

RAJYA SABHA

Friday, 16th December 1955

The House met at eleven of the clock, MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE TO SHRI THAKUR DAS

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have received the following letter from Shri Thakur Das:

"After the recent deaths of my son-in-law and my nephew, my wife also died nine days back. A niece-in-law of mine is seriously ill causing anxiety, hence it is not possible for me to attend the House in this session."

I therefore request you to kindly grant me leave of absence from all the sittings of the House in this session."

Is it the pleasure of the House that permission be granted to Shri Thakur Das for remaining absent from all meetings of the House during the current session?

(No hon. Member dissented.)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Permission to remain absent is granted.

RESOLUTION RE APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE CAUSES OF INDISCIPLINE AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS—continued.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mathur, you have spoken already for 15 minutes. You will have fifteen minutes today.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR (Rajasthan): Mr. Chairman, while moving this *Resolution on the 2nd December I had

*This House is of opinion that Government should appoint a high-powered Commission to investigate the causes of indiscipline among university students and to suggest remedies for removing the same.

pointed out that the Education Ministry was out of touch with the present-day youth of this country, and while discussing this question I submitted that indiscipline among university students was to my mind only a symptom of some deep disease. We cannot afford any longer, as we have done in the past, to ignore this, and it would be wrong to take any steps and try to suppress it. What is necessary is to diagnose the causes with understanding and sympathy and then to take necessary steps in the matter. And that is all that I have asked for through this Resolution. We have a firing at Gwalior and then an enquiry is instituted; we have another firing at Patna and an enquiry is instituted. Sir, that is not the way we should go about. I think the whole question should receive our first attention and we should thoroughly examine as to what are the causes which give rise to such eruptions, which force the Government's hands to go to the extent of resorting to firing followed subsequently by enquiries. I submit that this is a matter of great urgency as also of vital importance. It is a problem which concerns the youth of this country; it is a problem which deeply concerns the future of this nation. Our Prime Minister has built up a good deal of international prestige for our country; but if this prestige is to be sustained and if we are to go ahead, we must have youth with broad minds and with great moral character. We are undertaking huge projects, multi-purpose projects; we are building dams; we are building power projects; we are setting up large industrial enterprises but if these projects and enterprises are to be run with integrity and efficiency we must prepare our youth for the purpose. We are trying to consolidate our democracy; we are trying to do all that we possibly can to contribute to the peace and progress of the world and if we are to do all these, we have got to prepare our youth for this purpose. We have got a wonderful opportunity ahead of us

[Shri H C Mathur]

and if we avail ourselves of this opportunity, I have not the least doubt that India will make the most remarkable contribution in world affairs to peace, progress and moral values. Whatever may be the feelings and conclusions of the Minister for Education, it is accepted on all hands that today the youth of this country—the present-day youth—are demoralised and frustrated. That outstanding educationist who is no more amongst us, Amarnath Jha, very rightly pointed out that there was very little enthusiasm or zest or sign of rapture in the youth of today. Despair and disillusion which one notices on the young faces is unnatural. I very much agree with that great educationist when he says that we seem to have brought up a generation that has not been bred either in high ideals or in the greatness of their destiny, and I strongly feel with him that the student community should be lifted out of this morass of depression and frustration in which it seems to find itself. While quoting the Minister for Education I submitted on the 2nd December what he said with particular reference to indiscipline and frustration:

"It is sometimes said that the students suffer from a sense of frustration. Unemployment,"—I would request you to mark the word—"it is said stares them in the face at the end of their student life. This may have been the case in the past, but I fail to understand why students should have any fear in the present context."

He and his Ministry referred this matter to the students who had collected here on that occasion for the Inter-University Youth Festival. But they do not agree with the conclusions at which the students arrived, that the system of education as at present prevalent and as it is being administered must be radically changed. The fact remains that the youth in the country have no faith in the utility of the education which is imparted to them and they consider

it to be worthless. Maybe, it is wrong, I cannot say. I do not want to force my own conclusions; but if it is wrong, then the faith in the present system of education must be restored in the minds of the students and if it is not so, then we must take the first step to see that the necessary changes are brought about.

Now, Sir, immediately after I had spoken on the 2nd December, I happened to read a very illuminating article on the 4th December which constituted the editorial of *The Times of India*. It throws a flood of light on the subject. The Anthropology Department of the Lucknow University has carried out a survey. This survey reveals that 20 to 30 per cent of the students, who received their Master's Degree in Arts, Science and Law during the five years 1949 to 1953, are still unemployed and looking for jobs. The curve of unemployment among them has risen steeply since 1949 and the worst affected appear to be the Commerce students. About 51 per cent of them are still out of jobs. Now, I would leave it to the House to fit in these facts which have been revealed as a result of their investigation with the observations of the hon. Minister for Education. I might submit further that this survey indicates that there is a steady increase in the number of students joining the university as road to employment in offices and a marked decline in the number of those intending to join the family business or to start some independent business. Now, I have made no comments and I would only quote what the editorial of *The Times of India* says:

"With the advent of independence and the consequent enlargement of scope and opportunities for personal enterprise in the business and technical field one should have expected more young men with grit and adventurous spirit would want to get out of the rut of office-employment."

which is in marked contrast to what the Minister for Education says—

"and venture out into the sphere

of a freer and more independent life. To lay the blame for this sad lack of an enterprising spirit and a weakness for the safety of a hum-drum existence in an office at the door of our education system, primarily designed to produce 'Babus' is to say the obvious."

It is not only the opinion of the editor of *The Times of India*. He further goes on to say:

"It is perfectly true that much has been talked, and hardly anything done to reform the much condemned education system."

The same viewpoint has been expressed by the President of India and most unfortunately this happens to be the viewpoint of the general people. The Ministry of Education may not agree with this. But I have read a number of convocation addresses by eminent educationists; they endorse this view. This is the view of the man in general.

Now, Sir, what are we doing about this? That is the question. We have before us a most valuable document in the Report of the University Education Commission—a unanimous report—a Commission of which you were the distinguished Chairman. This is a most valuable document which we have in our hands and perhaps it is this document which has received the scantiest attention so far. Possibly, the authors of this Report knew what fate it was going to meet with and they have made a most ardent appeal to the Ministry of Education while submitting this Report and expected that some action would be taken in this matter. Unfortunately, after six or seven years of the submission of this Report, it is now that the University Grants Commission is appointed

The causes of indiscipline are many and it would not be possible for me now within the few minutes left to discuss them, but there is one point

which I would like to take up. Among the causes, the political leaders stand for a very big responsibility.....

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND (Madhya Pradesh): Would you please suggest the remedies also?

