

श्री सभापति : जो मतलिखे यहां द्ये हैं, उनके बारे में यह बताना चाहिये कि क्या सिचुएशन है।

श्री राजनारायण : हां, ठीक है। वह बतायें मेरी जो जानकारी है, वह मैंने बताई।

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI M. C. CHAGLA): My friend Mr. Gupta is a keen student of constitutional law and I am surprised that he should have enunciated a proposition which is absolutely contrary to parliamentary practice. May I say this? It is solely for the Prime Minister to decide who her colleague should be and who should not be her colleague. So long as the Ministry is not changed or the Minister's resignation has not been accepted, the Ministry continues and the Minister continues. When there is a change in the Ministry, under our Constitution, the President would issue the necessary notification and we in the Parliament and the country will know that there has been a change in the Ministry. Therefore, it is not right for us to discuss what happens and what appears in the press as between the Prime Minister and one or other of her colleagues. The constitutional position is that the Ministry is as constituted and notified by the President. When there is a change it will be duly notified by the President. That is the first part.

With regard to the point raised by my friend Shri Vajpayee the question that we are discussing is this, that the situation arising out of the recent widespread unrest among the students in the country be taken into consideration. I have been here the whole of yesterday except for 10 or 15 minutes and I propose to answer such criticisms as have been advanced against the Government. My friend knows that there is such a thing as joint Cabinet responsibility. I being a Member of the Cabinet, am responsible for the Government policies and I will do my best to answer such criticisms as may be voiced. Shri Rajnarain says that the

Finance Minister is involved, the Food Minister is involved and so on. Is it suggested that the Ministers should line up on the Treasury Benches on this question?

SHRI RAJNARAIN: They have not resigned. (*Interruptions.*)

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

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): All right, I start by saying . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): You gave certain directives to the Government. What has happened to them?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have asked Mr. Gupta to speak.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is an irresponsible Government about whom I shall be talking now. I am surprised that we have a Leader in the Education Minister who thinks that I have studied constitutional law but talks as if I have not understood any issue.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are supposed to speak on the students' unrest.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Because you did not allow, it is part of my speech. I obey your direction. The issue is, when a report of this kind appeared in the papers with the Minister concerned making statements as has happened in the case of Mr. Nanda, it is the first duty of the Prime Minister to come and take the House into confidence. Mr. Nehru did it when Mr. Krishna Menon resigned on the 7th. In the House on the 8th he made the announcement. Harold Wilson did not. The others also you will find in the British Parliament who announced. They can say they have not accepted it or whatever they like but this should not be confused with other things. Anyhow I am surprised but I am not concerned with it. If Mr. Nanda has gone, he has gone under the weight of his own sins and that

of his Government. There shall not be any tears for him, I know. I think one after another, these Ministers should go and the country should get rid of all of them if possible and if not, as many of them as possible.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh): Let the whole Government go.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, I should like them to go. The country should get rid of the Government which creates many things among them, the educational unrest. Two years ago I went to Mr. Nanda's house and I told him: 'Mr. Nanda, you are doing the dirty job for others and you shall go down under the weight of your sins.' I repeated that in the House. Mr. Nanda bravely said: 'No, I will remain' and I said: 'Before I leave you will go' and history has vindicated me.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION (SHRI M. C. CHAGLA): Are we discussing Mr. Nanda?

MR. CHAIRMAN: You come to the debate.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I come to education? We wanted him because he wanted to solve the problem of education by calling a meeting of the Inspectors General of Police, just as one might think of an absurd thing like solving the problem of law and order by calling a meeting of the Vice-Chancellors. Now that is how the Government behaves, but he is not there.

I was dealing with the lack of amenities for our students and teachers. Many points have been made and I would only like to say that apart from education being highly expensive for those coming from the poorer classes, whatever is there and is accessible to some people is very very inadequate. We do not have laboratories, we do not have enough books, we do not have enough buildings and the colleges and schools are overcrowded and

overcrowding is a big problem. Hostel facilities are non-existent for many and whatever exists is extremely expensive for the people. There is frustration among all. Therefore these are matters that created the present situation and unless we go into this problem, we cannot tackle it effectively.

As far as teachers are concerned, they are a neglected, ill-paid lot. You being a teacher in your time, know very well how this honoured community of men is dishonoured by the Congress ruling party. It is they who should get a little protection, respect and honour and in the order of precedence, if there is any, the teaching community should be given the top-most priority. Even men like me with a rebellious spirit generally, would like to submit to the dignity of the teaching profession. I have always been respectful and so are many others but they are neglected. What are the students to feel when they see 2,000 of their teachers going to prison, when they see thousands of teachers, having been denied a fair deal, forced to come to the streets to carry on certain agitation leading to their arrests and imprisonment? Am I to understand that the young minds, the minds of the young boys and girls, would not be affected by such pathetic sight when they see their teachers being whisked away in trucks to the prisons, and being prosecuted, charged and even assaulted? What are the students to feel when they see their principal being assaulted, as happened in a Kanpur college? In this connection I must invite your attention to the statement only recently made by Shri R. K. Nehru, former Secretary-General of our Government of India, not my Government of India, of this Government of India, a very experienced officer. He cannot be accused of having an agitational mind. Yet when he is Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, he has to lodge a very strong protest against

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the behaviour of the police authorities there. I am quoting from a newspaper—The Patriot—report of 7-11-1966. Mr. R. K. Nehru said:

“That he had refused to give permission for the entry of the police into the campus on the ground that the maintenance of law and order there was the responsibility of the University and not of anybody else. Expressing his deep concern at the entry of the police into the campus, he regretted that this action should have been taken at a time when efforts were being made throughout the country to find a peaceful solution of the students' unrest.”

Then the paper says:

“The University Proctor, Mr. Shukla, told newsmen that ‘when I and Mr. Nehru asked the police why they entered the campus without the Vice-Chancellor's permission we were told by the police that they did so on orders from Lucknow.’ Mr. Shukla said that the Vice-Chancellor had asked him to go to the hostel and meet the Superintendent and try to persuade the students to remain peaceful and to remove all outsiders from the hostel compound, etc.”

I have only read out this thing from what has appeared in the paper and attributed to a statement by R. K. Nehru. Am I to understand that Mr. R. K. Nehru has become a political agitator? Am I to take it that he has become a leading member of the opposition party? He is an officer by training and now, in his retirement, he has become a Vice-Chancellor. Even he cannot put up with the hooliganism of the police of this regime, with the behaviour they are displaying. Now therefore this is in itself a great indictment. Dr. Triguna Sen of the Banares University has condemned police atrocities and excesses, the entry by police into the university campus. So have very many Vice-Chancellors of the country. Sir, you have been at one time the Vice-Chancellor of a great institution I should

like to know what are the students and others to do when this arrogant Government behaves in this manner towards the heads of our academic bodies and Vice-Chancellors. And what are they to do? I am surprised that our students are patient. In fact, they should come out with a much greater movement, in larger numbers, with greater militancy and in greater unity to meet this monstrous challenge of the Congress regime, and a wooden-headed bureaucracy, which do not know how even to respect the sanctity of our academic institutions. Therefore the entire trouble lies there, and Mr. Nanda, well, he was going to discuss the student problem with the Inspectors-General of Police. When I got the news, I was in Calcutta. I happened to meet a Vice-Chancellor. I asked him—I would not name him—“Are you going to attend the Inspectors-Generals' meeting now to discuss educational problems?” He bowed down his head in shame and told me that he would never go to such a meeting to discuss educational problems with Inspectors-General of Police. Now this is the degradation of our public life, and this should be condemned on all hands by all decent men and women in the country, irrespective of political parties.

Mr. Chairman, I am surprised that Mr. Chagla sometimes takes to such a line of thinking. He is otherwise a very cultured man, affable in many ways, but I do not know what has gone wrong with him. I should like to see him out of the Ministry for his own salvation, if not for anything else. Now he made a statement. And what does he say there?

“I do not say that students should be kept aloof from political thinking. I would however, stress that students or teachers should not participate in active politics.”

May I ask Mr. Chagla? Are politics meant for retired High Court Judges, superannuated politicians and officials, or are politics meant for the youth

of the country, specially for the enlightened youth of the country? Does not Mr. Chagla, a former student of the university at Oxford, know that in those universities of Oxford and Cambridge there are societies like Conservative Society, Labour Society, Communist Society and so on, not only carrying on thinking but actively participating in politics inviting their leaders? Have I not participated as a student of the London University in one of the societies called the India Society and carried on politics aimed at my national freedom, supported at that time by Mr. Harold Laski and Mr. Gaitskell, who were professors of our college? And yet this gentleman tells the students the other way. Well I say the student community will reject this kind of advice disdainfully and with the contempt it deserves. They say this thing today, because it suits them. Now if the students do not participate in politics, the vested interests remain where they are. The conservatism grows where it is going. If the students do not come into active politics, these gentlemen of the vested interests think that they can carry on without having to meet the challenge of the enlightened youth of the country. On the contrary, I think that the students should not only think but also act. Unfortunately, they do not act sufficiently. If our nation is to be great, the students shall study, yes. We were also students in the British days. One day the head master of my school—I was connected with what they call the terrorist movement, the revolutionary movement, of which Mr. Surendra Mohan Ghose sitting there was our leader, now an absolute non-violent teacher—now my head master called me and said, “Bhupesh, you are good student. You can think in politics, but do not participate in politics.” Then he told me, “Do you know that if you indulge in politics, what the British would do?” He advised me more so because I was getting a merit scholarship, and he told me, “Your scholarship will go. Also the British will throw a bomb which will demolish every house within a radius

of thirty miles”. I told my head-master, “But then, my head-master, your house will also be demolished, because it is very near my house.” Now therefore, this is a silly thing to say these days. Now again, well, I am proud that I participated in politics inspired by people like Mr. Surendra Mohan Ghose at the age of thirteen and for all that I never particularly was a bad student. So what is the contradiction there? A good student can be a good student. In our party we have first-class people, people who stood first in academic career and in many other things. Yet we are communists. Now they want to degrade the student community. They want to depoliticalise them and place them in effect into the hands of reaction. I was hurt with such a kind of statement; Mr. Chagla should be demonstrated against wherever he goes for making such a preposterous statement for advising our young generation in this manner, for depoliticalising them for the sake of the party which, by accident, he is serving but for which, if I may say so, because of his goodness he is a misfit.

Then let me come to the other question, the question of Chancellor? Why, Mr. Chairman, the Governor should be Chancellor? I cannot understand. Well, men like your learning and eminence are there in the country they should be made Chancellors. Why Governors? ‘Governor’ is a political appointment. As you know, some time Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai was taken from Kerala and made the Punjab Governor. Why? By reason of that suddenly he became the Chancellor of the Punjab University. People who get defeated in the elections sometimes are made Governors because some consolation price has to be given. But why should the recipients of consolation prices be made Governors, should be put at the head of these universities; I cannot understand. Therefore by law Governors should not be Chancellors of universities. Are we in dearth of talent? Have Governors got any special talent that they should be made Chancellors? No

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In fact, they want to keep this arrangement for the interference by the Council of Ministers in academic bodies, for interfering with the autonomy of our academic institutions. That is why Chancellor is kept up there. Vice-Chancellors again, in some cases are political appointments. Mr. Chairman, I have no quarrel with Vice-Chancellor if a suitable person is appointed, but sometimes they make political appointments, thoroughly misfits, ill-educated irresponsible people whose only qualification is that they know how to flatter the ruling party and they become Vice-Chancellors. Now they should not be made Vice-Chancellors.

Then with regard to the sanctity of our universities. Well, that should be maintained. By law, I say, by law the police should be prevented from entering our university campus. If our teachers and students do not know how to maintain dignity and tranquil there, these policemen, who indulge in atrocities and hooliganism, will never save the situation. Leave it to them. Give the students and teachers a better chance. They will do so. Anyhow the introduction of the police into universities is like the introduction of American forces into Vietnam. The latter is violation of the Geneva Agreement and international aggression. Here it is violation of good education and good behaviour, and aggression on our educational institutions. Therefore, the autonomy of universities and educational institutions must be enshrined by law and respected. This is what I would like to say. Therefore these are very very important things. Teachers should be given their due salary. Their union should be recognised. The genuine union should be recognised, not the fake union which the Congress Party likes. Recently, a fake union or association in U.P. was much talked about by the All India Radio, whereas other genuine unions and representatives were completely ignored. This should not be done. And what is more; the Home Minister should be comple-

tely out of the picture. The Education Ministry should be made out of bounds for our Home Minister, out of bounds for our policemen. Let educational men handle this problem because I would still have some faith in the Education Minister rather than in the police Minister, in the policemen, who are uncivil in their attitude, illiterate in their political approach and arrogant in their personal behaviour and anyhow unsuitable for any decent thing on earth. Well, they should not be there. Mr. Chairman, now I think I need not say very much on the subject. Therefore, at the root of the student unrest lies the policy of the Government, and this educational policy must undergo a radical democratic orientation, and should be changed in such a way that the student community and the teaching community get pride of place in the new arrangement. This is what I would like to say.

Once again I condemn this Government for the manner in which they have behaved and shot down students in Shillong, Tripura, Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, U.P. and many other places, even recently in Andhra. Now therefore the Government should be condemned. I am very glad that we have had a chance of discussing this subject, but I am very sorry that there is no indication from the other side that there is going to be any real change. I assure you, Sir, an educationist that we politicians of the land, who are accused of interfering, wish well of our education and we shall certainly see, along with the students and the teachers, and the youth, and all sections of the people, that the present educational policy undergoes a change. The students do not believe in an island of their own in the world. They live with their parents, brothers, sisters, neighbours, dear and near ones suffering from a million social and economic injuries. In this injury the student community live and work. And the amazing part of it is that yet they are suppressed, yet they are imprisoned and also sometimes shot dead when they

peacefully agitate against their grievances. Therefore, Sir, the problem is one not of silencing the students but of regulating our student community, organising them, giving them a high ideal and building up their unity so that day to day they can play their part in the remaking of this nation in all aspects, economic, political and social, and we want a very radical change in that direction.

Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Setalvad. We will sit through the lunch hour. Here is a long list of speakers.

SHRI M. C. SETALVAD (Nominated): Mr. Chairman, I would like to intervene very briefly on a topic of which I have some knowledge, not by reason of my being an educationist, but by reason of my being a lawyer.

It has come to our notice in the courts, not once but repeatedly, that students and teachers suffer from frustration by reason of governmental interference in academic matters. Not only are Vice-Chancellors and Chancellors appointed at the behest of the local executive, but the local executive has frequently also interfered in the appointments of professors and teachers in various States, in various educational institutions. If Chancellors who frequently are acting under the influence of the local executives interfere in the ordinary functions of the university bodies—syndicates, senates and so forth—and in the activities of the Academic Council also, there is bound to be inevitably a feeling among the students and the teachers that they are not being given a fair deal and that is what has been happening in various parts of the country. It is true that education is a State subject and efforts to make it a concurrent subject have been resisted. But nevertheless I venture to say that the Centre could in various ways exercise an influence over the State educational administration. The Centre after all is the purveyor of financial resources and if the power of financial resources is used discreetly,

as in my submission it should be, then the States could be controlled by the Centre in the matter of university legislation which should be such as may conform to a pattern laid down by the Centre and also in other academic matters. In this respect, I feel—I do not know but I feel—that there are difficulties created by the same ruling party being in power at the Centre and in most of the States; the result is that pressures are being exercised by the ruling party in the various States on the ruling party at the Centre. The consequence is that the Centre very often desirous of acting in particular matters is rendered powerless by these pressures. Well that is one aspect of the matter.

The other aspect of the matter which is equally important is the interference by politicians of all parties, including the ruling party as well, in student matters with a view to exploiting the students for political purposes. We have had recent instances of this in Andhra Pradesh, in Bombay, in Mysore, where the ruling party has—it may be for the purpose of getting a verdict on border disputes in their favour, it may be for the purpose of getting a steel plant located in their territory—used students for agitational purposes and brought them into conflict with the authorities of law and order. That certainly is a state of affairs which owes its origin really to the way in which the State Governments of the ruling party are conducted and which have encouraged violence instead of preserving law and order. This is a very important cause of student unrest for which I feel the ruling party is very largely responsible.

Apart from that and finally, the really potent cause of the present student unrest is to my mind the policy of the Government not in educational matters only but in all matters. As the Education Minister has himself said in his statement a feeling has gone abroad, and with justification, that nothing gets done or decided or conceded unless an agitation is started and that there is much

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greater possibility of the demands being conceded if the agitation is accompanied by violence. Now it is for the Government to get rid of their indecision and make studies towards reaching decisions on burning topics quickly so that this feeling in the community at large—and it is prevalent all over the country in all sections of the community—is set at rest.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1 P.M

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) Mr. Chairman, I thank Mr. Chordia for giving us an opportunity to discuss the unrest among students. This is a very important subject inasmuch as the students of today will form the next generation into whose hands the fate of this country goes and therefore, it is very important that this question should be thoroughly reviewed. The main defect, to my mind is that our educational system is faulty. In a country like India, which did not have, for a long time, a uniform system of education, with its diverse, classified society it is difficult for the feeling of oneness to be promoted. So, any educational system first in this country should be common to the whole country. Next there should be a planned system of education. I do not think that our education really is purposive. By saying that I do not mean that there is no purpose in having colleges, medical colleges or engineering colleges. It is not purposive in the sense that the education is not planned to inculcate higher values among the students. I think in this respect we have to look into the educational system of the socialist countries. I have had the benefit of looking into some of the textbooks of the socialist countries. There all the lessons in the textbooks are planned to inculcate what are known as national values. For instance, in a socialist country there is a lesson on the importance of national property. There the student is taught what national property means in the

sense of national welfare, in the sense of individual welfare, and how it should be treated as sacred by every citizen. That is a lesson which is inculcated in the students from the primary stage to the university stage. The lessons forming the text books of the socialist countries are purposive. Here we do not have such a purposive educational system. I think it should be thoroughly revised. Of course, education here, unfortunately, is a State subject. I have said here before that education should have been a Central subject. If it could not be a Central subject, it should be a Concurrent subject. I know that the Education Minister has made efforts to make it a Concurrent subject, but he has not succeeded. But I appeal to him that he should not stop his attempts as persuading the States to agree to make education a Concurrent subject. It is easy for the Centre, in the Development Council, to bring up the matter of making education a Concurrent subject. I think the Chief Ministers will come to agree to this position. So, that attempt should be renewed.

Next, Sir, in respect of education in the universities and colleges, where mostly the unrest is felt, we do not have extra curricular activities. In my college days we had unions. For every subject there was a union and the office-bearers of the union would find out competent people to speak on those subjects. So much so most of the evenings were occupied in listening to eminent people in the country coming and speaking on the subject. The energy of the students is focussed on constructive activities like this. We had also a system of university extension lectures, when prominent educationists from all over the country were invited by the university and the students were absorbed in the lectures that were given by prominent educationists, both within the country as well as from outside the country. I do not see now any possibility of this practice being followed by the universities. I think such a practice

would be useful not only in imparting useful knowledge to the students, but in diverting the energies of students in a constructive manner. For this purpose I suggest that the Education Ministry should have periodical conferences with the Vice-Chancellors and heads of universities. There must be a mechanism to get together the Vice-Chancellors and discuss the question of making such arrangements. That, I think, is a very useful thing which should be looked into.

The other point is about teachers. We, in our days, had immense respect for teachers, because they were eminent teachers. They knew their subjects. They knew how to teach not only how to teach, but also how to set good examples before us. Unfortunately today the size of the problem does not admit of the country having first-class teachers, but nevertheless an attempt should be made to have a mechanism whereby the need to set good examples before the students should be impressed on teachers. A very good teacher can very well impress his students. I was a teacher myself. Long after I left my job, for over twenty years, the students were corresponding with me. They were putting forward to me their problems and then seeking my advice. Recently, of course, that has stopped, because that could not continue for long time. I would give another example from my own experience. I may be pardoned if anybody suspects a sense of vanity. I was a teacher. I resigned my job and joined another school. The school in which I served had a new building and there was an opening ceremony. Because I had to resign due to differences with the head of the institution, I was not invited to the function. But I thought, having served the institution, I had a right to go and join the function and so I went to the function uninvited. I was a little late in going to the function, along with another lady teacher. The function had commenced. Music was going on. When the students saw me coming from a distance, the whole flock of students left the gathering and ran out into

the road. That was an eye-opener to me, as to what influence a teacher can have on his students. We should, therefore, insist upon integrity in the students and ability in the teachers. If there is ability in the teachers I do not see why the students should run amuck. The students are, as many have said, at an age when they have generous impulses, when good things appeal to them. So, there is nothing wrong with the student population as such.

The other topic which I would like to dwell upon is the need to set good examples before the students. In any society the average level of the people, the bulk of the people adjust themselves, adjust their moral standards to the behaviour of the top men in the society. Gandhiji was a very good example. He was able to elevate the whole nation by his personal example, but unfortunately now we do not have many such examples. Since politics today governs almost every field of individual activity, politicians have to set examples. Unfortunately, including my own Party I say, the political leaders are not setting good examples. Therefore, it is for the leadership of the country to see that such good examples are set before the young, so that better citizens are moulded out of them.

Things are getting out of our hands. I do not know, unfortunately in this country the latest trends show that things are tending towards anarchy. Therefore, very serious attention should be paid to this. Mr. Ramachandran giving the example of his own institution told us of inculcating self-rule among students. I have an institution currently running where the same system is practised. It is the students who meet in the morning for prayer, and there the whole affairs are discussed. A ministry is formed among the students for running the institution for that day. They are divided into several teams and each team is entrusted with certain work, and this is going on very well. I have faith in what Mr. Ramachandran has suggested that if

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.] the students are entrusted with responsibility, they discharge the responsibility very well. Their energies will be occupied in that constructive way. This I think has to be tried. A mechanism of the sort I have suggested of the Central Education Minister getting together heads of universities and colleges could be adopted—what form it should take I leave it to the Minister. I think such measures could be discussed and steps taken to remedy this evil which is unfortunately spreading.

One last word. Education is becoming very expensive. I think in a country where a socialist society is the objective, education should be available to almost every citizen. I know resources come in the way, but the Government must give serious thought to making education less expensive. Unfortunately, Sir, for the rural classes higher education is becoming an impossible thing now. It is a great calamity to a nation where the bulk of the people are kept out of the fruits of education. So it is a serious matter which the Government should think over and they should give first priority to education. Thank you.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, मैं इस समय केवल बोलने के लिए ही नहीं बोल रहा हूँ। मैं तीन हैसियत से इस समय बोलने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ। एक प्रस्तावक की हैसियत से, एक अमेंडमेंट मूव करने वाले की हैसियत से और एक जो शिक्षा मंत्री जी ने अपने बयान में एझे इज्जत बरूणी है—जो पार्लियामेंट के किसी दूसरे सदस्य को नहीं बरूणी है—मेरा नाम लेकर कि मैंने विद्यार्थियों का सलाह दी है कि वे अपने आन्दोलन को समाज के अन्य स्तरों से मिला दें, अध्यापक से मिला दें, मजदूर से मिला दें, किसान से मिला दें, राज्य कर्मचारी से मिला दें वगैरह, वगैरह उसकी सफाई देने की हैसियत से। मैंने इस सब को इसलिए पहले कहा ताकि

हमारे समय पर आप इसी नुकतेनजर से खयाल करें।

सबसे पहले मैं सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों की खिदमत में अपने उन संशोधनों को पेश करना चाहता हूँ . . .

श्री सभापति : पेश हो चुके हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : पेश तो हो चुके हैं, लेकिन पढ़ना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि यहां पर जितने भाषण हुए हैं उनसे मुझ को ऐसा लगता है कि कुछ ही लोगों ने तकलीफ उठाई है उन संशोधनों को पढ़ने की। पहला हमारा संशोधन है—

“इण्टरमीजिएट स्तर तक अनिवार्य और मुफ्त शिक्षा की व्यवस्था की जाये।” दूसरा है—

“फैन्सी स्कूलों को समाप्त किया जाय तथा सभी के लिए एक ही प्रकार के स्कूलों की व्यवस्था की जाये।”

चाहे अमीर का लड़का हो, चाहे गरीब का लड़का हो, प्राइम मिनिस्टर का बच्चा हो या एक भंगी का बच्चा हो, स्कूल एक ढंग के हों और हर बच्चे पर राष्ट्र के धन का समान हिस्सा खर्च हो।

तीसरा हमारा संशोधन है—

“कालेजों और विश्वविद्यालयों में दाखिले पर प्रतिबन्धों को समाप्त किया जाये।”

आज दाखिले पर रुकावट है। इसलिए हमारा कहना है कि जो उच्चतम यानी अधिकतम बड़ी से बड़ी पढ़ाई को करना चाहे तो उसको कोई रुकावट न हो। इण्टरमीजिएट तक तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि जरूर कम्पलमरी पढ़ाई हो और मुफ्त शिक्षा हो, मगर उसके आगे की पढ़ाई के लिए मेरा मुझाव है कि जो पढ़ना चाहे उसको जरूर पढ़ने का मौका दिया जाय। आज हो क्या रहा है। मैं एक ही उदाहरण दिए देता हूँ जिससे इस संशोधन की गम्भीरता समझ में आ जायगी। बी० एच० यू० 1947 में काशी विश्वविद्यालय में 8 हजार विद्यार्थी थे और आज भी काशी विश्वविद्यालय में 8

हजार ही विद्यार्थी हैं। 1947 से आज 20 वर्ष हो रहे हैं, कितनी आबादी बढ़ी। वह विश्वविद्यालय महामना मालवीय जी ने किनके लिए खोला था, किस जगह पर खोला था इसके बारे में आज इस सरकार को कोई जानकारी नहीं। इसके उत्तर में मैं चाहूंगा कि कारण क्या है कि 1947 में काशी विश्वविद्यालय में जितने बच्चे पढ़ते थे उतने ही बच्चे आज भी पढ़ रहे हैं। यह कोई मामूली बात नहीं है क्योंकि आज यह सरकार यूनीवर्सिटीज में—चाहे जो कोई भी नाम हो, उसके बारे में आगे देखेंगे—स्कावट डालती है, भरती में स्कावट लगाती है, जो बच्चा पढ़ना चाहता है उसको पढ़ने नहीं देती। हमारा कहना यह है कि जो पढ़ना चाहें, अगर अधिकतम विश्वविद्यालय के स्तर तक की शिक्षा की सुविधा यह सरकार सबके लिए नहीं कर पा रही है तो कम से कम इतना तो करे कि जो पढ़ना चाहे उनको पढ़ने की सुविधा हो, उसकी पढ़ाई का इन्तजाम हो। यह हमारे संशोधन का मतलब है।

चौथा संशोधन है—

“मातृभाषा अथवा क्षेत्रीय भाषा के माध्यम से ही शिक्षा की व्यवस्था की जाये।”

मदर टंग के जरिए ही सभी अच्छी पढ़ाई की जा सकती है। गांधी जी का नाम लोग लेते हैं। मैं भी गांधी जी का एक वाक्य दोहरा देना चाहता हूँ—“जो हिन्दुस्तानी माता-पिता अपने बच्चों को शुरू से ही अंग्रेजी में बोलना और लिखना सिखाते हैं वे उनका और देश का द्रोह करते हैं।” यह गांधी जी का वाक्य है उनकी आत्मकथा का। गांधी जी के शब्दों में आज कांग्रेस की सरकार शुद्धतः देशद्रोही है क्योंकि कांग्रेस की सरकार आज शुरू से ही अंग्रेजी भाषा के माध्यम से बच्चों को ज्ञान देना चाहती है और आज तक, श्रीमन्, आप मुझे माफ करेंगे, मुझे बहुत अफसोस हुआ सदन के कुछ लोगों को तकरीर को सुन कर, यानी हम सदस्य हैं राज्य सभा के और हमारी जानकारी में भाषा और ज्ञान दोनों में फर्क नहीं है।

लोग भाषा को ज्ञान ही कहते हैं। भाषा एक जरिया है, भाषा माध्यम है, मीन्स है जिसके जरिए ज्ञान हासिल होता है और अपने खयालात का इजहार होता है। यहां कल कहा गया कि अंग्रेजी क्यों न पढ़ें, ज्ञान की अभिवृद्धि होगी, तालेज ऊंची होगी। यह स्तर है। आप वाइस चांसलर रह चुके हैं इसलिए मैं आप से बार-बार अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि हमारा स्तर क्या है। इस स्तर से क्या हम मन्त्री बन जायें और मन्त्री बन कर समाज को सुधार सकते हैं। मैं चांगला साहब से कहना चाहूंगा कि केबिनेट में देखें कि किन-किन का ज्ञान इस स्तर में वहां है

पांचवां संशोधन है —

“अनिवार्य सदस्यता वाले छात्र-मंथों की स्थापना की जाय।”

हमारा कहना है कि यूनियन बने, जरूर बने, यूनियन के बनने पर कोई स्कावट न हो और कम्पलसरी सदस्यता हो। इस संबंध में मैं अपना उदाहरण इस मौके पर देना चाहूंगा। हो सकता है कि उससे कुछ रोशनी मिल जाय। मैं शुरू से, विद्यार्थी जिन्दगी जब हमारी थी तभी से, राजनीति में हूँ और विद्यार्थी रहते हुये हमारा पोलिटिकल कैरियर शुरू हुआ। मुझे खुशी है कि तीन वाइस चांसलरों को हमने देखा, एक तो मालवीय जी को, एक राधा-कृष्णन जी को और हालांकि कुछ समय तक रजिस्टर पर तो हमारा नाम नहीं था मगर आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव जी को, क्योंकि उनसे हमारा ज्यादा घनिष्ठ संबंध रहा है जीवन में। हमारे यहां काशी विश्वविद्यालय में पार्लियामेंट थी, उस पार्लियामेंट के सब मेम्बर होते थे, उसमें लीडर आफ दी अपोजीशन होते थे। वह पार्लियामेंट क्यों भंग की गई उसकी तह में जाया जाना चाहिये। श्रीमन्, मुझे गौरव है कि सन 1942 ई० में मैं छात्र था, मेरा एम० ए० पार्लिटिक्स का आखिरी साल था और लॉ का आखिरी साल था, जेल से आने

[श्री राजनारायण]

के बाद हमने अपना लॉ (कानून) पास किया, राधाकृष्णन जी वाइस चांसलर थे और मालवीय जी काशी विश्वविद्यालय में रहते थे। 9 अगस्त, 1942 को जब सुबह-सुबह गांधी जी और कांग्रेस वर्किंग कमेटी की गिरफ्तारी की खबर पहुंचती है तो हमारे पूज्य राष्ट्रपति जी उस समय गीता का लेक्चर दे रहे थे, इतवार का दिन था। ज्यों ही खबर पहुंची, क्या शान थी विद्यार्थियों की कि विद्यार्थियों ने कहा कि अब आपका गीता लेक्चर नहीं सुनेंगे, जब तक हमारा मुल्क आजाद नहीं होगा, जब तक हम क्विट इंडिया रेजोल्यूशन को कार्यान्वित नहीं करा लेंगे, अंग्रेजों भारत छोड़ो का नारा साकार नहीं करा लेंगे तब तक हमारी किताब बन्द रहेगी। यह फैसला ले लिया गया और डा० राधाकृष्णन वहां से उठे और अपनी जगह पर चले गये। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर 1942 की जन-क्रांति का श्रेय किसी को देना है तो वह सारा श्रेय विद्यार्थियों को है। उन विद्यार्थियों ने किस तरह भरी जवानी में अपनी जान हथेली पर ले कर अंग्रेजों की चुनौती को स्वीकारा। मेरी तबियत मस्त हो जाती है और मैं चाहता हूं कि मेरी जिन्दगी फिर वैसी हो जाती तो कैसा अच्छा होता। श्रीमन्, एक-एक दिन में छः छः सात, सात कपड़े बदलने पड़ते थे। वह जमाना था जब हमारे हाथ में हथगोले भी थे, पिस्तौल भी थीं। काशी विश्व-विद्यालय के विद्यार्थियों ने क्या नहीं किया। गांधीजी ने उसके लिए अलग किताब लिखवाई। मैं चाहूंगा कि छागला साहब उसको मंगवाकर पढ़ लें। कितना अनुशासन था। उस समय हम लोग डिक्टेटर कहे जाते थे। हमारी डिक्टेटरी थी। हम कहते थे कि फलां रेलवे स्टेशन को जलाने के लिए केवल 45 विद्यार्थी जायेंगे तां 45 विद्यार्थी जाते थे, 46 नहीं जाते थे। कै कै नोट दस दस रुपये के, कै कै नोट पांच पांच रुपये के रेलवे स्टेशन पर मिले, कितनी अठन्नी, कितनी चवन्नी, कितनी दुअन्नी मिली, पूरा का पूरा

