But in every section there is a Parliament of students, called the "Aam Sabha". The Parliament elects their own Prime Minister and their Ministers who have different functions in the community and undertake hard responsibilities. Every month the Parliament meets and the Ministers report to the Parliament. You, Madam Deputy Chairman, should come and sit in one of my Parliaments. You will find it far more entertaining than the Rajya Sabha. Questions are asked, challenges made and everything is ventilated freely and openly on the floor of the Students' Parliament. There is hardly any problem which cannot be solved by them. They are all solved there by themselves and amongst themselves because the entire responsibility is theirs. For instance, we do not touch the hostels. The hostels are run by the students on their own. They make their budget. They do their marketing. They serve the food. They are the masters. Students' self-government based on Community work is the key to student discipline. Leave it to them. Throw it back upon them. Instead of doing that you want to lead them. I say give them the fullest liberty consistent with the four corners of decency, high conduct, to deal with their own affairs. It is a very big question.

You have already warned me though I have hardly touched the fringe of the subject. But this is a very important problem. I know Mr. Chagla and other friends are giving thought to it. But I am wondering whether what they do will be adequate to make an impact on the students in this country unless we totally raise the level of discipline in this country at every

level of life and establish the closest and friendliest relation between the student and the teacher and give the students the responsibility to govern themselves.

Sometimes I hear that academic study is a sacrosanct thing; and what have the students got to do with it? We then lay down the rules. I say, no, even the curriculum, the syllabus and everything must get their approval through their elected representatives. Once you carry them with you it becomes so easy. Throw the responsibilities back upon them and they will have to maintain their own discipline. There will be no student unrest in this country. Let them take charge of themselves. Let every University become a Republic of students. Let every University cultivate such responsible life. Let every University cultivate the closest links between the teacher and the student. It is not an easy thing. It is a tremendously difficult thing. I wish the Education Minister and all those who are at this problem godspeed provided they face up to the problems squarely.

Thank you.

प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तलंकार (नाम-निर्देशत) : उपसभापति महोदया, आज यह बात सारे देश के लिए चिन्ता का विषय बन गई है कि हमारे छात्र विद्यालयों में बैठने की बजाय गली कूचों में निकल पड़े हैं, वे कहीं शीशे तोड़ रहे हैं, कहीं कहीं बसों को जला रहे हैं, कहीं और तरह का उत्पात और दंगा कर रहे हैं। कहा जाता है कि इसका कारण मुख्यतः आर्थिक है, बच्चों के माता-पिता के पास फीस देने को रुपया नहीं है, उनकी पुस्तकें खरीदने को पर्याप्त धन नहीं है इसलिए बच्चे उत्पात कर रहे हैं, परन्तु आप सिनेमाघरों में जा कर के देखिए कि वहां पर वही बच्चे जिनके लिए कहा जाता है कि उनके पास पैसा नहीं है रोज सुबह, शाम, दोपहर, हर समय सिनेमा देखते हैं और उसमें अपना पैसा खर्च करते हैं। उनकी

## [श्री० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तालंकार]

बेशर्मा देखिए। आज जो एक नया फैशन बना है प्रत्येक विद्यार्थी पूरे उस फैशन के अन्दर फिरता हुआ नजर आता है। तो हो सकता है कि आर्थिक कारण एक कारण हो लेकिन इस बात को मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ कि आज जो विद्यार्थियों का आन्दोलन उठ खड़ा हुआ है उसका मुख्य कारण आर्थिक है; मैं समझता हूँ कि इसका मुख्य कारण मनो-वैज्ञानिक तथा शैक्षणिक है। मनोवैज्ञानिक से मेरा अभिप्राय क्या है। विद्यार्थी के चरित्र का निर्माण या तो घर में हो सकता है या पाठशाला में हो सकता है। आज हमारे घरों की हालत यह है कि मां बाप सुबह ही कमाई को निकल पड़ते हैं, पिता अपने दफ्तर चला जाता है और माता भी अपना बैग उठा कर के किसी दफ्तर में चली जाती है, बच्चा अकेला रह जाता है और उसको हम स्कूल में भेजते हैं और स्कूल से, पाठशाला से आशा यह की जाती है कि पाठशाला में जा कर के बच्चा एक अध्यापक के सामने बैठेगा और अध्यापक जो कुछ कहेगा उसको वह ज्ञान-पिपासु की भाँति पीता चला जायगा। लेकिन आज पाठशाला के अन्दर जा कर वह क्या देखता है वह देखता है कि जो अध्यापक उसको पढ़ाने के लिए आता है वह विद्यार्थी के प्रश्न को हल करने के स्थान पर, अपने प्रश्नों में ही रमा हुआ है। आज हमारे अध्यापकवर्ग के अपने ही प्रश्न हैं, वे विद्यार्थियों के कल्याण के स्थान पर अपने कल्याण की बातें करते हैं और आपने देखा होगा कि प्रत्येक विद्यालय के अन्दर और यहां तक कि विश्वविद्यालयों के अन्दर भी उनकी यूनियन बनी हुई है। अध्यापक का काम यह होना चाहिए कि वह बच्चे को शिक्षा दे पर अध्यापक का काम यह हो रहा है कि वह अपनी आर्थिक समस्याओं को हल करने में जुटा हुआ है। इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि विद्यार्थी को परिवार के अन्दर, माता-पिता से जो चरित्र का निर्माण का जो सबक सीखना चाहिए वह उसे नहीं मिलता और विद्यालय में अध्यापक

से चरित्र निर्माण की जो शिक्षा उसे लेनी चाहिए वह भी नहीं मिलती; उसको न तो घर में कुछ मिलता है और न पाठशाला में कुछ मिलता है। जिसको न घर में कुछ मिले न पाठशाला में कुछ मिले तो उसके पास रह क्या जाता है। जब विद्यार्थी घर से निकलता है। पाठशाला से निकलता है तो वह बाहर चौराहे में आकर खड़ा हो जाता है। जब वह दाहिने तरफ देखता है तो राइट कम्युनिस्टों को पाता है, बायें तरफ देखता है तो लेफ्ट कम्युनिस्टों को पाता है, जब आगे देखता है तो एक पार्टी पाता है और जब पीछे देखता है तो दूसरी पार्टी देखता है। उसको सिर्फ राजनीतिक नेता ही दिखलाई देते हैं, भूपेश गुप्त जैसे नेता दिखलाई देते हैं, जो कहते हैं कि तुम्हें कहीं और आश्रय नहीं है तो मेरे साथ चलो। यही कारण है कि आज जो चारों तरफ दंगे हो रहे हैं उनमें विद्यार्थी दिखलाई देते हैं, जहां कि उन्हें नहीं होना चाहिए और न इस तरह की बात करनी चाहिए। आज विद्यार्थी पढ़ने के स्थान पर दंगों में लग गये हैं। मेरा विद्यार्थियों के साफ पहले ही घनिष्ठ संबंध रहा है और मैंने विद्यार्थियों से पूछा कि तुम्हारे आन्दोलन का क्या कारण है तथा तुम्हारी क्या मांगें हैं? आज विद्यार्थियों को यह मालूम नहीं है कि उनकी मांग क्या है। क्योंकि चारों तरफ दंगे हो रहे हैं, इसलिए वे लोग दंगों के अन्दर शामिल हैं। आपने देखा कल यहां पर क्या हुआ। कल जो दंगा हुआ क्या उसमें सब लोग दंगा करने के लिए आये हुए थे? एक, दो दंगा करने वालों में 10 और दंगा करने वाले शामिल हो गये और यही हालत आज विद्यार्थियों की है। विद्यार्थियों के सामने आज कोई आदर्श नहीं है और विद्यार्थियों को आज कोई मार्ग दिखलाने वाला नहीं है। विद्यार्थियों को मार्ग दिखलाने के लिए शिक्षक होने चाहिए लेकिन वे शिक्षक आज विद्यार्थियों को मार्ग दर्शन नहीं करा रहे हैं। विद्यार्थियों को अगर सीधे रास्ते पर चलना है तो सबसे बड़ा रास्ता अगर कोई दिखला सकता है तो वह शिक्षक

ही है। लेकिन आज शिक्षक स्वयं शून्य हैं शिक्षक के पास शिक्षा देने के लिए कुछ नहीं है।