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: In the next fifteen minutes, I hope I will be able to tell you something about them. During the two minutes now left, I will only talk about the teachers. Now, if we have to do anything, the teachers are most essentially to play an important role in rehabilitating the whole thing, and the teachers in our country are the persons who have got no place in society. It is not only the pay scale. Pay scales are very important and we will have to pay proper attention to that aspect, but I would like to ask what respect we give to our teachers. I have not got in mind, I do not go back to the age when we used to pay special reverence, enviable reverence to the teacher. I have in mind at present all the progressive countries of the world. One common factor which you will find in all the progressive countries, whether it is a Communist country or it is a democratic country, is that they have given a very high place to their teachers in society. You will find the Vice-Chancellor nowhere in the scheme of things here. We do not find any university teachers respectable enough to be invited to any of the functions. We do not find our university teachers getting any honoured place anywhere in the society. That is the most unfortunate thing. The Government of India will have to revise completely its attitude in this matter and we will have to give them respect. If you go to any progressive country, whether it is a Communist country or whether it is a Western democracy, you will find that the teacher has the most honoured place in the social structure.

I was really surprised when I was just going through this pamphlet on education which was put in our hands only yesterday. I find that up to

[Shri H. C. Mathur.]

March 1955 the Central Government has made available to the universities a pittance of five and a half lakhs of rupees to improve the fate of university teachers. And only a few days back when we were discussing the University Grants Commission Bill, we were told that even this University Grants Commission—which is being established under the recommendations made in 1949, now in the year 1955—was not to touch even the affiliated colleges. It will touch university colleges only which will be restricted to a small percentage. Do you think we are tackling this most vital and important problem with any seriousness?

There are many other points but as I have already taken fifteen minutes, I would rather like to say something when I get an opportunity to make my reply to the debate.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Resolution moved:

"This House is of opinion that Government should appoint a high-powered Commission to investigate the causes of indiscipline among university students and to suggest remedies for removing the same."

श्रीमती चन्द्रावती लखनपाल (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्री सभापति महोदय, श्री माथुर ने आज अपने प्रस्ताव द्वारा वास्तव में एक बड़ा आवश्यक और महत्वपूर्ण विषय की ओर हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित किया है। इससे आज कौन इंकार कर सकता है कि विद्यार्थियों में अनुशासनहीनता आज समस्त देश के लिए चिन्ता का विषय बनी हुई है ? न केवल हमारे राष्ट्र के वर्णधार हज़ी विद्यार्थियों के व्यवहार से चिन्तित हैं बल्कि समस्त देश, पार देशवासी आज इस बात से परेशान हैं कि किस प्रकार से हमारे स्कूल, हमारे कॉलेज और हमारे विश्वविद्यालयों का वातावरण अनुशासनहीनता से, उद्दण्डता से, अराजकता से, असन्तोष से और निराशा से भरपूर दिखलाई देता है। श्रीमान्, यह चिन्ता और यह असन्तोष और यह

बेचैनी एक प्रकार से स्वाभाविक भी है क्योंकि हमारे विश्वविद्यालय और हमारे कालेज ही तो ऐसी जगहें हैं जहां से हमें अपने राष्ट्र के लिए नागरिक मिलते हैं, नेता मिलते हैं। हमारे विश्वविद्यालय तो हमारे लिए एक उद्गम स्थान हैं, एक स्रोत हैं, जहां से हमें उत्तम नागरिक उच्चकोट के नेता, उच्च शिक्षा-विज्ञ, स्टूडसमैन, और उच्च कोट के विद्वान प्राप्त होते हैं। तो इसलिए यदि स्रोत के अन्दर ही गंदलापन आ जाता है तो फिर सारी नदी का प्रवाह गंदला हो जाता है, और यदि हमारे उस स्रोत, हमारे उस उद्गम स्थान यानि हमारे विश्वविद्यालयों के अंदर कोई खराबी आ जाती है, अनुशासनहीनता आ जाती है और अव्यवस्था तथा उद्दण्डता के लक्षण दिखलाई देने लगते हैं तो वह अव्यवस्था, उद्दण्डता और अनुशासनहीनता हमारे सारे राष्ट्र के अन्दर हमारी सारी जाति और नेशन के अंदर आ सकती है। इसलिए यह चिन्ता करना बिलकुल ठीक है और स्वाभाविक है। जैसा कि मैं कह चुकी हूं, स्रोत यदि गंदला हो जाय तो सारी नदी का प्रवाह ही गंदला हो जाता है, इसी प्रकार यदि हमारे विश्वविद्यालय अनुशासनहीनता का केंद्र बन जायंगे तो इसमें जरा भी सन्देह नहीं कि सारा राष्ट्रीय जीवन अव्यवस्था से, उद्दण्डता से और इन्डिसेप्लिन से भरपूर हो जायगा।

श्रीमान्, एक और भी बात है। प्राचीन काल को ओर जरा हम देखें तो हमें पता लगेगा कि हमारे विश्वविद्यालय अनुशासन सिखाने के केंद्र माने जाते थे। "शिष्य" शब्द "शास्" धातु से बना है, शास् का अर्थ अनुशासन है। इसका अर्थ ही यह है कि शिष्य वह है जो अनुशासन में रहना सीखे। इसी प्रकार से "आचार्य" शब्द "आचार" से बना है। आचार ग्राह्यतीत्याचार्यः। श्रीमान्, जो आचार सिखलाये वह आचार्य है। इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि हमारी प्राचीन परम्परा, हमारे विश्वविद्यालयों और हमारी शिक्षा का मुख्य उद्देश्य, मुख्य ध्येय ही विद्यार्थियों के अंदर अनुशासन और संयम उत्पन्न करना था जो कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में एक महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रखता

था। लेकिन आज तो दशा बिलकुल ही इसके विपरीत हैं, इसलिए यदि इस दिशा में चिन्ता है तो वह बिलकुल स्वाभाविक है।

श्रीमन्, हमारे प्राचीन शिक्षणालयों में जो गुरु और शिष्य का सम्बन्ध था वह भी कितना आदर्शमय था; पारस्परिक स्नेह और पारस्परिक प्रेम उसके आधार थे। प्राचीन काल के विद्यापीठ "गुरुकुल" कहलाते थे, गुरुकुल के माने हैं गुरु का परिवार। गुरु और शिष्य दोनों मिलकर एक परिवार के सदस्य की तरह से रहते थे और आचार्य शिष्य को बिलकुल अपने पुत्र के समान मानता था और शिष्य भी गुरु के सामने अपने पिता और माता को भूल जाया करता था। इस प्रकार के थे हमारे प्राचीन काल के शिक्षणालय, हमारे प्राचीन काल के विश्व-विद्यालय और विद्यापीठ, जहां पर अनुशासन, संयम, ब्रह्मचर्य की शिक्षा को प्राथमिकता दी जाती थी। चरित्र-निर्माण शिक्षा का एक मुख्य और आवश्यक अंग समझा जाता था। किन्तु, यदि हम आज की अवस्था का प्राचीन काल के वातावरण से और प्राचीन काल की अवस्था से मुकाबिला करें तो हमें बहुत ही ज्यादा निराश होना पड़ेगा।