एकाउंट लाकर के वह सौप देते थे। उस समय हम भी डिक्टेटर थे। श्रीमन्, लार्ड एमरी ने भी हम लोगों को ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट में याद किया था। 18 तारीख अगस्त का महीना, शाम को मिर्जापुर जिले में एक पहाड़ी रेलवे स्टेशन था, उसको जलाने में हमारा एक छात्र जल गया। वह काशी विश्वविद्यालय आता है, सुन्दर लाल हास्पिटल में वह समाप्त हो जाता है, मर जाता है, वहां पर उस फेंक दिया जाता है। बड़ी बाढ़ थी, पानी था। कुछ शाम को आते हैं, कहते हैं कि हमारा सारा कुछ चला जायेगा, हम फांसी पर चढ़ जायेंगे, तब मालवीय जी ने हमको बुलाया और कहा कि अब विश्व-विद्यालय खाली कर दो क्योंकि रोज खबर आती है कि बड़ी हत्यायें हो रही हैं, यह तो सही है कि मैं जानता हूं कि तुम लोग स्टेशन लूट रहे हो, तुम लाग तार के खम्भे काट रहे हो, तुम लोग मीस आफ कम्प्युनिकेशन्स को खत्म कर रहे हो, यह तुम्हारे रोजाना का काम मालूम है, इसमें मुझे कोई हिचक नहीं मगर अब हत्यायें होने लगी हैं ता घर जावो। लार्ड पिनले वहां का कलेक्टर था। पिनले ने वायसराय को तार दिया था कि "University is the focus of all revolutionary activities. Awaiting orders." हमारी भी सी० आई० डी० उस समय थी, उसने तार की कापी हमें दे दी थी, तो हमने मालवीय जी को बताया कि हम आपके कहने से चले जायेंगे, आप कहते हैं तो हम यहां से चले जाते हैं मगर यह तार है और हम लोग गये नहीं कि मिलिटरी का कब्जा हुआ नहीं। मालवीय जी ने कहा और मैं चाहता हूं छागला साहब उस वाक्य को याद रखें "I shall be the first man to lie down at the gate if the military or the police enters into the campus of the University" अगर मिलिटरी या पुलिस हमारे विश्वविद्यालय के घेरे में आयेगी तो मैं गेट पर लेट जाऊंगा,

तुम हमारे पर भरोसा कर के चले जाओ। राधाकृष्ण जी वाइस चांसलर थे, हमें उनकी बात मालूम नहीं, मगर हमने पूज्य मालवीय जी से कहा कि हम आप की बात मानकर जाते हैं और दो बजे भोर को 19 अगस्त को तमाम टामीज घोड़े पर सवार होकर फोर्स के साथ तालों को तोड़ते हुए काशी विश्वविद्यालय पर कब्जा कर लेते हैं। मिलिटरी का कब्जा हो गया। मगर यहां मैं अपने मौजूदा राष्ट्रपति की तारीफ जरूर करूंगा कि उनका अपना व्यक्तिगत प्रभाव मिलिटरी का कब्जा कई महीने बाद वहां से हटवाने में जरूर रहा। इसी में हमारे और उनमें द्वंद्व भी हुआ था। जब जेल से छूटे थे तो हमने कहा था कि 19 तारीख को हम लोग रिप्रेशन डे मनायेंगे। इन्होंने गांधी जी को चिट्ठी लिखी कि 19 तारीख को रिप्रेशन डे मना रहे हैं तो हमारी राय है कि डिलिवरेंस डे भी उस दिन के लिए मनाये जब कि मिलिटरी का कब्जा हटा। गांधी जी की वही राय थी जो हमारी थी। तो हमने 19 तारीख मनाई। मैं छगला जी से पूछना चाहता हूं कि आज का विद्यार्थी क्या कर रहा है। आज के विद्यार्थियों ने कितनी ट्रेनें लूटी हैं, आज के विद्यार्थियों ने कितने डाकघर जलाये हैं, आज के विद्यार्थियों ने कितने गोदाम लूटे हैं। 1800 बोरा गेहूं काशी विश्वविद्यालय के विद्यार्थियों ने लूटा, जिसका वाकायदा हमने एकाउंट रखा और वहां पर काशी विश्वविद्यालय के अन्दर जो आजादी के सनिक सिपाही रहते थे उन्हें खाना खिलाया गया। सारा का सारा विश्वविद्यालय एक आजाद फौज के रूप में बदल गया था। श्रीमन्, यह है 1942 की जनक्रांति का इतिहास। उस हिस्ट्री को, उस इतिहास को पढ़ा जाय। आज मेरी तबियत मस्त है। मेरे पास वह वाणी नहीं है, मेरे पास वह जवान की ताकत नहीं है, लेकिन मैं आज अपने राष्ट्र के विद्यार्थियों को, नवयुवकों को बधाई देता हूं कि 20 साल तक कांग्रेस राज के कुशासन में विद्यार्थियों की आत्मा का हनन करने के लिए

जो कुचक्र रचा गया था उसका विद्यार्थियों ने जमकर विरोध किया, स्वतंत्र भारत में पड़ोसी बार विद्यार्थियों में वह भावना, वह त्याग, वह बलिदान की चेतना जगी है जबकि विद्यार्थियों ने कहा है कि अब हमारा कदम पीछे नहीं हटेगा जब तक कि हम शिक्षा की रीति में बुनियादी तब्दीली नहीं कर लेंगे। दमन का विरोध, जोर जुल्म का विरोध, अत्याचार का विरोध करने में विद्यार्थियों ने जो साहसिक कदम उठाया उसके लिये मैं अपनी ओर से उनको अनेक बार, बार बार, बधाई देता हूं। जब मैं उनको बधाई देता हूं तो उसी में इस सरकार की भर्त्सना, इस सरकार की निन्दा भी शामिल होती है, उस पहलू को मैं बाद में लूंगा।

तो मेरी अर्ज है छागना जो देखें कि जो यूनियनों की मान्यता समाप्त की जा रही है, खत्म की जा रही है, वह क्यों और कितनी जगहों पर केवल यूनियन बनाने की मांग को लेकर के विद्यार्थियों में लड़ाई हुई है। क्या सरकार इस पर विचार नहीं कर सकती। क्या जनतंत्र को कटो जाने वाली सरकार, डेमोक्रेटिक ट्रेडिंशंस पर चलने वाली सरकार विद्यार्थियों की वह बुद्धि जो ब्रिटिश इम्पेरियलिज्म में हासिल थी उसको छीन करके घनने को जनतंत्र को कटाने का दम भरेगी और अगर विद्यार्थी इसका विरोध करते हैं तो मैं समझता हूं कि कोई भी शिक्षा का जानने वाला, कोई भी ज्ञान का जानने वाला समझदार आदमी विद्यार्थियों के कदम की निन्दा नहीं कर सकता।

छोटी बात हमारी यह है। सामाजिक और आर्थिक दृष्टि से पिछड़े हुये छात्रों के लिये उच्चतम स्तर तक निःशुल्क शिक्षा को व्यवस्था हो। उसका इसका उर्दू कह दें, यानी, जो सोशली, एकानामिकली बैकवर्ड स्टूडेंट्स हैं उनके लिये हमारी मांग है कि इनको हाइएस्ट एजुकेशन मुफ्त दो जाय। फ्री एण्ड कम्पलसरी तो हमने कहा है इण्टरमीडिएट तक। हायर एजुकेशन के लिए

[श्री राजनारायण]

हमने कहा है कि कम्पलससरी न करके जो बैकवर्ड हैं सोशली, एकानामिकली उनको मदद दी जाये। उनके लिए मुफ्त शिक्षा की, पढ़ाई की व्यवस्था हो।

सातवीं बात यह है कि भूतपूर्व सरकारी कर्मचारियों और भूतपूर्व मंत्रियों को उप-कुलपति और प्रिंसिपल न बनाया जाय। इसको हमारे मित्र भूपेश गुप्त जी भी कह चुके हैं, इस लिये हम को ज्यादा नहीं कहना है। मगर हमारा यह प्वाइन्ट है कि न मालूम कितने ट्राबुल महज इस लिये हुये हैं कि जो जो कोई सरकारी बड़ा कर्मचारी या कोई सेक्रेटरी हटा उसको किसी युनिवर्सिटी का वाइस चांसलर बना दिया गया। जैसे ए० एन० झा साहब हैं, हम हैरत में पड़ गये जब उनको परसों रेडियो पर सुना। उन्होंने कहा कि सारा उपद्रव यहां के विद्यार्थियों ने कर दिया। यह हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश में हमारे समय में कृषि सचिव थे और उसके बाद वहां के चीफ़ सेक्रेटरी बने। फिर वहां से इनको वाराणसी संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय का वाइस चांसलर बना दिया गया। निजी तौर से हमारी उनकी अच्छी दोस्ती है। मगर उनके ब्यान को परसों जब रेडियो पर सुना तो मैं स्तब्ध रह गया, दंग रह गया। इस तरह का ब्यान कर के कोई भी प्रशासन आज इस मुल्क के विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन को दबा नहीं सकता है।

श्रीमन्, आठवीं, बात हमारी यह है कि तीन सौ रुपये से कम पाने वाले लोगों के बच्चों के लिये सस्ते छात्रावासों और सस्ते भोजन का इन्तजाम सरकार करे और इसमें सरकार सहायता भी दे। जब हम पढ़ते थे तो हम को हमारी मां सुबह कलेवा देती थी और उसको खा कर हम स्कूल जाते थे। आज इस महंगाई की बेला में जो विद्यार्थी घर से बिना खाना खाये हुये स्कूल पढ़ने जाता है, वह क्या पढ़ेगा। मैं समझता हूं कि आप हमसे ज्यादा तजुर्बेकार हैं और इस बारे में आप को ज्यादा जानकारी होनी चाहिये। ऐसे विद्यार्थियों से, जो अंधपेटे

हैं, जिन का पेट नहीं भरता है, यह कहा जाये कि तुम विश्वविद्यालय या कालेज या हाई स्कूल में जा कर के ठीक तरीके से पढ़ो तो वह पढ़ेगा या क्या करेगा यह इस सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य स्वयं सोच सकते हैं। इस लिये हमारा कहना है कि तीन सौ रुपये से जो कम पाते हैं, चाहे आमदनी हो या तनख्वाह हो, उनके बच्चों के लिये सस्ते होस्टल और सस्ते भोजन का इन्तजाम सरकार करे और उसके लिये सरकार सहायता दे।

नवीं बात यह है कि विश्वविद्यालयों अथवा कालेजों में राजनैतिक दलों को अपने युवक संगठन बुलाने दिया जाये और उनमें विद्यार्थियों के हिस्सा लेने पर कोई प्रतिबन्ध न लगाया जाय। यह नवीं बात है, श्रीमन्। आप इसका ट्रांसलेशन देख लें। नवीं बात जो मैं कह रहा हूं उसकी मैं हिस्ट्री भी थोड़ी सी बता दूं। हमारे मुल्क में जो पहले स्टूडेंट्स फेडरेशन थी वह 1941 में नागपुर में दो भागों में स्प्लिट हो गई थी। जो कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में थे उनमें और जो कांग्रेस के अन्दर दूसरे थे समाजवादी लोग थे उन लोगों में थोड़ा उस समय तनाव आया हमने गांधी जी को यह इत्मीनान दिया था कि गांधी जी जो आन्दोलन शुरू करेंगे तो हम लोग गांधी जी का साथ देगे। बात यह उठी थी, हम लोगों ने यह ज़रूर कहा था कि मुल्क जब भी अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य खत्म करने के लिये आगे बढ़ेगा तो विद्यार्थी समुदाय कभी पीछे नहीं रहेगा। उस वक्त देश के नेता थे गांधी जी और गांधी जी के कहने पर विद्यार्थी आगे चलते थे। इस पर बड़ा तनाव हुआ नागपुर में और हम लोग गांधी जी के पास गये। गांधी जी का एक सेंटेंस हमें याद है जो मैं कह देना चाहता हूं। डा० अशरफ साहब उस समय वहां गये थे और गांधी जी ने यह कहा था :

“Ashraf will feel sorry one day for the misguidance he is giving to the student world.”

वह उस समय उन्होंने कहा था फिर विद्यार्थियों में स्प्लिट हो गया, विद्यार्थी दो दलों में बंटे, जो कांग्रेस की तरफ जाना चाहते थे एक तरफ चले गये और जो दूसरी तरफ जाना चाहते थे उधर चले गये। इस तरह उनमें बांट हो गई, मगर इसमें हम ज्यादा नहीं जायेंगे। यह एक हिस्ट्री की चीज थी, इस लिये हमने कह दी। आगे जब आंदोलन छिड़ा तो विद्यार्थियों ने उसे अपनाया और विद्यार्थी अच्छी तरीके से उस आन्दोलन में लड़े। फिर कांग्रेस इल्लिगल करार हो गई, कांग्रेस सोशलिस्ट पार्टी इल्लिगल करार हो गई, फॉर्बैंड ब्लॉक इल्लिगल करार हो गया और कोई पार्टी उस समय ऐसी रह नहीं गई जिस की कोई एक्टीविटी हो। फिर 1944 में स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस बनी और स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस के ही जरिये मुल्क अपनी भावना को देश के सामने रखने लगा। लाख लाख का जलूस और लाख लाख लोग आये स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस के चेयरमैन को सुनने के लिये। स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस के प्रेसिडेंट का दौरा सारे मुल्क में हवाई जहाज से होने लगा। वह एक अजीब हालत थी 1946-47 में जब कि हम लोगों ने गांधी जी से भी कहा था कि अंग्रेजों से मुल्क के बटवारे को मान कर के समझौता न हो, इस मुल्क में एक क्रांति और हो, अंग्रेजों से एक लड़ाई और हो। यहां तक हम लोगों ने कहा था कि अगर हमारे पास हथियार नहीं हैं तो कोई बात नहीं है। अगर हमारे मुल्क की केवल औरतें अपने घर के भूख और बेलन लेकर के निकल आयेंगी तो भी अंग्रेजों को भगा देंगी। यह भी हमने कहा था मगर हमने यह जरूर जोर देकर कहा था कि मुल्क का बटवारा कबूल न हो। अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य को खत्म करो, यह विद्यार्थियों का नारा था। खैर, वह एक अलग हिस्ट्री है कि किस तरह से मुल्क का बटवारा कबूल किया गया। किसी दिन अगर आप को फुर्सत मिलेगी और सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को फुर्सत मिलेगी तो जो हमारी और जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी की खतोकिताबत हुई है और जो हमारे

और उनके तर्क हुये हैं उसके बारे में बताऊंगा। मगर इस समय इतना ही कहना चाहता हूं कि उस समय जो कुछ हुआ उससे हम लोग टूटे हुये दिल लेकर के रह गये और यह एक एस्टैब्लिशड फैक्ट है कि मुल्क बंट गया। अब आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव जी नहीं रह गये हैं इस दुनिया में, नेहरू जी भी नहीं रह गये हैं इस दुनिया में और श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण जी अभी हैं। इन लोगों ने कहा था कि अब मुल्क आजाद हो गया है और अब विद्यार्थियों का मूवमेंट कल्चरल हो जाना चाहिये, उसका पोलिटिकल एस्पेक्ट खत्म हो जाना चाहिये। अब यहीं से मामला चल रहा है और आज तक वह मामला चला आ रहा है और इसीलिये हम हिस्ट्री आप की खिदमत में अर्ज कर रहे हैं। उस समय हमारी सोशलिस्ट पार्टी अपने नाम से कांग्रेस हटा चुकी थी। पहले हम कांग्रेस सोशलिस्ट थे और अब हम केवल सोशलिस्ट रह गये हैं। जयप्रकाश जी जो स्टूडेंट्स फ्रण्ट पर काम करने वाले थे उन्होंने सोशलिस्ट की मीटिंग में कहा कि हम यह बात जवाहरलाल जी की मान चुके हैं और अब स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस डिजाल्व कर दी जायगी और अब एक नेशनल यूनियन आफ स्टूडेंट्स बनेगी और उस नेशनल यूनियन आफ स्टूडेंट्स में हर यूनिवर्सिटी और हर कालेज के रेप्रेजेंटेटिव रहेंगे। बहुत ही अदब के साथ हमने जयप्रकाश नारायण जी का विरोध किया था।

छागला साहब चले जा रहे हैं यह अच्छा नहीं है। यह देखिये कि यह बात आप फिर नहीं पायेंगे और शायद हम भी भूल जायें। इसलिये आप थोड़ी देर तो बैठें।

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I do not know how long the hon'ble Member will speak.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is very fond of you.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमान्, आप जरा छागला साहब को बिठलाइये। हम यह चाहते हैं कि जरा यह जान लें हिस्ट्री क्योंकि आज की सरकार जो निश्चय कर रही है वह अपने

भूत को न जानकर कर रही है। अगर अपने पास्ट को यह गवर्नमेंट जान ले तो बहुत सी गलतियां दूर हो जायेंगी।

श्री सभापति : अब आप मुस्त्सिर कीजिये, आपने बहुत समय ले लिया है।

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: He need not be so autobiographical. Let him come to the point. I will sit down.

श्री राजनारायण : तो मैं आप से इसलिये अर्ज कर रहा हूं, श्रीमन्, कि छागला साहब और ट्रेजरी बैंकेज के दूसरे लोग भी इसको जान लें। जयप्रकाश नारायण जी ने कहा था कि हम वचन दे चुके हैं नेहरू जी को कि स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस डिज़ाल्व हो जानी चाहिये। फिर इलाहाबाद में हम लोग आते हैं, इलाहाबाद का स्पेशल सेशन बुलाते हैं और स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस डिज़ाल्व कर देते हैं। अभी तक स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस इन्टायरली सोशलिस्ट लोगों एलीमेंट्स के हाथ में थी। मगर जयप्रकाश नारायण जी के कहने पर न चाहते हुये भी जवाहरलाल जी की राय को मान कर स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस डिज़ाल्व कर दी जाती है। जब हम लोगों ने उसे डिज़ाल्व कर दिया तो जस्ट आफ्टर सप्त टाइम (कुछ समय बाद) श्री मोहनलाल गौतम जो कांग्रेस के सेक्रेटरी बन गये थे, उन्होंने यूथ कांग्रेस के नाम से स्टूडेंट्स में कांग्रेस की एक संस्था चला दी। जो विरोधी पक्ष को दोष देते हैं वे गौर करें। स्टूडेंट्स में विरोधी पक्ष राजनीति को ले जा रहा है तो विरोधी पक्ष स्वच्छ, सही और ठीक राजनीति को ले जाना चाहता है। और सरकारी पक्ष उस राजनीति को बैसा बनाना चाहता है जो मुल्क को गन्दा कर रही है। यही फर्क है दोनों में। मैंने हिस्ट्री के पाइन्ट को इसलिए कहा कि एक मौका आया जब इलाहाबाद में सेशन करके हमने स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस को डिज़ाल्व किया। फिर उसी के बाद यूथ कांग्रेस के नाम पर कांग्रेस पार्टी ने स्टूडेंटों के बीच अपना संगठन कायम कर दिया और तब से सारा मामला फिर शुरू हो गया है। कल हमने कहा कि यूनियन बने, यूनियन सबके लिए समान हो,

हर राजनीतिक दल को अपनी शाखा खोलने की इजाजत हो। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी कोई यूथ कम्युनिस्ट की शाखा वहां खोलना चाहे तो उनको हक होना चाहिए। सोशलिस्ट पार्टी युवाजन समाजवादी संघ की कोई शाखा वहां चलाना चाहे तो चलाने देना चाहिए, जनसंघ पार्टी, राम परिषद् या छात्र परिषद् चलाना चाहे तो चलाने देना चाहिए। हमारी यह मांग है कि हर पार्टी को विश्वविद्यालय में, कलेज में कानूनी हक होना चाहिए कि अपनी राजनीतिक विचारधारा, अपनी पालिसी को, अपने प्रोग्राम को समझाने के लिए वहां अपनी शाखा खोले। इसका फायदा क्या है? विश्वविद्यालय में हम लगे जब विद्यार्थी थे तो हम लोग स्टूडेंट फंडेशन की ओर से चार-चार स्टडी सर्किल चलाते थे। हम पढ़ते थे कि मार्क्सवाद क्या है, हम पढ़ते थे कि गांधीवाद क्या है, हम पढ़ते थे कि समाजवाद क्या है, हम पढ़ते थे कि फेबियन सोशलिज्म क्या है, गिल्ड सोशलिज्म क्या है, जनतान्त्रिक समाजवाद क्या है, समाजवादी जनतन्त्र क्या है। अब पढ़ाई कहां हो रही है। मैं समझता हूं कि आज कांग्रेस बर्किंग कमेटी में कई होंगे जिनको समाजवाद का ज्ञान ही नहीं है।

श्री शीलभद्र याजी (बिहार) : आपकी पार्टी में भी ऐसे हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : छोड़ो। मैं सवाल जवाब के लिए नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मेरा पाइन्ट है कि विद्यार्थियों के अन्दर से जो राजनीतिक चेतना थी उसको निकालने के लिए जो साजिश हुई है उसका बुरा असर हुआ है और विद्यार्थियों के अन्दर संघर्ष और अपरिग्रह को खत्म कर दिया गया—संघर्ष और अपरिग्रह यानी त्याग, लड़ाई, स्ट्रगल। शिक्षा का मकसद क्या है? शिक्षा का मकसद है 'टु नो सेल्फ', आत्मज्ञान। अगर कोई शिक्षा अपने को समझने की तालीम नहीं देती तो वह शिक्षा नहीं है। शिक्षा का मतलब होता है 'टु नो सेल्फ' आत्मज्ञान और आत्मज्ञान कैसे होगा। आत्मज्ञान के तीन अंग हैं—एक तो भोग, दूसरा संघर्ष और तीसरा अपरिग्रह। अब जो विद्यार्थी

जगा है तो संघर्ष जगा है, अपरिग्रह, त्याग की भावना जगी है, वह गोली खा ले रहा है, डंडे खा ले रहा है, जेल जा रहा है, चार हजार विद्यार्थी आज उत्तर प्रदेश में जेल में हैं, उसने भोग को छोड़ा है। जैदी साहब नहीं हैं। मैं उनसे मिल था। वल मैंने उनके भाषण को सुना था। यह वह दिया गया कि मुल्क का ज्यादातर हिस्सा भूखा है, भूखों की तहजीब जैसी होगी वैसी ही विद्यार्थियों की होगी। लेनिन को पढ़ो, मार्क्स को पढ़ो, गांधी जी को पढ़ो, आज के जो भाषाविद् हैं, विचारक हैं, डा० लोहिया, दूसरे लोगों को पढ़ो कि सही बात क्या है। यह मेरा कहना है। गांधी जी ने डा० लोहिया के बारे में कहा था तुम बहादुर हो, बहादुर तो शेर भी होत है, तुम विद्वान् हो, विद्वान् तो वकील भी होता है, सबसे बड़ा त् हारा ण है कस्सिसेंसी यानी क्रमबद्धता। मैं 36 से उनके लेखों को देख रहा हूं, उन्होंने इम्प्रू किया है डिपार्चमेंट (त्याग नहीं) हमने कहा कि Gandhi is an improvement on Marx and Lohia is an improvement on Gandhi. मार्क्स का विकास गांधी है और गांधी का विकास लोहिया है। यह अलग विषय है हमारा।

फिर बात होगी What is revolution, what is Mrityu, what is Vikas?

श्री सभापति : सब सवालों को न रखें।

श्री राजनारायण : इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि पालिटिकल पार्टीज को हक मिलना चाहिए कि हर यूनीवर्सिटी में चाहें तो एक एक सैल चला सकें।

हमारा दसवां संशोधन है—

“विश्वविद्यालय, कालेज अथवा स्कूल से निकले हुए छात्रों के लिए उनकी रुचि और अर्हता के अनुसार काम की व्यवस्था की जाये।”

यानी जो विश्वविद्यालय, स्कूल और कालेज से निकले हैं, उनके जैसा खालात हों, जिस काम को पसन्द करें, अपनी पसन्दगी के मता-बिक काम की उनके लिए व्यवस्था हो, अन्यथा

पढ़े लिखे बेकारों की फौज तैयार हो जायगी और फिर वही होगा जैसा आज हो रहा है।

श्री सभापति : आप मुहत्तर रखिए, राजनारायण जी। आप बहुत टाइम ले चुके हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : ग्यारहवां संशोधन—

“विद्या मन्दिरों में पुलिस के प्रवेश का सर्वथा निषेध कर दिया जाये।”

बारहवां संशोधन—

“सरकारी तथा गैर-सरकारी शिक्षा संस्थाओं में समान सेवा के लिए समान पुरस्कार का सिद्धान्त तत्काल लागू किया जाये।”

तेरहवां—

“अध्यापकों को अपनी रुचि की राजनीति में सामान्यतः भाग लेने का अधिकार होना चाहिए।”

हम टीचर्स के लिए भी चाहते हैं कि उन्हें पालिटिक्स में भाग लेने का हक मिले।

मेरा चौदहवां संशोधन है—

“किसी भी हालत में राज्य सरकार को अपने बजट का 20 प्रतिशत और केन्द्र सरकार को अपने बजट का 10 प्रतिशत से कम शिक्षा पर खर्च नहीं करना चाहिए।”

पन्द्रहवां—

“मन्त्रियों और सरकारी कर्मचारियों द्वारा विद्या मन्दिरों में उद्घाटन और दीक्षान्त भाषण दिये जाने पर सख्ती से रोक लगायी जाये।”

मैं चाहता हूं कि जो मन्त्री हैं या जो बहुत से सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं उनको दीक्षान्त भाषण करने से रोक देना चाहिए। यह समझा जाने लगा है कि जो मन्त्री के पद पर बैठ गया है वही ज्ञान वाला है। मन्त्रियों को और सरकारी कर्मचारी जो विभागों में लगे हुए हैं उनको इन कामों में भाग लेने से सख्ती से रोक दिया जाना चाहिए कि वे दीक्षान्त समारोहों या उद्घाटन समारोहों में

[श्री राजनारायण]

जाय। मुझे हैरत होती है जब सुनता हूँ कि मौजूदा प्रधान मन्त्री को भी कहीं विश्वविद्यालय में दीक्षान्त भाषण के लिए बुलाया जाता है। मुझे नहीं मालूम कि किस कालेज या किस विश्वविद्यालय से उन्होंने डिग्री हासिल की है। माननीय चागला साहब जानते हों तो बता दें।

सोलहवाँ संशोधन :—

“तकनीकी शिक्षा पर विशेष जोर दिया जाये।”

17. “छात्र आन्दोलन के सम्बन्ध में जहाँ-जहाँ गोली चली है, उसकी उच्चतम स्तर पर निष्पक्ष न्यायिक जांच की जाये तथा वहाँ के प्रशासनिक अफसरों का तबादला किया जाये।”

18. “आन्दोलन से सम्बन्धित सभी गिरफ्तार लोगों को बिना शर्त रिहा किया जाये तथा छात्र नेताओं के विरुद्ध लाये गये मुकदमे एवं जारी किये गये वारण्ट वापस लिये जायें।”

यह हमारी मांग है। अब मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा मुल्क क्या है, हमारा मुल्क आज है कहाँ ?

श्री सभापति : क्या ?

श्री राजनारायण : मुल्क।

श्री सभापति : क्यों ?

श्री राजनारायण : वही बता रहा हूँ। आज हमारी आबादी है 50 करोड़। 25 साल से कम के लगभग 30 करोड़ लोग हैं। 25 साल से कम जिन्दगी के हैं उनको तालीम देने का सरकार के पास इस समय कोई तरीका है। अगर बीस साल के शासन में यह सरकार विद्यार्थियों को जो 25 साल से उम्र की जिन्दगी के हैं उनको तालीम देने का इन्तजाम नहीं कर पाई तो यह सरकार कभी समाजवाद का नाम क्यों लेती है, क्यों जनतन्त्र का नाम

लेती है, क्यों जनतन्त्र और समाजवाद की बातें उठाती रहती है। श्रीमन्, खाली विद्यार्थी 7 करोड़ हैं, अगले बीस साल में लगभग 14 करोड़ होंगे। कुल शिक्षा संस्थाएँ पांच लाख हैं और कुल अध्यापक 20 लाख हैं। जो हमने संशोधन पेश किए हैं अगर उन संशोधनों को यह सरकार नहीं मानेगी तो सरकार कभी भी आज का जो जगा हुआ विद्यार्थी है, जो त्याग की भावना लेकर आन्दोलन में आया है उस रोक नहीं पायेगी।

हमारे ऊपर जो माननीय चागला साहब ने इल्जाम लगाया है उसे मैं उन्हीं की भाषा में पढ़े देता हूँ—

वह यह है।

श्री सभापति : वह तो लोग पढ़ चुके हैं।

श्री राजनारायण : ठीक है, नहीं पढ़ूँगा।

हमारे ऊपर चागला जी ने इल्जाम लगाया है कि 15 अक्टूबर को संसद सदस्य श्री राजनारायण ने समाचार पत्रों में इस आशय का वक्तव्य दिया कि छात्रों को अन्य धर्मों से जिनमें दफ्तरों के कर्मचारी भी शामिल हैं मिल कर कांग्रेस राज को खत्म करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। यह हमारे ऊपर इल्जाम है। तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे ऊपर जो इल्जाम चागला जी लाये हैं यह सही में इल्जाम है या हमारी तारीफ है, हमारे लिये सुबारकबाद है। मैं आपको पंच मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ। हमने जो सुझाव पेश किया है उसके लिये इस सदन का कोई सम्मानित सदस्य बता दे कि क्या यह आज की मौजूदा शिक्षा के ढाँचे में बुनियादी तबदीली की मांग नहीं है। आज का विद्यार्थी शिक्षा में बुनियादी तबदीली चाहता है, शिक्षा प्रणाली के ढाँचे में बुनियादी तबदीली चाहता है। तो क्या यह बुनियादी तबदीली बिना मौजूदा सरकार को बदले मुमकिन है। नामुमकिन। इसीलिये मैं कहता हूँ कि ये विद्यार्थियो, ये जवानो, अब तुम्हारे आन्दोलन का मकसद यही होगा,

अगर तुम बुनियादी तबदीली चाहते हो तो इस सरकार को खत्म करो, जब तक यह सरकार नहीं खत्म होगी तब तक बुनियादी तबदीली नामुमकिन है। जरा पांच मिनट।

श्री सभापति : आपने बहुत वक्त ले लिया। श्री मुराहरि ने 25 मिनट लिया और आपने इतना समय लिया है।

श्री राजनारायण : हमारे पास इंस्पेक्टर जनरल की रिपोर्ट है।

श्री सभापति : आप के पास तो बहुत रिपोर्ट है।

श्री राज नारायण : यह इंस्पेक्टर जनरल आफ पुलिस, यू० पी० लखनऊ ने आल हेड्स आफ पुलिस डिपार्टमेंट्स को भेजा है। जब नन्दा जी से मिल कर आई० जी० गये हैं तब उन्होंने छात्र आन्दोलनों को दबाने के लिये यह सरकुलर भेजा है तमाम जिलों के पुलिस आफसरों को। यह क्या है? उन्होंने कहा है कि जिस तरह से भी हो इसको कुचल दो, तनिक भी परवाह न करो, तनिक भी रियायत न दो। यह सरकुलर हमारे पास है, इसकी कापी है, यह आप पढ़ कर देख लेंगे। आप हमें जल्दी कर रहे हैं इसलिये नहीं पढ़ रहा हूँ। हम विद्यार्थियों को क्या सलाह देते हैं।

श्री सभापति : अब खत्म करें।

श्री राजनारायण : हम कानपुर में गये हैं। हम आपको पंच मानने को तयार हैं। कानपुर में सिन्हा प्रिंसिपल मारा गया। दरवाजे के सामने आंसू गैस की खोली फूटी। जब दूसरे दिन पांच अक्टूबर को जाते हैं तो उसकी रोती हुई पत्नी से पूछते हैं तो कहती है कि जब खोली फूटी तो सीधे अपने कमरे में लैट गये और तीन बार उन्होंने कहा कि प्वायजन प्वायजन (जहर जहर)। आंसू गैस का पूरा धुवां उस प्रिंसिपल के श्ले और नाक के जरिये अन्दर चला गया, वह समाप्त हो गया। क्या यह सरकार हत्यारिणी नहीं है, उस

हत्या की दोषी और भागी नहीं है? इसके बाद शर्मा हैं वह वाकया सुनाना चाहता हूँ। प्रिंसिपल शर्मा जो दूसरे कालेज में थे दूसरी तारीख को मारे गये। कलेक्टर को साढ़े ग्यारह बजे फोन करते हैं, कलेक्टर को कहते हैं कि हमारे यहां से अपनी पुलिस को हटवाओ हमें पुलिस की जरूरत नहीं है हमारे यहां बाहर कोई विद्यार्थी नहीं है, सब होस्टल में और कमरे में हैं और कलेक्टर ने भी कहा कि हां हम तत्काल एक्शन ले रहे हैं। इसके बाद लोग कहते हैं कि गोली चल रही है और आप कलेक्टर से बात करते हैं। उसे झूठ लगा और शर्मा चला। श्रीमन्, लोग कहते हैं कि प्रिंसिपल इज कर्मिंग, प्रिंसिपल इज कर्मिंग और पी० ए० सी० के जवान कहते हैं कि 'साला प्रिंसिपल आ रहा है, मारो साले को'। प्रिंसिपल कहता है कि जब हमने यह सुना तो हमारी वह उम्मीद खत्म हो गई कि मुझे कौन मारेगा। वह हट गये, चीफ वार्डन के कमरे में जाते हैं और चीफ वार्डन के कमरे में पी० ए० सी० के जवान घुस आते हैं, उसको खींच लेते हैं, डंडे से पीटते हैं और बन्दूक के कुन्धों से प्रहार करते हैं। जब हम कानपुर में जाकर प्रिंसिपल का बयान ले रहे थे तो दो मिनट बोल कर वह चुप हो जाते थे, उनको गश् आ जाता था। उनका कहना था कि यह मैसेज सबको जाकर बताइयेगा।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why can't you advise the students to rebel against it? You should tell them to beat them up.