आज शिक्षा संस्थाओं के अन्दर जाकर देख लीजिये, जो पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट क्लास पढ़ाने के लिए अध्यापक हैं, उनकी क्या हालत है। मैं एक कालेज के बारे में जानता हूँ जिसमें पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट क्लास को पढ़ाने वाला एक प्रोफेसर "ओबस्टेकल" शब्द "प्रॉब्लेम" कहता है, "सो सौरी" शब्द को "शौ शौरी" कहता है। तो आज इस तरह के अध्यापकों को पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट क्लास पढ़ाने के लिए रखा गया है और इस तरह के अध्यापक विद्यार्थियों को क्या शिक्षा दे सकेंगे? अगर शिक्षक ज्ञान के स्रोत हैं तो उसके स्रोत से अमृत पीने के लिए विद्यार्थी तरसता रह जाता है। अगर शिक्षक ज्ञान के भंडार हैं, ज्योति के पुंज हैं, तो ज्योति बुझे हुए दीये को जला देगी। लेकिन जो खुद ही बुझा है, जिनके अन्दर ज्ञान नहीं है वह ज्ञान को पिपासा क्या शान्त करेगा और बुझे हुए दीये को क्या जलायेगा।

आज सबसे बड़ी चिन्ता हमारे सामने शिक्षक की है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन नहीं है यह शिक्षक आन्दोलन है। शिक्षकों के अन्दर आज जो कमी दिखलाई देती है उसका परिणाम यह है कि हमारे विद्यार्थी बिना दिशा के, बिना किसी मार्ग दर्शन के चलते जा रहे हैं और उनको राह दिखलाने वाला कोई नहीं है। अगर शिक्षक उच्च कोटि का हो तो कितना ही उद्दण्ड छात्र हो, वह उसके सामने उदंडता नहीं कर सकता है। उदंडता तब होती है जब शिक्षक योग्य नहीं होता है और जब उसके पास देने के लिए कुछ नहीं होता है। उसके सामने सिर्फ एक ही बात होती है और वह उसकी खुद की समस्या होती है। वह कहता है कि तुम्हारी समस्या क्या है, मुझे तो अपनी समस्या हल करनी है।

अभी उत्तर प्रदेश के अन्दर जो दंगे हुए, विद्यार्थियों ने जो दंगे किये, उन दंगों में

एक खास बात देखने को मिलेगी। जो सरकारी स्कूल तथा कालेज थे, उनके अन्दर दंगे नहीं हुए। लेकिन जो गैर सरकारी स्कूल तथा कालेज थे, उनके अन्दर ज्यादातर दंगे हुए। इस का कारण क्या है? इस का कारण यह है कि जो सरकारी स्कूल हैं उनमें वेतन उच्चकोटि का दिया जाता है। सरकारी वेतन दिया जाता है इसलिए वहाँ के शिक्षक संतुष्ट हैं और जो गैर सरकारी स्कूल तथा कालेज हैं उनके अध्यापक असंतुष्ट हैं। क्योंकि उनको वेतन कम दिया जाता है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : आर्थिक कारण होगा।

प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तानंकार : आर्थिक कारण है, लेकिन मुख्य कारण यह है जो मैंने अभी आपको बतलाया। आर्थिक कारण तो आज दुनिया के अन्दर सब जगह चल रहा है, लेकिन विद्यार्थियों के लिए यह कह देना कि आर्थिक कारणों से वे इस तरह की बातें कर रहे हैं उचित मालूम नहीं देता। आप आज कितने ही विद्यार्थियों को सिनेमाओं में खड़े हुए पायेंगे जो रोज ब रोज सिनेमा देखते हैं और जो रोज ब रोज कपड़े बदलते हैं। उनके मातापिताओं को जरूर आर्थिक कष्ट होगा, लेकिन विद्यार्थियों को आर्थिक कष्ट नहीं है। विद्यार्थियों को खाना मिलता है और वे होटलों में चैन की वंशी बजाते हैं। इसलिए आर्थिक कारण को मुख्य कारण कह कर यह कहना कि देश के अन्दर जो महामारी हो रही है, देश के अन्दर जो भुखमरी हो रही, उसकी वजह से विद्यार्थी उठ खड़े हुए हैं सही नहीं हैं। विद्यार्थी खड़े हुए हैं, इसमें संदेह नहीं है, लेकिन आर्थिक कारणों से इस तरह की बातें नहीं हो रही हैं। आज विद्यार्थी के सामने आर्थिक कारण नहीं है, बल्कि उसके सामने मनो-वैज्ञानिक और शिक्षा का प्रश्न है। आज विद्यार्थी को अपने घर के अन्दर कुछ नहीं मिलता है और शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में विद्यालयों में भी कुछ नहीं मिलता है। जब वह दोनों तरफ कुछ नहीं पाता है तो उसके अन्दर

### [पो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धन्तालंकार]

मनोवैज्ञानिक हलचल पैदा हो जाती है और जो उत्पात करने वाले होते हैं उनके साथ वह छड़ा हो जाता है तथा चल पड़ता है। इसलिए आज इस तरह के दंगे विद्यार्थियों द्वारा हो रहे हैं। तो मैं यह सोचता हूँ कि विद्यार्थियों में जो असंतोष की भावना है उससे उनके अन्दर बेवैनी पैदा होती है और यही मुख्य कारण है।

एक बड़ी भारी समस्या जो हमारे सामने रह जाती है वह यह है कि शिक्षक आये तो कहां से आयें। यह तो शिक्षाविदों का काम है कि वे लाते हैं तो कहां से लाते हैं। लेकिन इसमें संदेह नहीं है कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में उसी को आना चाहिये जो यह समझता है कि वह कोई आदर्शवाद अपने बच्चों को दे सकता है। जिन लोगों के जीवन में खुद ही आदर्शवाद नहीं है, वह बच्चों को क्या आदर्श दिखलायेंगे।

मैं आपके सामने गोंडा की बात रखना चाहता हूँ। वहां पर एक गांधी विद्यालय है जिसके हैडमास्टर श्री त्रिपुरारी पांडे हैं। वहां पर दंगे हुए और बच्चों ने बसों को जलाने की उतावली की। तब पांडेजी बस के सामने आ गये और उन्होंने बच्चों से कहा कि अगर तुम पत्थर फेंकोगे तो पहले मेरी छाती पर फेंको, तब जाकर बस पर लगेगा। अगर इस तरह के अध्यापक आपके शिक्षालयों में होंगे तो यह हो नहीं सकता है कि कितना ही राजनैतिक लोग उन्हें भुलावा में डालना की कोशिश करे, वे उनके भुलावे में नहीं आयेंगे। जैसा कि मैंने कहा कि विद्यार्थियों को ऐसी स्थिति है कि वे ज्ञान के पिपासु होते हैं और मार्ग ढूँढते रहते हैं। उनको प्रकाश की आवश्यकता होती है, उनको ज्ञान की पिपासा होती है और वे अमृत की तलाश में होते हैं। जब उन्हें कुछ नहीं मिलता है तब वे भटक जाते हैं और यही मनोवैज्ञानिक कारण है। इस मनोवैज्ञानिक कारण को दूर करने की आवश्यकता है और हमें इस चीज के लिए ऐसे सच्चरित्र अध्यापकों की आवश्यकता

है। जो अपने को अध्यापक सोचते हैं, वे आजकल सिगरेट मुंह में लगाकर पढ़ाते हैं। ऐसे अध्यापकों को मैंने देखा है जो विद्यालयों के अन्दर हाथ में सिगरेट लिये पढ़ाते हैं। अगर सिगरेट पीता हुआ अध्यापक क्लास के अन्दर आता है तो ऐसा करने से विद्यार्थी को कौन रोक सकता है? इस तरह से अध्यापकों के व्यवहार में परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है, तब जाकर यह स्थिति सुधर सकती है।