आज हमारे शिक्षणालयों की और विश्व-विद्यालयों की जो अवस्था है वह किसी से छिपी हुई नहीं है। यदि विद्यार्थी की तरफ देखें तो वह पाते हैं कि उसे न तो शिक्षा के प्रति कोई रुचि है और न अपनी किताबों से कोई प्रेम है। वह इसी फिक्क में रहता है कि किसी न किसी तरह से, चाहे वह तरीका उचित हो या अनुचित हो, परीक्षा पास कर ले। आज क्या हम यह नहीं देख रहे हैं कि परीक्षा पास करने के लिये विद्यार्थी क्या कुछ नहीं करता? ज्यादा से ज्यादा अनुचित उपायों का वह अवलम्बन करता है। आज के विद्यार्थी में अनुशासन तो छू तक नहीं गया है। विद्यार्थी के अन्दर अनुशासनहीनता अपनी पराकाष्ठा को पहुँची हुई है। यदि शिक्षक की ओर देखें तो भी हम यही पायेंगे कि आज का शिक्षक विद्यार्थी के अन्दर शिक्षा के लिये प्रेम उत्पन्न करने में

बिल्कुल असफल हुआ है। जो शिक्षक हैं उसको जो प्रथम और सब से बड़ी चिन्ता रहती है वह विद्यार्थी की नहीं रहती है; बल्कि अपनी वृत्ति की चिन्ता रहती है। वह हर बक्त यही सोचता रहता है कि किस प्रकार से वे स्केल्स बढ़ाये जाय। उसके अन्दर लैवर यूनिजन मेंटैलिटी का विकास हो रहा है। यूनिजन्स बनाई जाती हैं और स्ट्राइक्स होती हैं। अब विद्यार्थी शिक्षक के प्रति विरोध में खड़ा होता है और जब फुर्सत मिलती है तो विद्यार्थी और शिक्षक दोनों ही मिल कर सरकार के खिलाफ आन्दोलन खड़ा कर देते हैं। यह अवस्था सचमुच में किसी भी देश के लिये संतोष की अवस्था नहीं कही जा सकती। किन्तु, असली चीज जो है वह यह है कि हमें आज यह जानना है कि इसमें दोष किसका है। इसमें ज़िम्मेदारी किस की है। क्या इसमें विद्यार्थी का दोष है? मैं तो यह कहूँगी कि इसमें विद्यार्थी का दोष नहीं है क्योंकि विद्यार्थी के सामने आज जो भविष्य है वह इतना अंधकारमय है, इतना अनिश्चित है, अनिश्चित ही नहीं इतना काला है,---- "ड्रीयरी प्युचर" है----इतना निराशाजनक है कि यदि आज उसके अन्दर अनुशासनहीनता की भावना, असंतोष की भावना, विद्रोह की भावना पैदा होती है तो इसमें हम विद्यार्थी को दोष नहीं दे सकते। हमें यह देखना पड़ेगा कि आज की अवस्थायें कौसी हैं जिनमें कि विद्यार्थी रह रहे हैं। श्रीमन्, जिस प्रकार से हमारे विश्व-विद्यालयों के विद्यार्थी रहते हैं उस पर आप शायद विश्वास नहीं करेंगे। जिन अवस्थाओं में वे रहते हैं वह वास्तव में एक सभ्य देश के लिये लज्जाजनक है। मैंने अपने इलाहाबाद के अन्दर देखा है कि एक-एक मोटर गराज में चार-चार और पांच-पांच विद्यार्थी रह रहे हैं क्योंकि आज उन्हें होस्टल्स में रहने के लिये स्थान प्राप्त नहीं होता। विश्वविद्यालयों में इतनी ज्यादा ओवर-क्राउडिंग है, इतनी ज्यादा भीड़ है कि यदि टीचर्स चाहें भी और विद्यार्थी चाहें भी तो भी शिक्षक और विद्यार्थी के अन्दर कोई सम्पर्क स्थापित नहीं हो सकता। ऐसी हालत में क्या हम विद्यार्थी को दोष देंगे?

[श्रीमती चन्द्रावती लखनपाल.]

कूळ लोग कहते हैं कि विद्यार्थी का दोष नहीं है। शिक्षक का दोष है; सारी जिम्मेदारी शिक्षक पर है। लेकिन, श्रीमन्, शिक्षक को भी हम क्या दोष दें ? यदि हम देखें तो पता चलेगा कि आज हमारे यहां शिक्षक कौन हैं ? शिक्षक वे हैं जिन्हें कहीं कोई काम नहीं मिलता। समाज के अन्दर जो सब जगह से ठोकर खा चुके होते हैं, जो बिलकुल और कोई काम करने के लायक ही नहीं हैं वे शिक्षक होते हैं। उनके अन्दर पहले से ही निराशा होती है और योग्यता तो उनके अन्दर होती ही नहीं। आप कहते हैं कि उनके अन्दर लंबर यूनिचन में टीलीट्टी रहती है, हर बख्त शिक्षक रुपये की चिन्ता करता रहता है। लेकिन इसमें शिक्षक का क्या दोष है ? यह तो युग का दोष है। हमने शिक्षक को दिया क्या है ? न तो शिक्षक को उसकी योग्यता के मुताबिक और उसकी स्थिति के मुताबिक वेतन मिलता है और न हमारे समाज में शिक्षक की प्रतिष्ठा ही है। अभी श्रीयुक्त माथर ने इस विषय में आपका ध्यान आकृष्ट किया कि आज समाज के अन्दर सब से लोएस्ट पेंड टीचर ही हैं, वही सब से ज्यादा उपेक्षित हैं, न उसकी प्रतिष्ठा है और न उसके पास रुपया है। आज जब कि हमारी सारी सामाजिक व्यवस्था एक अर्थमूलक व्यवस्था है, जब कि सारी सामाजिक व्यवस्था का आधार धन है, जब कि हम सब चीजों को धन के पैमाने से नापते हैं तो शिक्षक बेचारा क्या करे ? उसके पास न कोई प्रतिष्ठा है और न उसकी समाज में कोई स्थिति है। ऐसी हालत में शिक्षक को दोष देना कोई छिपत बात नहीं लगती है। श्रीमन्, हम शिक्षक से आशा करते हैं कि वह हमारी नेशन को बिल्ड करेगा, वह हमारे लिये नेता तैयार करेगा। लेकिन जो स्वयं थर्ड रेट मैन हैं वे क्या फर्स्ट रेट मैन तैयार कर सकते हैं ? जब तक हम शिक्षा पद्धति के अन्दर ऐसे शिक्षकों को नहीं लायेंगे जो कि विद्यार्थी को सूर्य के समान प्रकाश दे सकें तब तक कुछ नहीं होगा। शिक्षक की परमनीलटी, शिक्षक का व्यक्तित्व तो ऐसा होना चाहिये कि जो भी उसके सम्पर्क में आए, क्लास रूम में ही नहीं क्लास