श्री राजनारायण : वहां तो पी० ए० सी० के लोग चले गये थे, वह बन्दूक चला रहे थे। हमने देखा कि दीवारों की खिड़कियों को चीर कर गोली निकली, दीवारों को चीर कर निकलती हुई गोली देखी है। उन्होंने यह कहा है :

"Now I must convey my feelings. I have begun to feel that I am not a free man of an independent country because I was punished

[श्री राजनारायण]

while I was giving the message of peace to my students by the guardians of law."

यह एक प्रिंसिपल की वायस है, यह भूपेश गुप्त की वायस नहीं है यह राजनारायण की वायस नहीं है यह उस प्रिंसिपल की वायस है जिसे इस सरकार की पुलिस ने, बन्दूकधारी पुलिस के जवानों ने बुरी तरह से पीटा है। श्रीमन् भूपेश जी ने उसको पढ़ दिया है मेरे पढ़ने की जरूरत नहीं है लेकिन मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि इलाहाबाद के अधिकारियों ने पांच तारीख को प्रधान मंत्री को मना किया कि आप इलाहाबाद में न आयें क्योंकि इलाहाबाद की हालत अच्छी नहीं है। उसको हमने परमों पढ़ दिया था मैं केवल इशारे में कह देता हूँ। उन्होंने सलाह दी थी : The district authorities have advised the Prime Minister not to come to Allahabad tomorrow while touring the drought-hit area of the district and the adjoining districts.

डिस्ट्रिक्ट अथॉरिटीज ने ला एंड आर्डर के नाम पर उनको मना किया फिर भी प्रधान मंत्री जाती हैं इस नाम पर कि ड्राट से सूखे से जो ग्रस्त एरिया है उसकी जांच करने आई हैं लेकिन शहर में आती हैं वह क्यों आई। जिस तरह से पी० ए० सी० के जवानों ने घुस कर के छात्रों को पीटा है जिस तरह से यूनियन के हाल के शीशे तोड़े गये हैं लाइब्रेरी की किताबें लूटी गई हैं उनको देखा जाय। हम बार बार कहते रहे हैं कि हमें नफरत नहीं थी अंग्रेजों के कौम व सूरत से, हमें जो भी नफरत थी वह थी अंदरूनी हुकमत से। जो अपनों की हुकमत आज रहमत हो नहीं सकती वो अपनों की भी सूरत से मोहब्बत हो नहीं सकती। छागला जी कहते हैं कि हम उनको मोहब्बत करें। यह कैसे हो सकती है जब तक वह सरकार में है।

श्री सभापति : आप खत्म कीजिये।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं विद्यार्थियों को एक मनाह दे रहा हूँ। मैं दो मिनट ही लगा।

श्री सभापति : 45 मिनट लेने के बाद भी दो मिनट।

श्री राजनारायण : मैं आपको ज्यादा तकलीफ नहीं दूंगा। मैं थोड़े में यही अर्ज कर रहा हूँ बहुत ही विनम्रता के साथ अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि तीन दिन पहले यहां पर दिल्ली में हमारे यहां का एक विद्यार्थी प्रिमेडिकल टैस्ट में बैठा था आया था उसके उतने ही नम्बर आये हैं जितने कि एक कांग्रेसी के बेटे के नम्बर आये हैं मगर कांग्रेसी का बेटा मेडिकल कालेज में ले लिया गया है और उसको नहीं लिया गया। वह तीन दिन यहां रह कर गया है। हमने उत्तर प्रदेश के सचिव से बात की है वहां के मिनिस्टर ने पूछा है कि क्या बात है देखें क्या होता है जांच हो रही है। तो हर जगह परीक्षा में पक्षपात, मर्ती में पक्षपात तमाम जगह कुनबापरस्ती है। मैं आपके जरिये छागला जी से चाहूंगा कि वह प्राइम मिनिस्टर को बता दें कि यह जांच है कि पार्लियामेंट भवन के दो मील के रेडियस तक कोई डिमांस्ट्रेशन न आये उस पर जो रोक लगाने की बात की है उसको उस दिन वापस कर लिया जाय जबकि 18 तारीख को इस राष्ट्र के जागते हुये इस राष्ट्र के उदबुद्ध सचेत मुसीबतें ढोने वाले विद्यार्थी यहां आ रहे हैं और ऐसा न हो कि इस कांग्रेस सरकार की साजिश से 18 तारीख का विद्यार्थियों का प्रदर्शन कामयाब न हो पाये। पार्लियामेंट भवन के दो मील के रेडियस तक आने पर रोक लगाना उस दिन बुरा होगा अगर सरकार उनको रोकेंगी तो वह दिन बुरा होगा। पार्लियामेंट गेट पर विद्यार्थी आते हैं तो हमको मौका मिल सकता है हम विद्यार्थियों को जाकर समझा सकते हैं जब कोई बात हो तो भूपेश गुप्ता जी समझा सकते हैं दूसरे लोग समझा सकते हैं...

श्री सभापति : आप क्या समझाएंगे आप तो।

श्री राजनारायण : हम यही समझाएंगे कि “मानेंगे नहीं मारेंगे नहीं।” हमने यही वाक्य कहा है कि मानेंगे नहीं और मारेंगे नहीं। हम विद्यार्थियों से यही कहेंगे कि तुम आज अपना यह मोटो बनालो कि जिस बात को हम सही समझते हैं जिस काम को हम सही समझते हैं उस काम को दृढ़ता के साथ करेंगे और किसी को मारो मत किसी की जान पर जोखिम मत लाओ और माल का बदला जान न हो यही मेरा कहना है।

श्री सभापति : अब आप खत्म कीजिये।

श्री राजनारायण : ठीक है आपकी आज्ञा है तो मैं खत्म करता हूँ।

SHRIMATI LALITHA RAJAGOPALAN (Madras): Mr. Chairman, Sir, at the outset before I speak about the students' unrest I would just like to make a few observations regarding what the Opposition members have said, that the Education Minister alone being present here is not enough but that the Home Minister should also be here.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

I find from the Opposition speeches that they are treating this as a political issue and not as an academic issue and I would request the Opposition Members that instead of making speeches here they should go to the students and advise them properly long before they take out this procession. Instead of that they want to make the students come near the Parliament House and create chaos. It is really the most unfortunate thing that the schools and colleges which are seats of learning have become seats of upsurge and unrest. If I look back at my old student days—in 1942—1947—I think in those days also we had demonstrations, we had agitations and we had these slogans also. And in the 'Quit India' movement we

took so much active part in that national uprising but I think even in those days in spite of our fighting against the British imperialism we were acting in a disciplined and in a restrained manner. But now I find the student population—of course I do not blame the student population—alone at the present day are trying to fight their own Government which is trying to do the utmost benefit for their welfare in spite of the limited resources it has at its disposal. I would also like to point out that the freedom, the opportunities and all sorts of amenities which the students enjoy these days, when we were students we could not even dream of having any of these things which the students are having now. Look at all the benefits which they get. How many of them are going abroad. In those days we could not do so. If at all it was only a very few students who could go abroad. Today every day you find students going abroad and getting various scholarships. They should realise how much the Government has been doing for their benefit and for their welfare. They should only keep in mind their academic interest and they should not affiliate themselves with any political party. Of course I can understand with the advancement of civilisation, with all the luxuries and other economic factors in the context of their economic handicaps, they have increased demands and grievances but they have a forum where they can air their grievances, where they can try to get redressal of their grievances. It is also a fortunate thing for them that the Government is in every way trying to give all help to the students and to meet their legitimate demands as far as possible. I would like to say here that the genuine grievances of the students should be attended to immediately. In this respect I would like to quote the Congress President who has given a very good advice to the students while referring to this violent turn of events. He has said that “the real grievances of the

[Shrimati Lalitha (Rajagopalan)]

students would be forgotten if the students turned violent and indulged in destruction of public property. Attention would then be focussed on judicial enquiry and other allied aspects." He has very rightly said that once the students engage themselves in violent activities their main aim of getting their grievances redressed becomes a secondary issue and the whole thing comes to the question of the appointment of a judicial enquiry and other things. The students should also bear in mind that violence and destruction of property are wrong weapons to foster knowledge. They should always remember what has happened and what is happening. They have been just exploited by other people. I do not say political parties alone but there are many anti-social elements who just try to defame the Government and say that the government is weak and the Government is inefficient.

But I won't blame the students alone for this state of affairs. We have isolated ourselves and drifted far away from them for getting that they are the future citizens of India with the result that the anti-social elements have acquired access to their precincts and are trying to create disorder and chaos. I would appeal to the students that their dedication to the academic field alone can stabilise their status and raise their prestige both inside and outside the country.

Some of the measures I would like to suggest regarding this is that students and teachers links should be strengthened. I would here say that closer contacts should be there between the students and the teachers. As regards the appointment of teachers I would like to say that the highest calibre should be there. The students should respect the teachers and the teachers at the same time should command the respect of the students; also they should be of an understanding nature. Secondly, I

would like to say that an effective machinery to redress the legitimate grievances of the students, both of immediate nature and of long-term character, should be there. For instance, the students of the Engineering College in Delhi have been saying that their mess is not run properly and that the food they get is bad. Now this is a thing of immediate nature and it can be immediately looked into and set right in a day or two. I shall give another example in this connection. In the Jodhpur University because of the Indo-Pakistan conflict the students were not able to cope with their studies and they are a little bit backward. They just want that the percentage of marks for a pass should be lowered. This is a thing which you can do for the time being and after they make up their studies you can again raise the pass percentage of marks. Such things can be looked into and settled immediately.

Thirdly, the Prime Minister has rightly said that in order to divert the students' mind it is proper for us to introduce the earn-while-you-learn scheme. It is a very good suggestion and I think this will give mental and physical recreation to the students and at the same time give some remuneration to them and divert them from these so-called anti-social influences.

Then I come to the appointment of Vice-Chancellors. This is most important because politics plays a very great part in many universities. This is not a healthy tendency in a developing democratic country and in my opinion only men of academic interest, educationists, persons who are experts in the academic field, should be appointed.

Then there is a suggestion for the creation of a forum for the hearing and redressal of the students' grievances. I hope the creation of such a forum will not in any way come

In the way of the relationship between the Principal, Vice-Chancellor and the students. This should be borne in mind. As far as possible, my suggestion would be, the Government should keep aloof from the administration of educational institutions; unless their help is actually needed they should not interfere in the internal administration of any institution.

As regards police firing, I also do not agree that there should be police firing on the students. I also agree that the police should not enter the university campus unless it is absolutely essential, as when they try to destroy public property, say, the laboratory or any other portion of the university which will really be a loss to the country. But I do not agree that the police should not use force either. The police has to use force because sometimes it is not the students alone who start the agitation but some others also come and join them and actually it becomes more or less an anti-social demonstration. When the students turn violent and they try to destroy public property like buses and other things, you cannot expect the police to be restrained in that case. They will have to use force.

Lastly, I would say that we should not forget that the students are the future administrators of the country and we are going to pass the destiny of the nation into their hands and so it is our duty to infuse confidence and faith in them by our action that we are guiding them in the right path. Let us not allow the young blood to go astray and waste their energy and talents in a disastrous and fruitless manner.

Thank you.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Madam Deputy Chairman, I would first of all like to express my deep admiration, on behalf of our Party, of the wonderful sense of solidarity and determination and grim determination

at that shown by the students State after State during the last three or four months of students' agitation and I would also like to warmly greet them for the death-defying courage with which they faced the Congress bullets, tear gas, lathi charges, jails, and they stood the test. Those of the country who think of the long-range and future interests of the country were wondering whether the students and the youth of our country have gone to sleep. It seemed as if the sense of chicanery and cynicism that was enveloping the entire society of India had infected the student community and the youth as well, and that they had lost all sense of values and ideals, etc. But the events of the last three months and the countrywide demonstrations and movements of the students have proved that the students at large are groping to find out their new ideals, to come to grips with the realities and think about the future of theirs as well as that of the country. Now, it is said that before independence generally our national movement was mainly based on the students and the youth and all sections of kisans, workers and the academic institutions. The youth of the country sets the future of the society of the country as well. This youth seemed to be dormant and slumbering. How is it that the achievement of independence, instead of firing the student community with new ideals, lulled them to sleep? It is because after 1947 the Congress or the leaders of the Congress made a complete break from the ideals they stood for and the entire country stood for. They espouse new ideals. These ideals did not conform with the interests of the country or of the people at large nor of the students community. As a result, what have we seen? In our younger days scholars and renowned teachers of our country used to be held in particular reverence by all sections of the people, by all the political parties. Nowadays it is said that politicians have become glamorous people. It is they who are doing the mischief. I do not think thereby they are stating

[Shri Niren Ghosh]

a fact. It is not a fact. Who are the ideal persons in the Congress Raj and in the Congress regime? They are the swindlers, crooks, financial magnates and tycoons. They are the glamorous persons in this society. It is not the politician. It is they who control everything and they have been set as ideals before them. Who are they? It is Mr. Ram Ratan Gupta, it is Mr. Biju Patnaik, it is Sardar Partap Singh Karion . . .

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: They are better than you because they are not pro-Chinese.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Mr. Ram Ratan is better than me, okay according to your judgment. Now, there is all this Rs. 200 crores worth income-tax evasion annually and these are the glamorous persons in the society. They set the ideals after whom and in whose image the country has been sought to be built up in the Congress Raj. This is erosion of our intellectual values. Look at the academic world? What do you find? In olden days they used to be rather poor and lead a poverty-stricken life, lead a simple life rather than give up their ideals. Nowadays those who can know the ruling Party and the Government are given promotions. They are put at the head of educational institutions, at the head of educational departments. They are given the posts of Vice-Chancellors. Do you think that, when you indulge in this sort of things our youth look on with eyes closed or they do not see things? When they see that our Prime Minister goes to have some lunch or dinner and talks with Johnson and they suddenly plump for the Indo-U.S. Foundation, what do they think? What ideals have you given them? Do you not see what you are doing? In Madhya Pradesh there have been strikes and demonstrations by students because American methods of teaching, American methods of examination, which have nothing to do with their curriculum, absolu-

tely foreign to them, were imposed on them. This is the sense of cynicism which the country has developed among the students. After long years, it seems, they are coming back to life. They are living as normal human beings.

Now, whenever the students start any agitation and do anything, our Government comes forward with a pretty quick and ready-made answer. It is the communists, meaning us, our Party who are behind all sorts of student agitations. Now, I suppose the Government knows in which States we are strong and in which States we are weak. I want to ask, in 1964, when the student movement rocked the entire Orissa, is it our Party which was behind the students' agitation there? Or was it the case that Mr. Biju Patnaik's and Mr. Biren Mitra's corruption, bribery and chicanery inflamed the students there? We were in jails then. After a few days we were clamped inside jails. We were not even outside. That was in 1964. In Bihar some two years back, there was a very big wave of student movement sweeping throughout Bihar and there was the same story, shootings, lathi charges and all that. In Tamil Nad we were not there. It is because of your doings, your ideals that you set. It is good they have not become enamoured of those ideals. They are making a great and radical break from these anti-national ideals of corruption, bribery, chicanery, nepotism, favouritism and what not. I say that this Government is the fountain source of all evils and corruption inside India and it is stinking and it is exuding an odour which is still oppressive and poisonous. That is what the Government of India is. All farsighted people and leaders must welcome that our seats of learning demand a break with those ideals which are no ideals, ideals of mammon, ideals of corruption, ideals of tax evasion, ideals of whittling down of democracy and all that. During the last few months in the movement that has swept over India, in Bengal,

Assam, U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal, what has been the role of the students and the role of the Government in it? In U.P. alone 4000 students have been arrested; 13 students have been killed; there was firing in 9 places. A thousand were injured in Kashmir, and as Shri Rajnarain and several other speakers have said, a principal of a college died after the teargas shell burst. What is that teargas shell? I would like to show it to the House and for the benefit of Members, I would like to place it on the Table of the House. This is one of the teargas shells that was fired on the students and the Principal. Wherefrom it is? No. 219, Federal Short Range Shell Teargas, Federal Laboratories Incorporated, Pa., U.S.A.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Where was it fired?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It was fired in U.P. After the firing of the teargas that Principle died.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU (Uttar Pradesh): Was it not exploded?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It was exploded. We picked it out. This is for your exhibition.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: He is staging a drama here by bringing this from the market.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just fifteen minutes please. There are so many other speakers.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: They are importing teargas shells in order to beat down our student community. In Madhya Pradesh 829 were injured. A hotel worker was killed. Unofficial figures give it as 3000. In Andhra for the steel plant 6 students and 8 others were killed. In Jammu and Kashmir 4 were killed. *(Time bell rings)* Madam, I would request some more time at least.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This side has not spoken at all yet.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: If one Member can take 45 minutes. . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you can give your points in 15 minutes.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: I will try.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You need not quote figures and all.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa): Madam, could we not continue this debate tomorrow?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We must finish this today. We have got a lot of legislative business on hand.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: After this I would like to point out what is the Congress stand in the face of this. The Home Minister, on behalf of the Government, whether or not he does any other thing promptly, called a meeting of the Inspectors General of Police to deal with the situation, not to delve deep into the social malaise that is gripping the country. To them it is a police problem. They call a meeting. If I say this, let the Treasury Benches, let the Education Minister contradict me. I charge that it is the plan of the Congress Government; a plan has been hatched that from boyhood teach them religion, keep them aloof from politics. So what politics remains? Only the Congress politics. So the students must be taught Congress politics. Despite that nothing happens and the student agitation takes place. Then it must be dealt with firmly and they must be put down with teargas. This is the complete plan that you have come with after three months of student agitation. I say that it is in the secret cell of your Government which you are not divulging to the public or Parliament. If you have the courage, challenge me. A secret cell of three Inspectors-General of three States to deal with this. Is it true or not?

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: Wrong.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Let them say whether it is wrong.

SHRI SHEEL BHADRA YAJEE: I say that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Who are you? After that comes the Vice-Chancellors' meeting, whatever they are. Many of them have been put there by the Congress but all are not the same coin. Somehow they have taken a decision that the police must not enter the educational campus, the university, campus. After that within a few days in U.P. they entered the Allahabad University campus, despite protest from Shri R. K. Nehru, and he had made a public protest against it. Defying all the recommendations, the primary recommendations of the Vice-Chancellors the meeting was called by the Government of India. What does Shri C. D. Deshmukh say, another Vice-Chancellor? He admitted police excesses. What does Shri Gajendra-gadkar, ex-Chief Justice, say? He says that the campus must not be entered without the permission of the educational authorities. Another ex-Minister, Shri M. P. Srivastava, what does he say? He said: "I have never seen such a brutal lathi charge in my life". To the happenings in Calcutta I would also like to refer. Before that I would like to refer to this book. This is a book called "Indira Priyadarshini" by several writers. One of the writers is a Deputy Secretary of the Education Ministry, Shri K. M. Agarwala. Did he take the permission of the Ministry to write such articles? He is an officer of the Government, he is not a public man. What has he written?

"Soon after coming to power in 1957 the Kerala Communists assumed their true colour by throwing away the garb of 'Champion of the down-trodden' and 'saviour of democracy' and created a reign of terror in Kerala. During these difficult times Indira Gandhi toured the State to obtain firsthand knowledge of things there."

That is, as Congress President.

"Realising that the State was virtually on fire she persuaded the Centre to intervene in Kerala and order a fresh election. With great finesse she obtained the support of other parties including the Muslim League to establish a comparatively stable Government in the State"

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: This may not be very relevant to the discussion now, but the question is whether a Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Education could write a political thesis like this.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Did he take the permission? Do you think the students do not come to know of this? This is the idea that you are placing before them.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): This is a very important issue he has raised. Four or five years back Mr. Ramdhyani, the Secretary of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, had written an article regarding the Communists of Soviet Russia, etc. Then a protest was made in this very House, and Mr. Ramdhyani apologised for having written that article. This is a very serious matter that Mr. Ghosh has raised in this House. The Minister should investigate into it and make an appropriate statement, and appropriate action should be taken against that Deputy Secretary.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That may be taken note of Mr. Ghosh, you must wind up now. You have taken twenty minutes.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Who are the students? The main bulk of them come from the middle class, whose parents spare their last farthing in order to educate them. The cost of education is such that only the affluent sections of the society can bear. So the education has become restricted. Yes, there has been some spread of education, but in all these educational institutions

it is the Congress politics which have been injected by way of appointment of Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors, teachers, etc. As Mr. Govinda Reddy has said, the overwhelming bulk of our people are denied the fruits of education. They cannot hope to enter the sacred portals of the *alma mater*. So, that is the position we have come to.

In the end, the only plan that the Congress can boast of is the plan to shoot and kill people, armed police, jail, DIR, bullets, PD and so on. That is their only plan and that is their only ideal that they have placed before the student community. So a complete and free and uninhibited democracy should be established among the student community and police atrocities, police intervention, in any size or form, should be firmly prohibited. And it is the educational authorities and the students themselves who will decide things. Afterwards, the students will themselves find their own ideals and the future of the country, and they will forge a new path and show that new path to the country, and we, political leaders, will certainly acclaim them if they adhere to that new path.

MISS MARY NAIDU (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I thank you for giving me a few minutes . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It should be only a few minutes.

MISS MARY NAIDU: Please give me as much time as others have been. I want to give a few suggestions about the restlessness of youth. I have spent 30 years in educational departments and as a teacher—not as a politician, but as a teacher—I know a little bit of the nature of the students. Many hon. Members have given out many valuable suggestions and most of them are very very useful also. And I am also aware that Mr. Chagla, in his own capacity as Education Minister, is doing all he

can to give security to the students and to restore order in all the situations. But still we find that the restlessness is on the increase, not on the decrease. Well, let us see why it is so. One of my friends, Mr. Ramachandran, suggested that the student problem should be tackled from the top; that is, only from the college level, because the little ones are not in it. I disagree with that. Indiscipline starts from the bottom itself; it is in the baby class that the indiscipline is starting. There is no use of anybody saying that all the money that is spent is going waste, unless we go to the very root of the problem of indiscipline. We have built school rooms for utmost 45 children per room. But we have got in each school room 75 students. There is no elbow-room for the little babies. Even they start struggling; six and seven year old boys coming from good families, they start pushing each other and start learning indiscipline. It is wrong to say that it is only the college students who do it, who have got grievances which, when not cared for, they ventilate. It is the little ones that take it up. In the Connaught Place, the other day it was children below 10 years that were breaking the window panes, looting and doing other things. In Andhra Pradesh also, it is children below 10 that are enjoying breaking the signals and standing in a queue giving stones to each other and aiming them as if it is a football match and giggling and enjoying after breaking them. There was no police. I do not know what the police was doing. The police that they were speaking of, where were they on that day? There was no police at all because the police was given orders not to harm the children. So, the children had a free play and none of the parents or none of the teachers were there to correct them.

I give the reasons. There are many reasons that go to make up the indiscipline of the children. I would like to ask one thing. Throughout

[Miss Mary Naidu]

the length and breadth of India, I do not know how many thousands of schools and hundreds of colleges are run by missionaries, by Christian institutions. We do not hear of even one college of theirs ever going on strike or joining a strike. Have we ever stopped to appreciate this point and ask why it is that Christian schools and colleges have not joined the strikes? Of course, there may be a very few of them who do it if they are pushed. Even in our own school we have to push them sometimes to take part in the strikes because otherwise the strikers will come and break the doors and windows of the institutions and we cannot replace them. Otherwise, the students know, they do not join the strikes. If you can find out what is the reason, perhaps you will find a solution for it. But we never think of those things even though there may be hundreds of reasons. But the real reason why there are no strikes in those Christian colleges and schools is that the children have no time for strikes. That is the real thing. They have no time for strikes because the work starts on the re-opening day and goes on till the closing of the schools. Can we say the same thing about our Government schools? I would suggest one thing as the greatest remedy for this kind of strikes. Send your C.I.Ds. to all the colleges and all the schools and find out whether on the opening day they have their time-tables and schemes ready, their text-books ready. Have they everything ready to start the work? No. I am really very sorry to inform you about that. I know, I live among students, I am also attached to the schools and colleges and the universities also. They do not start work for several months. And then, of course, the reorganisation also is partly responsible. The language in all the village schools and in all the district schools is the mother-tongue. And what is the medium of instruction in the Colleges? English. And when they

go to the colleges from the high school they find that they have to tackle books that they have not seen before; they are such big English text-books. Well, children are children. They want to study; they have come to the colleges to study. But do they find that the books are ready? No. I am afraid I must speak out. Never in the last decade or so have the text-books been kept ready on the opening day for the college students to buy them and start work.

SHRIMATI DEVAKI GOPIDAS (Kerala): The teachers also are not appointed.

MISS MARY NAIDU: Yes, teachers also are not appointed.

And by the time the text-books come to them and the teachers come to take charge of the students, already two or three months are over. The children find that there is a lot of gap between the language in which they had studied and the language which they will have to tackle henceforth. Even then, they are really sincere. They begin to work. But before some months are over, they begin to celebrate days, staff days, these days and those days, and the college days are finished. The staff teach them within the remaining days and then ask them to finish the rest of the portions themselves. And the examinations come. The examinations, of course, are run very strictly. They give questions not of their university, not on what their teachers taught them. The papers are set by other universities in order to render the examinations difficult. And when the question papers come, all that they can do is only to rewrite the questions. They naturally fail in their examinations. Ninety-five per cent. of the students fail. They have come to the universities though they could ill-afford it. Their parents have spent money for the fees, for college books, for everything and they have

sent them to the college. But in the very first year the students fail. They cannot face their parents at home. They cannot go back. If they go to the next college, the principal will say, "What can I do?"; the Vice Chancellor will say, "What can I do?" Then they go to the Chief Minister of that place and ask him. The Chief Minister will say, "We will look into the matter." But nobody attends to them till they take stones and break the doors and windows.

And then the police comes. Then we say that the students are troublesome and indisciplined. Who is responsible for all this indiscipline? I really entreat the Education Department: Treat these children as children should be treated whether they are nine years' old or 25 years' old. Give them no chance to get out of their colleges. Teach them and let them learn and you will see that there is no indiscipline.

First of all, there is no place in the class room. But whatever the space the boys are wanting to study but we do not give them education. It is really that which is responsible for indiscipline among students. They get indisciplined because they are on the streets and politicians make use of them. If they are in colleges, politicians, whatever party they may belong to, cannot make use of them. If we really attend to that, then there will be no indiscipline in the country at all. It is not the fault of the boys.

Then, Madam, there is no contact between the teacher and the pupils. How can there be a contact between the teacher and the pupils when in colleges a Professor is facing 300 boys without any teachers for tutorial classes? In the olden times there used to be teachers for every 25 boys. But there are no teachers now. The Professor simply comes, lectures and goes away. And, as I

said, the lectures are only for three months. There is absolutely no contact between the teacher and the taught. There is nobody who can control these children.

SHRI P. K. KUMARAN (Andhra Pradesh): That is why political meetings should be held.

MISS MARY NAIDU: Politics is taught in the colleges. That should be more than enough. As Mr. Chagla will be telling us, everything is there on the paper. There is local self-government for every college and every University. Everything is there except no practice. And for that the people sitting here cannot do anything except giving speeches. It must be done in some method or the other. And that is why I suggested that if we are paying our staff fairly, let us send really the top intelligentsia one month before to find out if the colleges and schools are getting ready for opening. I am repeating this because Mr. Chagla has come. If everything is ready in the schools and colleges, then there will be no indiscipline. That is one thing.

Another thing. I quoted the Mission schools a little while ago. But it is not necessary that we should send our children to only Mission schools and colleges. For example, there are other schools also. In Coimbatore there is, what is called, the G. D. Naidu Polytechnic Institute. The discipline of the children there is unheard of. Nobody can impose the discipline of the Mission schools on the children elsewhere. In spite of that, do you know how they flock to that institution? They simply clamour to be admitted into that institution by the richest parents and by the poorest parents, the reason being that the institution finishes in six months the Engineering course that other institutions finish in six years. Professor Ruthnaswamy is laughing. Being himself a Vice-Chancellor he cannot swallow that. But if you come and visit that place you will understand what I say.

[Miss Mary Naidu]

There is no white collar business there. There are no desks and benches. The boys have to stand there throughout the night and listen to the lecturer, go and do the practicals. Buses, cars and lorries are put at their disposal. They have to do practicals day and night. Only sufficient time and good food is given to them.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Madras): No theory.

MISS MARY NAIDU: Theory is only oral. They have just to refer. It is all in practice. By the time they listen to the oral lectures and do the practicals they know what they are doing. There is no need for consulting books. And this system is copied by the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Coimbatore following the principles of the G. D. Naidu Polytechnic Institute. They too finish their Diploma course of Engineering within six months. Though the Government have not recognised it still the boys flock to them. The reason, Madam, is that by the time the six months are over the boys are able to stand on their own legs and earn their own living. They are taught how to open petrol pumps, how to open small-scale industries and how to run so many small industries. They do not care to go and ask for any Government jobs. Here we are turning out engineers by the thousands who come back to us for jobs which we are not able to give. That they go to the streets to go on strikes. So I request Mr. Chagla, our Education Minister, with a party of eminent educationists to go and see those institutions, whether similar institutions could not be run all over India. In these institutions there is no need for any job-hunting, where the boys after they finish their course are ready to earn their living.

Madam, that institution is run by one of our ex-M.P.s and ex-Educa-

tion Minister, Mr. Avinashilingam Chettiar. It is surprising to see how boys turn out of that institution and what discipline is there. I am glad the U.G.C. is acknowledging to recognise the six-month course as the Diploma course and that later on they are also going to recognise the Degree course also, I suppose.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now you should wind up. There are so many speakers and the Minister will reply at 4 o'clock. If you go on like this very few speakers will get the opportunity to speak.

MISS MARY NAIDU: Madam, I have said most of what I wanted to say. Thank you.

श्री राम सहाय (मय प्रदेश) :

उपसभापति महोदया अभी सदन के सामने श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने और श्री राजनारायण जी ने सन् 1942 के आंदोलन के कुछ वाक्यात बयान किये थे उसमें उन्होंने अपने हाउस का अपने सदन का ही उदाहरण दिया और श्री राजनारायण ने अपने बहुत से कारनामे उस में बताये थे। मेरा यह निवेदन है इस वक्त हाउस में वह दोनों साहबान नहीं हैं उनको फारेन गवर्नमेंट के शासन काल में जो काम किये गये हैं उस में और अपनी गवर्नमेंट के प्रति जो काम करने हैं उसमें कुछ भेद नहीं लगता। अगर वे यही समझते हैं कि जो कार्य सन् 1942 में फारेन गवर्नमेंट को हटाने के लिए किये जाने चाहिए थे या किये गये वे ही आज भी किये जायें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जो हमने अपना संविधान बनाया हुआ है उसका कोई मतलब नहीं होगा। हम यह अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि वह जो फारेन गवर्नमेंट थी उसको वैधानिक तरीके से हटाने का हमारे पास कोई साधन नहीं था इसलिए हमने उस प्रकार के तरीके अख्तियार किये। लेकिन जब देश का एक संविधान मान लिया है और संविधान मानने के बाद हम समझने लगे हैं कि हम संविधान के तरीकों से किसी भी गवर्नमेंट

को हटा सकते हैं तब इस प्रकार की बातें करना अपने विचारों को इस तरह से सदन के, जनता के सामने पेश करना कुछ मुनासिब नहीं है। यह हमारे विद्यार्थी को मिसगाइड करने वाली बात होती है।

स्टूडेंट्स के अनरेस्ट के बारे में जो बात चल रही है उसके बारे में मेरा यह कहना है कि अभी जब यह सवाल पैदा हुआ और जिन दिनों यह सवाल पैदा हुआ उस वक्त अगर हम गौर करें कि क्या क्या वाक्यात हुए तो हमारे सामने सही तस्वीर आती है। अभी कल मूवर महोदय श्री चौरड़िया ने ग्वालियर की मिसाल दी थी। मैं समझता हूँ ग्वालियर की जो मिसाल उन्होंने दी वह दी लेकिन उन्होंने इस बारे में नहीं सोचा कि वहां से यह जो झगड़ा शुरू हुआ क्या उस में स्टूडेंट्स सही रास्ते पर थे ? मेरा तो यह निवेदन है कि अभी तक के जितने झगड़े हुए हैं वे छोटी मोटी बातों पर हुए हैं और प्रापर्टी को इतना ज्यादा नुकसान पहुंचाया गया है जैसा किसी हालत में नहीं होना चाहिए था। ग्वालियर का झगड़ा यह था कि एक पोलिटेकनीक की बिल्डिंग का एंटर गेट टूट गया था और उसके लिए वे पुलिस के पास गये। विद्यार्थियों को इस बात का भी ज्ञान नहीं था कि दरअसल वह जुर्म जिसके लिए वे उनके पास जा रहे हैं वह पुलिस के अधिकार क्षेत्र के अन्दर है भी कि नहीं और उन्होंने गलत तरीके पर जाकर वहां कोशिश की जिसमें उन्हें ना-कामयाबी हुई और उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि झगड़े बढ़ते चले गये। कारण यह है कि इस बारे में जो पोलिटिकल पार्टियाँ हैं वे स्टूडेंट्स को एक्सप्लाइड करती हैं।

चौरड़िया जी ने मध्य प्रदेश की मिसाल दी कि वहां के मुख्य मंत्री ने असेम्बली में कहा कि इन झगड़ों में जन संघ का साथ है, एक खिल्ली सी उड़ाई और कहा कि यह गलत बात है। लेकिन मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे आकर देखें कि विदिशा में क्या हुआ। मैं बताऊँ कि वहां विद्यार्थियों को जन संघ के

बोर्ड पर लिख कर उकसाया गया। इतना ही नहीं वहां की विद्यार्थी यूनियन चुनाव में वहां के जन संघ के वर्कर्स ने भाग ले कर काम करके उन्हें इस तरह से उभाड़ा और जन संघ के बोर्ड पर जो बातें लिखी गईं...