बाकी एक और समस्या है और वह यह है कि कहा जाता है कि पुलिस ने बड़ा अत्याचार किया, पुलिस ने बड़ी ज्यादती की। मैं यह पूछता हूँ कि अगर एक विद्यार्थी गुन्डागर्दी करता है तो वह विद्यार्थी है या गुन्डा है? आखिर गुन्डापन, गुन्डापन है, चाहे वह विद्यार्थी करे या कोई और करे। अगर विद्यार्थी इस तरह की बात करता है, तो उसको यह हक हासिल नहीं हो जाता है कि वह जाकर बसों को जला दे। विद्यार्थी को यह हक हासिल नहीं हो जाता है कि वह जाकर दुकान के शीशों को तोड़ दे। मैंने इस तरह की बात देहरादून में देखी क्योंकि वहां की जनता परेशान थी और वहां के लोग कहते थे कि ये विद्यार्थी है या उत्पात करने वाले गुन्डे। विद्यार्थियों के साथ इस समय शान्ति और प्रेम से बर्ताव करने की आवश्यकता है क्योंकि उनका दिमाग इस तरह का होता है कि उसमें जल्दी से असर हो जाता है। लेकिन उनके दिमाग में आज असर समाज का पड़ रहा है, जो इस समाज का निर्माण कर रहे हैं उसका असर उन विद्यार्थियों पर पड़ेगा। जिस तरह समाज के नेता व्यवहार करेंगे उसी तरह का चरित्र का निर्माण विद्यार्थियों का होगा। पुलिस ने जो ज्यादती की है अगर वह इस तरह की ज्यादती नहीं करती तो वह अपने कर्तव्य का पालन भी नहीं कर पाती। अगर वह अपने कर्तव्य का पालन इस तरह से नहीं करती तो इससे भी ज्यादा तबाही हो सकती थी। मुझे मालूम है कि देहरादून के अन्दर विद्यार्थियों ने पुलिस को पकड़-पकड़ कर मारा और उनका

इतना खून निकला कि हम यह देखकर आश्चर्य में पड़ गये कि ये विद्यार्थी हैं या क्या हैं।

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आपका हृदय पसीजे गया होगा।

प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तालंकार : आपका नहीं पसीजगा।

उपसभापति : आपका समय हो गया है।

प्रो० सत्यव्रत सिद्धान्तालंकार : मैं इतना कहकर समाप्त करना चाहता हूँ कि पुलिस के ऊपर लांचन लाने से पहले हमें यह सोचना चाहिये कि जो लोग पुलिस को इस तरह के कार्य करने के लिए प्रेरित करते हैं, उनका क्या इलाज है? अगर पुलिस कुछ न करे तब पुलिस की मुसीबत, अगर पुलिस कुछ करे तब भी पुलिस की मुसीबत। (Interruption) अगर आपका राज्य हो जायेगा तो क्या आप पुलिस को घर में बिठलायेंगे? अगर आपके विद्यार्थी दंगा करते हैं तो पुलिस दंगों को शांत करेगी और अगर कोई पोलिटिकल पार्टी दंगा करती है, तो उसको उसे शान्त करना पड़ेगा। लेकिन दुःख की बात तो यह है कि जब विद्यार्थी घर से निकलता है तो राजनैतिक दल उसका लाभ उठाने की कोशिश करते हैं। अगर आप देश की भलाई की बात सोचते हैं, तो तमाम राजनैतिक नेताओं को, सबको मिलकर, कांग्रेस को, जनसंघ को, कम्युनिस्ट को, सबको मिलकर कम से कम यह सोचना होगा कि हम लोग बाहर चाहे कुछ भी क्यों न करे, लेकिन जो विद्यामंदिर है, जो विद्या के क्षेत्र है, उनको कुरुक्षेत्र नहीं बनायेंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

श्री राजनारायण : माननीय, मेरा एक वैधानिक प्रश्न है और वह यह है कि एक वक्ता 15 मिनट में 15 सैल्फ कांटेडिक्टरी

टर्म इस्तेमाल करता है, तो इसके लिए कोई व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये।

श्री गोड्डे मुराहरि : उपसभापति महोदय, अभी अभी मैंने कुछ भाषण इस सदन में विद्यार्थियों के बारे में सुने। मैं खुद भी विद्यार्थी जीवन से सीधे राजनैतिक जीवन में आया हुआ एक आदमी हूँ और इसलिये आज तक मेरा विद्यार्थियों से ताल्लुक है और आगे भी रहेगा। जब इस तरह के भाषण मैं सुनता हूँ तो मुझे कभी कभी लगता है कि यही लोग दोषी हैं जिनकी वजह से आज यह सब कुछ देश में हो रहा है। इस दंग का दिमाग जो आज देश में चला है, यह 50 साल पुराना है। जब अंग्रेजी राज इस देश में चलता था उन दिनों में या उससे भी आगे जो दिमाग होना चाहिये था, वही दिमाग आज भी काम कर रहा है और उसी तरह से विद्यार्थियों के बारे में सोचा जा रहा है। मैं तो यह कहूँगा कि जब तक ऐसे दिमाग का परिचय इस देश में मिलता रहेगा तब तक इस देश में हंगामे नहीं रुकेंगे बल्कि देश में और भी खराबी होगी। इसलिये मैं चाहूँगा कि पहले आप अपने दिमाग को बदलिये।

मैं जानता हूँ कि आजकल देश में जो एक बेचैनी फैली हुई है वह सिर्फ विद्यार्थियों में नहीं है देश के हर तबके में और हर व्यक्ति में एक बेचैनी है। वे चाहते हैं कि देश में कोई तब्दीली हो। वे चाहते हैं कि समाज में सुधार हो, आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार हो। यह भी सब चाहते हैं कि देश में कोई राजनैतिक तब्दीली हो। इसीलिये देश में आज एक ऐसी बेचैनी फैली हुई है जिसका इजहार वे कभी कभी करते रहते हैं। ऐसी हालत में अगर विद्यार्थी तबका कोई क्रांतिकारी काम करना शुरू कर दें या हमारा विद्यार्थी तबका आज हिन्दुस्तान में कोई तब्दीली के लिये बेचैन हो और बेचैनी में कोई काम कर दे तो हम लोगों को घबड़ाना नहीं चाहिये बल्कि सामना करना चाहिए। उसका सामना न कर के यदि हम उनको गुंडा

### [श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

कहने लगे या यह कहने लगे कि वह गुंडागर्दी कर रहे हैं या वे वेंगाबांड हैं, तो इससे कोई काम चलने वाला नहीं है। असल में आपको यह सोचना चाहिये कि इसके मूल में क्या है।

आज अपना सड़ा हुआ समाज है। आज अपनी सारी अर्थव्यवस्था सड़ी हुई है। आज सारा राजनैतिक जीवन जो है इस देश में, वह सड़ा हुआ है। तो ऐसे सड़े हुए देश में जब विद्यार्थी कोई तब्दीली चाहते हैं और उनको कोई रास्ता दिखाई नहीं पड़ता है, तो वे कुछ न कुछ कर बैठते हैं। हो सकता है कि कभी कभी वे बुरा काम भी कर डालते हों। कई जगह विद्यार्थियों के हाथ से ऐसे काम हुए हैं जिनको हम पसन्द नहीं करेंगे, लेकिन यह कह देना कि विद्यार्थी तबका आज गुंडागर्दी पर उतर आया है, यह उसी दिमाग का परिचय है जो आज से सौ साल पहले होना चाहिये था।

मैंने इस प्रस्ताव पर कुछ संशोधन भी दिया है और उसी संशोधन में मैंने जो कार्य गिनाये हैं उन पर अगर सरकार अमल करेगी तो शायद कुछ सुधार इस हालत में आये। जो विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन आज चल रहा है उसके लिये किसी राजनैतिक पार्टी को दोष देने की जरूरत नहीं है बल्कि खुद कांग्रेस पार्टी को अपने ऊपर दोष लेना चाहिये। मैं जानता हूँ कि सन् 1942 में विद्यार्थियों ने एक क्रांतिकारी कदम उठाया था जिसकी बजह से आज हिन्दुस्तान आजाद है। यह भी मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि यह विद्यार्थी तबका था जिसने सन् 1942 में एक क्रांतिकारी कदम उठाया था और अगस्त, 1942 में जो क्रांति हुई थी उसके फलस्वरूप आज यहां पर राज्य सभा चल रही है, लोक सभा चल रही है।

फिर भी आज जब कहा जाता है कि विद्यार्थियों को राजनीति में भाग नहीं लेना चाहिये तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि विद्यार्थियों को किस काम में भाग लेना चाहिये।