रूम के बाहर भी जहां जहां उसका सम्पर्क हो, उसका प्रकाश सब पर उसी तरह से पड़ता रहे जिस प्रकार से कि सूर्य का प्रकाश पड़ता है। उसके विद्यार्थी उसकी हर एक बात से, उसकी हर एक चाल-ढाल से प्रेरणा ग्रहण कर सकें, प्रकाश ग्रहण कर सकें, मार्ग दर्शन प्राप्त कर सकें। क्या हमारे शिक्षक ऐसे हैं ? यदि नहीं, तो इसमें शिक्षक का क्या दोष है ? इसमें दोष तो उस व्यवस्था का है, उस शिक्षा प्रणाली का है, उस एजुकेशन सिस्टम का है जो आज समाज की परिस्थितियां बदलने पर भी, युग के परिवर्तन होने पर भी, बदला नहीं है।

आज से सैंकड़ों वर्ष पहले जिस शिक्षा पद्धति को विदेशी सरकार ने चलाया था उसी पुरानी लकीर को अब भी हम इस देश में पीट चले जा रहे हैं। हमारे देश के अन्दर एक नये युग का प्रादुर्भाव हो चुका है, इस युग की भावना एक नया रूप ग्रहण कर चुकी है, लेकिन आज भी हमारी शिक्षा पद्धति वही पुरानी की पुरानी है। आप कहेंगे कि इस ओर देश के नेताओं का ध्यान अब जा रहा है और बहुत से कमीशंस आदि भी बैठे हैं। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि बहुत से कमीशंस बैठे हैं, आपकी अध्यक्षता में भी, श्रीमन्, एक यूनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन कमीशन नियुक्त हो चुका है, और यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन भी बैठने वाला है—इस सम्बन्ध में अभी हमने एक बिल पास किया है—लेकिन हमें अप्सोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इन कमीशंस के होते हुये भी प्रैक्टिकल रूप में, क्रियात्मक रूप में, शिक्षा व्यवस्था में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं आया है, यदि कोई परिवर्तन हुआ भी है तो वह बहुत कम है, बहुत ही कम है। हम दूसरी दिशाओं में कुछ बढ़े भी हैं लेकिन शिक्षा की दिशा में बहुत ही कम बढ़े हैं। यही कारण है कि जो वर्तमान शिक्षा पद्धति है, जो वर्तमान एजुकेशन सिस्टम है, वह इस युग की भावनाओं से, इस युग की जो नई उभरती हुई भावनाएं हैं उनसे मेल नहीं खाती। इस समय हमारे समाज की जो आवश्यकताएँ हैं, इस समय हमारे समाज की जो बदली हुई नई

परिस्थितियाँ हैं उनके साथ वर्तमान शिक्षा पद्धति का कोई सामंजस्य नहीं है। इसलिये हमें तो यह देखना है कि हम अपनी शिक्षा पद्धति का, अपने सारे एजुकेशन के सिस्टम को इस प्रकार से बदल दें कि हमारे विद्यार्थियों के सामने जो भविष्य हो वह बिल्कुल उज्ज्वल हो और आशाप्रद हो। इस प्रकार हमारी शिक्षा के अन्दर जो दोष आ गये हैं उनको हम बदलें।

श्रीमन्, आज हमारी मनोवृत्ति ऐसी हो रही है कि हम सारा दोष विद्यार्थी पर हालते हैं और उसको अविश्वास की दृष्टि से देखते हैं। इस लिये मैं इस सदन के सदस्यों से यह अनुरोध करूंगी कि वे चाहे जो कुछ कहें किन्तु विद्यार्थी पर अविश्वास न करें। वह हमारी आशा का दीपक है, हमारी आशा का स्तम्भ है। यदि हमने विद्यार्थी के अन्दर से आशा को निकाल लिया तो सारे राष्ट्र का भविष्य अंधकारमय हो जायगा। इसके साथ ही हमें टीचर की भी समालोचना नहीं करनी है। वह हमारी शिक्षा व्यवस्था का 'पिपट' है, कन्द्रस्थल है। उसको हमें समाज के अन्दर उचित प्रतिष्ठा देनी है। हमें सारा दोष यदि आज दिखलाई देता है तो वह शिक्षा व्यवस्था में दिखलाई देता है। समयभाव के कारण जिन दोषों की ओर मैं इशारा नहीं कर सकी हूँ, वे मैं समझती हूँ कि सभी को विदित हैं। यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमीशन यदि चाहे तो उन दोषों को दूर कर सकता है, लेकिन यदि वे उनके स्कोप के अन्दर न आते हों तो मैं यह अनुरोध करूंगी कि इस सारे विषय के लिये इसकी छान बीन करने के लिए एक नया कमीशन नियुक्त किया जाय।

इन शब्दों के साथ, श्रीमन्, मैं आपको धन्यवाद देती हूँ।

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON (Bihar): Mr. Chairman. Sir, I stand up to oppose this Resolution. The purpose of this Resolution is to appoint another "high-powered Commission". Sir, we have had innumerable number of Commission, and the

mover of the Resolution himself has pointed out how the very wise recommendations made by the Commission over which you presided have been ignored and the same fate has followed other recommendations.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE (Hyderabad): That is not a compliment to the Government.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Let me finish. From time to time Commissions have been appointed and considerable amount of money is spent for their tours and interviews and all that. Then, they make very wise recommendations and the complaint is that these recommendations are ignored. If that is the case, I do not understand why we should ask for the appointment of another Commission. Whether the Commission is high-powered, medium-powered or low powered is not the question. The question is whether the constitution of a Commission to do the work—the terms of reference are also given in the Resolution—is going to help us any more than other Commissions have done. If the purpose of the Resolution is to provide employment for a few high-powered people or to add to the number of reports that we have already collected in our libraries, I have no objection to it, but the purpose of the Resolution is to have a Commission to investigate into the causes of indiscipline among students, etc. etc. If I have permission to move an amendment, I would really add "and others" after the words "causes of indiscipline among university students"; and among "others" I would include ourselves also.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Members of Parliament?