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरड़िया (मध्य प्रदेश) : जिस तरह से मैंने उज्जैन के कांड के लिए अपने चैंबरमैन साहब को लिखकर दे दिया था कि मैं इस घटना का उल्लेख करूंगा और शासन को पर्याप्त समय दे दिया था, तो अगर मेरा कथन गलत था तो उसको कांटेडिक्ट करती। अच्छा होता, माननीय राम सहाय भी सूचना दे देते कि विदिशा में आपकी पार्टी के लोगों ने ऐसा किया तो मैं असलियत उनके सामने रख देता।

श्री राम सहाय : मैं आपसे फिर यह निवेदन कर रहा हूँ कि आप वहां आइये और देखिए कि वहां किस तरह से कार्य चलता है और आप की पार्टी के लोग क्या काम करते हैं। इसी लिए मैं आप को आमंत्रित कर रहा हूँ कि आप स्वयं वहां आ कर के देखिए।

तो मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा हूँ कि हम को देखना यह है कि इन दिनों जो स्टूडेंट्स में अनरेस्ट है उसका दरअसल कारण क्या है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसका कोई कारण नहीं है सिवाय इसके कि विद्यार्थियों में उच्छृंखलता, एक प्रकार की उद्विग्नता बढ़ रही है। इसका कारण अगर हम उनके टीचर्स या प्राफेसर्स में ढूँढ़ें तो यह गलत चीज होगी। हम इसके लिए शासन पर भी इल्जाम लगाये तो यह गलत चीज होगी। मेरा यह कहना है कि इसकी शुरुआत होती है, उनके पैरेंट्स, उनके बालदेन, उनके माता पिताओं ने। लड़के स्कूलों में साल भर में छः महीने पढ़ते हैं और उन छः महीनों का भी अगर हम घंटों में हिसाब लगायें तो साल में वे केवल एक महीना ही स्कूलों में पढ़ते हैं। तो जब वे एक महीना स्कूल में

[श्री राम सह्या]

रहते हैं और साल भर में 11 महीने अपने बालबाल के पास रहते हैं तो फिर क्या बात है कि उन में ये अवगुण आते हैं। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि जब तक बालबाल अपनी जिम्मेदारी को नहीं समझेंगे तब तक स्टूडेंट्स में किसी प्रकार का सुधार होना संभव नहीं है। आप यह देखिये कि शुरूआत कहाँ से होती है। बच्चों का जब से बालन पालन होता है तभी से पूरा असर उनके ऊपर उनके माता पिता का पड़ता है। हमारे यहां तो यह भी मानते हैं कि जब बच्चा अपनी माँ के गर्भ में होता है तभी से उसके ऊपर उसके माता पिता के संस्कारों का असर पड़ने लगता है और साइंटिफिक तरीके पर बिलकुल ठीक बात है। होता यह है कि माता पिता अपने बच्चों के प्रति इतना लाडल्यार दिखाते हैं कि वे उनको अपने साथ सिनेमा दिखलाते हैं, उनको ऐसी सभा सोसायटीयों में अपने साथ बिठलाते हैं जहाँ नहीं बिठलाना चाहिये और इस तरह की बात जब बच्चों के साथ की जायेगी तो वे अच्छे नागरिक कैसे बन जायेंगे, इस बारे में विचार करने की आवश्यकता है। ऐसी हालत में जहाँ हम यह देखें कि उनके टीचर्स और प्रोफेसर्स में कौन खराबी है, जहाँ हम इस बात को देखें कि हमारे एजुकेशन सिस्टम में किस प्रकार की खराबी है, वहाँ हम यह भी देखें कि बच्चों के माध्यम उनके गार्जियम किस प्रकार का व्यवहार करते हैं।

मैंने कोई विशेष शिक्षा नहीं पाई है लेकिन मैंने हरिजन विद्यार्थियों को जरूर शिक्षा दी है और 40 साल से बराबर मैं कुछ इंस्टीट्यूट को बन कर रहा हूँ जिन में पोस्ट ग्रेजुएट क्लासेज, एम० ए० क्लासेज, ल क्लासेज इंजीनियरिंग कालेज, पोलिटेक्नीक स्कूल आदि शामिल हैं और मेरा विद्यार्थियों से सम्पर्क सदैव रहता है। मैं उनकी कम-जोखियों को और उनकी सब बातों को जानता हूँ। मैंने यह देखा है कि जब उनकी

यूनियन्स कायम होती हैं तो वे इस गरज से कायम होती हैं कि जो स्टूडेंट्स को शिकायतें हों उनको वे दूर कराएँ लेकिन वजाय इसके वे ऐसी बातों में दखल देती हैं जिनका मैनेजमेंट से ताल्लुक होता है और उनके पढ़ने लिखने से तनिक भी सम्बन्ध नहीं होता है। इस लिये मेरी हार्ज है कि हम इस बात पर विचार करें कि स्कूल और कालेजों में किस प्रकार की यूनियन्स कायम की जायें। आज आप देखिये कि जहाँ कहीं झगड़े हुये हैं वे यूनियन की तरफ से किये गये हैं। जब कभी विद्यार्थियों का मूवमेंट हमारे यहां हुआ है तो मैं स्वयं हजार हजार विद्यार्थियों के साथ रहा हूँ और दो, दो पोने दो दो सौ विद्यार्थियों को जेल से छड़ाया है अपनी जिम्मेदारी पर। लेकिन मैं यह देखता हूँ कि उनमें जो अनरैस्ट है उसका कारण यह है कि उनमें उच्छ्वलता है, उदंडता है, उसका कारण यह नहीं है कि किसी शिक्षण संस्था की व्यवस्था ठीक नहीं है। वास्तव में उनको यह चीज घर से मिलती है। उनके माता पिता इस बात की परवाह नहीं करते हैं कि वे क्या करते हैं बल्कि कुछ माता पिता ऐसे ख्वाब में रहते हैं कि सन 1942 के अन्दोलन में जैसे बहुत से लड़के नेता बन गये वैसे ही शायद उनके लड़के अपनी गवर्नमेंट के साथ इस तरह का व्यवहार कर के नेता बन जायेंगे। मैं कहता हूँ कि इस तरह की जो बातें सोची जाती हैं वे बिलकुल गलत हैं।

मैं यह कहता हूँ कि आज पुलिस की शिकायत होती है। निश्चय ही पुलिस की ज्यादाती कहीं कहीं हो जाती है, लेकिन उसका कारण क्या होता है, उसकी शुरूआत कहाँ से होती है, यह हम देखते नहीं हैं। मैंने अपनी आँखों से देखा है कि पहले लड़के पत्थर फेंकते हैं और फिर पुलिस थाने पर हमला करने जाते हैं। तो जब वे थाने पर हमला करने जायेंगे तब उनके साथ पुलिस क्या व्यवहार करेगी? क्या पुलिस उनको थाने पर

कब्जा कर लेने दे, सब ग्राम्सं अम्युनीशन ले लेने दे या किसी प्रकार की कार्यवाही करे ये सब बातें देखने की हैं। इस लिये मेरी यह अर्ज है कि जो पोलिटिकल पार्टीज़ इस बारे में सोचती विचारती हैं उनको यह देखना चाहिये कि देश में व्यवस्था किस तह से कायम हो सकती है। शासन चाहे किसी भी पार्टी का हो लेकिन इस तरह की उच्छृंखलता इस तरह को उड़ड़ता कभी बरदास्त नहीं की जा सकती, यही मेरा निवेदन है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If Members could restrict to 10 minutes, more Members will be able to participate in the Debate.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM (Nominated): During the last few weeks so much has been said, re-said, repeated, reiterated about the student problem, what they did, what they should not have done, what the Government did, what the Government should not have done, that I do not propose to cover that same ground at all. I am rather concerned with one small practical step which I think should be taken by the Central Government but before I deal with that, I want to make one thing clear. It has been said that Gandhiji also invited the students to take part in political action and this has been the defense of some of those who have at this time asked the students to take political action. This reference to Gandhiji is entirely incorrect. I had the good fortune to be a witness and participant in the movement of which, "action" as some people may call it, the students were a part. Gandhiji asked the students to cease to be students and then take part. He asked the students to withdraw from the educational institutions and as young citizens to participate in the movement. He never wanted that the students should continue to be students, studying in the educational institutions and also actively participating in political action. For those who could

not participate in political action after having ceased to be students, he invited them to join the national educational institutions so that during that time his call to the students was of two types—first, to cease to be students and as young citizens, participate in political action, or, if they wanted to continue to be students, they had to be in the national educational institutions and pursue their studies, and prepare themselves for future action when they cease to be students and become citizens.

3 P.M.

Having tried to clear this point, I come now to a small practical suggestion of mine and in that regard I would like to focus the attention of the small number of Members who are present now on two paragraphs of the note which has been circulated, and I generally support what has been stated in those two paragraphs. The paragraphs are 7 and 8, and if the House permits, I will take a minute or two and read those paragraphs, so that what I say hereafter might be properly understood and appreciated. These are very small paragraphs, Madam Deputy Chairman.

"7. The Education Commission, which had on it eminent educationists of this country and from abroad, has gone into the details of these deficiencies. Recently a panel of Vice-Chancellors and educationists met in the University Grants Commission from October 16 to 18 and they have also made their recommendations regarding matters which should receive prompt attention in the matter of provision of needed facilities. The recommendations of the panel have been sent to all the universities in the country. I would commend all those who are engaged in the task of furtherance of education to make a close study of these recommendations and to contribute their bit for progress in these directions.

8. It has been recommended to the University authorities that joint

[Shri Jairamdas Daulatram.]

councils of students and staff should be constituted in the universities and in the colleges to consider their needs and to satisfy them within available resources. A machinery where students and teachers can get together for the purpose has to be built in our educational institutions. It has also been recommended that a university should have a whole-time Dean of Student Welfare to keep watch over the needs and difficulties of students."

I venture to suggest that if we are all engaged in either criticising or defending everything that has happened during the recent few weeks and if we are also engaged in discussing and criticising or defending any further developments which may take place in the course of these two, three months, until the elections are over, I am afraid that things will reach a worse stage. I think it is very necessary for the Central Government, which gets involved because of the law and order situation which develops, that it should take certain concrete action now and set up the machinery which deals with the grievances of the students even during these coming two, three months, and thereafter. I suggest that the University Grants Commission set up a separate department to deal with the students' grievances and also the relationship between the teachers and students. That is, they should see that the various universities take immediate action in this behalf. It is no use our studying the problem and discussing and passing resolutions because, in the end, almost everything goes into the air because other problems supervene. It is very necessary that the University Grants Commission should be requested to set up a department which will deal with that particular activity which should be created in each university, and it should see that each university has set up this kind of machinery. I also suggest that the Education Ministry in the

Central Government which, as I say, gets involved with the law and order situation, must also have an analogous cell or section or division, whatever it may be called, to deal with this very problem, to see how far the various universities, through the University Grants Commission, have set up the machinery to deal with the grievances of students, the welfare activities or any other problems they may have and also to develop proper relations between the teachers and the students, like setting up joint councils and other measures. I believe that the platform of the Parliament is being utilised, will be utilised, for propaganda of a particular type, whether related to elections now or related to other things hereafter but we should not be caught napping. The University Grants Commission should see that every university sets up this machinery as soon as possible and the Central Government—because as I say it gets involved in the law and order situation—must also see that the University Grants Commission sets up this Department. The universities should set up the needed machinery and the Commission should keep in continual touch and the Central Government ought to know how these various things are progressing. Unless the Government have this continuous contact, I am afraid, things will again slacken because these suggestions have been made more than once but they have not been implemented, the action not supervised and not properly reviewed and the result is that things have gone wrong. So irrespective of other controversies, in the interest of saving the situation I suggest: let us seize the problem somewhere and it is here, I suggest, that we should seize the problem because this is probably at the bottom of the whole trouble. It is these grievances which create discontent and it is this discontent which gets exploited. Therefore I consider this matter, though small, very very important and vital

and I repeat that some action on these lines should be initiated.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity. I also have a small amendment to the motion and I have stated in that amendment that the Education Ministry at the Union level should set up a permanent negotiating machinery to look into the grievances of students and to serve as a means of dialogue between the students and the Government, the very same dialogue to which the Education Minister, Mr. Chagla, himself has referred in his statement which was laid on the Table of the House. The hon. Minister has himself stated that in certain fields of education there is absence of dialogue. He has referred to the relationship between the students and teachers and has stated that as between the teachers and the students there has ceased to be a machinery for dialogue between the two sections so intimately connected with education. He has said that such a means of dialogue should be evolved. Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, I submit that there is not merely a necessity for evolving a means of dialogue between the teachers and the students but there is also necessity for evolving a means of dialogue between the Government and the students because we have found that many of the grievances of the students go by default. They cannot bring it to the attention of the Union Government and because they cannot bring it to the attention of the Union Government, the grievances of the students explode into demonstrations and all kinds of troubles that we have been seeing throughout the country these days. Madam Deputy Chairman, we have had a very salutary example of how things often cool down if the Minister at the highest level has a talk with the representatives of the students. Our Education Minister, Mr. Chagla, talked with the representatives of the Law

students and persuaded them to minimise their agitation. Of course they have said that they have not stopped their agitation while the Education Minister has said that they have agreed to stop the agitation but I am not going into that difference here. But this is clear that after the talk between the Education Minister and the Law students, the Law students have agreed to abide by the ultimate result of whatever might happen between the Education Minister and the Law Minister in regard to the question of examination by the Bar Council over which there has been so much of agitation among the Law students throughout the country. Now, Madam Deputy Chairman, I am only submitting this in pressing my amendment that what has happened in this case can also happen in other cases. What was possible to be done by the Education Minister by his talk with the Law students should also be possible by similar talks with students in regard to their other grievances. Madam Deputy Chairman, we know that the students have many grievances in the field of education. One such grievance is what I just referred to and the other grievances often explode into disturbances because nobody is prepared to talk with the students even over their legitimate grievances. In regard to this question of the Bar Council examination as soon as the Minister at the Union level talked with them there has been some minimisation, some reduction in the level of the agitation by the students. Therefore, Madam Deputy Chairman, what I am submitting is this that for the purpose of minimising the student agitation, for the purpose of seeing that the students get their grievances redressed, such a machinery should be evolved at the Union level and, if possible, at all State levels.

Madam Deputy Chairman, in this connection I would like to refer to two or three more points in passing and very briefly because I have been

[Shri A. P. Chatterjee.]

told by you that I must be very brief in my remarks.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I said you can have 10 minutes; each will have 10 minutes.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: I won't exceed that limit of 10 minutes; I will try not to exceed that.

Now there have been comments in this House that the students' agitation should be looked down upon, should be looked upon as some unwanted thing. I am not quite in agreement with that viewpoint. Some people think that students should not indulge in agitation because they have to carry on their studies. Studies are an important part of our national programme or national rehabilitation but I must say that the students should not be discriminated against and should not be singled out on this ground. Look at the workers. They are also doing an important job as far as national rehabilitation is concerned. They are engaged in production and production, nobody will deny, has an important part in our national life. If we grant the right of agitation to workers, if we grant the right of agitation to the peasantry who are also involved in a greater measure in the reconstruction of our national life I do not know why students, being another section of the citizens of India, should be deprived of the right of agitation if they have really legitimate grievances to air before the public and before the Government. They have their grievances and if these grievances are not redressed in the ordinary way I would humbly submit that the students have every right to go in the streets for demonstration and for airing their grievances. After all when our Constitution was drafted, when article 19 was enacted and the right of assembly and right of association was given to the citizens the students were not excluded from that provision. I know of articles 33

and 34 where the armed forces and the police forces have been referred to but the students have not been referred to there. The students are as much a section of the citizens as any others like the peasantry or the workers or the middle class employees or anybody else. So if the students come in the streets and demonstrate for the redress of their grievances we should not be surprised. We should not raise our eye brows and say that something is being done which is reprehensible. We should try to see that the demonstration does not take place by having their grievances redressed at the proper level and at the proper time. Only then we can tell the students, 'don't go in the streets, do not have any demonstrations.' Until that is done I would humbly submit that the students should have the fundamental right of demonstration for the redress of their grievances.

Madam, one thing more and I finish. About student indiscipline and student unrest, everybody has been in the school, everybody has been a student and as students we have written essays, we have taken part in debates about how far the students should take part in politics and should not take part in politics. We have been doing this for donkey's years; we have been discussing this point for donkey's years and I must say that this sort of discussion is absolutely without any meaning. This is a senseless discussion whether students should or should not take part in politics. Whatever the elders may say, whatever the gray heads may say, whatever the sober men may say, students have been indulging in politics and in agitations. Well, the other day an hon. Member from the other side said that he liked the students of Indonesia when they were out to topple the Communists there, when they went all out against the Communists in Indonesia. I do not understand this speaking in two voices. If you are for students' demonstration you are for it; if you are against students' de-

monstration then you are against it. You cannot say that you are for students demonstrating for a particular cause and you are against students demonstrating for another cause. I can only say that the students have the right of demonstration but the cause really determines whether you support it or not. If they are out on the rampage in the streets to destroy, to loot, then certainly we will be against the students' demonstration but it is only because they are out in the streets for loot that we are against their demonstration. We are against the demonstrations not because they are students' demonstrations. We are against all demonstrations if they are for loot and destruction, whether it be of workers, whether it be of peasants whether it be of employees. In the same way we are against demonstration by students if they are on the rampage for loot and destruction. If the students are in demonstration for the purpose of having their grievances redressed then we cannot be against the students' demonstrations. Therefore, Madam, I would conclude by saying this. Let us not go into the question of the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the students' demonstrations; let us see that the students' grievances are redressed at the proper level at the proper time. That is why I am proposing this amendment.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I join with the Education Minister and other friends who have expressed their affection and admiration for the students. I also join with them when they have expressed their sympathy with the families of those who have lost their young children, I am equally in sympathy with those policemen who, while doing their duty, have lost their lives. So far as the student unrest is concerned I would only say a few words because many proposals, long-range and short-range, have already been put before the House.

The first thing that I want to impress—and I want the country to look at it from this point of view and outside the country also—is that the police-

men or whoever may be the authorities are our own kith and kin. Let us not try to say that the policeman is an enemy of the student or of the public. It may be that in certain cases the police might have committed some excesses which ought to be condemned but from what I have seen during the last two or three months I have found that in a majority of the cases the police is very much restrained. It is only when there was damage to property or violence was started by the students or other anti-social elements who joined the students, it is only in such cases that the police has used force and they have used it largely speaking with great restraint I mean in an independent country it is the duty of everybody to see that law and order is maintained; it is the duty of everybody to see that life and property of everybody is secure; it is the duty of everybody to emphasize that the governmental property is not of any third person but it is my property and it will be built up from my tax. Let that realisation come and let us understand that if we damage the property we are damaging our own property, if we are hurting any person we are hurting ourselves. So I want the country and the Parliament to make this abundantly clear. Now that we are independent, those who are studying in colleges are fortunate people and those who did not have that privilege because of economic necessity had perhaps to join as policemen. They also deserve our sympathy and the more fortunate people should look at them with sympathy and not with hatred as if they are enemies. That is one thing which I want to make clear.

The other thing that I want to submit is that while the President of the Union was the Chairman of the University Education Commission he divided the teachers into three categories. One is the politician-teacher. The second is the teacher who just sees that he does his work and goes away. The third is the teacher who has an interest in education. He wants to see that his students learn something. He wants to see that their

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.]

thirst for knowledge is increased, their interest in education is increased. That is the third category. I feel now the predominant category is the politician-teacher. I lay the greatest blame on the teachers, although I do feel that in the lower rungs, i.e., in the schools, the teachers are not paid well. The society used to pay respect to the teacher. That respect is not being given to those teachers. Those things have also to be improved. But so far as the college is concerned, I think, their grades and salaries are to a great extent adequate. When they are paid adequately, it is their duty to devote themselves to their duty as we see in the Oxford University, Cambridge University, etc. In London the professors are devoted to their studies. They are more or less considered as mad. They do not even look to their shaving or to their hair cutting. They are in their study. It has been the tradition of this great country that here also the teacher, the *guru*, the *murshid* commands great respect. They commanded great administration and by their example, by their teachings, they not only controlled the students, but they controlled the whole society. Now, we have to bring back that position and in order to bring back that position I attach very much importance to the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor. It is he who could see and who could control the whole situation and I want that a model Bill should be framed. All the universities, no matter whether they are under the Centre or not, should follow that plan and in respect of education it should be, as far as possible, autonomous. The State Government should also be asked to see that the university autonomy should not be disturbed. Political Parties, whether it be the ruling Party or any other Party, should not have any interference, should not try to do anything which would impair or weaken the autonomy of the university and the appointment of the Vice-Chancellors. He should control all the teachers and he may encourage those teachers as

pointed out by the Commission. He may try to encourage those who are devoted to their studies, and those who are just trying to do it in a manner that they have to do their part. He should discourage politician-teachers. That is one thing that I have to place before this House.

The other thing that I want to place before the educational authority as at present is: Our whole teaching is examination-oriented. Generally speaking, my humble experience is that the students start reading and devoting to their studies in December because the examination comes in March. Now, you should change it and make the tests also a criterion for their examination. Throughout the year their tests should continue. Every month it should be done. In my humble opinion that will go a long way to improve the present mood of the students. When they think that their examination is far away, they can indulge in other things.

The other thing which I want to emphasise, and I hope the Education Minister will use his influence and try to see that it is done, is to open an employment bureau in the university, for guidance and advice. There must be some connection between that bureau and the Government. The great difficulty is that the students are frustrated. They do not know what their future is. That is why you will see, by and large, that the technical institute students, engineering college and medical college students, would not go into these things. Those who take the humanities and other subjects do these things simply because they see that their future is dark.

Now, coming to the question of students taking part in politics, I am very grateful to my esteemed friend, Mr. Daulatram. He has made that point very clear. In 1920 when Mahatma Gandhi came to Aligarh University, he said the same thing, which he just now repeated. He said: "I want you to give up studies." He did not ask the students to carry on the demonstration. He said. "For those who want to carry

on their studies, I will establish institutions sooner or later. You can join those institutions." So, later on we who had given up our studies, joined Jamia Milia, the Kashi Vidyapeeth and so on. So, my point is that those people who try to draw inspiration or try to blame Mahatmaji saying that he was the person who brought the students into politics, must be fair to the Father of the Nation. They must be honest at least to the Father of the Nation. They must try to understand what he said and what he did. Now, what we are doing is this. While the students are studying—I do not exempt my Party—all political Parties take advantage of the students and try to bring them into politics. I have got great regard for my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, but he is hopelessly mistaken when he says that there should be in each Party a cell. He wants to have the same sort of confusion as he creates in this House occasionally, when there are different Parties espousing a certain cause. That is not right. That is not in the interests of the country. Just now Mr. Chatterjee said when the workers can take part, when the farmers can take part, why not the students. I consider that this period of education for the students is a sacred trust of the nation. During the period when they are studying, let them study. Let them have their own Parliament. Let them discuss all the subjects. Let them take part as Opposition Parties, but let them not dabble in politics and much worse dabble in things which would be violent, which would do damage and harm to other people. That will not bring any credit to my country, nor to the student and the future, if not improved, seems very dark. That is my respectful submission.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Madam Deputy Chairman, as a teacher of some experience and also as a member of educational administration, I am glad to have this opportunity of taking part in this debate on this important question of student unrest and student indiscipline. You must, first of all, probe into the causes of this unrest. Student indiscipline and student unrest

does not stand alone. It is part of the social atmosphere of the country. Indiscipline starts in the family, in the home. Parents have ceased to have any control over their Children, over their movements, over the timetable of their occupations and this is followed up in the school and college. Also, in society, in public life, it is agitation, demonstration, the more violent, the more successful. That appeals to the Government, that prevails upon the Government. When students see their elders, other citizens getting things through violent agitations, violent demonstrations, they do not see why they should not also follow the same method. Of course, you may argue with them, as I would argue with Mr. Chatterjee, that students are not full-fledged citizens. Students are not grown-up citizens. They are citizens in the making. They are what they call in English *in statu pupillari*, in the status of pupils, i.e., of wards, people who are being prepared for adult life. But when students see that political concessions are obtained through agitation, through violent agitation, they do not see why their grievances also should not be remedied as a result of such violent agitation. When we go to schools, what do we find? Large numbers are admitted now-a-days, large unwieldy numbers, unmanageable numbers. Class rooms meant for 50 or 60 are crammed with 150 or 200. Hostel rooms which are meant for only one student are crammed with three or four. Our students are forced to live in slummary conditions in our hostels. Living in these uncomfortable conditions, are you surprised that they break out into such violent demonstrations now and then?

Universities and colleges are obliged to admit these large numbers because most of these colleges depend for their existence upon the fee income. I remember when I was a Vice-Chancellor I was arguing with my colleagues about limiting the number of students. They said: "If you limit the number of students, we will not get our salaries next month". This servile depen-

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy.]

dence on fee income is largely responsible for this state of affairs. Colleges are allowed to be started on very minimum conditions. No large standards are expected as they are in England before colleges of the university grade are started. When a college like the St. Stephens College can limit the number to 500, why not other colleges do the same? The St. Stephens College in Delhi is able to do that because it depends not on the fee income but on endowments made by those who built up the St. Stephens College.

What is the outlet for students' activities? There is very little provision for self-government. They are not allowed to found societies of every kind, not only debating societies but all kinds of societies, social associations, not only the college union, not only the students' union but a number of societies in which they can find outlet. What is the self government that is allowed for students in colleges? They must be able to manage some of their activities themselves, some of their work themselves. Are they taken into confidence by principals or heads of colleges in regard to their problems? They do not even talk to them. The Vice-Chancellors have no personal intimate relation with students. You appoint ex-External Affairs officials and ex-Ministers or others as Vice-Chancellors who have had no experience of teaching, who have had no experience of contact with students or social intercourse with students. How can you then expect this relationship, this social intimate relationship between students and teachers which is so necessary? The Government is also largely responsible because this Congress Government has become a 'ma-baap' Government promising people all kinds of things, food, education, shelter, everything to be provided by Government. So students say, why not you provide things for us also?

Coming to the recent agitation in Andhra Pradesh, it has arisen out of steel because, thanks to the industrial policy of this Government, steel has

become a political status symbol. It has become a prestige symbol. Every State must have a steel mill because under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru steel has become an obsession with this Congress Government. If the Government answers this plea of students that there is no money in the coffers of Government, students might very well retort: "Then stop Bokaro. Why are you proceeding with Bokaro when you are in such straitened circumstances?" If you stop Bokaro, that would be a gesture to the students in Andhra Pradesh, that Government mean what they say when they have no financial resources.

Look at the number of election promises. On the eve of the last election the Madras Government promised free secondary education. Now the Madras Government is engaged in promising free first-year university education. When students see such extravagant promises being made, they say: "Why not give us free passes at examinations. You want to make everybody educated; then make everybody pass."

As for remedies, Madam Deputy Chairman, there are two classes of remedies: short-term remedies and long-term remedies. For the short-term remedies I would ask the Government to put a stop to all these promises, election promises, and to the political promises of doing this, that and the other thing, and to give autonomy to heads of institutions, to Vice-Chancellors of universities, so that they can stand up as men commanding respect from the students. When students find that Vice-Chancellors are appointed at the behest of the party Government, when ex-officials are appointed, when things are done through agitation, they do not see why they should have any respect for heads of Government, for the Vice-Chancellors, for the Principals. Take students into confidence even now. I am glad that the Minister of Education has set an example of talking to the law students. Let every Minister

who is confronted by such an agitation call a conference of students and have a straight heart-to-heart talk with them. It is because there is this gulf between students and teachers, between students and administrators, that much of this has arisen.

As for long-term measures, there must be a well-planned scheme of education. The idea that everybody should go to the university is a wrong idea, that everybody should be a B.A. If they cannot become B.As. in the ordinary course, then you establish correspondence courses so that you can increase the number. That again is a status symbol, a B.A. The result is that we have a large number of unemployed and unemployable graduates. Let provision be made at every stage, in the middle school stage, in the high school stage, for students who are fit for university education to be siphoned off into subordinate technical courses which will give them employment in a year or two, which will give them gainful employment, which will give them better paid Employment than university graduates are able to command. Raise the status of teachers and raise their salaries at the primary school stage, at the secondary school stage, so that the old relationship between *guru* and *sishya* may be restored. Now it is a more cash connection, a material connection that exists between teachers and students. Give some kind of self-government for students in schools and colleges. It is done in the U.S.A. where a large number of students' activities are controlled by the students themselves with of course advice and direction from the teachers.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR (SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA in the Chair).

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am surprised that this large report of 690 pages contains only two columns and a quarter on the discipline of students. This is a major educational question. It required at least a chapter for itself where the questions, political,

educational and psychological, must have been probed into. Therefore, I would suggest as a long-term measure to have a competent enquiry made into this specific question of student indiscipline, student unrest. Go into the fundamental causes, the underlying causes, the basic causes. Let a deep probe be made into the situation of students, the causes of unrest, the causes of indiscipline, and let students be asked to give evidence before this committee of enquiry. Let them be taken into confidence by this committee of enquiry. This is a very serious matter and I think it requires a specific enquiry. No justice has been to this important educational question by this Commission that was appointed by the Government of India. It is a very serious question with which we are confronted and I think all of us should contribute constructively to the solution of this question because it is such a waste of money, waste of intellect, mental waste and moral waste that these large numbers of students are allowed to go into the streets in order to agitate for a solution of their troubles, for a remedy of their grievances. It is the heads of institutions and it is those who stand in the position of parents that should solve the difficulties of these people and the heads of these institutions should be given a free hand by the Ministers. It is because the Ministers do not give them a free hand that all this trouble has arisen. So, let me hope that the discussion that has taken place in this House will set everybody thinking about this very serious matter and that each one will contribute to the solution of this very important question.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : महोदय, संसद् के सदस्यों ने विद्यार्थियों के असंतोष पर विचार करने का और उन्हें उपदेश देने का कुछ मात्रा में अपना नैतिक अधिकार खो दिया है। जिस तरह से संसद् के दोनों सदनों में सदस्य आचरण करते हैं, जिस तरह से अध्यक्ष की अवहेलना की जाती है, जिस तरह से संसद् में दृश्य उपस्थित किए जाते हैं, उसके

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

बाद देश के विद्यार्थियों से यह कहना कि वे बड़ों का आदर करें, अपने अध्यापकों की आज्ञा मानें, अनुशासन में रहें एक मजाक जैसा लगता है। यह सदन, यह संसद, यह शासन, पुरानी पीढ़ी विद्यार्थियों का ठीक तरह नेतृत्व नहीं कर सके। हमें अपनी विफलता स्वीकार कर लेनी चाहिए और विद्यार्थियों को अगर सुधारना है, सीधी राह पालना है तो सका प्रारम्भ अपने से करना चाहिए।

मैं समस्या के व्यापक रूप में नहीं जाता इससे इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता कि शिक्षा पद्धति दोषपूर्ण है, स्वाधीनता के बीस वर्षों में हम इसको बदल नहीं सके। यह बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात है। न यह जीवन को बनाती है, न यह जीविका को साधन जुटा पाती है। लेकिन विद्यार्थियों के असंतोष का यह कारण नहीं है। यह शिक्षा पद्धति बीस वर्ष से चल रही है लेकिन जितने उपद्रव इस साल हुए उतने पहले कभी नहीं हुए थे। अध्यापकों का और विद्यार्थियों का अनुपात पहले से बढ़ रहा है, प्रति वर्ष बढ़ता जा रहा है, लेकिन उसके कारण उपद्रव हुए हैं यह कहना भी ठीक नहीं होगा। कारण आर्थिक है, सामाजिक है, राजनीतिक है, मगर उन कारणों में मैं नहीं जाना चाहता। समस्या तत्काल पैदा हुई है इसलिए कि विद्यार्थियों की और पुलिस की मुठभेड़ें हुई हैं। विद्यार्थियों की और पुलिस की मुठभेड़ें कैसे रोकी जायें यह सबसे बड़ी समस्या है। इस वर्ष जो भी, आन्दोलन हुए, असंतोष की घटनाएं हुई वे विद्यार्थियों और पुलिस की भिड़न्तों को लेकर हुई हैं। दिल्ली में कानून के विद्यार्थियों ने आन्दोलन किया और उनकी शिकायत है कि पुलिस ने उनके साथ ज्यादती की। उसकी एक प्रतिक्रिया चल गई। और भी जगह प्रतिक्रिया के रूप में आन्दोलन ज्यादा हुए हैं। यदि विद्यार्थियों से पूछा जाय तुम्हारी मांगें क्या हैं तो सिवाय इसके कि गोलोकान्दों की अदालती

जांच होनी चाहिए, जो गिरफ्तार विद्यार्थी हैं उनको छोड़ देना चाहिए और उनकी शिकायतों को निबटाने के लिए कोई व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए। इसके सिवा कोई मांगें नहीं हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि यह सदन विचार करे और शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय विचार करे कि विद्यार्थियों को और पुलिस को टकराने से कैसे रोका जाय।

अब एक बात कही जाती है कि कैम्पस में पुलिस न जाय, अगर जाये तो जब वाइस चांसलर कहे तभी जाय। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि उन वाइस चांसलरों के पास अपनी कोई व्यवस्था है इन्तजाम बनाये रखने की। हार्वर्ड में यूनिवर्सिटी की पुलिस है, दुनिया के और विश्वविद्यालयों में अपने प्रोक्टर्स, प्रिफेक्ट्स हैं जो प्रोफेसरों में से नहीं बनाये जाते कि किसी प्रोफेसर को पकड़ लिया उसको यह काम सौंप दिया। ऐसा नहीं होता। इसके लिए अलग आदमी तैनात किए जाते हैं, वे नान-एकेडेमिक होते हैं जो डिप्लोमन को देखते हैं। अवसर पड़ने पर छात्रों को नियंत्रण में रखते हैं। हमारे विश्वविद्यालयों में इस बात का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं है। फिर कहते हैं कि पुलिस कैम्पस में न जाय। मैं चाहूंगा कि कैम्पस की जरा व्याख्या की जाय, कैम्पस को डिफाइन किया जाय। दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी का कैम्पस कहां खत्म होता है, कहां शुरू होता है। दिल्ली में कोई कैम्पस नहीं है। कालेज के सामने बस जलाई जाय तो यह कैम्पस है, पुलिस नहीं जा सकती। अब अगर बस जलाई जायगी तो पुलिस को आना होगा, पुलिस को आना चाहिए। मैं इस बात का हामी नहीं हूं कि हम विद्यार्थियों को एक प्रिविलेज्ड क्लास मानें। अगर वे कैम्पस के भीतर रहते हैं, अपने प्रोफेसरों के, वाइस चांसलर के अनुशासन में रहते हैं तो पुलिस को सामान्यतः हस्तक्षेप करने की जरूरत नहीं है, लेकिन एक बार वे सीमा से बाहर आ गए, उन्होंने सीमा का उल्लंघन

बर दिया तो जैसे घोर नागरिक हैं, वैसे विद्यार्थी भी नागरिक हैं।

मुझे चागला साहब से शिकायत है। उन्होंने अपने स्टेटमेंट में एक बात कही है। वैसे उनका स्टेटमेंट बहुत अच्छा है, उन्होंने समस्या के सब पहलुओं को सामने रख दिया है। उस पर अमल नहीं होगा यह बात अलग है। लेकिन उन्होंने एक वाक्य ऐसा कह दिया कि पुलिस को जब विद्यार्थियों से निबटना हो तो पुलिस यह समझकर निबटे कि वह हमारे बड़े संवेदनशील वर्ग के साथ व्यवहार कर रहे हैं। क्या पुलिस का यह रवैया केवल विद्यार्थियों तक ही सीमित रहना चाहिए और बाकी के वर्ग से निबटे तो पुलिस बदले की भावना से निबटे। मेरा कहना है कि पुलिस का एक ही रवैया होना चाहिए सारे समाज के प्रति, सारे देशवासियों के प्रति और वह रवैया स्वयं संवेदनशील होना चाहिए।

श्री कृकबर अली खान : कम उम्र होने की वजह से . . .