उनको सिनेमा देखना चाहिये, खेल कूद करना चाहिये, बाल डांस करना चाहिये या क्या करना चाहिये? एक तरफ आप कहेंगे कि उनको राजनीति में भाग मत लेने दो, दूसरी तरफ आप यह भी कहेंगे कि उनको सिनेमा मत देखने दो, उनको बाल डांस मत करने दो, उनको कुछ भी मत करने दो। तो फिर क्या वे केवल किताब लेकर के घर में बैठे रहें? हम यह भी जानते हैं कि आप राज्य सभा से निकल कर के क्या क्या काम करते हैं। किसी मनुष्य के जीवन में केवल एक काम नहीं रहता है। आप खुद राज्य सभा से निकल कर के क्या क्या काम करते हैं, इसके बारे में जरा सोच लीजियेगा कि आप कहां कहां जाते हैं, कौन कौन सी मीटिंगों में भाग लेते हैं और क्या क्या करते हैं। यदि आप अपने कामों के बारे में एक फेहरिस्त बनायेंगे तो आपको मालूम हो जायेगा कि केवल एक काम करके मानव जीवन नहीं चलता है। तो इस तरह के जो भाषण दिये जाते हैं और उनको जो उपदेश दिया जाता है, वह उपदेश बन्द हो। आप सोचिये कोई ठोस कार्यक्रम और जब ठोस कार्यक्रम के बारे में आप सोचेंगे तब जाकर के कोई रास्ता दिखाई देगा। लेकिन मैं जानता हूँ कि जब तक बुनियादी तब्दीली अपने समाज में नहीं होगी, अपने देश की राजनीति में नहीं होगी, जब तक आपकी जो व्यवस्था है वह उलट नहीं दी जायेगी, वह खत्म नहीं कर दी जायेगी, तब तक कोई न कोई आन्दोलन चलता रहेगा और उसमें विद्यार्थी लोग भी भाग लेंगे। इसको आप रोक नहीं सकते। विद्यार्थियों को राजनीति से वंचित करना मेरे खयाल में सब से महान मूर्खता होगी क्योंकि अगर देश में जनतन्त्र चलाना है और अगर हमें अपने देश को बनाना है तो फिर देश को कौन बनायेगा। एक तरफ आप कहेंगे कि सरकारी नौकरों को किसी तरह राजनीति में भाग नहीं लेना चाहिये, दूसरी तरफ आप यह भी कहेंगे कि पुलिस और दूसरे कर्मचारियों को भी राजनीति

में भाग नहीं लेना चाहिये। आप यह भी कहेंगे कि जो रेलवे में काम करते हैं उनको भी राजनीति में भाग नहीं लेना चाहिये। फिर आप यह भी कहेंगे कि जो फैक्ट्रीज में काम करने वाले हैं उनको भी राजनीति में भाग नहीं लेना चाहिये। अब यह कहा जा रहा है कि विद्यार्थियों को राजनीति में भाग नहीं लेना चाहिये। यह भी कहा जा रहा है कि जो अध्यापक हैं उनको भी राजनीति में भाग नहीं लेना चाहिये। तो फिर राजनीति में कौन भाग लेगा? क्या सिर्फ कांग्रेस के जो इन्ने गिने लोग हैं वही राजनीति में भाग लेंगे। अगर जनता का राज्य इस देश में चलने वाला है तो राजनीति में विद्यार्थी भी भाग लेंगे, मजदूर भी भाग लेंगे, सरकारी नौकर भी भाग लेंगे। जब हर आदमी राजनीति में भाग ले करके इस देश को बनायेगा तभी यह देश ठीक बनेगा।

अब जो विद्यार्थियों पर गोली चलाई जाती है, उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। आज छः महीने से जो चीज चल रही है अगर यही चलती रही तो आगे जा कर इस देश का भी अन्त्य होने वाला है क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ कि जब छोटी छोटी चीजें शुरू हो जाती हैं तो फिर उन्हीं से आगे जा कर एक बड़ा तूफान खड़ा हो जाता है।

आज देश में एक क्रान्तिकारी भावना उत्पन्न हुई है क्योंकि बीस साल से जो इस देश में राज्य चल रहा है, जो व्यवस्था चल रही है, उसी के प्रति हम आज ऐसा जो वातावरण देश में फैला हुआ है और उसमें कोई तब्दीली किसी ढंग से होने वाली नहीं है, न पार्लियामेंट कर सकती है, और न इतने राजनैतिक दल कर सकते हैं। इसी लिये हर एक आदमी यह सोचता है कि किसी न किसी तरह से इस व्यवस्था को खत्म किया जाय और इसके लिये वह प्रायः बढ़ कर के कुछ न कुछ करना चाहता है और यही वजह है कि आज चारों तरफ एक क्रांति का वातावरण फैला हुआ है। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि अगर देश की स्थिति में

सुधार नहीं होता है और देश में बुनियादी तब्दीली नहीं होती है तो आगे के इस देश में क्रांति हो करके रंगी और कोई उल्टा रोक नहीं सकता। इसके लिये जितने विरोधी दल हैं वे संगठित रूप से मिल कर इस गवर्नमेंट को उलटने के लिये काम करे और कोई इस बात का कदम उठाये तो मैं उसके पक्ष में हूँ। लेकिन इस तरह की जो छुटपुट चीजें हो रही हैं कि कहीं बस जला दिया, कहीं सिनेमाघर जला दिया, कहीं कुठ कर दिया, इनसे कुछ होने वाला नहीं है और मैं इनके पक्ष में नहीं हूँ। इस लिये मैं चाहूंगा कि सब विरोधी दल एक फैसले पर आयें। यदि सब विरोधी दल बैठ कर के इस बारे में सोचें और इस कांग्रेस सरकार को खत्म करने की योजना बनायें तो मैं उनके साथ हूँ। हो सकता है कि संगठित रूप से वे कोई कदम उठायें और मैं इसके पक्ष में हूँ कि यह हो। अगर यह नहीं होता तो विद्यार्थी लोग जहाँ तहाँ आकर बैठ जायें और सिविल नाफरमानी करें कि जब तक इसमें तब्दीली नहीं होगी तब तक हम नहीं उठेंगे। मैं इसके पक्ष में हूँ, लेकिन छुटपुट चीजों के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि जितने विरोधी दल हैं आपस में बैठ कर इस बात को तय करे कि आगे क्या करना चाहिए। अगर वे क्रान्ति भी करना चाहें तो करें, लेकिन संगठित क्रान्ति हो; इस ढंग की क्रान्ति मैं नहीं चाहता।

डिप्टी चेयरमैन महोदय, आपसे मैं यही कहना चाहूंगा कि राजनीतिज्ञ हमारे विद्यार्थी समुदाय में इस चीज को नहीं देख पाते हैं कि आज का विद्यार्थी किस तरह जीवन बिताता है। एक तरफ एडमिशन के लिए जाता है—हजारों लोग एडमिशन के लिए आते हैं—तो वहाँ भाई-भतीजावाद चलता है। कोई मिनिस्टर का लड़का है, कोई मिनिस्टर का भतीजा है, उनको एडमिशन मिल जाता है और दूसरे लोगों को एडमिशन नहीं मिलता। फिर क्या होगा विद्यार्थी लोगों के अन्दर,