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Indiscipline is seen not only among the students, but among others too. After all, the students in a community reflect the values and patterns of behaviour of the community in general.

[Shrimati Lakshmi Menon.]

Sir, during the political struggle when citizens were engaged in breaking laws, the students were also asked to break laws and in their action they showed a reflection of the general discontent and tribulation in the country. After we became free, our leaders, politicians, teachers and other people, who hold responsible positions either in institutions or in public life, did not settle down to a way of living which will be an example to our students.

SHRI S N MAZUMDAR (West Bengal) They have not been able to set good example.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: That is exactly what I say.

MR CHAIRMAN: That is what she says.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: The result is that students also behave or copy the example set by other sections of society and, therefore, to think that by appointing a Commission we will be able to detect those disputed underlying causes of indiscipline among students without ourselves setting an example and changing the atmosphere of our society is not going to work at all.

Secondly, what is the purpose of this Commission? To investigate into the causes of indiscipline among university students. Now, the causes of indiscipline are very well known. In fact, the Mover himself told us what the causes of indiscipline are. The speaker who preceded me has added other causes of indiscipline, and, I am sure, by the time the debate is over, this House will be able to analyse the causes of indiscipline better than any high-powered Commission that this country can appoint.

DR SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND: Then what is the remedy is the question.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: I will tell you. My hon. friend, Dr. Seeta Parmanand, wants to know what the remedies are. I would like to quote a small Chinese proverb:

"When there is darkness, it is no use complaining about darkness; all that you should do is to light a candle to see that the darkness is dispelled."

During the last few years all sorts of pleas have been sponsored about the indiscipline among students. Indiscipline consists not only in breaking windows or preventing the police from carrying out its duties, indiscipline consists in every action of ours which contravenes the law, which contravenes the principles of behaviour, and in view of these matters, as in all other matters, it is better to look within ourselves. In this connection I would quote a biblical saying that he who is without sin can throw the first stone. It may not be very proper to say how Members of Parliament themselves are guilty of indiscipline.

MR CHAIRMAN: You need not refer to that.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: But, I would like to point out the reactions produced on our students when they visit our Houses of Parliament. Recently, not this year, sometime ago, a group of students came to Delhi, the capital of the Republic, to see how the elected representatives of the people are conducting the affairs of State. They have seen the glorious accounts of our activities in the newspapers, and undergoing all sorts of hardships of the third class compartment,—not getting food, not getting enough room to sit—they came here. They found all the benches deserted. They were astonished to find that the people to whom allowances are paid, salaries are paid, free travelling tickets are given, were not in their seats.

SHRI H P SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): Did they come during the recess period of the Parliament?

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Of course, there were some hon. Members like our honourable interrupter who always sits in the House. They were impressed by those who stick to their seats even during interval for lunch. They were very much impressed, as they have said! This is their reaction. When they go back to their classes and when their teachers ask them to attend their classes and abide by the time-table, what do they see before them? They see this vast room, the Houses of Parliament, the great Members, the elected representatives and mighty seats; and they think why should they go to their classes.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: Which is the House you are referring to?

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Both the Houses. This is the reaction on them. The same kind of reaction is produced when they examine us, so to speak, and try to analyse our activities, private and public, the way we behave, the way we contravene all sorts of rules. There is so much indiscipline in the country because it is we who are the models before our students. Our leaders, our Members of Parliament, our professors, all these people are brought into the main current of indiscipline—the spiritual indiscipline, the physical indiscipline, the mental indiscipline.....

DR. P. C. MITRA (Bihar): The moral indiscipline.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: That is left to you. These are some of the causes of indiscipline which everybody knows. For this you want the appointment of a Commission.

Sir, I am very much perturbed at the way the mover of the Resolution went out of his way to attack the Ministry of Education. I feel, it is my duty to defend the hon. Deputy Minister, whom I always oppose on other occasions ...

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): He is specially fortunate.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON:

...to make his task a little lighter. After all, he is bearing a very heavy burden, and, I think, it is the duty of the Members of the Houses to see that his task is not too heavy. After all, what has the Ministry of Education got to do with the discipline or indiscipline among students?

SHRI NAWAB SINGH CHAUHAN (Uttar Pradesh): Why not?

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: I have myself been a teacher, and I am proud to remember the days that I spent in teaching. The discipline is really the joint responsibility of the teacher and the home. If the home is disintegrated, if the parents do not take any interest in the children, if they do not take any interest in the spiritual values that the children should have, and if the same kind of disintegration is seen in the school also, and if the teacher does not take any interest in the education of those children entrusted to him, then, Sir, what is the use of our blaming the Education Ministry, which is thousands of miles away from the school or the teacher, and saying that the Education Ministry is responsible for all the ills of education in our country? Of course, the Deputy Minister will tell me, and he will tell you also, that education is a State subject, and the Ministry cannot be responsible for all these things. Therefore, Sir, the root of the evil is in the school, and in the society where the school exists. But then, let us see how we will be able to eradicate these items of indiscipline which are narrated here.

Sir, the first thing is that the society must change its values. After all, Sir, in the old days when the teachers were not given even a rupee as their salary, they carried on their work, because they felt that they were serving the society; and the spiritual values that they were themselves abiding by, and inculcating in the children, were the values which the society respected. The teacher

[Shrimati Lakshmi Menon.]

was respected not because he came in a Cadillac or because he wore costly clothes, but because in him he symbolised the values which were valuable to the society. But now, what do we find? The society places value on money. Even the most corrupt politician is respected and he is given all sorts of civic receptions. Why is that so? Everybody knows that he is corrupt, and that his character is not acceptable, but because he has money, he is respected. The businessmen, the industrialists and all those other people whom we condemn in private, we are adoring in public. So naturally the values that we have are not the real values which should be valued, and the result is that our teachers become trade unionists. Now what happens is that a teacher is regarded as the most despised element in our society, although he makes the most valuable contribution to our educational system.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: He or she?