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह बात गलत है। हम कम उम्र किसको कहेंगे। मैं भी कम उम्र हूँ आपकी तुलना में। ये उम्र वाली बात हम न लायें। जब तक वे विश्वविद्यालय के अन्दर हैं, कालेजों में हैं विश्वविद्यालय की डिस्प्लिन में बंधे हैं तब तक ये विद्यार्थी हैं, कम उम्र हैं और उनकी गलतियों को नजरान्दाज किया जा सकता है। एक बार वे सड़क पर आ गए, कानून अपने हाथ में लिया तो फिर जो सजा कानून तोड़ने वाले को मिलेगी वह उन्हें मिलनी चाहिए।

मुझे ताज्जुब होता है, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कि कुछ दिनों से अलग अलग वाइस चांसलर महोदय वक्तव्य दे रहे हैं पुलिस की निन्दा में। हमारे दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय के वाइस चांसलर महोदय भी बोले थे जिससे विद्यार्थियों ने यह समझा कि हमारी कुछ

बचत की गई है। माधव विश्वविद्यालय के वाइस चांसलर श्री नन्ददुलारे वाजपेयी ने भी ऐसी बात कही जिससे विद्यार्थियों में यह भावना फैली कि वे भी पुलिस की निन्दा करने में हमारे साथ हैं और अब नये वाइस चांसलर हैं श्री आर० के० नेहरू। अगर पुलिस निन्दनीय काम करती है तो उसकी निन्दा की जानी चाहिए। मगर मैं एक चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में प्रवृत्ति बढ़ रही है सैना की हर काम के लिए तारीफ करने की और पुलिस की हर काम के लिए निन्दा करने की। यह प्रवृत्ति ठीक नहीं। पुलिस गलतियाँ करती है मैं जानता हूँ। उस दिन मैंने स्वयं इस सदन में खड़े होकर कहा था कि अगर टियर गैस शैल मंच पर न गिरता तो दिल्ली में जो कुछ हुआ वह न होता। मैं जानता हूँ कि किस तरह से पुलिस ने रोहतक में जनसंघ के एम० एल० ए० को पकड़ कर हवालात में पीटा। जनता द्वारा चुना हुआ प्रतिनिधि। और जब मैं सुपरिन्टेण्डेंट से मिलने गया तो जिस पुलिस के अफसर ने पीटवाया था उसने यह कहा कि हवालात से भागना चाहते थे इसलिये मारपीट हुई। महोदय, वह एम० एल० ए० इतने मोटे हैं कि चाहें भी तो भाग नहीं सकते।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : स्वामी गमेश्वरानन्दजी की कांस्टीट्यूंसी के एम० एल० ए० तो नहीं हैं ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : मैं उनकी बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर : उनकी कांस्टीट्यूंसी के तो नहीं हैं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : नहीं, वह तो कर्नाल से चुन कर आये हैं और मैं रोहतक की बात कर रहा हूँ। स्वामी जी को तो अब जेल में डाल दिया है क्यों उनके पीछे पड़े हैं। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं यह कह रहा हूँ . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री महवीर प्रताप भार्गव) : समय भी हो रहा है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, मुझे टंका टाकी की जा रही है इसके लिये मैं जिम्मेदार नहीं हूँ।

श्री चन्द्र शेखर : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, बोलने दिया जाय, अच्छा बोल रहे हैं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अभी आता हूँ, ठहिये।

श्रीमन, यह प्रवृत्ति देश में ठीक नहीं है कि हम हर बात के लिये पुलिस की निन्दा करें। पुलिस का जो आचरण निन्दनीय है उसकी निन्दा होनी चाहिये लेकिन हर एक काम के लिये पुलिस की निन्दा होना और सेना की हर काम के लिये तारीफ होना यह बात मेरे गले के नीचे नहीं उतरती है। मैं इसके दुष्परिणाम देख सकता हूँ। पुलिस बहुत कठिनाई में अपनी जिम्मेदारी निभाती है। पुलिस की अपनी समस्याएँ हैं। पुलिस को भी कभी कभी पीठ पर थपकी देने की जरूरत है, भले ही आप सोमवार को जो कुछ हुआ उसके लिये न दें।

श्री संयव अहमद (मध्य प्रदेश) : उसके लिये भी दें।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उस दिन भी मैंने कहा था कि पहले पुलिस ने नरमाई से काम लिया बाद में पुलिस काबू से बाहर हो गई। महोदय, मैं दिल्ली का सवाल ज्यादा उठाना नहीं चाहता। गोलियाँ चलती हैं तो गोलियाँ भीड़ को भगाने के लिये चलाई जाती हैं या मारने के लिये। क्या इस सदन के सदस्य जानते हैं, जितने लोग परसों गोली में मरे हैं उनमें किसी के माथे पर गंजी चली है, किसी की छाती पर गोली चली है, मुझे अभी ऐसे व्यक्ति को देखना बाकी है जिसके कमरे के नीचे गोली चली हो, यह बात अलग है कि जो गोली से मारे गये उनकी लाश घर वालों को वापस

नहीं दी गई। मैं इस सवाल को इससे जोड़ना नहीं चाहता, उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मगर मैं जो कह रहा हूँ उसे आप स्वीकार करें कि पुलिस को भी हमें अपनी जिम्मेदारी का पालन करने के लिये ठीक तरह से चलाना होगा।

एक बात और है। छागला महोदय ने ठीक कहा है कि विद्यार्थियों के आन्दोलन इस धारणा के कारण हुए हैं कि सरकार को दबाया जा सकता है, झुकाया जा सकता है, आन्दोलन से इस सरकार को मनवाया जा सकता है और अगर हिंसात्मक आन्दोलन होगा तो यह सरकार जल्दी मान लेगी। आज सारे देश में यह मनोभावना फैली हुई है, केवल छात्रों में नहीं, राजनीतिक दल, समाज के हर एक वर्ग में यह है और इसकी जिम्मेदारी से यह शासन नहीं बच सकता। धमकियाँ दी जाती हैं जल मरने की और जब धमकियाँ दी जाती हैं तब सरकार निर्णय बदलती है, सरकार दूसरा निर्णय लेती है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आंध्र के साथ यह सरकार धमकियों में निर्णय लेना बन्द कर देगी।

श्री अकबर अली खान : नहीं नहीं, धमकियाँ नहीं। लेकिन इसाफ करे।

श्री विमल कुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङिया : धमकियाँ और किसको कहियेगा।

श्री अकबर अली खान : कंजोटियम की एक्सपर्ट राय के बाद यह कहना ठीक नहीं। अन्याय होता है। यह अन्याय न हो।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अन्याय हो जाय तो भी हम सही तरीका अपनायें, अगर आप साधन का विचार नहीं करें तो फिर हर एक चीज में यह होगा। मैं कहता हूँ कि आखिर यह गो-हत्या पर रोक लगाने की मांग स्वाधीनता के बाद से उठ रही है, डेढ़ करोड़ लोगों ने दस्तखत किये, डेढ़ करोड़ लोगों ने दस्तखत करके कहा, संविधान में इसके बारे में डाइरेक्टिव प्रिस्क्रिप्शन है,

गांधी जी चाहते थे कि गो-हत्या बन्द होनी चाहिये, मगर गो-हत्या बन्द नहीं हुई और एक आन्दोलन चला तो यहां से चिट्ठियां भेजी जाने लगीं मुख्य मंत्रियों के नाम । तो बाहर की जनता समझती है कि सरकार आन्दोलन से झुकती है और बाहर की जनता यह भी समझती है कि सरकार आन्दोलन से झुकती है, इसलिये यह करना है और वह यह भी समझती है कि जब चुनाव आता है तो सरकार की सुनने की ताकत बढ़ जाती है और इसीलिये चुनाव के समय आन्दोलन होते हैं । अगर केन्द्रीय सरकार प्रश्नों को लटकाये रखना छोड़ दे, समस्याओं के सांपों को पिटारी में बन्द करने की आदत भुला दे और हर एक सर्प का उसी समय मस्तक भंजन करने का निर्णय कर ले, अन्याय न करे, प्रश्नों को लटकाये नहीं, तो देश का वातावरण बदल सकता है मगर जो सरकार बागी नागाओं को दिल्ली में बुला कर प्रेम वार्ता करती है, जो महाराष्ट्र की सीमा बनने के बाद मैसूर और महाराष्ट्र के सीमा विवाद के निर्णय के लिये कमीशन नियुक्त करती है, जो चुनावों में वोट लेने के लिये तात्कालिक समझौते कर रही है उनके बारे में देश में यह धारणा पैदा होना कि यह आन्दोलन की भाषा समझती है कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है । मगर इस वातावरण को बदला जाना चाहिये । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, देश बड़े संकट की स्थिति में से गुजर रहा है । कोई भी राजनीतिक दल चाहे वह सत्तारूढ़ दल ही हो अगर इस परिस्थिति का लाभ उठाना चाहेगा तो वह लाभ नहीं उठा सकेगा, परिणाम इतना ही होगा कि देश के साथ दल भी गड़बड़े में चले जायेंगे । देश में, हवा में, बगावत की बू आ रही है । इस समय राजनीतिक दलों को मिल कर बैठना होगा । मेरे मित्र श्री भूपेश गुप्त कुछ भी कहें और श्री राजनारायण कुछ भी कहें, राजनीतिक दलों को विद्यार्थियों से अपना हाथ अलग रखना चाहिये । वह राजनीति पढ़ें, वह राजनीति पर चर्चा करें, अगर वह 21 साल

की उम्र के हो गये हों तो वोट देने भी जायें, मगर हम अपने विद्यालयों को, सरस्वती के मन्दिरों को राजनीति का अड़डा नहीं बनने दे सकते । लेकिन विरोधी दल नहीं सत्तारूढ़ दल भी जिम्मेदार है । किसे दोष दिया जाय । आज इस हम्माम में हम सब नंगे हो गये हैं और इसीलिये देश के भविष्य के बारे में ज्यादा चिन्ता पैदा होती है । कहीं न कहीं मर्यादा की रेखा खींचनी पड़ेगी और अगर आज हम यह रेखा नहीं खींचेंगे तो अराजकता हम को खा जायेगी, न लोकतंत्र रहेगा न विरोधी दल रहेंगे और यह सरकार भी खतरे में पड़ जायेगी । अगर विद्यार्थियों का आन्दोलन हमारी आंख खोल सके तो हम कहेंगे कि विद्यार्थियों ने गलत कदम उठाते हुए भी एक अच्छा काम किया है कि अपने बड़ों की आंख में अंजन लगा कर उनकी आंख खोल दी है । धन्यवाद ।

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa): Sir, I have tabled one amendment in which I have advocated that an expert high power committee should be instituted to give recommendations to the Government because as we are discussing it here we will not be able to do full justice to the subject. Even the Education Commission which went into the matter could not deal with it properly.

Sir, the way things are being managed here we are only producing scores of angry young men. In our society, whether it is a question of educational institutions, whether it is a question of administration, whether it is a question of managing our houses ourselves, we are only producing scores of angry young men.

Sir, this question of student unrest is not peculiar to India. I can remind the Education Minister that just two weeks back when the teachers of Sweden stopped work all the students went to school, drank beer to their hearts content and then danced in the school compound and

[Shri Bankay Behary Das]

hall. So this problem is not something peculiar to us. We are seeing these things in India for the last few months and only now we are seized of the matter.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Those students did not destroy anything.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: I agree. But that was not a happy thing for the Swedish students to drink beer in the school compound and hall and then dance there when the teachers were absent. So the type of unrest may be different. Here we are more concerned about this aspect because for the last three or four months everywhere in the streets we see angry students.

Sir, I agree with many of the friends who have spoken here that the students are like clay and the society is to mould them. What type of citizens we want out of them is to be decided by us. I am not going into the details of the matter but two lines I am going to quote from the Education Commission's Report which has gone into this aspect though they have not elaborately discussed nor have they found any reasons or any panacea for these evils. They have said:

"The responsibility for indiscipline taking place is multi-lateral and no effective solution is possible unless each agency—students, parents, teachers, State Governments and political parties—does its own duty.

Earnest efforts should be made to remove the educational deficiencies that contribute to student unrest and set up an adequate consultative and administrative machinery to prevent the occurrence of acts of indiscipline."

4 P.M.

Only these two lines I quote, just to impress upon you that neither politi-

cal parties nor any single agency is to be blamed for what is happening in this country. We are all to be blamed for it, whether we are in the administration or in the political parties or outside. In this connection I want to say that the student's life is moulded not only in their houses but also in the schools and also by the society and the administration. There are various causes which I am not going into because you know even in the schools how admissions are taking place. We know how Ministers' telephones are utilised for asking the Principals of the colleges to give admission to undeserving students. I can tell you that just two years back in the premier city of Cuttack, in that premier educational institution of the Ravenshaw College, one student wanted admission. He was a pet of the Chief Minister of that State. The Chief Minister telephoned to the Principal to see that that student was admitted in the college. The student did not give application in time. The Principal refused. The Education Secretary was sent to see that the Principal accepted the wishes of the Chief Minister and the student was admitted. As a result there was a great strike in that entire city. So taking advantage of a single instance, the emotions of the students were aroused. They saw that cases of deserving students were being neglected and those without justification were getting admissions because the Chief Minister of the State wanted it. So I am going to hold you responsible that you rather provoked the students through a single issue of admission so that the entire students of the Cuttack city had to strike to get redress. Whom am I going to hold responsible for this? Are the students of Cuttack who went to the streets and demonstrated to get redress of their grievances responsible or you are responsible? You are more responsible because we can know how their minds are working because we were also students once and we had also

emotions. I want to give a few instances in this connection. I do not agree with my friend Shri Vajpayee on this about the University campus being invaded by the police. I am not going to distinguish where the University campus ends and the roads begin but as long as the Vice-Chancellor is competent to maintain discipline in the institution, the police has no right to invade the compound of the University without the specific permission of the Vice-Chancellor. I am happy that in a veiled way, the Education Minister has written in his statement:

"Some of the Vice-Chancellors have not been able to rise to the role of academic leaders of their institutions and to inspire the respect and confidence which their position requires."

But who is responsible for it? Is it not a fact that on only political and other considerations Vice-Chancellors in most of the States are being appointed? Is it not a fact that to take away the autonomy of the Universities in Andhra and Orissa the Ministers in those States have seen to it that the University Acts are amended so that there is enough scope to interfere in the affairs of the Universities? So all are parties to this indiscipline. I would rather say, like the saying — "Doctor, heal thyself before advising others." In this connection I would say that any forcible entry into the University is a heinous act. It should be condemned. I am happy also that the Vice-Chancellors decided like that. In spite of that the Allahabad University has been invaded by the police and excesses have been committed.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Not only the university autonomy is truncated but everywhere in the schools there is no educational facility for the students. In this connection I want to refer to one fact. I do not know about other States. In Orissa in

80 per cent. of the primary schools you will not find sufficient number of teachers. For five classes you will find one or two teachers. How can you expect a primary teacher to manage two to four classes and at the same time to maintain the student discipline? Primary education is the foundation of the entire educational fabric. The U.G.C. looks after the university education. There are others who look after the High School education but the foundation of the educational system is the primary education where the students have to grow as disciplined citizens and there I see there is no teaching. There is no discipline in that institution. That is the case with many of the States, I think. I am not going into the other matters because there is no enough of time but in this connection I say this. Because the students devote most of their time in their homes, the atmosphere in the house has a great bearing on their conduct. We know how the middle class citizens are living in this country, after 19 years of Independence. It has a great impact on them when they see that their parents are not able to provide them with text-books or even two square meals. We know what is happening outside. They see the leaders of the society and how they behave whether in the Legislatures, Parliament, or outside. They see how allegations of corruption are levelled against the Ministers. All these things they see. One and a half years \$nununshrdlu was a great students' movement, Mr. Nanda had to go there to our State. I was one of the victims because I wrote against the police excesses and I was detained under the Preventive Detention Act. The students were shouting slogans in Cuttack, the slogan of which I was also ashamed. Their only slogan was: 'Where can you find this Chief Minister? You can only find in liquor houses.' You know the leadership in this country has failed miserably to provide any ideas of human value to the students. All these matters should be looked

[Shri Banka Behary Das]

into. Only the leaders of the society whether in administration or politics or education, can provide such a leadership. You cannot expect the students to rise above those things.

One line about the students and teachers. I know there is a limit to politics and there is a limit to which the students can go. In this connection I am reminded of what Mr. G.D.H. Cole wrote in 1933 about the British students and also politics and he advocated there—I have not the time to repeat that—that when depression is there, when the students will come out of the universities and will face unemployment, can you expect the students to keep quiet and that they will not think of their future employment and will not go out to the streets to see that a change in the economic policy of the British Government is there? There was a great debate on it.

Again I impress upon you that in that citadel of democracy in England though generally students will not be taking part in politics because most of the students are not interested in politics as they are in India, but in every university you will find Conservative Club and Labour Club. So there is a limit to it. I am not going to say that there is no difference between exploiting students for political purposes and students taking part in politics. These two things are to be distinguished and the people in democratic countries have done it.

Secondly, about teachers, I am not going to say much. Only I am going to quote the Education Commission, with which I entirely agree. Although Mr. Chagla decries it, I will say that I entirely agree with the Education Commission, with which not only the important educationists of this country were associated but of France, England, America and Russia were associated, in regard to what they have

said about the teacher. They have said . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please wind up.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: The time allotted to the Party is not yet over.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What time was allotted?

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: 45 minutes.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: On page 63 the Education Commission says . . .

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: They are to be controlled. If the Chair cannot control one Member, how the Chair can control others?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: For persons who cannot have control . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Can he speak from that seat?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: There, only I want to refer to the Education Commission, to what they have said at page 63 of their report about the teachers. They have said:

"We attach great importance to the civic freedom of teachers. We consider the participation of teachers in social and public life to be highly desirable in the interest of the profession and the educational service as a whole, and such participation will enrich the social and political life of the country. Teachers should be free to exercise all civic rights enjoyed by citizens and should be eligible for public offices at the local, district, State or national levels. No legal restrictions should be placed on their participation in elections. When they do so, they should

be expected to proceed on leave during the election campaign and to relinquish temporarily their teaching duties if the requirements of public office interfere with their proper discharge."

Madam, I am not going to say what I want because I am entirely in agreement with this and I have always held this view. Here also the Education Commission had all the important educationists including Mr. Kothari as members thereof, and the educationists of America, France, England and the Soviet Union were associated with it. They are also of this view, not only in the interest of their profession but in the interest of democracy and the country as a whole, that teachers should be associated with politics.

So, Madam, I do not want to take more time, but I only request the Minister that my amendment to set up an experts committee of educationists and Parliament Members and others should be accepted, so that we can go deep into this matter and make some recommendations which will be useful to India, because the student unrest is not going to end here and now, or within a month, or even after the elections, because theirs is a serious problem, a serious disease which is afflicting the young men who are a product of the society and for which we are responsible. So an experts committee is absolutely necessary to consider these matters.

شری عبدالغنی (ہریانہ) : مہدم —

پچھلے سیشن میں جب میں نے یہ عرض کیا تھا کہ ہندوستان کو سب سے بڑا خطرہ نہ چائنا ہے نہ پاکستان سے ہے بلکہ اگر خطرہ ہے تو فوسٹریتھڈ اسٹوڈنٹ سے اور آفیشل سے ہے۔ میری بات سے کسی نے اتفاق کیا ہو یا نہ کیا ہو سرکار کو ضرور آنکھ

کھولی چاہئے لیکن سرکار نے توجہ نہیں دی ہے۔ اسٹوڈنٹ کی بیماری بہت گہری تھی لیکن کہا میں پوچھ سکتا ہوں مہدم آپ کے ذریعہ ایلی سرکار سے کہ کہا یہ سچ نہیں ہے کہ چیف منسٹر اتر پردیش نے آکر کے شکایت کی کہ اس کو ہٹانے کے لئے اسٹوڈنٹس کو اور فورٹھ دلاس آفیشلس کو استعمال کیا کانگریسی طاقتوروں نے۔ اگر یہ سچ ہے اور اس کی کوئی تردید نہیں کر پائے گا تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ بیماری اتر پردیش سے چلی۔ بیماری تھی اسٹوڈنٹس کی لیکن اس کو استعمال کیا کانگریسی نہتائوں نے اور ان نہتائوں نے جو سمجھتا کرپانی کو ہٹانا چاہتے تھے اور آپ خود جلدی گدی پر آنا چاہتے تھے حالانکہ جنرل الیکشن کے بعد ان کا چانس ہے کہ وہ نہ سمجھتا جی پاراسلٹ کے لئے کھڑی ہو رہی ہوں۔ جب کانگریس سرکار کی طرف سے کانگریسوں کی طرف سے اور کانگریس کے طاقتوروں کی طرف سے اس بیماری کا علاج کرنا تھا تو بجائے علاج کر کے اس کو اپنے اینڈس کے لئے اپنے موٹیو کے لئے استعمال کیا۔ آندھرا کے چیف منسٹر کو ہٹانے کے لئے سہلتر سے تاریں ہلے اور آندھرا میں اسٹوڈنٹ کو اور دوسری جو دستریکٹو فورسز کہے یا یوں کہے کہ جن کی صاب ملتہلتی ہے ان کو استعمال کیا گیا

[شری عبدالغنی]

تو آپ کہا کلمہ دینکے راج نرائن جی سے یا کسی اور سے کہا آپ کلمہ کریںکے کسی اور آرگنائزیشنس سے - ہم آپ کے ذریعہ اسٹوڈنٹس سے اپیل کرنا چاہتے ہیں کہ وہ شری راج نرائن کی اس بات کو قبول نہ کریں کہ اسٹوڈنٹس کا کام یہ ہے کہ وہ پالیٹیکس میں اس طرح سے التجہ جائیں کہ وہ کسی کے مقصد کا بکرا بلیں چاہے وہ کانگریس کے نہتے ہوں یا کسی اور پارٹی کے نہتے ہوں - آخر اسٹوڈنٹس کو اپنے آپ کو سبجنا چاہئے کہ وہ اسٹوڈنٹس ہیں اور دلی میں آنے کی ان کو کوئی ضرورت نہیں ہے - ان کی بیماری کا علاج ان کے اپنے یہاں ہوگا اور ان کی اپنی یونیورسٹی میں ہوگا اور وہ دلی آئیں گے یہی تب بھی نہ چھانڈا صاحب کچھ کر سکتے ہیں اور نہ کوئی دوسرا کچھ کر سکتا ہے - چھانڈا صاحب کو میں جانتا ہوں کہ وہ بڑے قابل ہیں بڑے لائق ہیں بڑے اچھے ہیں بڑے زور آور ہیں لیکن وہ علیحدہ یونیورسٹی اور بنارس یونیورسٹی میں ایک جیسا رویہ قائم نہیں رکھ سکے اور وہ اس کو ایک ترازو پر نہیں تول سکے اس لئے اسٹوڈنٹس سے میری اپیل یہ ہے کہ وہ اپنے آپ کو کسی کا آلہ کار نہ بنائیں - اپنے نہتوں سے یہی میں یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں چاہے وہ شری چندر بہان گپت ہوں چاہے

وہ یہاں کے کوئی سینٹر کے منسٹر ہوں چاہے مودے بھائی راج نرائن ہوں چاہے مودے بھائی بھوپنڈی گپت ہوں کہ اسٹوڈنٹس کی لائف سے کھیلنا نہ صرف دیس کا ایمان ہے نہ صرف اپنا ایمان ہے بلکہ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ انسانیت کا ایمان ہے -

آخر اسٹوڈنٹس کی تکلیفوں سے چھانڈا صاحب بھی انکار نہیں کریںکے - میں ایک چھوٹا سا واقعہ عرض کرتا ہوں - میں نے ان کو لکھا تھا کہ ایک ٹوکا مڈل میں فست آیا ہے - میٹرک میں فست آیا ہے اور اگے جا کر بھی ہمیشہ فست رہا ہے اور اب وہ بے چارا ایم - اے - کے بعد چاہتا تھا کہ اپنی ہائر اسٹڈی قائم رکھے سکے - اس کو کسی یونیورسٹی نے قبول نہیں کیا - پنجاب میں ایسے سادھن نہیں تھے اور دلی والوں نے کہا کہ تم دلی سے تعلق نہیں رکھتے - دوسروں نے بھی کہا کہ تم ہمارے ساتھ تعلق نہیں رکھتے - ایسے قابل ترین لوگ کے لئے چھانڈا صاحب بھی پڈا نہیں دے پائے اور مجھے اس بچہ کے لئے وہ سہارا نہیں دے پائے - تو اس کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ کہیں کچھ ترقیاں ہوں - کچھ خامیاں اور خرابیاں ہیں -

یہ مانڈا پڑے گا کہ پہلی کلاس سے ہم بچہ پر ایک گدھے کا بوجھ

لا دیتے ہیں اور اتنی کتابیں ہوتی ہیں کہ وہ ان کو اتنا نہیں سکتا - آخر ایسی ایجوکیشن کا فائدہ کیا ہے - جب آپ چاہتے ہیں کہ دیہی مہن انجیلیر پیدا ہوں فلاسفر پیدا ہوں سائنٹسٹ پیدا ہوں - اچھے سے اچھے ودوان پیدا ہوں اچھے سے اچھے رائیٹر پیدا ہوں عالم اور فاضل پیدا ہوں تو جس بچہ کا دماغ جدھر چلتا ہو اس کو ادھر لکائیے - آپ کو ۲۰۰ مضمون پڑھانے ضروری ہوں تو اس کا سادھی ہونا چاہئے - آج جب بچہ یہ دیکھتا ہے کہ ہمارے ماں باپ بھوکے مر رہے ہیں تو وہ کس طرح سے پڑھ سکتا ہے - ویسے ہی آج بہار اور اتر پردیش کے مشرقی اضلاع میں ایک بہت بڑے قحط کا سان آنکھوں کے سامنے ہے - اس کے علاوہ کوئی نہیں جانتا کہ راجستھان میں بھی بھوک مری کا خطرہ ہے اور یہ کون نہیں جانتا کہ یہ خطرہ ساری دنیا میں ہے لیکن اس سے کہیں زیادہ ہمارے ہندوستان میں ہے - ہمارے سوالوں کا جواب دیتے ہوئے ہمارے فوٹو منسٹر صاحب ہی کہتے ہیں کہ نہ ربح کی فصل اچھی ہوئی ہے اور نہ خریف اچھی ہوئی ہے اور دھلی کی کوئی شمع نظر نہیں آتی - ایسی حالت میں اگر آپ یہ چاہیں کہ اسٹوڈنٹس پر اتنا بوجھ لا دیا جائے جس کو وہ برداشت نہ کر سکیں - اگر آپ چاہیں کہ اسٹوڈنٹس کے ساتھ

ایسی بے انصافی ہو اور اس کے ساتھ کچھ لوگ آرام سے اپنے گھروں میں بیٹھیں بھی کریں اور ان کے لئے ایرکنڈیشنڈ کمرے مہیا کریں ان کے لئے گریں مہیا کریں ان کے کتوں کے لئے بھی گریں مہیا کریں اور دوسری طرف اسٹوڈنٹس کے لئے کھانے کے لئے کچھ نہ ہو ان کے پاس پیسہ نہ ہو ان کے پہلنے کے لئے کپڑا نہ ہو وہ کہیں پڑھنا چاہیں تو ان کو پڑھنے کے لئے موقع نہ ملے تو پھر کام کس طرح چلے گا - اس لئے اگر اسٹوڈنٹس اپنی شکایتیں یا اپنے دکھ درد آپ کے سامنے لاتے ہیں تو ان کو سنا جائے اور میں چاہتا ہوں کہ اندراجی خود ایک اسٹوڈنٹ دیں پوری کونسلٹ کے مشورہ سے کہ وہ اسٹوڈنٹس کے لئے کیا کرنے جا رہی ہیں - طلباء کی تمام مشکلات ضرور دور کی جانی چاہئیں -

مہتمم - مجھے حیرت ہوتی ہے کہ ہماری سرکار الجھاؤ کی پالہسی میں ایمان رکھتی ہے اور وہ ہر ایک بات کو الجھانا چاہتی ہے - یہ ایک سیدھی بات تھی کہ اگر کانگریس کے نمائندوں کو وزیروں کو یا میمبروں کو اسٹیشن پر جاکر چمکٹ کورو شنکر اُچاریہ جی کو دیکھو کرنا تھا ان کا سواگت کرنا تھا ان کو ماں پتر دینا تھا تو ان سے یہ بھی ان کو کہنا چاہئے تھا کہ کورو جی آپ آ رہے ہیں

[شری عبدالغنی]

لیکن ہمیں خطرہ ہے کہ غلط عناصر اس ماب میں شامل ہو جائیں گے اور وہ کچھ ایسا رنگ پیدا کرینگے جس سے آپ کی شان کو بٹہ لگے گا اور سادھو سچ جو نندہ جی نے قائم کیا ہے اس کی شان کو بٹہ لگے گا۔
(Interruption) میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ ایک شاندار نہتا ہیں اور ان کا وہ فائدہ اٹھانے ہیں۔ ذبیح گائے کے لئے ہم نے ابھی ایک میٹنگ میں کہا تھا کہ جہاں ۹۵ فی صدی مسلم آبادی ہو وہاں بھی پانچ فی صدی ہندو بھائیوں کی دل آزادی نہ کی جائے اور وہاں پر انہوں نے ذبیح گائے کو مسلوع کرلو دے دیا تھا ویسے مسلمان کی حالت یہ ہے کہ—