### [श्री गोडे मुराहरि]

इसके बारे में भी सोचिये । साथ साथ हमारे होस्टल की जो हालत है, वहां पर जाति बिरादरी का भी फर्क किया जाता है उसके बारे में भी सोचिये । जो खर्च एक एक विद्यार्थी के ऊपर इस देश में होता है उस पर भी सोचिए । यह भी सोचिए कि आज कितने ऐसे लड़के हैं जो उच्च विद्या पा सकते हैं । स्कूल और कालेजों से तो बहुत से विद्यार्थी निकलते हैं । अगर उनमें से कुछ उच्च विद्या चाहेंगे तो कोई बड़े घर के लड़के, मिनिस्टर के लड़के या बड़े बिजनेसमैन के लड़के को एडमिशन मिलेगा बाकी लड़कों को नहीं मिलेगा । अगर ऐसी स्थिति है तो जो विद्यार्थी है उनमें क्यों न बैचनी फैले ।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि जो पैसा विद्यार्थी मां-बाप से पढ़ाई के लिए लाता है उसको मालूम होता है कि कितनी मुश्किल से पैसा उसको मिलता है। मैं यह मानने को तैयार हूं कि कितना विद्यार्थी जोश में रहता है, उसको उतनी तकलीफ नहीं होती होगी कि उसके मां-बाप कैसे पैसा कमाते हैं लेकिन जब वह घर लौटता है कालेज से तो घर में देखता है कि कैसे उसके मां-बाप जीवन बिताते हैं । आज जब समाज में गैर-बराबरी होती है, जब विद्यार्थियों में गैर-बराबरी होती है तो छोटे तबके के विद्यार्थियों के मन में यह बात उठती है कि आज के समाज में जब तक बदलाव नहीं होगा तब तक इस देश में अच्छी व्यवस्था नहीं बनेगी । फिर जब इस तरह का बातावरण बन जाता है तो विद्यार्थी भी आगे आता है वह भी क्रान्ति करने के लिए तैयार हो जाता है । मैं यह मानता हूं । कि आज जिस तरह की लड़ाई हो रही है उसमें विद्यार्थियों के सामने कोई लक्ष्य नहीं है । आज विद्यार्थी समुदाय एक लक्ष्य लेकर आगे बढ़ता तो मैं भी उसके साथ चलता । मैं आज भी चलने के लिए तैयार हूं लेकिन मैं चाहता हूं कि वे लक्ष्य लेकर आगे बढ़ें ।

मैं जानता हूं कि यहां पर विद्यार्थियों का 18 नवम्बर को प्रदर्शन होने वाला है । उसमें कई मांगें उन्होंने गिनाई हैं । मुझे पता नहीं कि यह जलूस यहां पर आएगा या नहीं, उनके साथ कैसा बर्ताव होगा । कल एक जलूस आया, दो लाख आदमी थे, उसको यहां पर आने दिया गया । फिर जो कांड हुआ उसको देख लें । अगर न्यायिक जांच होगी तो पता चल जायेगा कि कांग्रेस के आदमी उसमें जाकर ऐसे काण्ड करवाते हैं ।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : क्वेश्चन ।

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : क्वेश्चन को रखें । जब न्यायिक जांच बैठेगी तब पता चल जायगा, सब भंडाफोड़ हो जायगा । इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि अगर विद्यार्थियों के मसलों को हम लोगों को ठीक तरह से हल करना है तो फिर इन सब चीजों के बारे में हम सोचें । इस देश में कम्पलसरी फ्री एजुकेशन होनी चाहिए इंटर-मीजिएट स्टैंडर्ड तक । इसके अलावा जो आजकल तरह तरह के स्कूल चलते हैं हमारे देश में उनको बन्द करना चाहिए और एक तरह के स्कूल होने चाहिए; चाहे मिनिस्टर का लड़का हो, चाहे भंगी का लड़का हो, सब एक तरह के स्कूल में पढ़ सकें इस तरह की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए । जब तक यह नहीं होगा तब तक यह सब चलेगा ।

एक सज्जन यहां पर भाषण देते वक्त फरमा रहे थे कि एक अध्यापक ने अंग्रेजी का कुछ गलत इस्तेमाल किया । क्यों नहीं करेंगे ? आज जो हमारे अध्यापक हैं उनको भी अंग्रेजी मालूम नहीं, लेकिन ऊपर से अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से पढ़ाई चलाने के जो आदेश हैं उनको पूरा कर रहे हैं । उनको जो अंग्रेजी मालूम है उसी को चला रहे हैं । इससे न तो अंग्रेजी का भला होने वाला है न देश का भला होने वाला है । मैं तो चाहूंगा कि जो अपनी मातृभाषा है उसी में सब कामकाज चले ।

मैं यह भी चाहूंगा कि जहां पर कालेज और यूनिवर्सिटी हैं वहां यूनिवर्सिटी यूनियन बने कम्पलसरी मेम्बरशिप के साथ। जो भी विद्यार्थी हों वे सब मेम्बर बनें और उनकी राय से यूनियन कायम हो ताकि अगर कोई अड़ंगा पैदा हो जाय या तकलीफ हो विद्यार्थियों को तो फौरन उसकी सुनवाई हो सके। पूरी रिप्रेजेंटेटिव यूनियन होनी चाहिए।

हमारे देश के जो लोग गरीब हैं और जिनकी आर्थिक स्थिति खराब है उन सबके लिए यहां पर मुफ्त विद्या होनी चाहिए। इसकी भी व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए।

यूनिवर्सिटी में आजकल जिस तरह वाईस चांसलरों को भरा जाता है या जिस तरह प्रिंसिपलों को भरा जाता है वह भी बन्द होना चाहिए। राजनीतिक गुटबाजी चलती है उसको भी बन्द करना चाहिए। जो आदमी विद्या से सम्बन्धित नहीं हैं उनको कालेज या यूनिवर्सिटी में कोई अधिकारी नहीं बनाना चाहिए, न वाईस चांसलर हो, न प्रिंसिपल हो। मैं यह चाहूंगा कि जहां पर भी होस्टल बनें, वहां पर सरकार अपनी तरफ से इन्तजाम करे कि वहां ठीक से खाना मिल सके या सब्जीडा-इज करे तो करना चाहिए। जो राजनीतिक दल हैं जो राजनीतिक ट्रेन्ड्स हैं उनको वहां पर अपना क्लब खोलने की इजाजत होनी चाहिए ताकि उनके जो ख्यालात हैं वहां पर वे डिस्कस हो सकें, उनको फैला सकें—इस तरह की छूट होनी चाहिए। तभी जाकर जो विद्यार्थी आज सिनेमा जाते हैं वे कम से कम एक जगह बैठ कर सोचने लगे कि हमारे देश में आगे जाकर किस तरह की राजनीति होनी चाहिए, किस तरह की अर्थव्यवस्था होनी चाहिए, किस तरह की समाज व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must now wind up, please.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: Just a few more minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken over 16 to 17 minutes. Please wind up.

श्री गोडे मुराहरि : हमारे एमेंडमेंट इसमें हैं, उसके बारे में भी कहना है। राज-नारायण जी जब बोलेंगे सब कह देंगे। मैं इतना ही कहना चाहूंगा कि देश में अगर शान्ति लानी है, देश में अगर विद्यार्थियों के मसले को हल करना है तो फिर हम लोगों को जो उनकी बुनियादी हालत है उसमें सुधार लाना चाहिए और उसके लिए मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि कांग्रेस वालों को अपने खुद के घर को देखना चाहिए, क्योंकि जगह जगह पर जाकर यह आरोप लगाते हैं कि यह सब राजनीतिक पार्टियां करा रही हैं, लेकिन जगह जगह पर—मुझे मालूम है मैं नाम भी दे सकता हूँ—कांग्रेस के बड़े लीडरों ने विद्यार्थियों के पास जाकर जातिवाद के आधार पर या कुछ और आधार पर उकसाया नीचा दिखाने के लिए और उनसे प्रदर्शन करवाये। बिहार में सहरसा में एक मिनिस्टर हैं सत्येन्द्र नारायण सिंह उन्होंने और उनके कुछ आदमियों ने विद्यार्थियों से के० बी० साहय के खिलाफ प्रदर्शन करवाये। इस तरह की चीज होती रहती है। यह सब चलता है एक तरफ और दूसरी तरफ विद्यार्थी अपनी मांगों को लेकर जब यहां 18 नवम्बर को आने वाले हैं तो मैं सरकार से कहना चाहूंगा कि आप उनके ऊपर रोक न लगाओ क्योंकि अगर उन्हें रोका गया तो फिर और अनर्थ होगा। वे शान्तिपूर्ण प्रदर्शन करेंगे, उनकी मांग को सुन लो और सुन कर जो कुछ उस पर कार्यवाही करनी है करो।

COL. B. H. ZAIDI (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, I listened with very great interest to the speech which fell from the lip of my revered friend, Mr. Ramachandran, and I find myself in complete agreement with the sentiments which he expressed. In spite of the pain which the behaviour of students in our country during the last few months has caused, I have not lost faith in the youth of our country. As you know, the world is passing through a very difficult period. In so