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Sir, I want to bring to the notice of this House as to how far the teaching profession has been degraded by the society itself. Sir, a young man who was a teacher gave up his teaching profession. I asked him as to why he did so. He replied by saying, "I am now a *chaprassi* in the university, because a *chaprassi* gets a higher salary than a teacher." Sir, this is the value that we attach to our teaching profession. Then, why blame the students? When we do not respect the person who is in charge of the discipline of the students, when we do not give him the status that he requires in society, how can we expect him to fulfil such a serious responsibility by training the students to ways of discipline? Sir, these are some of the things which we have to take into consideration. Simply by raising the salaries of the teachers we are not going to raise the discipline of the college. I know that the teachers' salaries have gone up, it may not be in

proportion to the cost of living or in proportion to other factors, but still the salaries today are much higher than what they were a few years ago. But that is done only in the case of university teachers, whereas the salaries of the primary school teachers and the secondary school teachers remain more or less the same. These salaries should be enhanced. And I am afraid, no attempt is made by either the Deputy Minister or by anybody else. Members of Parliament want their salaries to be increased. They want all their amenities to be increased. People in the services want their salaries to be raised, because they have power and they have some hold on the Administration, whereas the poor teacher is nowhere. Only when there is some students' strike or when there is some shooting, they wake up and ask, "What is the Ministry doing? Why is there a students' strike?" But, Sir, that is not enough. Let us see if really the Members of Parliament are interested in having better discipline in the schools. Let us set an example ourselves, and let us see if we can surrender half of our daily allowance, so that the teachers' salaries can be improved, or the amenities that are available for the students in our universities can be improved. (*Time bell rings.*) Sir, these are some of the remarks that I wanted to make with regard to this Resolution. And I oppose the Resolution, because I sincerely feel that a Commission is not going to solve the problem, and let us not waste more money on appointing a high-powered Commission.

SHRI N. D. M. PRASADARAO (Andhra): Sir, unfortunately, I was not here when the mover of the Resolution explained what he meant by indiscipline among the students. Sir, as the Resolution stands, I feel somewhat uneasy and I find myself unable to support it. If he means by indiscipline the growing unrest among the students, I can well understand it. If he means by indiscipline the strikes and the demonstrations conducted by

the students, and sometimes even the clashes with the Government forces, that shows the growing discontent among the students with regard to the educational system in our country, in that case, that is not indiscipline that they are showing.

Let us see, Sir, why this unrest is growing among the students. There are several causes, and one of the causes is, if I may use the word the rotten educational system that we are having today. Our modern university education is more or less based on the old educational system which we were having in the British days, Sir.

SHRI V. VENKATARAMANA (Andhra): What are the conditions in Russia?

SHRI N. D. M. PRASADARAO: If he likes, he can go to Russia and see things there.

Sir, some days ago, when we were discussing the University Grants Commission Bill, I gave some examples and showed how even the university students who got Honours degrees and M.A. degrees, were very very poorly equipped with general knowledge, or even with the full knowledge that concerned the subjects in which they passed. Sir, if even M.A. students do not know what is the Munroe doctrine, or if they do not know the economic theories of Marx, how can you expect them to be satisfied with the educational system that is prevailing today? Sir, today, they teach only those theories and those principles which are propounded and supported by the ruling class. It is, therefore, the class education that is being imparted to the students. If they want to learn some other things, which are not being allowed to be taught to them by the ruling class, then it is said that there is indiscipline among the students, and all sorts of things will be told about them.

Secondly, Sir, what is the social system that is existing today, and what are the prospects in that social system for the students who may

have spent thousands and thousands of rupees? Sir, let us take the instance of a post-graduate student who has passed his M. A. class. He must have spent at least Rs. 6,000 or Rs. 8,000 over his university education. He has to study for six years, and every year, he spends at least Rs. 1,000. After spending these Rs. 6,000 or Rs. 8,000, let us see what his prospects are. Recently, the Lucknow University authorities have conducted a survey with regard to unemployment among the post-graduate students who have passed within the last five years through that university. Sir, it is distressing to find the contents of that Report. What does that Report say? It says that about 20 to 25 per cent. of the post-graduate students do not get any employment at all, and if these persons cannot find.....(Interruption). I am coming to Travancore-Cochin. And even then, those persons who get employment, get employment on very very meagre salaries from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 per month. Recently reports have come that in Calcutta and Travancore-Cochin, thousands and thousands of graduates have applied for the jobs of even bus conductors. This is the state of affairs after their spending so much of money for getting their degrees. They do not get even a decent job, if at all they get it.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Madras): Will they continue to be students even after they leave the college?

SHRI N. D. M. PRASADARAO: They will continue to be human beings if not students.

Another cause for this unrest among the students is the administrative system which the universities are having today. Some time ago we witnessed some great unrest among the students of the Universities of Allahabad and Lucknow. The students there demanded a very simple right. They wanted to have their own organisations, but they were not allowed to

[Shri N D M Prasadarao] do so What does it show? This shows that the university administration and the authorities there are simply behaving like bureaucrats and autocrats, and naturally the students who are coming into contact with progressive ideas, come into conflict with such autocratic methods employed by the university authorities

SHRI H N KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh) What was the democratic organisation the Allahabad students demanded?

SHRI N D M PRASADARAO Their demand was to form their organisation not controlled by the University

SHRI H N KUNZRU As the hon Member has made reference to the Union of Allahabad University, I want to know whether the students are not running their own Union

SHRI N D M PRASADARAO If it is so democratic and it is run purely by the students, without the interference of the University authorities there would have been no trouble at all

Sir, the fourth cause for the unrest among students is that even for prosecuting their studies, proper amenities are not available today Only today *The Times of India* has reported how amenities even for playing are very very meagre in Delhi itself, and under the caption, "All Work and No Play", it has described how playground amenities are very very meagre If you go to any college today, you will find that many amenities are not available

These are some of the causes which are responsible for the great student unrest today Therefore it is no use accusing the students that they are undisciplined or that they are revolting against the University authorities. The real trouble lies in the very social system which exists today If we want to remove this indiscipline, we must first of all change the educational system, this educational system which is

intended only, just as in the olden days to manufacture persons to work as Government employees or clerks and not live as human beings Then, Sir, the students should be allowed to organise and manage their own affairs, to participate in all activities, including political If this is done, one of the main causes of this unrest will be removed

DR P C MITRA That is really the cause of this indiscipline

SHRI N D M PRASADARAO: Then, all amenities for the students for prosecuting their studies should be provided You go to any college, and you will find that even in colleges where science subjects are taught, there are no proper laboratory facilities Even the text-books are not available for several months, and this is one of the biggest complaints of the students

Lastly, I would point out that unemployment is one of the biggest causes of this indiscipline A sense of insecurity about their future life makes them restive Therefore, guaranteed employment should be there. Only then can this unrest be checked, and the students will be satisfied Sir, with these few words, I resume my seat.