وہ آہ بھی کرتے ہیں تو ہو جاتے ہیں بدنام

اس لئے ان کا کہنا ہی کیا ہے۔ یہ بھی رضاکارانہ طور پر اپنے مذہبی حق کو جس کا ان کو قطعی حق ہے کہ وہ ذبیح گائے کریں انہیں خوشی خوشی اپنے حق کو چھوڑنا چاہئے۔ اور اپنے ہندو بھائیوں کے جذبات کا از خود احترام کرنا چاہئے۔ کیونکہ ایک دوسرے کے احترام میں ہی سب کا بہا ہے۔ بات سمجھی تھی ان کے ساتھ بات کی جاتی۔ اگر بات نہیں کرنی تھی تو آنے کا موقعہ نہیں دیا

جاتا مسلمان یہ کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ ہماری بھی دل آزادی ہوتی ہے سرور کا گوشت کھا بکتا ہے۔ کہا سرکار یہ کرے گی جس سے کہ مسلمان کی دل آزادی نہ ہو لیکن یہ صرف دل آزادی کا ہی نہیں ہے سوال وہی ہوتا ہے کہ اکانامہ کی یہ سرکار کہا سمجھتی ہے۔ مہری رائے میں اسے بھی کر دینا چاہئے۔ جیسے کہ کمیونسٹ بھائی بڑے زور سے کہتے ہیں کہ امریکہ دے نہ دے ہم بھوکوں مر جائیں گے ہم باہر کا فائدہ نہیں ملنا چاہئے۔ اگر اسی طرح سے اس میں دلچسپی دکھائی جاتی تو بات تھی۔ آخر ۳۶ کروڑ انسانوں کی دل آزادی ہوتی ہے تو کٹو ہتھا ہلد ہونی چاہئے۔ آسان بات تھی اس معاملہ کو الجھایا کیوں؟ اگر ہت ہوتی سرکار میں اندرا جی کو بولنا چاہئے تھا کہ خوشی سے آؤ پارلیمنٹ پر اپنی بات کہو آخر پردھان منتری مارے دیس لے بنایا ہے ایک آدمی نے نہیں بنایا ہے ان کے سامنے اپنی بات رکھیں نہ ہم یہاں تک جا سکتے ہیں۔ اور اسی واسطے نند ہوں۔ کوئی ہوں مجھے کسی کا تذکرہ نہیں کرنا ہے۔ یہ کوئی موقعہ نہیں ملتا۔ آخر آگ لگی، کوئی چلی۔ کئی لوگ مرے۔ میں نہ یہاں کسی کی مہما لے لئے کہڑا ہوا ہوں نہ استوونٹ کی نندا کے لئے کہڑا ہوا ہوں نہ استوونٹ کی مہما کے لئے

کہا ہوا ہوں نہ ہی پولیس کی
 نندا کے لئے کہا ہوا ہوں - میں یہ
 ضرور کہتا ہوں کہ دیس کا بھلا سب
 سے اگے ہونا چاہئے وہ تبھی ہو سکتا
 ہے - جب اسٹوڈنٹ اپنے گھروں میں
 رہیں - تمام لہذر چاہے چاندی بہان
 کہتا ہوں چاہے سلجھوا رہتی ہوں
 چھانڈا صاحب سے تسکس کریں
 اندرا جی سے تسکس کریں ایک راستہ
 نکالیں جس سے اسٹوڈنٹ کو مصیبت
 نہ ہو - اس کا کوئی علاج کیا جائے
 ان کی تکلیف دور کی جائے جب
 اسٹوڈنٹ کہتے ہیں تو چھانڈا صاحب
 کہتے ہیں کہ پیسہ نہیں ہے کہا
 یہ سچ نہیں کہ کروڑوں روپیہ سرمایہ
 داران کا انکے انکم ٹیکس کا جو
 دیس کی دولت ہے ہمارے آمدنی ہے
 چھوڑ دیا جاتا ہے ؟ کہا یہ سچ نہیں
 کہ کروڑوں روپیہ بنگلہ بلک کلیمنس
 سارٹمنٹ دیکھے اسٹیلٹی
 سارٹمنٹ اور لائسنس دیئے جاتے
 ہیں - کہا یہ سچ نہیں کہ کرپشن
 اتنا گہر کئے ہوئے ہے کہ بیجو
 پٹنائک نے کروڑوں روپیہ بلایا ہے
 اور وہ کہتا تھا کہ اگر ایک کروڑ
 روپیہ خرچ کرکے مسٹری لی نہیں
 تو ۱۰ کروڑ روپیہ خرچ کرکے پرائم
 مسٹر بن سکتا ہوں - ایسی باتیں
 جس دیس میں ہوں اس دیس
 کا کہا ٹھکانہ -

اسٹوڈنٹ کہتے ہیں کہ پلجیاب

چھوٹا سا صوبہ تھا اس کو تین حصوں
 میں بانٹا گیا - ایک میں نو ضلع
 آئے اور ایک میں چھ ضلع - ایک
 میں ۲۵ مسٹر - اسٹیت مسٹر -
 قیدی مسٹر بلڈ گئے اور دوسرے
 میں ۲۳ بلڈ گئے - وہ کہتے ہیں
 کہ اگلے مسٹر کہوں بلڈ گئے - اس
 لئے کہ ان کو گریڈ مل جائے گی -
 گریڈ آتی ہیں کسانوں اور مزدوروں
 کے خون اور پسینہ کی کمائی سے
 اور مسٹر ان کو الیکشن کے لئے
 استعمال کریں گے - اس سے چوہ کر کوئی
 اسٹوڈنٹ کسی کی کار میں آگ لگا
 سکتا ہے تاکہ وہ الیکشن کے کام میں
 نہ آئیں - اتنے مسٹر کہوں بلڈ گئے
 اس کا جواب نہ میرے پاس ہے نہ
 میری بہن اندرا جی کے پاس نہ
 چھانڈا جی کے پاس - چھانڈا صاحب
 کہتے ہیں کہ پیسہ نہیں ہے کہاں
 سے تمہیں وظیفے دیں کہاں سے
 تمہارے لئے بلڈنگیں بنائیں کہاں سے
 تمہارے کھانے کے لئے انتظام کروائیں
 اور دوسری طرف دیکھتے ہیں کہ چھ
 ضلعوں کے لئے ۲۴ مسٹر رکھے گئے
 ہیں - ایک ایک ضلع کے لئے ۴-۴
 مسٹر قیدی مسٹر اسٹیت میں -
 میرا سر شرم سے جھک جاتا ہے کہ
 گاندھی جی کا نام لہنے والے کہاں جا
 رہے ہیں - کہا وہ اس لئے مسٹر
 بلڈ گئے ہیں کہ گروں کو استعمال
 کریں - میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا
 ہوں کہ اس طرح کی اشتعال انگیزی

[شری عبدالغلی]

کرہنگے اس طرح کی باتیں کرینگے تو اس سے دیہس کو دھکا لگے گا اور پھر ایسی صورت میں استوڈنٹ فیس میں آکر ایسے کام کر سکتے ہیں۔ لہذا حکومت کو بھی اعتدال سے کام لینا چاہئے۔ وہ اور زمانہ تھا جب انگریز کے خلاف لڑائی تھی۔ میں نے بھی ظلم سہے کہ ہاتھوں کی چڑبی نکل آئی تھی۔ میں نہیں کلاس میں تھا (مرتسر میں سی۔ آئی۔ سی کے دس دس آدمی رہے) اور تھے۔ اب یہ بات نہیں ہے یہ اپنی سرکار ہے گنگرہس سرکار کل کو جا سکتی ہے اگر روت دوسری طرف زیادہ ہوں۔ استوڈنٹ کو کہا ضرورت پڑی ہے کہ اسٹوڈنٹوں کو لوٹوں قانون ہاتھ میں لیں راج نرائن جی کے کہنے پر چاہوں۔ مورا بھائی تھا وہ بالکل راج نرائن جی کی طرح تھا وہ اپنے پاس پستول رکھتا تھا۔ میں تو ہاتھ جوڑنے والوں میں تھا آج استوڈنٹ کو نہ ہاتھ جوڑنے والوں کے ساتھ ہونا چاہئے نہ ان کے ساتھ آنا چاہئے نہ ہی گولی اور پستول والے کے ساتھ آنا چاہئے گاؤں کے اس سے دیہس کا کوئی فائدہ نہیں۔ اندونیشیا کی بات اور تھی۔ اندونیشیا سے مجھے کوئی جھگڑا نہیں کہ اسٹوڈنٹ نے اچھا کیا یا برا کیا۔ ایک حکومت کے خلاف ان کی بغاوت تھی۔ اس لئے تھی کہ حکومت فسطا راستہ پر جا

رہی تھی لیکن یہاں سرکار ایسی نہیں ہے۔

مہدم۔ میں ایک بات کہہ رہا تھا بڑے ادب سے کہہ رہا تھا۔ تھیک ہے ابھی گنگرہس کو نشہ ہے اپنی طاقت کا یہ نشہ زیادہ دن نہیں چل سکتا۔ ان کو سوچنا پڑے گا کہ اگر کریپشن کو روکنا ہے تو آل پارٹیز کونسلٹ بلانیں۔ آپ فرانز کی مثال قائم کریں یا کوئی اور مثال لیں اور سوچیں کہ کریپشن کھسے مٹے گا ورنہ آپ جیسے آدمیوں کو پناہ دیتے رہے ہیں دیتے دھینگے۔ ہولا جی سوچ کرتے دھینگے جب تک سرکار اس طرح چلتی رہے گی اور ملک میں چھوٹی کار نہیں بن پائے گی۔ مہدیجنگ ایجنسی کے نام پر لوگ لاکھوں روپیہ لوتے دھینگے اسلشہلوٹی سارٹیفیکٹ اور پرمیٹوں کے لئے کروڑوں روپیہ روز بمبئی کے مارکیٹ میں کھلا دیا جاتا ہے اور کوئی پوچھنے والا نہیں ہے۔ ان باتوں کی طرف آپ سوچتے کہوں نہیں ہیں استوڈنٹ پڑھ لکھ ہیں وہ ہر روز پالٹیمکس پڑھتے ہیں ٹیچرز سے۔ اس بات سے انکار نہیں کیا جا سکتا کہ یونیورسٹیوں میں ایسے عناصر کھسے ہوئے ہیں جو اس حکومت کو ہی نہیں بلکہ اس قیض کو بھی بوجھنا چاہتے ہیں اس دیہس کو دوسروں کا ہتھیار بنانا چاہتے ہیں

اس کے لئے کہا علاج کیا ہے - اگر علی گڑھ یونیورسٹی کی ایک مثال دوں تو میں سمجھوں گا کہ چھانڈا صاحب کو بڑا دھوکا لگا انہوں نے جو کچھ کہا کوئی بہت اچھی مثال قائم نہیں کی - اس وقت یہ خیال ہو سکتا تھا کہ یہ کبھی مسلم لیگ کا اکھارا تھا لیکن آج سارے ہندوستان میں یہ بیماری پھیل رہی ہے اس کا مطلب یہ ہے کہ استوڈنٹس کی کچھ سچی شکایتیں ہیں جنہوں دور کرنا چاہئے - اگر دور کرنا ہے تو کولے عام کمیونٹی کی مہنگائی بلاؤ اور ۱۸ تاریخ سے پہلے پورے دلاؤ استوڈنٹس کو - نہ صرف خود ہی بلکہ جیسا کہ باجپٹی جی نے کہا بھوپیش کو بلاؤ لوک سبھا سے بلاؤ باجپٹی کو بلاؤ راج نرائن جی کو بلاؤ جنہوں بلانا ہے بلاؤ اور مل کر اپیل کرو کہ ۱۸ تاریخ کا جو مظاہرہ ہے اسے واپس لے لوں - ہم گولیاں مار کر انہیں بھٹا سکتے ہیں ہم آنسو گیس بربسا کر بھٹا سکتے ہیں لیکن ان کے دلوں کو جیت نہیں سکتے ہیں - دلوں کو جیتنے کے لئے راستہ بدلنا چاہئے پریم سے کام لےنا چاہئے - اچھا ملوک کرنا چاہئے - مجھے افسوس ہے کہ سرکار اپنے راستہ کو بدلے گی - لیکن چھ فلوں کی سرکار کا چیف منسٹر کہتا ہے کہ داس کمیشن نے

کچھ بھی فیصلہ دیا تھا لیکن میں پرتاپ سنگھ کےروں کو رشی مانتا ہوں اور اس کا ایک اونچا مولار والا قلعہ بلواؤں کا جیسے کہ اشوک کی لٹ کھڑی ہوئی ہے - میں حیرت میں ہوں کہ کس طرف جا رہا ہے دماغ - آپ کا ہائوس اتھارٹی کے فیصلہ کے بعد بھی لوگ اس طرح کی باتیں کرتے ہیں ایلی طاقت کا اظہار کرتے ہیں ایہ ابھیمان کا اظہار کرتے ہیں جو لوگ ایسی باتیں کرتے ہیں ان کو میں یہ بتلا دیتا چاہتا ہوں کہ عبدالغنی ابھی زندہ ہے اور جو غلط راستہ اختیار کرینگے ان کے خلاف عبدالغنی کے خون کا ایک ایک قطرہ بہہ جائے گا اور وہ ایسا نہیں ہونے دیتا - آخر غلط باتیں کہوں ہونے دیں او سب مل کر اصلاح حال کریں -

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी : (हरियाना) : मेडम पिछले सेशन में जब मैं ने अर्ज किया था कि हिन्दुस्तान को सबसे बड़ा खतरा चायना से है न पाकिस्तान से है बल्कि अगर खतार है तो फस्टेटिड स्टूडेंट्स से और आफिशियल से हैं। मेरी बात से किसी ने इत्फ क किया हो या न किया हो सरकार को जरूर आख खोलनी चाहिए लेकिन सरकार ने तबज्जो नहीं दी है। स्टूडेंट्स की बीमारी बहुत गहरी थी लेकिन क्या मैं पूछ सकता हूँ आप के जरिए अपनी सरकार से कि क्या यह सच नहीं है कि चीफ मिनिस्टर उत्तर प्रदेश ने आकर के शिकायत की कि उसको हटाने के लिए स्टूडेंट्स को और फोर्थ ब्लास आफिशियल को इस्तेमाल किया कांग्रेसी ताकत

[श्री अब्दुल ग़नी]

बरों ने अगर यह सच है और इसकी कोई तरदीद नहीं कर पाएगा तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बीमारी उत्तर प्रदेश से चली। बीमारी थी स्टुडेंट्स की लेकिन उसको इस्तेमाल किया कांग्रेसी नेताओं ने और उन नेताओं ने जो सुचेता कृपलानी को हटाना चाहते थे और आप खुद जल्दी गद्दी पर आना चाहते थे हालाँकि जनरल इलेक्शन के बाद उनका चांस है क्योंकि सुचेता जी पार्लियामेंट के लिए खड़ी हो रही हैं। जब कांग्रेस सरकार की तरफ से कांग्रेसियों की तरफ से और कांग्रेस के ताकतवरों की तरफ से इस बीमारी का इलाज करना था तो बजाए इलाज करने के उसको अपने एंडज के लिए अपने मोटिव के लिए इस्तेमाल किया। आंध्र के चीफ मिनिस्टर को हटाने के लिए सेन्टर से तारें हिली और आंध्रा में स्टुडेंट्स को और दूसरे को डेस्ट्रक्टिव फोर्सिस कहिये या यूँ कहिए कि जिनकी मोब मेंटेलिटी है उनको इस्तेमाल किया गया तो आप क्या गिला करेंगे राज नारायण जी से या किसी और से क्या आप गिला करेंगे। किसी से और ओर्गेनाइजेशन से। हम आपके जरिए स्टुडेंट्स से अपील करना चाहते हैं कि वह श्री राज नारायण की इस बात को कबूल न करें कि स्टुडेंट्स का काम यह है कि वह पोलिटिक्स में इस तरह से उलझ जाएँ कि वह किसी के मकसद का बकरा बनें चा वह कांग्रेस के नेता हों या किसी और पार्टी के नेता हों आखिर स्टुडेंट्स को अपने आप को समझना चाहिए कि वे स्टुडेंट्स हैं और दिल्ली में आने की उनको कोई जरूरत नहीं है। उनकी बीमारी का इलाज उनके अपने यहां होगा और उनकी अपनी यूनिवर्सिटी में होगा और वह दिल्ली आएंगे भी तब भी न छागला साहब कुछ कर सकते हैं और न कोई दूसरा कुछ कर सकता है। छागला साहब को मैं जानता हूँ कि वह बड़े काबिल हैं बड़े लायक हैं, बड़े अच्छे हैं, बड़े जोर आवर हैं लेकिन वह अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी और बनारस

यूनिवर्सिटी में एक जैसा रवैया कायम नहीं रख सके और वह इसको एक तराजू पर नहीं तोल सके। इसलिये स्टुडेंट्स से मेरी अपील यह है कि वह अपने आपको किसी का आलाकार न बनायें अपने नेताओं से भी मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ चाहे वह श्री चन्द्रभान गुप्त हो चाहे वह यहां के कोई सेन्टर के मिनिस्टर हो चाहे मेरे भाई राज नारायण हों चाहे मेरे भाई भूपेश गुप्ता हो कि स्टुडेंट्स की लाइफ से खेलना न सिर्फ देश का अपमान है, न सिर्फ अपना अपमान है बल्कि मैं समझता हूँ कि इन्सानियत का अपमान है।

आखिर स्टुडेंट्स की तकलीफों से छागला साहब भी इंकार नहीं करेंगे। मैं एक छोटा सा वाक्या अर्ज करता हूँ। मैं ने उनको लिखा था कि एक लड़का मिडल में फस्ट आया है, मेट्रिक में फस्ट आया है और आगे जाकर भी हमेशा फस्ट रहा है और अब वह बेचारा एम० ए० के बाद चाहता था कि अपनी हायर स्टेडी कायम रख सके। उसको किसी यूनिवर्सिटी ने कबूल नहीं किया। पंजाब में ऐसे साधन नहीं थे और दिल्ली वालों ने कहा कि तुम दिल्ली से ताल्लुक नहीं रखते दूसरों ने भी कहा कि तुम हमारे साथ ताल्लुक नहीं रखते। ऐसे काबिल तरीन लड़के के लिए चागला साहब भी पनाह नहीं दे पाए मुझे इस बच्चे के लिए वह सहारा नहीं दे पाए। तो इसका मतलब यह है कि कहीं कुछ त्रुटियाँ हैं, कुछ खामिया और खराबियाँ हैं

यह मानना पड़ेगा कि पहली क्लास से हम बच्चे पर एक गधे का बोझ लाद देते हैं और इतनी किताबें होती हैं कि वह उनको उठा नहीं सकता। आखिर ऐसी एजुकेशन का फायदा क्या है। जब आप चाहते हैं कि देश में इंजीनियर पैदा हों फिलासफर पैदा हों, साइंटिस्ट पैदा हों। अच्छे से

अच्छे विद्वान् रैदा हैं, अच्छे से अच्छे राइटर पैदा हों, आलम और फाजल पैदा हों तो जिस बच्चे का दिमाग ज़िगर चलता हो उसको उन्नत लगाएं। आपको 100 मजदूर पढ़ाने ज़रूरी हों तो उसका साधन होना चाहिये। आज जब बच्चा यह देखना है कि हमारे मां बाप भूके मर रहे हैं तो किस तरह से पड़ सकता है? जैसे ही आज बिहार और उत्तर प्रदेश के मशरूकी इज़ल ह में एक बहुत बड़े कहत का समां आंखों के सामने है। इसके इनावा कौन नहीं जानता कि राजस्थान में भी भूखमरी का खतरा है और यह कौन नहीं जानता कि यह खतरा सारी दुनिया में है लेकिन इससे कहीं ज्यादा हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में है। हमारे सगलों का जवाब देते हुए हमारे फूड मिनिस्टर साहब भी कहते हैं कि रबी की फसल अच्छी हुई है और न खरीफ अच्छी हुई है और रोशनी की कोई शुभ्रा नजर नहीं आती। ऐसी हालत में अगर आप यह चाहें कि स्टूडेंट्स पर इना बोझा लाद दिया जाय जिसको वह बर्दाशत न कर सकें, अगर आप चाहें कि स्टूडेंट्स के साथ ऐसी बेइन्साफी हो और इसके साथ कुछ लोग आराम से अपने घरों में बैठे ऐश करे और उनके लिए एयर कंडीशण्ड कमरे मोड़्या करें उनके नियो कारें मोड़्या करें, उनके कुतों के लिए भी कारें मोड़्या करें और दूसरी तरफ स्टूडेंट्स के लिए खाने के लिए कुछ न हो उनके पास पैसा न हो उनके पहनने के लिए कपड़ा न हो, वह कही पड़ना चाहें तो उनको पढ़ने के लिए श्रौका न मिले तो फिर काम किस तरह चलेगा। इस लिए अगर स्टूडेंट्स अपनी शिकायतें या अपने दुःखदं आपके सामने लाते हैं तो उनको सुना जाए और मैं चाहता हूं कि इंदिरा जी खुद एक स्टेटमेंट दें पूरी केबिनेट के मशवरे से कि वह स्टूडेंट्स के लिए क्या करने जा रही है। तुलबा की तमाम मुकिलात ज़रूर दूर की जानी चाहिये।

मेडम, मुझे हैरत होती है कि हमारी सरकार उलझाव की पालिनी में ईमान रखती है और वह हर एक बात को उलझाना चाहती

है। यह एक सीधी बात है कि अगर कांग्रेस के नेताओं को वजीरों हो या मेम्बरों को स्टेशन पर जाकर जगन गुरु शंकराचार्य जी को रस्तीव करना था उनका स्वागत करना या उनको मानपत्र देना था तो उतने यह भी उनको कहना चाहिये था कि गुरु जी आप आ रहे हैं लेकिन हमें खतरा है कि गलत अनासर इस मौव में शामिल हो जायेंगे और वह कुछ ऐसा रंग रैदा करेंगे जिससे आपकी शान को बटटा लगेगा और सधू समाज जो नन्दा जी ने कायम किया है इसकी शान को बटटा लगेगा। (Interruptions) मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि वह एक शानदार नेता हैं और उनको वह फायदा उठाने हैं। जिवह गाय के लिए हम ने अभी एक मीटिंग में कहा था कि जहां 95 फीसदी मुस्लिम आबादी हो वहां भी पांच फीसदी हिन्दु भाइयों की दिल आज़ारी न की जाए और वहां पर उन्होंने जिवह गऊ को ममनूह करार दे दिया था जैसे मुसलमान की हालत यह है कि :—

‘वे आह भी करते हैं तो हो जाते हैं बदनाम’

इसलिए उनका कहना ही क्या है। फिर भी रजाकाराना तौर पर अपने मजबूरी हक को जिसका उनको कतई हक है, कि वह जिवह गऊ करें उन्हें खुशी खुशी अपने हक को छोड़ना चाहिए और अपने हिन्दु भाइयों के जज्बात का अजबुद एहताराम करना चाहिए। क्यों कि एक दूसरे के एहताराम में ही सब का भला है। बात सीधी थी उनके साथ बात की जाती। अगर बात नहीं करनी थी तो आने का मौका नहीं दिया जाता। मुसलमान यह कह सकते हैं कि हमारी भी दिल आज़ारी होती है सूर का गोशत बिकता है। क्या सरकार यह करेगी जिससे कि मुसलमान की दिल आज़ारी न हो? लेकिन यह सिर्फ दिल आज़ारी का नहीं है सवाल वही होता है कि इकोनोमिकली सरकार क्या समझती है। मेरी राय में इसे बैन कर देना चाहिए। जैसे कि कम्यूनिस्ट भाई बड़े जोर से कहते हैं कि अमेरिका दे न दे हमें भूखों मर जाएंगे हम बाहर

[श्री अब्दुल गनी]

का गल्ला नहीं मंगायेगे। अगर इसी तरह से इसमें दिलचस्पी दिखाई जाती तो बात थी। आखिर 36 करोड़ इन्सानों की दिल आज़ारी होती है तो गऊ हत्या बन्द होनी चाहिए। आसान बात थी इस मामले को उलझाया क्यों? अगर हिम्मत होती सरकार में, इंदिरा जी को बोलना चाहिए था कि खुशी से आओ पार्लियामेंट पर अपनी बात कहो आखिर प्रधान मंत्री सारे देश ने बनाया है एक आदमी ने नहीं बनाया है उनके सामने अपनी बात रखें कि हम यहां तक जा सकते हैं। स्वामी रामेश्वरानन्द हों कोई हों मुझे किसी का तज़करा नहीं करना है। फिर कोई मौका नहीं बनता। आखिर आग लगी, गोली चली, कई लोग मरे। मैं न यहां किसी की महिमा के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं न स्टूडेंट्स की निन्दा के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूं, न स्टूडेंट्स की महिमा के लिए खड़ा हुआ न ही पुलिस की निन्दा के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूं। मैं यह ज़रूर कहता हूं कि देश का भला सबसे आगे होना चाहिये वह तभी हो सकता है जब स्टूडेंट्स अपने घरों में रहें। तमाम लीडर चाहे चन्द्र भान गुप्ता हों चाहे संजीव रेड्डी हों, छागला साहब से डिसकस करे इंदिरा जी से डिसकस करे एक रास्ता निकाले जिससे स्टूडेंट्स को मुसीबत न हो। इसका कोई इलाज किया जाय उनकी तकालीफ़ दूर की जाएं; जब स्टूडेंट्स कहते हैं तो चागला साहब कहते हैं कि पैसा नहीं है क्या यह सच नहीं कि करोड़ों रुपया सरमाया दारों का इंकम टैक्स का जो देश की दौलत है हमारी आमदनी है छोड़ दिया जाता है? क्या यह सच नहीं कि करोड़ों रुपया बगैर बैंक कलियरेंस सर्टिफिकेट दिए एसेशियलिटी सर्टिफिकेट और लाईसेंस दिए जाते हैं। क्या यह सच नहीं कि करप्शन इतना घर किए हुए है कि बीजू पटनायक ने करोड़ों रुपया बनाया है और वह कहता क्या है कि अगर एक करोड़ रुपया खर्च कर के मिनिस्ट्री ली थी तो 10 करोड़ रुपया खर्च करके प्राइम मिनिस्टर बन सकता हूं। ऐसी बातें जिस देश में हों उस देश का क्या ठिकाना।

स्टूडेंट्स कहते हैं कि पंजाब छोटा सा सूबा था उसको तीन हिस्सों में बांटा गया। एक में नौ जिले आए और एक में 6 जिले। एक में 25 मिनिस्टर, स्टेट मिनिस्टर, डिप्टी मिनिस्टर बनाये गये। और दूसरे में 23 बनाये गये। वह कहते हैं कि इतने मिनिस्टर क्यों बनाये गये। इसलिए कि उनको कारें फ्री मिल जायेगी। कारें आती हैं किसानों और मजदूरों के खून और पसीने की कमाई से और मिनिस्टर उनको इलेक्शन के लिये इस्तेमाल करेंगे। इससे चिढ़ कर कोई स्टूडेंट्स किसी की कार में आग लगा सकते हैं ताकि वह इलेक्शन के काम में न आएँ। इतने मिनिस्टर क्यों बनाये गये इसका जवाब न मेरे पास है न मेरी बहन इंदिरा जी के पास, न छागला जी के पास। चागला साहब कहते हैं कि पैसा नहीं है कहां से तुम्हें वज़ीफे दें, कहां से तुम्हारे लिए बिल्डिंग बनाए कहां से तुम्हारे खाने के लिए इन्तज़ाम करवाएं और दूसरी तरफ देखते हैं कि 6 जिलों के लिए 24 मिनिस्टर रखे गये हैं। एक-एक जिले के लिए 4-4 मिनिस्टर डिप्टी मिनिस्टर, स्टेट में। मेरा सिर शर्म से झुक जाता है कि गांधी जी का नाम लेने वाले कहां जा रहे हैं। क्या वह इस लिए मिनिस्टर बनाते हैं कि कारों को इस्तेमाल करें। मैं यह अर्ज़ करना चाहता हूं कि इस तरह की इशतयाल अंग्रेज़ी करेंगे इस तरह की बातें करेंगे तो इससे देश को धक्का लगेगा और फिर ऐसी सूरत में स्टूडेंट्स गुस्से में आकर ऐसे काम कर सकते हैं। लेहाजा हकूमत को भी एतदाल से काम लेना चाहिए। वह और जमाना था जब अंग्रेज के खिलाफ लड़ाई थी। मैंने भी जूझ सहे कि हाथों की चर्बी निकल आई थी। मैं नवी क्लास में था अमृतसर में सी० आर्इ० डी० के दस-दस आदमी मेरे ऊपर थे। अब यह बात नहीं है यह अपनी सरकार है। कांग्रेस सरकार कल को जा सकती है अगर वोट दूसरी तरफ ज्यादा हों। स्टूडेंट्स को क्या ज़रूरत पड़ी कि स्टेशनों को लूटें

कानून हाथ में लें, राज नारायण जी के कहने पर चलें। मेरा भाई था वह बिल्कुल राज नारायण जी की तरह था वह अपने पास पिस्तोल रखता था। मैं तो हाथ जोड़ने वालों में था। आज स्टुडेंट्स को न हाथ जोड़ने वालों के साथ होना चाहिए इनके हाथ आना चाहिए न ही गोली और पिस्तोल वाले के साथ आना चाहिए क्योंकि इससे देश का कोई फायदा नहीं। इंडोनेशिया की और बात थी। इंडोनेशिया से मुझे कोई झगडा नहीं कि स्टुडेंट्स नें अच्छा किया या बुरा किया। एक हकूमत के खिलाफ उनकी बगावत थी। इसलिए थी कि हकूमत गलत रास्ते पर जा रही थी लेकिन यहां सरकार ऐसी नहीं है।

मेडम, मैं एक बात कह रहा था बड़े अदब से कह रहा था। ठीक है अभी कांग्रेस को नशा है अपनी ताकत का यह नशा ज्यादा दिन नहीं चल सकता। उनको सोचना पड़ेगा कि अगर करप्शन को रोकना है तो आल पार्टीज गवर्नमेंट बनाएं। आप फ्रांस की मिसाल कायम करें या कोई और मिसाल लें और सोचें कि करप्शन कैसे मिटेगा वरना आप जैसे आदमियों को पनाह देते रहे हैं देते रहेंगे। बिड़ला जी मौजूद करते रहेंगे जबतक सरकार इसी तरह चलती रहेगी और मुल्क में छोटी कार नहीं बन पाएगी। मैनेजिंग एजेंसी के नाम पर लोग लाखों रुपया लूटते रहेंगे। एसशियलिटी सर्टिफिकेट और परमिटों के लिए करोड़ों रुपया रोज बम्बई के मार्किट में खिला दिया जाता है और कोई पूछने वाला नहीं है। इन बातों की तरफ आप सोचते क्यों नहीं हैं। स्टुडेंट्स पढ़े लिखे हैं वे हर रोज पोलिटिक्स पढ़ते हैं टीचरों से। इस बात से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता कि यूनिवर्सिटियों में ऐसे अनासर घुसे हुए हैं जो इस हकूमत को ही नहीं बल्कि इस देश को भी बेचना चाहते हैं। इस देश को दूसरों का हथियार बनाना चाहते

हैं। इसके लिए क्या इलाज किया है। अगर अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी की एक मिसाल दूं तो मैं समझूंगा कि चागला साहब को बड़ा धोखा लगा उन्होंने ने जो कुछ किया कोई बहुत अच्छी मिसाल कायम नहीं की। उस वक्त यह ख्याल हो सकता था कि यह कभी मुस्लिम लीग का अखाड़ा था लेकिन सारे हिन्दुस्तान में यह बीमारी फैल रही है इसका मतलब यह है कि स्टुडेंट्स की कुछ सच्ची शिकायतें हैं जिन्हें दूर करना चाहिए, अगर दूर करना है तो खुले आम केबिनेट की मीटिंग बुलाओ और 18 तारीख से पहले भरोसा दिलाओ स्टुडेंट्स को। न सिर्फ खुद ही बल्कि जैसा कि वाजपेयी जी ने कहा, श्री भूपेश गुप्ता को बुलाओ, लोक सभा से बुलाओ, वाजपेयी जी को बुलाओ, राज नारायण जी को बुलाओ, जिन्हें बुलाना है बुलाओ और मिल कर अपील करो कि 18 तारीख का जो मुजहारा है इस वापस ले लें हम गोलियां मार कर इन्हें भगा सकते हैं, हम आंसू गैस बरसा कर भगा सकते हैं लेकिन इनके दिलों को जीत नहीं सकते हैं। दिलों को जीतने के लिए रास्ता बदलना चाहिए, प्रेम से काम लेना चाहिए, अच्छा सलूक करना चाहिए। मुझे उम्मीद यह है कि सरकार अपने रास्ते को बदलेगी। लेकिन 6 जिलों की सरकार का चीफ मिनिस्टर कहता है कि दास कमिशन ने कुछ भी फैसला दिया था लेकिन मैं प्रभात सिंह केरों को ऋषि मानता हूं और उसका एक ऊंचा मीनार वाला किला बनवाऊंगा जैसे कि अशोक की लाट खड़ी हुई है। मैं हैरत में हूं कि किस तरफ जा रहा है दिमाग? एक हाईएस्ट अथॉर्टी के फेसले के बाद भी लोग इस तरह की बातें करते हैं, अपनी ताकत का इजहार करते हैं अपने अभिमान का इजहार करते हैं, जो लोग ऐसी बातें करते हैं इनको मैं यह बतला देना चाहता हूं कि अब्दुल गनी अभी जिन्दा है और जो गलत रास्ता अख्तेयार करेंगे उनके खिलाफ अब्दुल गनी के खून का एक-

[श्री अब्दुल गनी]

एक कतरा बह जाएगा और वह ऐसा नहीं होने देगा। आखिर गलत बातें क्यों होने दें। आओ सब मिल कर इसलाहे हाल करे।]

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI (Gujarat): Madam Deputy Chairman, in the short time at my disposal I would like to place before the House only a few points for the consideration of all of us. As far as student unrest is concerned, it affects all of us, as citizens of the country, the way in which the unrest is going on and the way in which it is being utilised by interested parties . . .