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many Western countries where the society is affluent, where the young people have got all those amenities and comforts denied to the boys and girls of my country, we find a large number of angry youngmen who are resorting, every now and then, to the most heinous crimes and most indecent action. If young people in our country sometimes lose patience and misbehave we know the disabilities and handicaps they are suffering from. Conditions in our schools and colleges leave very much to be desired. Lack of proper buildings and equipment, sufficient number of teachers and contented and happy teachers, is something which we see existing all over the country. Then, as you know, education at every level has made very great strides in recent years. From primary education up to university education progress has been geometrical, but young people who now flock our colleges and universities are very often drawn from families which have no traditions of culture or education. I do not mean that these people should not be given opportunities for being educated up to the highest level. They have every right, according to their aptitude and their capacity. What I mean is we should not be unmindful of their social background. I know of so many young people who go back to a home, which is a one-room tenement measuring ten by ten or twelve by ten feet, with a father, mother and four or five brothers and sisters shouting and shrieking. Here is a youngman studying for his B.A. or M.A. He is living in a hovel. How is he to study? How can he have peace of mind? So, these are the conditions in which our young people have to study and I wonder not that they feel dissatisfied. There are many other factors which lead to discontent among students. As has been rightly said, nature abhors a vacuum. Today we find that our young people have a very big vacuum in their lives. They have little faith, little hope, very few ideals. They have lost faith in their leaders, teachers and their elders and yet there is discrimination. I wish to have just one ex-

ample. To the city of Indore recently two distinguished leaders went and wanted to address the people there. They could not speak. The microphone was disconnected, the lights were switched off. And our revered President goes there after a few days. What happened? There was pin-drop silence, tremendous enthusiasm and acclamation and it is not that our President uses soft words. He hits and speaks his mind openly. People have faith in his integrity, in his moral and spiritual greatness and, therefore, when he goes to the same city, the young people listen to him with pin-drop silence. So, these are the various factors which have led to lack of faith and lack of hope on the part of our young people. Then . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Who are the leaders to whom you refer? (Interruption).

COL. B. H. ZAIDI: Our young people see what is happening in the neighbouring countries. They hear and read about the activities of the Red Guards in China. They sometimes feel that they are the Red Guards of India. They also read about the youth of Indonesia making and unmaking Ministers and Governments and they naturally feel that they can also be a force in the country. There is a tremendous difference between the Red Guards, the Indonesian youth and the young people of our country. Perhaps I am not wrong in saying that the Red Guards in China are indulging in various activities because the Party and their leaders want them to do that. They have the backing and support of the leaders and the rulers of that country. Similarly, in Indonesia also the young people are acting because they know that they have the support and backing of their new Government. That is not so in our country. In our country these young people are acting against the administration, against the Government, against law and order in the land. I want, therefore, to distinguish between two sets of circumstances. As I said, there are all these various dis-

abilities which our youth is suffering from. I am fully conscious of that, but the same disabilities existed last year and the year before last. Those conditions are shameful and must be changed. We want better opportunities to be given to our young people. We want to give them better schools, well-paid teachers. There should be greater interest on the part of teachers in the welfare of the taught. There should be students' councils and self-government, so that they get an opportunity to give expression to their grievances. and their troubles. All this is very necessary. But this was true last year. It was true the year before last and it is true today. What has happened today, in the last few months, that suddenly we find this upsurge of violence? It is not violence only on the part of students. There is an upsurge of violence over the protection of the cow. There is an upsurge of violence over the location of a steel plant in Andhra. There is an upsurge of violence over all sorts of complaints, real or imaginary, very often trivial. Therefore, we have to sit back . . .

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Was it not organised in Durgapur by the Congress Party . . .

**COL. B. H. ZAIDI:** I hope my friend will get his opportunity to make a speech. I am a back-bencher and I may be shown a little indulgence. I cannot be pitted against such stalwarts and giants of Rajya Sabha as my friend over there. May I be left in peace? Madam I was saying that we have to take into consideration and analyse why the trouble has started, why violence has erupted only now, only a few months before the general election is due. I for one feel that these young people, whom I love and in whom I have great faith, are not to blame. Ninety per cent of our boys and girls believe in discipline even today when old morals, ideals and values have been eroded. There are still in my country people who have respect for their elders and their teachers. They believe in the moral and spiritual heritage of this great motherland As I

said it is only at the most ten per cent of our youth, which is wavered and undisciplined. They unfortunately take the lead. They become the leaders and guides of the rest of the student community. You may ask why do the ninety per cent allow themselves to be led and to be misguided by a handful of their fellow-students. I have seen the sorry spectacle in the country. This is the tradition in our national life that the good people who are in a majority, believe in sitting back quietly in their homes and not get mixed up in mischief and disorderly conduct. In the city of Delhi I have been reading in papers now and then that people are attacked, they are raped, they are murdered in daylight in the streets of Delhi. Hundreds of people witness the spectacle and no one goes forward to arrest that man or help the victim. There are women abducted openly in our thoroughfares and the good people, the "Shariflock" say: "भाई अपने

को बचाने के लिये हम इस झगड़े में पड़ने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं"

If this is our national character, if we as a people behave in this fashion, we cannot blame the students for giving the leadership of the student community to those who do not believe in discipline or in scholastic values. Therefore, Madam, once we realise that these young people today are not to blame so much, that they are being misguided and are being exploited, we must be extremely careful, and I shall end by making a few suggestions as to what should be done.

I feel that very often the demands of the students are very very trivial. They can be very easily met, but the teachers and the Managing Committees turn a deaf ear. They show a great deal of unpardonable indifference and callousness in looking into those small complaints. A stitch in time they say saves nine, and a little attention and a little care bestowed in the nick of time will save a lot of trouble. We know that our youth is being encouraged to indulge in subversive

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and mischievous activities. Therefore, the teachers, the managers, all those who are connected with the running and administering of educational institutions ought to take every possible care that the students are met and their complaints are listened to and attended to as expeditiously as possible.

Madam, we have had a lot of trouble in Delhi over the angry reaction of the law students to the decision of the Bar Council. There was fight between the students and the police for weeks. Nothing was done and only now a few days ago a concession has been shown to the law students. Could this not be done in time? Why do we always wait throughout our national life? We are suffering from this lack of decision in time. Everything is put off and this is the bane of our national life and the same extends to the educational sphere. As I said, very often the complaints are very very trivial. I am connected with a college in Delhi. The students one day went on strike. The teachers there are very sympathetic. They got hold of the students and said: "What do you want? Please let us have what you call your charter of demands." Three days ago I examined the charter of demands. They want their college building to look more attractive. The plaster is crumbling and the paint is very faint, and the atmosphere is uninspiring. Then they want better food. One of their complaints is that the girls are not allowed to have tea in the boys' canteen. Why should they be separated? There are many demands like that. So, if these things are sympathetically looked into and examined and the students are satisfied, a great deal of trouble can be avoided. But if violence breaks out and action has to be taken, we must once and for all make up our minds that our students are not a privileged class. They are a privileged class in the sense that they have the privilege of being educated in our schools, colleges and universities. How many of our countrymen get the privilege of going to a college or a university? These

are very lucky people in the sense that they can be looked upon as a privileged class, and that privilege also entails a duty to the society and to the country. But apart from this students should not be treated as a privileged class. To say that the police should look upon these young men who many be breaking windows and setting motor cars and houses on fire as their children will not do. If they are indulging in destruction and subversive activities, they should not be looked upon as students, they should be looked upon as people who are indulging in crime and should be treated as such. If is because we do not distinguish between the 90 or 95 per cent of well-behaved and decent students and these 5 per cent madcaps, and part of the trouble is due to that and we have to make up our mind on the one hand so far as the student community at large is concerned. We must take up a sympathetic attitude examine their grievances, create greater amenities and welfare measures, and on the other hand we must strongly and with firm determination deal with these who act as criminals.