SHRI H P SAKSENA I find myself in agreement with my hon friend, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, for the removal of indiscipline amongst students rather than with the suggestion made by my hon friend, Mr Mathur, in this Resolution which he has tabled before the House Sir, a high-powered Commission, even though it may contain the atomic or nuclear power, will not be of any use so far as the removal of this disease is concerned With some of the remarks of my friend, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, I do not agree She said that the teachers of the present day were not being shown any respect

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON The respect that they deserve

SHRI H P SAKSENA that they were not occupying any positions of power and influence and high respect. To my mind, a teacher never demands any respect. He never tries to command any respect. Respect is offered to him willingly and voluntarily out of regard for his conduct, behaviour and treatment towards the students. It is not a thing which can be ordered about and obtained from the students or from the general public. These days we pay greater respect to the teachers than we did formerly. Now, Sir, you are the Vice-President of India. There is Dr Shrimati, the Deputy Minister for Education; there is Dr Mookerji, Member of Parliament; there is Acharya Narendra Deva, Acharya Kripalani. All these were teachers and yet they are being honoured and respected. Formerly, a teacher was satisfied with the general respect, honour and treatment that he received at the hands of the common people, at the hands of his own students, and that was the result of his own affectionate, kind, gentlemanly and paternal treatment towards his students. That unfortunately is lacking today.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON Why is it?

SHRI H P SAKSENA. Things are being measured with the yardstick of economic gain and economic loss and we always say that the teacher is being ill-fed, ill-clothed and, therefore, education is bad. Now, it is a sort of a vicious circle, one evil following another, but then in my estimation, all this trouble is due to the mentality of Mammon worship that we have developed among ourselves in every way of life. The artificial needs that we have created for ourselves, both in the student sphere as well as in the sphere of teachers, lead to utter dissatisfaction and the result is that howsoever high a teacher's salary may be he is not satisfied with it. The students are not satisfied with the way in which the teacher treats them and to me it seems that the only cause of the present day indiscipline, which is

undeniable, is the frustration that looms large in the face of the educated youngmen, who unfortunately have no prospects of, not to say of a bright future, even an average future, before them. They roam about from office to office, from street to street, they try here, there and elsewhere, but do not get even work which it should be the duty of every Government and every Administration to provide to its educated and the able-bodied persons. Therein lies the cause of the indiscipline among students and it should have been the first and foremost duty of the Education Ministry of the Republic of India to see that it provided everybody with work suited and suitable to his attainments as soon as he left the portals of the university. I challenge the Ministry of Education spokesman to let me know if his Ministry has even a little bit travelled towards that direction, whether they have done anything in that direction and if they are satisfied with even the little that they think they might have done. I have complained against that attitude of the present-day Ministry of Education once and I repeat my grievance and complaint against this attitude of the Ministry of Education, which I am not going to condemn with scathing denunciations like the hon. mover of the Resolution, and yet I feel that that omission on the part of the Education Ministry is serious.

Sir, the indiscipline complained of should be equally shared by the education authorities as well as the parents. This again takes us to the root cause of the whole evil. Our moral calibre is going down rapidly and, therefore, the parents are as oblivious of their duties towards their wards as the teachers are and this double phalanx against the students, who are in a period of growth in their life, works strictly against the maintenance of discipline.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Sir, what steps are necessary to be taken—this is what the mover of the

[Shri H P Saksena]

Resolution has asked and he has suggested that there should be a thorough examination. Examinations have been there several times, several times were the examinations there in the past, several times were

DR P C MITRA And produced nothing

SHRI H P SAKSENA: Several times were the remedies suggested and several times the grievance was publicised but with no result. Now, with regard to that lack of respect shown to the teacher, I may point out that the constitution provides for representation of teachers in the State Legislatures. That was not done like that before. So, on that score, I don't see that there is anything lacking on the part of the authorities in showing due and proper respect to the teachers, but then the teachers should deserve their respect that, they think, need be paid to them. They should be worthy of that respect. They should deserve it and then without their asking for it, respect will be voluntarily offered to them. I am right in thinking that the present-day teacher is more responsible for the growing indiscipline than the students themselves.

PROF G RANGA (Andhra): No.

SHRI H P. SAKSENA: I am perfectly satisfied, having examined the problem day in and day out for years and years together, having tackled some of these strikes entered into by the students. I am definitely of the opinion that the present-day teacher, who is always hankering for the small amount of salary that he is getting, who has no interest left in the moral uplift of his students, who is always anxious to have his salary raised, who is thinking of private tuitions and all that, is yet not satisfied with all that he accumulates. He has become fond of wealth, he has become fond of riches, he wants to lead an artificial and a luxurious life. There is nothing like an element of the old teacher left in him and that is the cause of the indiscipline of the students for which

the blame is put on the poor student himself. The student is much less to blame for the present-day indiscipline than the teacher who is put in charge of building up his character at an age in which he is impressionable.

As Mrs Lakshmi Menon pointed out, we should not forget that it was we who trained the students to come out of their educational institutions and to leave them; and we taught them to defy the law, to stand against the authorities and to ignore—not only to ignore but to show disrespect to—the teachers who were teaching in those *Ghulam Khanas of the year 1921*. This is all due to that. It could have been very successfully checked if the teachers had that stamina and that gift in them which was needed at this psychological moment of our history. That was lacking and I am in agreement again with my friend Mrs. Menon that this high-powered Commission, howsoever, high you make it, will not be of any use; and, therefore, in order to find out the ways and means for removing this indiscipline, we should look to elsewhere.

Sir, one thing that I suggest humbly is this that the Education Ministry of the Republic of India should at least now make up and draw up a scheme under which 10,000 youngmen, the product of the universities, will necessarily be given suitable employment each year and in this way, at least in ten years' time, this huge army of unemployed youngmen will be removed. Thank you, Sir.

श्रीमती सावित्री दूबी निगम (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
उपसभाति महोदय, श्रीमान्, श्री बाथुर ने अपनै प्रस्ताव द्वारा एक नया कमीशन बनाने की माँग की है। पता नहीं वे इन कमीशनों के सहित हाथियों से क्यों नहीं घबराते? मैं तो इस प्रकार के कमीशनों से काफी थक गई हूँ। मेरा तो यह अनुमान है कि पब्लिक एक्सचेंज में अब इतना दम नहीं रहा कि इस प्रकार के नये नये सफ़ेद हाथियों को पाल सके। पहले एक कमीशन बनता है, फिर थोड़े दिनों बाद पार्लियामेंट में भी और बाहर भी तरह तरह के सवाल किये