SHRI RAJNARAIN: The Congress Party.

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: Even if it is the Congress Party, I am totally against students being utilised for any ulterior ends by any Party, whether it be the Congress, the Communist, the Jan Sangh or any other Party. During the last two decades or so, students, by and large, have not been given proper education from the beginning. What has happened is that quantity has increased. Quality has considerably deteriorated. And I had occasion to say about four or five years back that unless the quality of education was properly looked after, we would never be able to stem the tide of this unrest. When we of the older generation think of what is going on in the last few weeks, we apprehend a very dark future for our next generation. We have got our own doubts as to whether they will abide by discipline, respect for authority or have consideration for law and order. I do not mean to say that one Party or the other is responsible. All of us sitting here are responsible for the present state of affairs as far as students are concerned. What we find is that the cultural, spiritual and religious values have come down considerably among our younger generation and that, in my view, is due to

religious or spiritual instruction being more or less practically taboo from the beginning of their educational career. We stand by secularism. What I mean by secularism is tolerance for all religions, but that does not mean irreligion. So, some steps must be taken by our educational authorities to inculcate in the minds of the young people moral and spiritual values. That, I think, is a primary necessity to begin with. Almost all Parties politically agree on this one point, barring one or two, that under no circumstances an immature and impetuous student community should be utilised for extraneous purposes. As Mr. Vaishampayan said the other day, most of the incidents and events of unrest related to non-academic affairs. Whatever it is, when a doubt is expressed in Andhra or Kerala or Mysore or in U.P. or in Bihar or anywhere else that the students are being utilised with some ulterior motives, I think we are committing a great sin for the future generation. The relation between the teacher and student also should be put on a very proper, constructive basis. There must be in every educational institution a joint council of teachers and students, who will discuss across the table any academic issues that might be troubling the minds of the students on the one side and the minds of the teachers on the other.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Academic or non-academic?

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: Only academic issues, not non-academic issues. That must be taboo. Non-academic issues cannot be discussed in an academic institution. It should not be.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Madam, may I seek a clarification? What does the hon. Member mean by academic issues? How are the examinations to be conducted, how are the syllabi to be decided? How can these

things be discussed with the students? I can understand if there are deficiencies in hostel arrangements, if there are no facilities for libraries. These issues can be discussed. How can academic issues be discussed?

SHRI KHANDUBHAI K. DESAI: Scholarly issues and all academic issues automatically come in. Now, what I see among the students is that they are not satisfied with the amenity that is being made available to them. Now, on those issues, a joint committee and a joint meeting between teachers and students can be utilised. I do not think prohibition of the police from entering the campus or college premises will serve any purpose, unless, of course, the Education Minister thinks that the university campus should be made as a sort of semi-police authority, the Vice-Chancellor or the Chancellor being empowered with powers to have what we call safety valves. Mr. Vajpayee has suggested that there should be created a sort of university campus police force. Then and then alone you can rule out the police. Otherwise, as we have seen, a year and a half ago, the life of the Vice-Chancellor or the Registrar is threatened. What has to be done? Obviously the police has to get into the campus to protect the life and property of the university.

Lastly, the time has now come, when the hon. Education Minister, while looking into the latest Commission's Report, must associate some Members from either House of Parliament in a sort of close talks, so that we can discuss this problem in detail with him so as to evolve a final policy to be followed in the next few years. As I said in the beginning, education, during the last fifteen or twenty years, has deteriorated to an extent, because people who are not fit to go to universities are being recruited to universities for imparting education. I suggested last time, when I spoke on the University Grants Commission's Report, that there must be scrutiny at the end of the school

leaving examination, so that those who are fit to receive university education may go there and the others must be siphoned off, at that stage, to other technical institutions or other education. This is all I have got to say.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Madam Deputy Chairman, I think we all agree on one point and that is that we have had a very useful and valuable discussion on a very important topic. I think the House should also agree with me when I say—and I say it with due modesty—that, by and large, there is general agreement with the statement that was laid on the Table of the House. Madam, in my opinion students unrest is a symptom of a disease. It is not the disease itself. Before we can find a remedy for this unrest we must diagnose the disease. If our diagnosis is correct and sound, we will be able to prescribe the right medicine, but if we do not diagnose it properly, then whatever we do we will not be able to get to the bottom of what is happening unfortunately in our country.

Madam, I agree with my hon. friend, Shri Ramachandran, that our Indian student is a very fine student. I have been in touch with students for many years of my life. I met many Indian students in the United States and in the United Kingdom and I have always been proud of the Indian student. I think student to student our Indian student is as good as any student anywhere in the world. He has the talents, he has the capacity, he has the skill. Give him the opportunity, give him the atmosphere, and he will do as well as any student anywhere in the world.

Madam, what is the trouble? What is the disease? I will divide it under four heads: educational, social, economical and political. The educational trouble is this. My friend, Shri Khandubhai Desai just told us about the trouble with education. There has been expansion. Undoubtedly there has been expansion. If you

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

only look at the figures of what has been done in education since freedom, it is something to be proud of. Take your minds back before independence. See how many students were there in primary schools, secondary schools and universities, and look at the figures today. May I say this to the House that the educational field is the only field which in the Third Plan has achieved most of its physical targets. But expansion brings its own problems. I agree that quality has gone down, standards have gone down, and that is one of the main educational problems. What we have to do is while we are expanding, we should consolidate and look after the quality, and that is our main attempt today. When I said that quality has suffered, we have today 66 universities; our university population is 1½ million. Compare this with what was the position before independence and you would realise what the situation is.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: It is not a right comparison. You are comparing with what was happening before independence. You compare with the countries which have attained independence and what is the progress made in those countries.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Compare with the U.A.R. for example.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: The other day the Education Minister of Liberia called upon me to discuss educational problems of his country and I asked him how many universities he had in his country. He said one university and 500 students. I told him: "How happy and fortunate you are".

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I ask . . .

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I will yield to my hon. friend whenever the interruptions are relevant. Not otherwise.

श्री राजनारायण: चागला साहब, विदेश के मुल्कों से उसका क्या सम्बंध आता है। वहां

हजार पीछे 25 से 30 ग्रेजुएट, भारतवर्ष में हजार पीछे 3 और 4 ग्रेजुएट, उत्तर प्रदेश में हजार पीछे एक और डेढ़ ग्रेजुएट।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Bear in mind the population and the size of the country and the total national income.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I am coming to the question of income. One of the main results, the most unfortunate result, of this expansion has been that there is very little contact between the teacher and the pupil, and I think one of the most important things that should happen in a university is a constant dialogue between the teacher and the student. A university is not a place where you just go to listen to a lecture, which may be out-of-date, take down notes and pour out what you have learnt before the examiner. A university is a co-operative movement, a co-operative movement between the teacher and the taught. There must be constant communication, there must be constant discourse, between the teacher and the taught. As I said, one of the most unfortunate things that has happened in our universities, and I realise it painfully, is that there is very little contact between the teachers and the students. But this is due to expansion. Somebody suggested that we should have a tutorial system. I agree. But does my hon. friend realise what a tutorial system costs, how many tutors you want for so many pupils? When I was in Oxford, for every three students we had one tutor. Is that possible in our universities? I wish we could do it. There are many things I have dreamed of in education, but I am handicapped.

I will come to the question of remedy. It has been rightly said that today there is no respect for the teacher. We in India have great traditions of

guru and *chela*. The *chela* is to lie down at the feet of the *guru*.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We have now a tradition of *gurumaharaj* and *chela*.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I hope that day will never come when the *guru* will lie down at the feet of the *chela*. I am very modern, but I think there are some great things in our past, in our traditions, and I think one of the things we should maintain is the tradition that the *chela* must always be respectful to the *guru*. But—this is important—what was the *guru* whom the *chela* respected? Not the *guru* we have today. But he had honesty, he had integrity, he had scholarship, he had a sense of dedication, a sense of sacrifice. It is that *guru* whom the *chela* respected. One of the main things that is happening today is that the student knows that the teacher or the Vice-Chancellors who are supposed to lead him, counsel him, advise him, are people who have been appointed not on merit but on other considerations.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: It is sad.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I think two or three hon. Members, my friend Shri Jairamdas Daulatram and Shri Khandubhai Desai and others, suggested that there should be a student-staff council. I entirely agree. We have already written to all the universities to do that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But nobody listens.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: The Osmania University has already done so. You must have seen it in the newspapers today or yesterday. The Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University told me that they have done it and the other universities are following the example. I think it is absolutely necessary that in order to have this dialogue between the teacher and the taught, if not on a large scale, at least on a representative scale you must

have in every university representatives of the staff and representatives of the students.

Let me turn to the other problem, and that is social. Let me frankly admit that there is a sickness in this country. As I said in my statement, there is a malaise in many sectors of our society. Let us be frank. There is dishonesty, there is corruption, there is hypocrisy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There is nepotism.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: There is nepotism. Any other things that my hon. friend would like to suggest I would accept. The students are a part of society. They are affected by the society. My friend Shri Khandubhai Desai said that we must teach him ideals and ethics. Why don't we start teaching the older generation before we turn to the younger generation? Why don't we teach the older generation to believe in fairness, honesty and integrity before we go to young people and sermonise to them? What right have I got to talk to a young man about honesty and integrity if my hands are not clean? Therefore, this is the sickness that society is suffering from. The cure lies in doing what we can to improve the standards in society.

श्री राजनारायण : आनेस्टी ठीक नहीं है, यह बीमारी सरकार की है। यथा राजा तथा प्रजा।

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: It has nothing to do with the 'sarkar'. It is not a sickness confined to this country, it is a sickness of civilisation. You look around what is happening outside. I was reading only two days ago in the 'New York Times' as to what is happening in the Berkley University in California, one of the finest universities. All the students and the teachers are trying to put the university administration right. This is the result of a change, a revolutionary change, in society itself. We are changing over

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

from a mediaeval society into a technological society.

(Interruption by Shri Rajnarain).

Please permit me to go on. We believe in material possessions and there is a vacuum in our soul. We have no scope for emotional satisfaction. And this is what is happening all over the world. There is a sense of frustration, there is a sense of futility, there is a sense of insecurity, which is affecting all the young generation . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There is a sense of indignation.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Even in my friend's favourite country, the USSR, that is happening, not only in the USA or India. As I said, this is a world problem which affects not only the young people in our country, it is affecting young people all over the world.

Then in this country there is another problem. There is a big gulf between the older and the new generations. Even today the parents of these boys and girls are orthodox, old-fashioned and religious. The young people are becoming modern, with a modern outlook believing in many things which their parents do not believe and not believing in many things which their parents believe. And this has also caused frictions and maladjustments.

Then the other is this—and this is one of the big problems which we are trying to solve—and that is the use of leisure. Our students have too much of leisure on their hands. They have long vacations. They have got four or five hours to work in colleges and the whole afternoon is free and they do not know what to do with their leisure. This again is a problem of civilisation. All over the world we are saving man-hours. We are introducing labour-saving devices; we are introducing automation. But we are

not telling the people there what to do with their leisure. But in our country the problem is even greater. Young people should be given something to do and I shall deal with that when I come to the remedy.

Then I turn to the economic problem. I need hardly say how poor our country is; I need hardly say how in the case of a majority of students the fees that they pay are the life savings of their parents. A poor father lays by money so that his son should go to the college and become a graduate or an engineer or a doctor. There is an over-powering feeling of poverty and that brings with it insecurity. The same sense of poverty brings about uncertainty about the future. What happens to these thousands of students who are in the college today? They do not know what the morrow will bring to them. Will they get employment? Will they be able to earn something? Will they be able to look after their parents in their old age, parents who have saved everything to educate them? Then, well, unemployment is a big problem in India. But, as you know, one of the most explosive factor in society is the educated unemployed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: And it is growing.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: And we are creating more and more educated unemployment in our country.

Then I turn to the political problem. I would like to know this and I would like to have an answer. Many of these grievances that I have recounted have been there for a long time. Why is it that they have suddenly come to a head? The answer to it is not far to seek. Why is it that all these ventilations of grievances, agitations, follow a certain pattern? And I suggest that not only is there a pattern but there is somebody who makes this pattern. Also ask yourself this question: Why is this particular

time selected for these agitations and violence? Again, the answer is, the election is in the offing.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, not at all. In MP, the agitation started, as you know, from an incident that took place at the gate of the school.... (Interruptions).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

श्री राजनारायण : एलेक्शन से बचाव है वरना जवाब मिल चुका होता। जनता समझ रही है कि एलेक्शन होगा इस लिये जवाब नहीं दे रही है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will tell you two incidents, you kindly consider. What happened in Gwalior was not an organised incident. A car crashed at the gate of a hostel and out of that some trouble took place, in a polytechnic institution. Nobody knew that a car would come and crash at the gate. It was an accident. In Tripura, the trouble started because some policemen, armymen or the Assam Rifles people suddenly beat up some students who were selling cinema tickets. Then an altercation developed and then shooting took place. You have a judicial mind. I would therefore request you to kindly look into each individual case and you will find that they could not be foreseen by anybody, much less organised.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Well, I have used such judicial capacity as I have.

श्री राजनारायण : इसका उलटा भी कहा जा सकता है कि आप एलेक्शन टालना चाहते हैं इसलिये ऐसा करवा रहे हैं।

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Mr. Rajnarain took 50 minutes this morning. I did not interrupt him once. Permit me to say what I have got to say.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rajnarain, please do not interrupt.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Let us look at the characteristic of this agitation. One agitation is carried on very often for non-academic purposes. The second one is a genuine agitation, possibly as my friend says, such as that which happened in Gwalior or Indore, wherever it started. Sympathetic strikes and sympathetic agitations take place in other parts. Students send bangles to other university students. ask them to defy law, ask them to come out of the universities and join the strike. And I do suggest—and I would suggest with all the emphasis at my command that political parties are behind this agitation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do repudiate that with all the emphasis at my command. (Interruptions).

श्री राजनारायण : अगर उसके पीछे कोई पोलिटिकल पार्टी है तो वह कांग्रेस पार्टी है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. There must be some discipline. Two Members cannot speak together. Mr. Chagla, would you give way to Mr. Hathi?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I am not giving way.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will continue after his statement is over.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: May I request the hon. Education Minister to publish all the evidence that the Government has got against political parties? Let the political parties be named and all the evidence against those political parties should be made public. We are prepared to face the consequences. Do not blame political parties.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: My friend, Mr. Vajpayee, should not get so angry with me. I was going to give him a very great compliment. (Interruptions.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Hathi.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Shall I stop in the middle??

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you do not mind.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: What is the statement about?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Madam, I want to strike a solemn note . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I want to know, Mr. Hathi—are you making the statement now or would you wait and make it?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI): At 5.30 I will have to be in the Lok Sabha.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hathi will make a statement now.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Is this fair to me? I was supposed to have begun at 4.00 I started at 4.30.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has to make an important statement.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Let him make it after I have finished.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Not tomorrow. (*Interruptions.*)

5 P.M.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. If the House so desires, Mr. Chagla will finish his reply. After that, Mr. Hathi, you make the statement. But if he is otherwise engaged in the other House, the House may have to wait.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is that statement? We do not know. On a point of order. You have said,

"If the House desires Mr. Hathi to make the statement". We do not know on what he is going to make that statement.

SHRI JAISUKHLAL HATHI: The point is this that yesterday in the Lok Sabha the Speaker directed that a certain further information should be given to that House about the Delhi incidents and I am making that statement at 5.30 P.M. in that House. I will make that statement here tomorrow at 5.30.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: We want that statement to be made now, today.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: The hon'ble Minister can make the statement there and then come here. Mr. Chordia has to reply.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him finish there and then come and make the statement here. But it should be made today.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Madam, I have given a number of Calling Attention notices. Let the hon'ble Minister accept them and let them be replied tomorrow in the shape of statements. We do not mind.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have given a motion that the situation on the 7th November be taken into consideration. It is a perfectly valid motion. This should be taken up for discussion so that we can discuss this matter. Let there be no unilateral statement.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Am I to understand that you would not mind if the statement is made tomorrow? What is the opinion?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We do not know what is the statement about.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The statement is about what happened the other day.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Let him make it now and go.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chagla, you may continue.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: May I strike a solemn note? My days are practically over. But when I look around, what is happening? Really it worries me, it pains me. It is an alarming situation. We must think of the future of our country, the future generation, those who will become citizens. And the one most terrible thing that is happening in our country is the emergence of violence and the erosion of all discipline. I think it is not a party question. It is not a political question. It is a national problem, and I think on this we must all be agreed that violence must be put down and discipline must be maintained.

What is the future of our country? What can emerge out of chaos and this erosion of discipline? What can emerge? One thing I am sure of, that unless we are careful, unless we put down this chaos and indiscipline, the first casualty will be democracy and parliamentary institutions. After all, when we gained our independence, we gained it for democracy, for the liberty of the individual, for the rule of law, for parliamentary institutions. This was to be implemented by certain institutions which we valued and one of the most important institutions is this House and the other House which constitutes the Parliament of India.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We want to reduce your majority there.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: You do that through the ballot box, not through violence.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Surely, with your blessings.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: And, therefore, my appeal to political parties is, please keep off the Universities. Treat them as holy ground. Use your influence wherever you like. Make your speeches wherever you like. Attack the Government wherever you like. But treat students as a community which has got to be reared, nurtured, nursed....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Enlightened and activated.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta talked about the Oxford and the Cambridge. I had the good fortune or the misfortune to be myself at Oxford. We had political societies. We had a Liberal Society, a Labour Society, a Conservative Society and an Oxford Indian Majlis of which I had the proud privilege to be the President. We used to invite speakers from all over the country to come and speak to us. But we did not join or participate in active politics. I am not suggesting for a moment that the students should not study politics, that they must not know what are the issues before the country. But what I am saying is that the primary task of the students is to study, study not only the academic subjects, not only for the examination but to study even political problems. I am not shutting that out. I am not saying that they should not know those things. But when my friend Mr. Rajnarain says and glories in it that he will instigate the students to carry on agitation against the Government I say this to him that he is aiding and abetting violence. This instigation to students to agitate is bound to lead to violence. He has seen what is happening and he says that students have a right to do so.

He gave a long autobiographical story of what happened in the good old days. I am very grateful to my friend, Mr. Jairamdas, for clearing the issue. We are often in the habit of taking Gandhiji's name in anything and everything. But Mr. Jairamdas

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has made quite clear what Gandhiji said. What Gandhiji said was this: If you want to participate in politics, leave the University and cease to be a student. But while you are a student you must remain a student.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: He never said that. You are misquoting Gandhiji.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He never said that except in the Non-co-operation Movement. That he did in the Thirties and Forties . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Please continue.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I am too small to contradict my friend, Mr. Jairamdas. He was Gandhiji's lieutenant. He has quoted him and he has rightly quoted him.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: And he said that in twenties.

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM Madam Deputy Chairman, may I with your permission and with the permission of the Minister, intervene for a minute to clear this point? Gandhiji wanted to separate students, while working and studying in schools, from political action. He asked the students to boycott all Government institutions, leave education and join the Movement. With regard to others who did not join the Movement he wanted them to continue in the national institutions as students and not take part in politics.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Under Gandhiji in Bengal an institution was started. Rabindranath Tagore started the Viswabharati where students studied and also participated in politics. A national institution was started by Aurobindo Ghosh and, later on, by others in Bengal with the blessings of Gandhiji. Everybody knows that Gandhiji

started Universities where students participated in politics as also studied. Now the hon'ble Minister is saying . . .

(Interruption by Shri Rajnarain).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Gandhiji never . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. What is the use of everybody speaking?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Your Congress Members should know the history. I can give you the names, Madam, of a thousand institutions started by Gandhiji.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have said so. Yes, Mr. Chagla.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Even if Gandhiji said so, he asked the students to join the struggle for freedom. We are not fighting for freedom now. During the War the English Universities emptied themselves. (Interruption by Shri Rajnarain and Shri Bhupesh Gupta) Mr. Gupta, you cannot go on having a running commentary. I beg of you, Madam . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: He is misquoting Gandhiji. Let him say anything as his own.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is a Conservative Statesman in England who made the statement that the battle of Waterloo was won in the fields of Eton. If it is there that they were training them for political activities and everybody knows during the last World War what kind of politics was there. Mr. Chagla, you are a bit aged and I am a bit more modern in this matter.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I am not claiming any special privilege as a Minister but even as a Member of

the Rajya Sabha am I not entitled to say what I want to say?

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE: Without bringing in Gandhiji.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: This is a free country. I am entitled to express my opinion even though I may be a Minister.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chatterjee, please take your seat.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: What I was saying was that during the war, I know that under-graduates gave up their studies at Oxford and Cambridge as well as other Universities and joined up and fought the war.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Not at all. Those who opposed the imperialist war remained at the college...

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Madam, this is very irritating.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): In this House the Hon. Minister, who is a Member of the House, has requested the other Members to give him at least a patient hearing. Are we not to observe the rules and regulations? Mr. Rajnarain made a speech for 50 minutes and there were no obstructions but if they want to treat a Minister like this, they will get the very same treatment from this side also. I beg of you to see that these Members do not obstruct this way.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I agree. I also appeal to the Members.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: All these threats should be ignored. Then nobody will speak in this House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: May I appeal to the Members on this side that they listen to the Minister even if he is not quoting or narrating the real history? Please listen to him patiently and give your version later.

श्री राजनारायण : देखिये मैडम, हम लोग कोई बाधा नहीं डाल रहे ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rajnarain, you have spoken the longest without interruption.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं हाथ जोड़ कर कहता हूँ कि हम लोग रात तक छागला साहब को सुनने को तैयार हैं लेकिन वह फ्रीडम की परिभाषा बता द ।

उपसभपति : अब आप खड़े नहीं शूना ।

SHRI K. K. SHAH (Maharashtra): Let him speak what he likes but he should not be interrupted.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: If there was a national emergency, I would be the first to say, let the students respond to the call of the country. When we had our fight with Pakistan, the students rendered help to the country in various ways but even today there is a field where students can participate with great usefulness. Look at the social needs of our country. Look at the problems. They are calling out for solution. Let the students join in that. I will tell you. I wrote to the Vice-Chancellors. I said: 'Ask the students to join in helping to solve the food problem. I wrote to them saying: 'Ask the students to adopt villages so that the students should be able to do something creative.' If you adopt a village, there are lots of things you can do. You can build roads, you can look after sanitation, you can look after water supply. It is not as if there is no national social work to do in this country. God knows there is plenty of it. Why must the students shout political slogans? I am not asking them to sit down in the colleges and listen to the lectures, as somebody said. Far from it. I said: 'Let them do work outside the college.' It is very important that extra curricular work should be done but the extra curricular or mural work should not be to walk down the

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streets of Delhi or Gwalior or Indore, throw brick-bats, burn buses, shout at the top of their voices, etc. That is not what we expect of our students. My friend Mr. Chatterjee said that there must be agitation if they want to have their grievances redressed. Why? I quite agree that there have been occasions when students' grievances have not been redressed in time. I agree that they have not been listened to sympathetically but I am the first to say: 'Listen to their grievances sympathetically. Have a proper machinery to enquire into their grievances. Try to understand what their difficulties are.' Let them try to understand what the difficulties of the academic staff are but the ultimate decision is taken . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: By whom?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: The decision must be that of the Academic Council. It should be an academic decision. Somebody must take the decision. In every democratic country who takes the decision except the Parliament? After all when professors and students sit round a table, discuss the questions, ultimately somebody has to take the decision and that can only be coming from the Academic Council, Executive Council or the Vice-Chancellor.

I am equally strong about teachers not participating in politics. My attention is drawn . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What do you mean by that?

AN HON. MEMBER: The Education Commission has advocated . . .

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I do not agree with their recommendation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There is a teachers' constituency. (*Interruptions*) Do you want to abolish it in the Assemblies?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I am in favour of abolishing the teachers' constituencies.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do not be a dictator.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: All the State Education Ministers of the various States have unanimously come to the conclusion that much of the trouble in the academic world is due to the fact that you have chosen out a special class of citizens and given them the vote for the Upper Chamber.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They are subverting the Constitution, they are preaching against the Constitution.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not his opinion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We want elucidation. It is a serious statement. The Ministers are bound to defend the Constitution. They take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution. Now we are told that the Chief Ministers say that they do not like the provision of the Constitution and the teachers should not have their constituencies in the various places like the Councils. It is a serious statement.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Does he suggest that the Constitution can never be amended?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know we have amended it. Here you want it in order to curtail the right. I hope that teachers will make more demonstrations against it.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I have taken the oath of allegiance to the Constitution and I will always be loyal to it but that does not mean that I will not work . . .

COL. B. H. ZAIDI (Uttar Pradesh): Has he not the right to say something with which they do not agree? Things cannot go on like this.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please continue.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: How can I continue?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You may not be interested but we are. When such a statement is made we are shocked that the teachers' constituencies should be abolished, a right given by the Constitution. You may not be shocked at all.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gupta. Mr. Chagla must be left to finish his reply. He is replying and whatever is unpleasant or unpalatable you must listen to him just as he has listened to all the unpalatable things from this side. Therefore you must have patience if you are democratic enough and if you want to keep the propriety, dignity and decency of the House. You cannot interrupt without rhyme or reason. He is only giving the opinion that was conveyed to him. What is wrong in that?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Cannot we express our shock? (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: On the constitutional provision if there is an opinion expressed collectively, it is his right and duty to convey it to you all. Therefore please listen and do not interrupt.

श्री राजनारायण : मेरा एक प्वाइंट आफ इफार्मेशन है कि चागला साहब की यह अपनी राय है या यह सरकार की राय है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am very grateful that you have divulged it.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Will Mr. Gupta please keep quiet?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have done a great service to the country by divulging it.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I have taken the oath of allegiance to the Constitu-

tion and I hope I am loyal to it but I have not taken the oath that I will not try to amend the Constitution where I think it is defective and this is the view taken by a large number of educationists, never mind the Education Commission, that the teachers' constituency has been the cause of serious trouble in our country, a view to which I subscribe.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Because you are losing there.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is going beyond bounds. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Gupta, if you cannot keep quiet, you must withdraw now.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: As I said, it is my strong opinion and I am not here to express an opinion which pleases my friend Mr. Gupta which may not shock him. I do not care if he gets shocked. It is my firm opinion that the teachers should not participate in politics.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is our firm opinion that they should

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I will give you the reason. The primary duty of the teacher is to teach to attend to academic functioning, to look after the students while they are in the colleges, to help them to organise extra curricular activities after the collegiate work is over.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Is there any democratic country in the world which bars teachers from taking part in politics?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: My hon. friend knows that in England there were two constituencies which used to elect Members to the House of Commons, namely Oxford and Cambridge. They have since abolished them. There is no teachers' constituency in England.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: But the teachers are allowed to contest the general constituencies.

AN HON. MEMBER: Let them resign and contest.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order, no interruptions, please.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: In England a Labour Party Chairman was a professor in the London University. I refer to Mr. Harold Laski.

SHRI K. K. SHAH: Not from a teachers' constituency.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Shah, no interruptions please.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I was shocked to learn that there are Vice-Chancellors who are Members of the Upper Chambers in the States. I was shocked to learn that there are Heads of Departments in Universities who are Members of the Councils. I like to know: How are they in a position to discharge their duties as Vice-Chancellors, or as Heads of Departments if at the same time they are Members of Legislatures?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Harold Laski was a Member of the Labour Party being at the same time a professor, and as professor he did his job so well, which no man has done. I was a student there. What are you talking, Mr. Chagla?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I think Mr. Gupta is irrepresible, is incurable. I am sorry I have to keep the House waiting because of my friends' constant interruptions.

Now I come to the remedy. We know what the remedy is. My friend, Mr. Chordia, said so many committees have reported. The Education Commissions report is of course there with their recommendations in this behalf. We know what the remedies are. We know that you want better teachers. We know that the status of the teachers should be improved. We know that their emoluments should be increased. We know that we should have projects, as I said, where students will be able to utilise their leisure hours. We know that councils of students and staff should

be set up. We know the remedies, and if you look at the Education Commissions report and the report of the committee to which my friend, Mr. Chordia, referred, all this is set out. But there are two difficulties and I will place them before you. One is. Education is a State subject, which is being constantly forgotten in this House. The powers of the Union Ministry of Education are very limited. We have no powers with regard to primary and secondary education. Even University is a State subject, and it is only because of entry 66, I think, we have the power to coordinate and maintain standards of higher education, we have the University Grants Commission which can do something with regard to university education. The second handicap we have is in respect of resources. I am sorry to say, Madam, that in this country we have downgraded education. We have given it the lowest priority when, to my mind, it should have the highest priority.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: It is your Government that is doing so.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: It is an investment in human resources. It is an investment in something which will give us the best results. We spend moneys on steel plants and fertilizer plants and other plants, but whenever there is economy, education is the first casualty. May I give figures of what we are spending on education *vis-a-vis* even some backward countries? It will surprise the House. I have got the figures here. Well, first I will give you the expenditure on education per head of population countrywise. Germany spends Rs. 344. France spends Rs. 343. Japan spends Rs. 244. The United Kingdom spends Rs. 516. The United States of America spends Rs. 1175. Brazil spends Rs. 24. Ghana spends Rs. 67. Mexico spends Rs. 65. Nigeria spends Rs. 14. Pakistan spends Rs. 10. Turkey spends Rs. 39. The U.A.R. spends Rs. 48. Yugoslavia spends Rs. 94, and we spend the magnificent sum of Rs. 12.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY: Whose fault?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Pakistan is the only country which is behind us.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can spend more.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Now let us turn to the other thing, the percentage of national income spent on education. I won't deal with the developed countries but let me deal with other countries. Ghana spends 4.3; Mexico spends 2.6; Nigeria spends 2.1; Pakistan spends 2.4; Turkey spends 2.9; Yugoslavia spends 5.1. We spend 2.9 per cent of our gross national income on education. Therefore, unless we realise, not I as the Minister, not my party merely, unless the Parliament, unless the country realises the importance of education to our country, to our future generation, to the future of our national development, we cannot do much, and therefore we must all realise and we must all press for much more expenditure on education.

Now as regards employment, one hon. Member said, "what is the future of these boys? They become graduates." I quite agree. Now, as far as engineers and doctors and professional men are concerned, we are trying to find out what are the requirements for such man-power, and we try and adjust admissions according to that. But what do we do with those students who go in for Arts courses and become B.A. by the hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands? We have no jobs for them. We have not planned for them. We cannot plan for them. The only thing we have done is this. I know my friend, Mr. Ruthnaswamy, is against that idea, but my view is this. We must be selective in our admissions to colleges and universities. But, on the other hand, every Indian boy or girl is entitled to tell the State, "I want higher education" and the State has a duty

to give it. And that is why I am in favour of correspondence courses; I am in favour of part-time colleges. No country has a right to deny a citizen if he wants it, higher education, but a country has a right to say, "We will be selective in our admissions to colleges." And this is what my friend, Mr. Khandubhai Desai said that if we want that quality has to be maintained in our universities and our colleges, let us restrict our admissions without denying the right to higher education to those who have not got the aptitude to go to colleges or universities.

We are also trying this diversification—again Mr. Khandubhai Desai said the same thing—that at the higher secondary stage, instead of a boy going to a college—because he has nothing else to do—we must diversify education and have technical schools and professional schools where they can be taught crafts so that they can start earning. We are trying to do that so as to prevent this pressure on our universities.

Now let me say a word about academic integrity. I entirely agree that one of the causes of student unrest is the sense of frustration, disillusionment, and the bitterness which the students feel when they find that appointments to higher posts and admissions to colleges have been brought about by political pressures. I don't blame the students. If I was a student at a university and if I found that my Vice-Chancellor was appointed because of political pressure, if I found that I could not secure an admission although I had merits but somebody else got it because he had a political god-father, I would certainly feel bitter, I would certainly feel disillusioned, and therefore it is absolutely necessary that we should have the highest standards of academic integrity.

Now in this connection, for the sake of the record, I must correct a statement made by my friend, Mr. Chordia—it is about Jammu and Kashmir.

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

The House knows how much I value secularism. That is one principle, one ideal I have stood up for. The House knows that I have always maintained that Kashmir is a symbol of secularism, and when my friend, Mr. Chordia, made rather startling observations based on the *Organiser*, I immediately asked for the facts from the Kashmir Government yesterday. I am sorry that Mr. Chordia should have given currency to some libelous statements that have appeared in the *Organiser*, and I will state the facts. In the medical college the number of students are—63 Muslims and 87 non-Muslims. I hate these communal labels, but there they are. A communal issue was raised and therefore I am answering it this way. In the medical college there are 63 Muslims and 87 non-Muslims, they were admitted this year making a total of 150. In the engineering college there were 76 Muslims and 108 non-Muslims. Does this show that the Jammu and Kashmir Government is communal?