Before I sit down there is just one word I want to say for the hon. Ministers here. We are a poor country no doubt, but I feel that education is being starved. Enough funds are not being made available to it. I have one thing specially in my mind to which I would like to make a reference. So many schools in Delhi throughout the winter, summer and the rains are carrying on in tents and shamianas. The explanation is that we are a poor country, that we have not got the money. Every year palatial buildings for the Secretariat are going up. Every year we see one or two new buildings going up because our Secretariat people cannot work in those wartime hutments which were put up. They are not good enough. We must therefore have those buildings at a cost of something like Rs. 70 lakhs or Rs. 90 lakhs. There is

enough money for these buildings. People cannot work, departments can not work in these old hutments, but our boys and girls should continue to study in tents and under shamianas. I think this is most shameful. If there is no money, let our Secretaries, Joint Secretaries and others work in the wartime tenements and hutments. If there is money, lakhs and lakhs of rupees for the extension of the Secretariat, let Mr. Chagla see that there is not a single school in Delhi which continues to work under shamianas.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): Madam, I thank you for giving me five minutes to speak. We are passing through a critical time in our history after independence. The incidents that occur everyday in the country resulting in violence and bloodshed are something very similar to what we witnessed at the time of partition. Madam, students are on the forefront in the disturbances we see throughout India. It is not a regional question nor a social question, but a national question. We all must look at it dispassionately and find out the real cause for the disturbances. The real cause is, according to me, there is widespread frustration in the minds of students. To them the future looks very very bleak. They have now reached a stage where they feel that all their labour, studies and perseverance will have no bearing in their later life because the whole educational system is defective. The economic depression in the country brought about by this Government has closed all doors for young people in the country who come out of colleges and schools to find useful avocations and employment as per their aptitudes. The poverty that stares at their faces at home is such that they drive them to extreme ends to resort to violence. They look around and see politicians going about the country enjoying all the luxuries by indulging in shady deals, wire-pulling and power politics, and they have all luxuries in their life. These politicians have become the new class which is

the ruling class today and there is absolutely no basis for the rich, pomp and pleasure that they enjoy today. It is their politics and power politics and power politics alone that got them to elevated positions. The student community also looks at them and finds that the politicians have neither any educational qualifications nor disciplined training except their political manoeuvres. When the students compare their life as against the life of the politicians which is now corroding the public life in India and when they look at their own dismal and poverty-stricken life because of the policies of the Government, anger gets into their minds and they feel, why should we study so much and waste our good money when power and pomp and other things could be obtained through political machinations? They look at the life of the politicians and leaders and think that these leaders have elevated themselves by resorting to unlawful activities during pre-independence days, why not we also indulge in them? And they come to the conclusion that they can do so by adopting the same methods, without caring about the context. This is one of the reasons which I attribute to the student unrest.

Another important reason is that the political leaders also instigate them to start violence for their own convenience. When I say political leaders, I include in that category the Congress leaders also. The latest incident in Andhra is being encouraged indirectly by the local ruling elements. The Chief Minister, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, has not condemned it as much as his office requires him to do. He, like many others, I am afraid, is of the opinion that the Centre yields only in the face of violence. If this is his opinion to be fair to him, I would say that he is right. It is a fact that the Centre also behaves in this way. The time has come now when the Centre must also put an end to this feeling that they bow to violence. I am sorry to say that the conditions that lead to violence are prevailing not only amongst

[Shri S. S. Mariswamy] the students but among in the entire community that forms the nation. It is like an epidemic spreading everywhere. Please permit me to narrate an incident that happened a couple of days before in my home State of Madras. There is a place called Udumalpet in Coimbatore District. There, one of the distinguished Members of this House, Mr. C. N. Annadurai, the leader of the DMK, was to address a public meeting in a village. While his associates were proceeding to the village in two cars to see that the arrangements for the meeting were intact, they were attacked by lethal weapons by the people of the ruling party. Mr. C. N. Annadurai was not in any of these cars, luckily. The weapons they used, I am told, were deadly, lethal weapons.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are discussing about the students unrest.

SHRI S. MARISWAMY: It is a part and parcel of the community. What is happening among the students is happening everywhere. The ruling party has absolutely . . .

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY (Madras): How do you say that they are members of the ruling party? I object to that.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: I learn from a reliable source and I have before me . . .

SHRI N. PATRA (Orissa): Unscrupulous elements can make electoral alliances with the DMK.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: What I am saying is true. While an attempt was made in Udumalpet area on the life of Mr. C. N. Annadurai, here in Delhi, in the Capital City, what is happening is worth noting. Under the very nose of our Home Minister, Mr. Nanda, a strange and evil thing had taken place yesterday. Mr. Kamaraj the All India Congress Committee President, was at his home. Yesterday, when there were disturbances in New Delhi, his home was attacked and set fire to. But the Congress President, Mr. Kamaraj, was unable to do anything and had to let himself safely in-

side a room, bolting it from inside. A DMK worker by name Kodandapani, on hearing this...

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh): You mean that Mr. Nanda arranged it?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Under the very nose of Mr. Nanda this thing happened in New Delhi yesterday to a high dignitary such as the Congress President himself. This has not happened to anybody. I do not know what Mr. Nanda was doing. Was he attending to his Sadachar Samithi's business or was he attending to his Home Ministry affairs when Mr. Kamaraj's life was in danger? His rooms were set fire to, his furniture was broken, his house was entered into by a mob. There was no one to protect him. A DMK worker by name Kodandapani came to know about it; he rushed to the place and practically took him and safely left him in another place.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: The Prime Minister went there and called at that place. Nandaji was also with him.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Later he visited that house. Anyway, when an attempt is being made in Madras by the Congress people on the life of Mr. C. N. Annadurai, here their own leader, Mr. Kamaraj, is being saved by a DMK worker. This is what is happening in this country.

So, violence is not confined only to the student community. It is spreading everywhere like an epidemic. Something must be done. Who is to do that? The Government must do that. But the Government has failed in its duty. Government cannot infuse confidence among the students or the people at large. The Government has miserably failed. I do not have any grouse against any individual Minister.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: May I give you a little information? It was not only that DMK man but a young man called Ambi his cook, who is lying wounded in my house now. He

received several injuries on his body and he protected Mr. Kamaraj. So do not make it appear that only a DMK man was on the spot. There were also other people defending him.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: With all respect to my friend, Mr. Ramchandran, may I submit that Ambi, his cook, was attacked? In spite of the fact that he was unwell all these people were attacking him; he had recently an operation performed on his stomach and he was incapable of protecting himself. He lay flat on the ground and they entered the house. And on hearing that, the DMK worker by name Kodandapani rushed to him and knocked at the door.

SHRI G. RAMACHANDRAN: I am only saying, share the honours between the two.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: My time is limited. You are an esteemed Member and you should not interrupt me. Then what happened? He went and knocked at the door. Mr. Kamaraj refused to open it thinking that the hooligans had come. Then he started to speak with him in Tamil. He opened the door. He dragged him and put him in another place. So, violence is spreading everywhere.

AN HON. MEMBER: He is giving out a story.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: This is what had happened. The wonder and pity is that these Members coming from Madras and who share the glory of Mr. Kamaraj and swear to be his loyal friends do not know the incident. I am pointing out what has happened to their own leader. My point is not Delhi or Madras. My point is that this Government has failed to maintain law and order in this country, that this Government has failed to infuse confidence and moral into the people and that this Government has lost its claim to be in power because of its lack of a stern policy. So this Government must give place to a National Government. I do not know who forms the National Government. But

it must step in. If a National Government does not step in now, I do not know what is going to happen to this country. The country will go to . . .

SHRI T. V. ANANDAN (Madras): Wait till February, 1967. We will teach you a lesson.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: I am also eagerly looking forward to the Day, the day when we will not only defeat the Congress but will also celebrate the day of deliverance because we will have been then delivered from you.

Thank you, Madam.

श्री राजनारायण : एक बात आप भूल गये । कामराज योजन। के अन्तर्गत तो सारी बात हो रही है । यह सरकार कामराज योजना के अन्तर्गत चल रही है ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am grateful to the hon. mover of this Motion because we have got a chance to discuss a vital national subject and I hope that the discussion will be conducted with a democratic and progressive outlook and not in a spirit of conservatism or traditionalism in the matter. As I discuss what is called the student unrest in the country, I have in mind the many students who have died as a result of police firing in the course of the last few weeks, perhaps months or so. I have also in mind the six thousand or more students who have been arrested after they were assaulted by the police. Many of them are still languishing behind prison bars. That is a big thought that we have in our minds. It is pointless to make much of destruction of property. No one likes destruction. But when I see teachers beaten up by the police in the campus of the Universities, when I see our students being shot down in the streets like street dogs, when I see them whisked away into prisons, these young flowers of our society, I think something has gone basically wrong with those people whose responsibility it is to look after the younger generation, read them with kindness and attention and help them



[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

in coming up as good citizens of our country. Therefore, my condemnation goes to this Government.

The Government is primarily responsible for what they call student unrest. Madam Deputy Chairman, as the unrest broke out, as they call it—I do not call it unrest—some time ago when Parliament was not in session, they initially at the Centre wanted to treat it as a law and order problem. You will remember that the Union Home Minister immediately summoned, not the Vice-Chancellors or educationists, but Inspectors-General of Police to have consultations with them and find a solution to the problem. Instructions were sent to the various States to treat this matter as a law and order problem, treat the students harshly, subject them to police terrorism and violence, invade Universities and do as they like. That is what has happened. Only later on it dawned upon them that this problem was not a law and order problem. Even so, the Home Minister and his men—I think the Home Minister is on the way out, but that is a different matter—did not consider it necessary to own the mistake up and say that it was the basic socio-economic problem projected into the world of our education, and that such a problem could be tackled only with the willing co-operation of the teachers and students and their representatives. Hence there should be meetings of these people. Nothing of the sort was done.

At the same time you will have noted from the newspapers that according to their own problems in the various States the Chief Ministers started making statements one after another. The Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister made a statement accusing the Jana Sangh because perhaps he thought that Jana Sangh was the major challenge to him. In my State, in West Bengal, Mr. Prafulla Sen, the Chief Minister, accused the left parties and the Communist Parties as the

source of the trouble. In Uttar Pradesh Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, who perhaps does not know her mind well, accused, again, the Communists for the student trouble. Therefore, they introduced politics in this manner into a problem which was worrying us all and for which we were seeking a solution. For this again the responsibility rests with them. It was surprising that the problem that was intensely educational was being tackled by the Union Home Minister and the Education Minister was not much in the picture. I know he was ill at that time. But there was, I believe, the Deputy Education Minister or somebody else. They should have stepped out on to the scene and taken matters in their hands and should have been in the forefront of the affair. But it was the Home Minister, the Inspectors-General of Police and other people, who had no *locus standi* in the matter of education or even in the political sphere, who began to dabble in a problem which was certainly not theirs. That in itself was a provocation to the student community.

Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, as I said before, the student problem today is essentially a socio-economic problem projected into the world of education. Its solution, therefore, must be found in tackling the problem at its root. Undoubtedly certain incidents have taken place which nobody would support. But then, we are dealing with a problem and we should go to the root of the problem. As far as our student community is concerned, it is an excellent community of which we are proud. I congratulate the student community of this country that braved the police and firings and stood by its rights against the formidable ruling class and its State machinery. The country would not be worth living in had our enlightened younger generation submitted to the mounting tyranny, injustice, arrogance and insolence of those who are at the top of authority. Therefore, I think the students

deserve our congratulations because herein I see the future of our country. If the student community were to be seen submissive and submitting meekly to the present regime I would have doubted the future of the gems of the nation. Hence I think the student community deserves our congratulations.

Well, the lives that have been lost we shall not regain. But let us see at least that neither the lives of the students nor their future are lost as a result of the policies which the Government pursue. The educational policies of the Government need radical orientation. In fact it is an educational policy which is biased in favour of the propertied classes, upper classes an education policy which discounts the children of poverty who today in free India are naturally hungering for higher education. Our institutions of learning should be open for them, for the workers, peasants and other sections of the toiling people, the makers of our wealth and the nation who want to send their children for higher learning. Bias should be in favour of them. Unfortunately the very physical picture of our education, leave alone its guiding inspiration, would indicate that this educational policy and the management of our education under this regime is one that is loaded in favour of the upper classes and prejudiced, or biased against those who are in the lower rungs of our socio-economic life.

Well, about 6 crores of students are in our colleges today. Are they indoctrinated? They are as indoctrinated, as honourable, as dignified as any other decent section of the community. Incidents take place. Incidents take place even in the A.I.C.C. meetings. Incidents take place even within the Cabinet circle. Worse incidents take place when big Congress Ministers and others supposed to be setting an example before the younger generation quarrel over tickets and produce, as in Andhra, two or three lists of candidates and then abuse each other. Now, therefore, let us go into the pro-

blem. Here the problem is one which has to be tackled qualitatively. We have reached a stage when no quantitative solutions will do. When I say quantitative solution, I do not have in mind larger number of schools and colleges. Undoubtedly they are necessary. But mere adding to the number will not do. The outlook has got to change. Education must be given a scientific, technical bias. More of such institutions as can impart scientific and technical education should be opened for our student community. They want to step in with the marching times. Humanities are very important. But as the nation is remarking itself, as the civilisation is progressing, as industrial, technological developments are taking place opening new vistas for our young generation, naturally our young boys and girls expect that they should be partners in this remaking of this new society. Hence they clamour for better opportunities, for technological and scientific education. Do we have enough of it? No. We are wedded to it but it is far below our needs.

Not only that, education must be given high ideals. These ideals are democratic ideals, secular ideals. A young generation cannot be taken as educated unless it is enthused with certain great idealism, unless it is given some purpose in life, some vision, something to prepare themselves for or something they should look ahead. Well, have we given those things? The Congress regime I find is degrading our cultural life, degrading our education. They are darkening the ideological prospect before the young generation, throwing them into confusion, disappointment and frustration all along the line. Naturally our young generation suffers from lack of ideological direction. When I say ideological direction, I do not mean it in a partisan sense. In the days of the British it was a fight against the British which made our young generation and the student community to educate their minds, to equip them spiritually. What are we giving them

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

today? We talk about socialism before our younger generation but build monopoly capitalism. We talk against corruption in our public speeches—as far as these gentlemen are concerned—but indulge in Aminchand Pyarelal and Mundhra deals. What the student community is to learn from them? They are setting not only dual examples, they are setting eminently bad examples and that is degrading to some extent the cultural make-up of our student community. Well, still the student community is standing against all these odds. Therefore I say that we should consider all these matters also. Even Mr. Chagla in his statement has said about inadequacies and so on. Do we have enough schools and colleges? We do not have. Yet, whenever a Minister likes a house or some big people like a house, we get a house made at once. Monies are found. Whenever we think that an emergency demands an increase of our Budget by Rs. 400 crores, there is no dearth of money but if education were to be treated as a supremely urgent pressing national subject could we not find the money? Certainly we could but we do not wish to find it because the capitalist class and the people who are running the Government on their behalf consider that education should be given a back seat, should be given only such assistance that is needed to find some personnel for the bureaucracy or for some of the industries. That again is utterly wrong. Money can be found and here we can give very many examples. Cement and steel are being utilised with the help of the Government for building palaces for the rich people. Go round Delhi and see how many big buildings are coming so that our rich ones could live there and yet we find in Delhi our young students and boys and girls coming from the poorer classes living in a horrible condition, studying under *shamianas*. Why that spectacle should be before us, to the shame of all of us. I ask the Government. Therefore money has to be found and can be found. Hostel accommodation is absolutely inadequate.

It has become prohibitive even for the middle income group people. How many people can send their children for education when the hostel charges and educational charges come to Rs. 150 with the rising prices and no rise in the wages and salaries? Nobody can.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Gupta, you will give way to the Minister, Mr. T. N. Singh to make a statement on the Calling Attention Notice.

CALLING ATTENTION TO A MAT-  
TER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPOR-  
TANCE

DEMAND FOR STEEL PLANT AT VISAKHA-  
PATNAM—contd.

**THE MINISTER OF IRON AND STEEL (SHRI T. N. SINGH):** Gov-  
ernment's thinking in regard to the  
pattern of steel production during the  
Fourth Plan is firstly an expansion of  
the existing plants and the putting up  
of one integrated steel plant going up  
to 1.7 million tonne production at Bo-  
karo with a possibility of its expansion  
later. A provision has been made or  
preliminary work on new sites to  
form the nucleus of facilities which  
will be developed into full-fledged  
steel plants later.

Government's basic objectives are the best utilisation of available resources in the national interest, dispersal of industry for the greatest possible development of all regions and the spreading of employment opportunities throughout the country. The Government of India are aware of the widespread desire among, and the aspirations of, the people of Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Madras to have steel plants located suitably in their areas to utilise iron ore deposits found in these areas or nearby. In a democratic set-up such as we have in India it is obvious that the wishes of the people will be fully taken into account in making decisions. The Prime Minister has already said so in