Now I am coming to the question of conversion. These are the facts that I have got. It is true that 11 students of Anantnag wrote a letter to the University authorities to say that they had embraced Islam in the belief that by such conversion they would secure seats in the Medical College. Now of these 11 students one got admission to the college but with his Hindu name. So he was taken not because they thought he was a Muslim but when he was a Hindu. The other ten did not get admission even after their statement about conversion to Islam which they made before the Deputy Commissioner and wrote about it to the Registrar of the University. According to the report received the boys and girls of Anantnag who embraced Islam have returned to the Hindu fold. Compare this with what the *Organiser* says.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: The hon. Education Minister has not denied that eleven students had embraced Islam and they did embrace

Islam under the impression that they will get admission. Subsequently when representations were made—we met the Home Minister, Mr. Nanda and the Home Minister, Mr. Nanda, wrote letters to the Jammu and Kashmir Government—they have again come to the Hindu fold. That I agree; that Mr. Chordia also said. What is the Education Minister contradicting then?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I am contradicting this.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Why should there be such an atmosphere in Jammu and Kashmir that the Hindu students should believe that they would not get admission unless they embraced Islam?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Can I help anyone having a wrong feeling having an incorrect feeling, having an apprehension which does not exist? The very fact that that feeling had no basis; in fact the very fact that . . .

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: Madam, I had yesterday quoted this also:

“Last year Government admitted students with 37 per cent to 45 per cent marks in preference to those who had secured 55 per cent marks or above. This preference was shown to Muslim children and VIP children. Many students appealed to the High Court, and the State Government had to cut a very sorry figure.”

I had read this also; why does not the Minister reply to this?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I have had no time to check on this. After all, this was said only yesterday and I asked my officers . . .

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: You got information only about one portion and not with regard to the other portion?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: This was the most serious thing, because . . .

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA: This is more serious. I had read this also.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: . . the fair name of Jammu and Kashmir which had stood for secularism, which fought Pakistan on the secular basis was being defamed and I thought it was my duty to make the position clear. That is why I was anxious that these figures should be obtained, that these facts should be obtained as soon as possible and should be put on the record.

Now next comes the question of freedom of action for the academic authorities.

شی عبدالغفور : مقدمہ میں

ایک صفائی چاہتا ہوں - باوجودیکہ جموں و کشمیر میں مسلم آبادی تقریباً اسی فی صدی ہے پھر بھی کہا وجہ ہے کہ مسلم اسٹوڈنٹس وہاں ان کے کم لئے کئے اور غور مسلم اتلے زیادہ لئے کئے؟ کیا ایسا کسی بالکل پوسٹرز کی وجہ سے ہوا - آپ نے مسلم اسٹوڈنٹس کا جو پرسنٹجیج بتایا ہے اس سے ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ کہیں وہ ۵۰ پرسنٹ سے کم ہیں اور کہیں ۴۰ پرسنٹ ہیں جب کہ ان کی آبادی وہاں اسی پرسنٹ ہے؟ یہ طریقہ درست نہیں بلکہ ناچھائی و فہرہ بھائی وہاں بھی سو فی صدی داخلہ لینا چاہتے ہیں تو لے لیں توہمک جس طرح کہ سارے ہندوستان میں تقریباً سو فی صدی داخلہ ان کے ہی پاس ہیں - کہا یہ انصاف ہے؟

†[श्री अब्दुल गनी : मेडम, मैं एक सकार्इ चाहता हूं। बावजूदेके जम्मू व काश्मीर मे मुस्लिम आबादी तकरीबन अस्सी फीसदी है फिर भी क्या वजह है कि मुस्लिम स्टुडेंट्स वहा

इतने कम लिये गये और गैर मुस्लिम इतने ज्यादा लिए गये? क्या ऐसा किनी पोलिटिकल प्रोसिजर की वजह से हुआ? आप ने मुस्लिम स्टुडेंट्स का जो परसेंटेज बताया है उसमे ऐसा मालूम होता है कि कही वह 50 परसेंट से कम है और कही 40 परसेंट है जबकि उनकि आबादी वहा अस्सी परसेंट है? यह तरीका दुरुस्त नहीं, बल्कि वाजपेयी वगैरा भाई वहां भी सौ फीसदी दाखला लेना चाहते हैं तो यह ले लें ठीक जिस तरह कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में तकरीबन सौ फीसदी दाखले उनके ही पास हैं क्या यह इन्फाई है?]

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: That proves that although 80 percent are Muslims in Kashmir the admission is on merits. After all you must not look in making admission at the label; you must not consider whether a person is a Hindu or a Muslim. He applies and the admission should be on the basis of merit. All that I am pointing out is that the Jammu and Kashmir Government is not following a communal policy. If it did it would have reserved 80 percent for the Muslims. On the contrary the majority of the seats goes to a community which is non-Muslim. That clearly establishes that the policy that the Jammu and Kashmir Government is following is not communal. Now, may I beg Mr. Chordia and Mr. Vajpayee not to drag the name of Kashmir into this? Let us be proud of Kashmir's secularism. Let us remember what happened when we fought with Pakistan last year. We should be proud of the fact that Kashmir . . .

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: We share that pride. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have joined the Indian Union of their own free-will. We do realise that they stand for secularism in Jammu and Kashmir but this ugly incident had marred all that and now it has been rectified. I would have advised my friend, Mr. Chordia, not to refer to it but now that it has been referred it is for the Jammu and Kashmir Government to

[Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee]

see that such incidents do not happen again.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I am sure this points out that Jammu and Kashmir Government was not responsible for it if people were under a misapprehension that if they embraced Islam they would get admission and that was a misapprehension because even after embracing Islam they did not get admission. What greater proof do you want for it?

Now I come to the question of academic authorities and the State and here I think the line has got to be clearly laid down. I believe in the absolute autonomy of the university within its own sphere, within its own field, in academic matters. I also believe that discipline in the university must be maintained by the Vice-Chancellor. He is the sole person who should be responsible for discipline. The Vice-Chancellor has great powers. He can dismiss students, he can rusticate them, he can suspend them. It must be the judgment of the Vice-Chancellor; the State does not come into this at all but there are occasions when the discipline breaks down when it becomes a problem of law and order as happened in Aligarh. When the Vice-Chancellor feels helpless that he cannot maintain discipline that unruly anti-social elements have taken over, then it is for him and him alone to appeal to the State, to send for the police or even the army if necessary—whatever is necessary—to maintain discipline. That is principle with which I entirely agree.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: That has been violated in Allahabad.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: But I wish to make this clear and I must congratulate my friend, Mr. Vajpayee, on making a very courageous, very wise and very statesmanlike speech. He has said things today about law and order which it was high time it was said. Therefore I offer him my

felicitations. It requires some courage coming as it does from him. Obviously what he has said on the floor of this House with regard to the maintenance of law and order shows that he has the interests of the country at heart. When it comes to the question of law and order—and it must come as the last resort—then it is wrong always to run down the police, always to blame the police. Remember it is our police. It is the Indian police; it is not the British police. What is going to happen to this country if the morale of the police is undermined?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The lathi is the same and the bullet is the same. The fellow who gets it hardly feels any difference.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I would be the first to condemn police excesses; I would be the first to say that the students have been badly treated. And I am sure that Mr. Vajpayee does agree with what I said that the police should use the maximum of tact and the minimum of force. I have said that the police should realise that they are dealing with a very sensitive section of the community. When all is said and done, if after that the law is broken and then of the police tries to uphold law and order, it is wrong for us every time to say that there are police excesses and demand an enquiry. Remember, Madam, more often than not it is the minority that holds the majority to ransom in the university. I know it is a fact that the majority of students want to study; they have no time for these peccadilloes and this *tamasha* which goes on. They want to study; they do not want to misuse the money of their parents but the minority holds them to ransom and gets the colleges and the universities closed.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: Even in this House we experience the same thing.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Therefore I say it again. I compliment Mr. Vajpayee for saying something in favour of the police which has not been said for a long time.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Not at all; the greatest minority that is holding the country to ransom is the Congress Party with 40 per cent of the votes . . .

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Too late.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Now I am coming to an end. Now, the question is, what have we done since the Education Commission gave its Report? The Report is very recent. We have started implementing it already. We have set up a unit in our Ministry to see how the implementation can be accelerated. To the extent that we can take decisions we have already started taking decisions. To the extent that decisions can be taken by the universities, I have called a meeting of the Vice-Chancellors in December. To the extent that decisions can be taken by the State Governments, I have called a meeting of the CBE where all the State Education Ministers will be present, so that there is no delay on our part. You must have seen this morning's paper saying that we have set up a committee to devise ways and means whereby students of the universities can take to social work during their leisure hours.

Now, I come to the amendments. May briefly run through the points raised by Mr. Rajnarain? I shall be as brief as possible. This amendment has many points and I shall take a minute or so for each. The first is, compulsory and free education should be provided up to the intermediate standard. Today we have not been able to carry out the constitutional directive of free and compulsory education till fourteen. If we had the resources certainly we should have free and compulsory education right up to the university stage, but let us at least try and satisfy the constitutional directive.

The second is fancy schools should be abolished and a uniform type of schools should be provided for all. Now, there are no fancy schools in this country.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: There are.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: If my friend refers to schools with a higher standard, I say they should continue and our intention is that all schools should be of that standard. It is wrong to bring down people or institutions from the top. The better thing is to raise people and institutions from the bottom up to the higher position. But I do not believe in these schools being pockets of privilege and that is why we are giving scholarships to our talented boys and girls to attend schools which maintain a very high standard of education.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Very inadequate.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: The third is, restrictions on admission to colleges and universities should be abolished. I do not agree and I have already given any reason. The fourth is, education should be imparted only through the medium of the mother-tongue or regional language. I agree. In schools today education is imparted through the medium of the mother-tongue. The Education Commission has recommended that in ten years' time we must try and switch over to the mother-tongue even at the university stage. I hope the universities will make the necessary preparations for that purpose. I agree that the logical evolution of our educational policy must be that when we start in the schools with a particular language, in the university they must be taught in that language, but the problem is what we should do in the interregnum or interval. I need not go into that. I have spoken about it very often.

The fifth is, students' unions with compulsory membership should be established. I am entirely against this.

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

In the Banaras University Bill, which this House has passed, we have said that students' unions should be optional and not compulsory. It should be voluntary. I am not in favour of banning students unions, but why should a student, who does not want to join a union, be compelled to join it? Why should he pay subscription when he does not want to pay subscription, when he cannot afford it? Those who talk about constitutional rights know that the Constitution gives you the right to associate. It also gives you the right, as a corollary, to dissociate. If I do not want to join an association, why should I be compelled to join it? Here I feel that I cannot agree with my hon. friend.

The sixth is, free education up to the highest standard should be provided for the students who are socially and economically backward. I entirely agree, if the resources permit it.

The seventh is, ex-Government servants and ex-Ministers should not be appointed as Vice-Chancellors and Principals. I have already said that Vice Chancellors should be appointed on academic grounds, because of their academic distinction and not because of any political considerations.

Then, the eighth is, arrangements should be made for low-cost hostels and cheap meals for the children of those persons whose monthly income is less than three hundred rupees and Government subsidy should be given for this purpose. Again, a very good suggestion, if resources permit.

Ninth, no restriction should be placed on political parties starting youth organisations in the universities or colleges and on the students for participating in them. It is a most mischevous suggestion, a most wicked suggestion. This is the whole cause of student unrest. Why should Parties start this? Why should political Parties start this?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You said you believe in autonomy. Suppose the institutions say, who are you to go against it?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Why political Parties?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not a question of that. It is autonomy of the institution.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Autonomy is for the students and not for you

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Autonomy is not for you. Suppose the Visva-Bharati University decides that they would allow such a thing, you have to look into it. You are a refugee Minister.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Then tenth is, arrangements should be made for providing jobs according to the aptitudes and qualifications of the students who have completed their university, college or school education. I wish I could supply jobs to everybody, but I am afraid it is not in my hands.

The eleventh is, entry of the police into temples of learning should be altogether banned. I have already explained what my views are about the police entering the universities.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What are they?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: They should be allowed only if the Vice-Chancellor asks for it.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: What about Allahabad University?

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: The twelfth is the principle of "equal remuneration for equal service" should be immediately implemented in all government and non-government educational institutions. Well, this is for the States. We have accepted the principle that there should be equal remuneration for equal service.

The thirteenth is, the teachers should ordinarily have the right to participate in the politics of their choice. I do not understand this. I do not know what it means. I do not agree.

Then, the fourteenth is, the State Governments should spend 20 per cent of their budgets and the Central Government 10 per cent of its budget on education under any circumstance.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: At least.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: It is a pious resolution. I entirely agree with it. The fifteenth is, inaugural and convocation addresses by Ministers and Government servants in the temples of learning should be strictly banned. That would depend upon the Minister or the Government servant who will be invited.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: What do you think about your Prime Minister? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: Then, sixteenth, special emphasis should be laid on technical education. I agree.

Then, the seventeenth is, an impartial judicial enquiry at the highest level should be conducted at places where firing has been resorted to in connection with the students' agitations and the officers in charge of the administration of those places should be immediately transferred. This would depend upon each instance. To lay down a general principle that as soon as the police have taken action you must have a judicial enquiry, I do not think, is right and I hope my hon. friends, particularly Mr. Vajpayee, will not press for such an enquiry.

The eighteenth is, all the persons arrested in connection with the agitation should be released unconditionally and the cases filed and warrants issued against the student leaders should be withdrawn. Now, does Mr. Rajnarain realise what he is asking for? If a student is caught-red-handed, assaulting someone, burning a car, burning a bus, according to him, he should be released

unconditionally. *(Interruptions.)* I am sorry. I do not believe in the *en masse* arrest of students. I agree that the police should be careful in arresting those about whom they are not sure that they have committed any offence. But if there is evidence and a student breaks the law, he must pay the price for it. And I think it would be in the interest of orderly government in this country, if we do not, as Mr. Vajpayee has said, discriminate between the citizen and another as far as the rule of law is concerned.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Does it not apply to Mr. Biju Patnaik and others?

SHRI RAJNARAIN: On a point of explanation. . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, Mr. Rajnarain, we have had a full discussion on this. Please continue.

SHRI M. C. CHAGLA: I now come to the amendment of Mr Banka Behary Das. It reads:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that a high-powered Inquiry Commission consisting of Members of Parliament, Educationists and other eminent men under the Chairmanship of a Judge of the Supreme Court be set up to inquire into the causes of the widespread student unrest in the country."

I think we have discussed the causes. We know the causes and we do not want to appoint another Commission.

Then the amendment of Mr. A. P. Chatterjee says:

"and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that a permanent negotiating machinery should be set up at the Union Government level to look into the grievances of students and to serve as a means of dialogue between the representatives of students and the Government."

As he himself said, we are always willing to meet the students and hear

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

their grievances and try to do what we can. You cannot have a permanent machinery like that. Apart from that grievances are very often local and the real thing is for the Vice-Chancellors to meet the students, as you have suggested, and try and understand their grievances.

Thank you very much.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: One question.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: After having such a full discussion? I think, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you have interrupted most number of times.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I would only like to know whether he is aware that recently the West Bengal Congress has published a list of candidates in which they have given nomination to so many teachers and they have made capital out of that point.

شری عبدالغنی : میڈم—ایک

سوال میرا ہے - کشمیر گورنمنٹ کا معاملہ لایا گیا ہے - کیا چھانٹا صاحب مجھے بتا سکیں گے کہ ۱۱ فی صدی مسلمان اڈیا میں ہیں لیکن ان میں کیا ایک، فی صدی کو بھی داخلہ ملا ہے - شری باجپئی اور شری چورڈیا جموں و کشمیر میں ۱۰ پرسنٹ ہوتے ہوئے اور ۶ پرسنٹ داخلہ پر بھی راضی نہیں ہیں لیکن آپ نے ہندوستان میں مسلمانوں کو ایک پرسنٹ بھی داخلہ نہیں دیا ہے - میرا یہ چیلنج ہے -

†[شری अबدول گنی : میڈم، ایک سوال میرا ہے۔ کشمیر گورنمنٹ کا معاملہ

لایا گیا ہے۔ کیا چاگلا صاحب مجھے بتا سکیں گے کہ ۱۱ فی صدی مسلمان ہندیا میں ہیں لیکن ان میں کیا ایک فی صدی کو بھی داخلہ ملا ہے۔ شری واجپائی اور شری چورڈیا جम्मू و کشمیر میں ۲۰ پرسنٹ ہوتے ہوئے اور ۶۰ پرسنٹ داخلے پر بھی راجی نہیں ہیں لیکن آپ نے ہندوستان میں مسلمانوں کو ایک پرسنٹ بھی داخلہ نہیں دیا ہے، میرا یہ چیلنج ہے۔]

شری विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया : महोदया, विद्यार्थियों में जो असंतोष व्याप्त है उसके बारे में जो चर्चा हुई उसको सुन कर ऐसा लगता है कि हमारे मदन के समस्त सदस्य जिनमें माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री जी भी शामिल हैं उन सब कारणों को जानते हैं जिन कारणों की वजह से इस तरह की अनुशासनहीनता और अव्यवस्था चल रही है। कुछ प्वाइंट्स ऐसे हैं जिनमें कुछ मतभेद हैं अन्यथा लगभग सारे कारणों में मतैक्य है।

उपसभापति महोदया, उसकी चर्चा करने से पहले जो चर्चा माननीय सदस्यों ने की, विशेषतः हमारे मध्य प्रदेश से आने वाले श्री राम सहाय जी ने की, ग्वालियर की गोलीकांड के बारे में और विदिशा के बारे में, उसके बारे में मैं दो मिनट में ही चर्चा कर दूँ कि ग्वालियर में जो गोलीकांड हुआ था उसमें कितनी ज्यादाती की गई थी। वहां की बार एसोसियेशन ने जो प्रस्ताव पास किया उसका कुछ अंश पढ़ कर सुना देता हूँ।

श्री अकबर अली खान : श्री राम सहाय ने कहा कि मेरे साथ चलिये।

श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया : मैं चलने को तैयार हूँ। मैं पहले पढ़ कर सुना दूँ।

“दिनांक 15-9-66 को पुलिस द्वारा जिला कलेक्टर एवं अन्य प्रशासकीय मैजिस्ट्रेट की रहनुमाई में शान्तिपूर्ण एवं निर्दोष नागरिकों पर किये गये संघातिक

लाठी प्रहार, गोली चालन एवं अन्य अमानवीय तथा क्रूर कार्यवाही के प्रति अपना कार्यकारणी गहरा क्षोभ व्यक्त करती है।”

आगे बताया है :

“माननीय मुख्य मंत्री का यह कथन कि भीड़ हाई कोर्ट भवन को क्षति पहुंचाने के लिये आई हुई थी इसलिये उस पर गोली का प्रहार करना आवश्यक हुआ, नितान्त असत्य एवं निराधार और पुलिस के अत्याचारों को छिपाने के लिये है।”

तो यह तो हुआ खालियर के गोलीकांड के लिए। वहां की बार एसोमियेशन ने जो प्रमाणपत्र दिया वह यह है।

विदिमा के बारे में उन्होंने निवेदन किया कि जनसंघ के लोगो ने बोर्ड लगा कर के विद्यार्थियों को उकसाया। मैं केवल यही निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूं कि हमारे माननीय राम सहाय जी अपनी नेतागिरी कायम करने के लिए उन विद्यार्थियों के जलूस के पास गये और उनको भला बुरा कहा, उनको धमकी दी कि हम तुमको देख लेंगे और जब जलूस पुलिस स्टेशन के सामने आता है तो उन पर खूब लाठियों का प्रहार किया जाता है और उनको बुरी तरह से पीटा जाता है, लोगों को मकान से पकड़-पकड़ कर ला कर पीटा जाता है, मकान तोड़ा जाता है, और सारा कुछ पुलिस के द्वारा किया गया और क्योंकि उनकी स्वयं की नेतागिरी खतरे में पड़ी इसलिये दूसरों पर आरोप मढ़ने के लिये जनसंघ का नाम लेते हैं। जनसंघ के द्वारा कोई ऐसी कार्यवाही नहीं हुई, वरन् वहां के जो मुख्यमंत्री द्वालीका प्रसाद जी हैं वह तो ऐसा खार खाये बैठे हैं कि जरा सा भी आधार मिल जाय तो जनसंघ को तबाह कर दें, इस पर वह तुले हुए हैं। वह अपनी पार्टी से भी इतने नाराज हैं कि कांग्रेस दल के जिन लोगों से असंतुष्ट हैं उन लोगों को भी सरेआम परेशान करने में कोई शर्म नहीं आती है तो फिर जो विरोधी दल के हैं उनको कैसे मुक्ति देंगे।

तो जहां तक यह चर्चा की गई उसके बारे में मेरा यह निवेदन करना था। मुझे सब से बड़ा दुख तब होता है जब हम देखते हैं कि हमारे माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री जी इन कार्यों को भी जानते हैं और इनका इलाज भी जानते हैं मगर इसकी दवा कर नहीं सकते, ऐसे मजबूर शिक्षा मंत्री हमारे देश में शिक्षा का क्या कितना कर सकेंगे इसमें मुझे डर लगता है। जब हमारे मंत्री महोदय स्वयं एक्सप्लेन करते हैं तो वही बातें कहते हैं जो मैं कह रहा हूं और मैं भी वही कहता हूं जो वह कह रहे हैं, फर्क इतना है कि वह उस अथारिटी में हैं कि इलाज कर सकें और मैं वहां खड़ा हूं जहां में उसकी एनालिसिस करके उनके सामने यह रख सकता हूं कि यह चीज है। हमारे मंत्री जी बतायें कि उनके हाथ कहां पर कमजोर हैं तो हम उनके हाथ मजबूत करने के लिए प्रयत्न करें। वह स्वयं स्टैटिस्टिक्स देते हैं कि हमारे देश में केवल इतना खर्च होता है और विद्यार्थियों की यह हालत है, हमारे देश में पढ़ाई की यह स्थिति है, यह सब जानने के बावजूद भी वह राजनीतिक, आर्थिक और सामाजिक, सब कार्यों को दुहराया जो कि मैंने प्रारम्भ की अपनी स्पीच में कह दिया था। तो मैं उनसे जानना चाहता हूं कि आपने क्या किया इन सारी बातों के लिये, आप अथारिटी में हैं, आपका यह कर्तव्य था कि आप जब किसी मर्जे को जानते थे तो उसका इलाज भी करते। मंत्री जी कहते हैं कि पुरानी कमेटीज जो बैठीं उनकी रिपोर्ट्स पर अमल किया। उनका अमल कितने प्रतिशत किया जाता है उसका प्रमाणपत्र इस रिपोर्ट में दिया है। यह रिपोर्ट Report on the problem of student indiscipline. पर है। 1955 में जो मुझाब कमेटी ने दिया था उसके बारे में यह है :

“The Commission's suggestions did not receive enthusiastic response from the universities because the majority of our universities are affiliating universities and there were practical difficulties in implementing these suggestions”

[श्री विमल कुमार मन्नालालजी चौरङ्गिया]
फिर इसके बाद फिर कमेटी बैठो और इस कमेटी ने 1960 में सुझाव दिया और फिर वही बात की। अपनी बात छिपाने के लिये आपने यह गलत कार्यवाही किया, अमल न कर पाने के लिये हम कमीशन और कमेटी बिठाते रहें उनकी सिफारिशों पर विचार करते रहें और कुछ करें नहीं तो हम किसी समस्या को हल नहीं कर सकते। इसलिये मैं मंत्री जी से चाहूंगा कि जब वह काजेज भी जानते हैं और इलाज भी जानते हैं तो फिर उनको अमल में लाये।

प्रमुख डिफेंस जो आया है वह यह है कि विद्यार्थियों को राजनीति में भाग लेना चाहिये या नहीं। जहां तक राजनीतिक ज्ञान का सवाल है, जहां तक राष्ट्र की राजनीति के अध्ययन का सवाल है उनको जगरूक रहना चाहिये उन्हें सारी बातों का ज्ञान रखना चाहिये मगर विद्यार्थियों को राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में आकर सक्रिय राजनीति में भाग लेना मैं कभी भी पसन्द नहीं कर सकता। हमारे कुछ माननीय सदस्य इस पक्ष के हैं कि उनको सक्रिय राजनीति में भाग लेने दिया जाय। उपाध्याय महोदया, जिस समय यहां पर अंग्रेजों का शासन था उस समय देश को आजादी दिलाने के लिये एक अंतिम युद्ध के रूप में हमको जो करना पड़ा वह करना पड़ा मगर अब स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद अपने यहां पर प्रजातंत्र को हम मानते हैं, प्रति पांच वर्ष बाद हमको मत देने का अधिकार है और हम अपना प्रचार कर के आन्दोलन कर के लोगों को समझा कर के अपने विचार का करते हैं, जो हमारे यहां यह व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये, हम प्रजातंत्र में निवास करते हैं तो हमको यह चाहिये कि हम विद्यार्थियों को इस तरह से राजनीति में घसीट कर न लायें, उनका पढ़ने का जो क्षेत्र है उसमें उनकी शैक्षणिक योग्यता बढ़ानी चाहिये, उनके ज्ञान का विकास होना चाहिये, उनका बौद्धिक विकास होना चाहिये, उसमें अड़चन डाल कर के उनको राजनीति में घसीट करके उनको केवल मात्र नेता रहने

देते हैं तो उससे काम नहीं चल सकता। हमारे देश को उज्जवल बनाना है तो शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में उन्नति होनी चाहिये, उसमें उनको आगे बढ़ाना चाहिये, बिना इसके हमारे देश की उन्नति कभी भी सम्भव नहीं है, अगर उनको राजनीति में घसीट लिया तो हमारे देश में उन्नति हो सकेगी शक है। हम मंत्री जी से एक जगह मतभेद रखते हैं। उन्होंने यह बताया हमारे शिक्षकों को राजनीति में भाग नहीं लेना चाहिये और उनकी टीचर्स कांस्टीट्यूंसी वह हटाना चाहते हैं। मैं नम्र निवेदन करता हूं कि हमें राजनीति का प्रवेश सक्रिय राजनीति का प्रवेश, अपनी यूनिवर्सिटियों में अपने कालेजों में नहीं होने देना चाहिये। लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं कि हम अपने अध्यापकों को इस राजनीति में भाग लेने में रोक दें। जो हमारे देश का बहुत बड़ा विद्वान तबका इस शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में हैं यदि हम इस बड़े हिस्से को राजनीति में प्रवेश करने से रोकते हैं तो हम हमारे प्रजातंत्र में जो एक नैचुरल विकास, प्राकृतिक विकास, होना चाहिए उसमें अड़चन डालते हैं, हम उनके वर्षों के ज्ञान का जो अनुभव है, जो उन्होंने लाइब्रेरीज में पुस्तकों को पढ़कर अपनी और योग्यता बढ़ाई है उसका लाभ तभी ले सकते हैं जब उनको भी राजनीति में भाग लेने का, सक्रिय राजनीति में भाग लेने का मौका दें। लेकिन इस बात का हम जरूर ध्यान रखें कि वह सक्रिय राजनीति उन विद्यार्थियों पर योपी न जाय, अर्थात् कालेज और विश्वविद्यालय में सक्रिय राजनीति में भाग लेने की विद्यार्थियों को आवश्यकता न हो।

6 P. M.

मैं मंत्री जी से यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि एकाडेमिक इश्यूज विद्यार्थियों से डिसकस किये जाने चाहियें या नहीं इस मामले में थोड़ा सा इतना मतभेद रखता हूं कि हम वह चाहते हैं कि हमारे यहां की शिक्षा का स्टैण्डर्ड ऊंचा हो, यदि कल से हम यह चर्चा करने लगे विद्यार्थियों से कि यह कैसे रखें

या नहीं रखें या यहां पर परीक्षाएँ इस ढंग से होंगी अथवा नहीं होंगी या ऐसा होना चाहिए या नहीं होना चाहिये अगर, हम उनके साथ इन चर्चाओं में पड़ जायेंगे तो हमारे यहां का स्टैण्डर्ड गिर जायेगा या वह स्टैण्डर्ड ठीक नहीं होगा । लेकिन एकेडेमिक निर्णय लेने के काम में भी शिक्षा शास्त्रियों को प्रैक्टिकल होकर काम करना चाहिये इस तरह की व्यवस्था न हो कि ऊंचे कोर्सेज का स्टैण्डर्ड कम हो जाय और नीचे के कोर्सेज का स्टैण्डर्ड ऊंचा हो जाय, इत्यादि सब बातों को प्राक्टिकल सौल्यूशन निकल कर और सही तालमेल बिठा कर, प्राइमरी से लेकर उच्चतर विद्यार्थियों की परीक्षाओं का तालमेल बिठाकर हमने कोर्सेज के बारे में निर्णय करना चाहिये और उनसे इस बात की चर्चा तक करनी चाहिये जब उनको प्रैक्टिकल डिफिकल्टी हो और उसकी मुनवाई करते निर्णय निकालना चाहिये अगर उनसे चर्चा करके निर्णय लेने लगेंगे तो हमारे यहां शिक्षा का स्तर ठीक नहीं हो सकेगा ।

माननीय मंत्री जी समस्या जो है वह जानते हैं, समस्या का हल जानते हैं, मगर यदि वे नहीं कर सकेगे तो वह सारी अमफलता में परिणत हो जायगी । वे जैसा कह रहे थे कि मेरे अंतिम दिन है तो मैं प्रार्थना करूंगा कि अपने अंतिम दिनों में ऐसा चमत्कार करके जाइये जिससे हमारी शिक्षा व्यवस्था अच्छी हो सके और इस तरह के झगड़े पैदा करने की स्थिति का निर्माण न हो ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

1. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that the following measures should be taken by Government to meet the students problems:—

(i) compulsory and free education should be provided up to the Intermediate Standard;

(ii) "fancy" schools should be abolished and uniform type of schools should be provided for all;

(iii) restrictions on admission to colleges and universities should be abolished;

(iv) education should be imparted only through the medium of the mother-tongue or regional language;

(v) students' unions with compulsory membership should be established;

(vi) free education up to the highest standard should be provided for the students who are socially and economically backward;

(vii) ex-Government servants and ex-Ministers should not be appointed as Vice-Chancellors and Principals;

(viii) arrangements should be made for lowcost hostels and cheap meals for the children of those persons whose monthly income is less than three hundred rupees and Government subsidy should be given for this purpose;

(ix) no restrictions should be placed on political parties starting youth organisations in the universities or colleges and on the students for participating in them;

(x) arrangements should be made for providing jobs according to the aptitudes and qualifications of the students who have completed their university, college or school education;

(xi) entry of the police into temples of learning should be altogether banned;

[The Deputy Chairman.]

(xii) the principle of "equal remuneration for equal service" should be immediately implemented in all government and non-government educational institutions;

(xiii) the teachers should ordinarily have the right to participate in the politics of their choice;

(xiv) the State Governments should spend 20 per cent of their budgets and the Central Government 10 per cent of its budget on education under any circumstance;

(xv) inaugural and convocation addresses by Ministers and government servants in the temples of learning should be strictly banned;

(xvi) special emphasis should be laid on technical education;

(xvii) an impartial judicial enquiry at the highest level should be conducted at places where firing has been resorted to in connection with the students' agitations and the officers in charge of the administration of those places should be immediately transferred;

(xviii) all the persons arrested in connection with the agitation should be released unconditionally and the cases filed and warrants issued against the student leaders should be withdrawn."

The motion was negatived.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS: I am not pressing my amendment; I wish to withdraw it.

Amendment No. 2 was, by leave, withdrawn.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

3. "That at the end of the motion the following be added, namely:—

'and having considered the same, this House is of opinion that a permanent negotiating machinery should be set up at the Union Government level to look into the grievances of students and to serve as a means of dialogue between the representatives of students and the Government.'"

The motion was negatived.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: On a point of order . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The discussion is over, the business is over. here is no point of order.

श्री राजनारायण : हमारे 18 अमेन्डमेंट हैं। आपने अग्राहों के ऊपर एक बार में कैसे वोट ले लिये।

There are eighteen amendments. This is against the rules. You have done everything against the rules. मेरे 18 अमेन्डमेंट्स हैं, हर एक अमेन्डमेंट का अलग अलग नम्बर है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Eighteen clauses to your amendment No. 1. See that.

श्री राजनारायण : यह प्रापको नम्बरवार करना चाहिये, नम्बर 1, नम्बर 2, नम्बर 3, नम्बर 4, नम्बर 5 . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your amendment is No. 1 and I should not have. . . (*Interruptions.*)

श्री राजनारायण : आपको हमें बताना चाहिये।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hathi, Minister of State for Home Affairs, is coming here in a few minutes, I am told.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He said that he would be here.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is on the way.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We will wait.

श्री राजनारायण : इसका मतलब क्या है ? सदन का कन्टेस्ट हो रहा है ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Does the House wish to sit till he comes?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: Let the statement be made tomorrow. I do not mind.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: We can adjourn for 10 minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can utilise it for. . . (Interruptions.)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If he does not come, then we shall adjourn. If the Minister is not here within a few minutes, then . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In the morning, I said that we have been getting all kinds of reports from the Press and otherwise about the resignation . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not know about that business at all. I think Mr. Hathi could make a statement tomorrow since he is not here.

The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. to morrow.

The House then adjourned at eight minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 10th November, 1966.