जाते हैं कि कमीशन ने क्या किया, कमीशन क्यों नहीं काम कर रहा, इत्यादि। उसके बाद कभी-कभी यह जरूरत महसूस की जाती है कि एक दूसरा कमीशन बनाया जाय जो यह मालूम करे कि वह कमीशन क्यों नहीं अब तक अपना काम कर सका। इस प्रकार यदि काम किया गया तो यह विशेश सर्किल बढ़ता ही चला जायगा। यह कोई ऐसा उलझा हुआ प्रश्न नहीं है या ऐसा अनजान सा प्रश्न नहीं है जिससे हम परिचित न हों और जिसके लिए किसी कमीशन के निर्माण की आवश्यकता हो।

जहां तक माथुर साहब के प्रस्ताव के इस अंग का सम्बन्ध है कि स्टूडेंट्स में इन्डिसेप्लिन बढ़ रहा है तो उससे हम सब सहमत हैं। सचमुच यह हमारे लिए बड़ी चिन्ता का विषय बना हुआ है। यह सचमुच देश के लिए एक बड़ा खतरा की बात है कि इस प्रकार हमारे देश के भावी कर्णधार जो कि हमारे समाज के संरक्षक बनेंगे, नेता बनेंगे, उनमें इस प्रकार उदङ्गता के बीज अंकुरित होंगे। लेकिन जहां तक इस इन्डिसेप्लिन के कारणों का प्रश्न है वह सब हमें भली भाँति विदित हो चुके हैं। एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री से कुछ दिन पूर्व तक बहुत ही इन्फार्मेटिव, बहुत ही उम्दा पेंफ्लेट निकाला गया था जिसमें अनेक सजेरेंस दिये गए हैं और उनमें सभी कारणों पर जो यहां सदस्यों ने बताये हैं, बड़ी गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार किया गया है। जहां तक शिक्षा क्षेत्र में कार्याकल्प लाने का प्रश्न है, जहां तक शिक्षकों को उच्च वेतन और उन्नत सम्मान दिलाने का सम्बन्ध है, हमारी सब की राय एक है। लेकिन, श्रीमन्, यह एक ऐसा विषय है जिसमें समय लगेगा, धीरे-धीरे ज्यों-ज्यों हमारी समाज की व्यवस्था बदलती जायगी, ज्यों-ज्यों हमारी दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के फल हमें मिलने लगेंगे त्यों-त्यों ये सारी बातें अपने आप ऑटोमैटिकली हमारे सम्मुख आती जायंगी। जहां तक एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री के इस ओर प्रयत्न किये जाने का विषय है वह उनके पेंफ्लेट्स से स्वतः

ही हमें विदित हो चुका है कि वे लोग स्वयं बड़े सतर्क हैं, बड़े चिन्तित हैं कि किस प्रकार हम विद्यार्थियों में डिसेप्लिन लावें और उसके लिए जो उन्होंने तरह-तरह के सुझाव दिये हैं उनके इम्प्लीमेंटेशन का भी वह प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं जैसा कि हम लोगों को एजुकेशन स्टैंडिंग कमेटी की कार्यवाही से पता चलता है।

लेकिन श्रीमन् एक बात है जिस पर कि अभी किसी भी सदस्य ने प्रकाश नहीं डाला और उस सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहती हूं। वह एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री से किसी प्रकार से सम्बन्धित नहीं है, वह तो हम राजनीतिक दलों के नुमाइंदों से सम्बन्धित है। यहां पर सभी दलों के राजनीतिक नुमाइंद मौजूद हैं और यदि इस समय हम सब राजनीतिक दलों के नुमाइंद मित कर एक समझौता कर लें कि हम विद्यार्थियों को अपने पोलिटिकल गैम्बलिंग से दूर रखेंगे तो मैं समझती हूं कि विद्यार्थियों में बहुत शीघ्र डिसेप्लिन लाया जा सकता है। श्रीमन्, लखनऊ के मामले को ले लीजिए। मामूली सी बात थी, वह बड़ी आसानी से सुलभ गई होती। लेकिन वहां पर पहुँच गए राजनीतिक दलों के नुमाइंद जो इस निराक में गहते हैं कि जहां भी उनको थोड़ा सा असन्तोष भजर आए, चाहे वह किसी भी कारण से क्यों न हो, वे उसको ऐसा कलर द दें, ऐसा नक्शा विद्यार्थियों के सामने खींच दें कि वे बेचारे, जो कि जोश से, नई भावना से और कुछ कर डालने की एक अपूर्व शक्ति से भरे होते हैं, आगा पीछा बिना साँचे हुए इन नये-नये राजनीतिक दलों के नुमाइंदों के फुसलाने में आ जायें। विद्यार्थी यह भूल जाते हैं कि उस मर्यादा को पार करने के बाद और उन अनुचित कार्यवाहियों को करने के पश्चात् उनके जीवन पर और देश पर एक कलंक का टीका लग जायगा। इस तरह की सारी बातें पैदा हो जाती हैं और यहा तक कि फायरिंग की नौबत आ जाती है।

मैं अपने जीवन की एक घटना आपको बतलाती हूं। एक बार इलाहाबाद में कुछ पच्चे कीउन आए, कम से कम कुछ निकम्मे विद्यार्थियों को ऐसा महसूस हुआ कि पच्चे बड़े

[श्रीमती सावित्री दैवी निगम]

कीठन हैं। ५. ६ निकम्मे विद्यार्थी बिना पर्चे किये बाहर निकल आए। अब एक राजनीतिक दल के नेता वहां पहुंच गये और उन्होंने कहना शुरू किया, "आपके साथ बड़ा जुल्म हुआ है, सरकार बड़ी निकम्मी है, बड़ी ज्यादाती आपको ऊपर होती है, आपकी पढाई पूरी तरह से करतें नहीं हैं और पर्चे इतने कीठन दते हैं। आप क्यों न स्ट्राइक कर दें?" उस समय मैं भी वहां विद्यार्थिन थी और अगर मेरे ऊपर कांग्रेस की पुरानी शिक्षा और बापू जी के शिक्षण का प्रभाव न होता तो शायद मैं भी उसमें शामिल हो गई होती क्योंकि मैं उनके साथ कम से कम सहानुभूति तो अवश्य रखती थी। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जब कहीं भी कोई असन्तोष होता है तो हमारे राजनीतिक दल के लोग उसका बहुत बजा तरीके से फायदा उठाते हैं और विद्यार्थियों को इस प्रकार से प्रेरणा देते हैं कि वे हर चीज को यह समझने लगते हैं कि उनके साथ जुल्म हो रहा है, ज्यादाती हो रही है और उन्हें उसके विरुद्ध हिंसात्मक कार्यवाहियां करनी चाहियें। श्री प्रसादराव की स्पीच से भलीभांति विदित हो गया कि जितनी भी किसी विरोधी दल की शिकायतें हो सकती थीं वे सब इस प्रस्ताव पर बोलते हुए उन्होंने यहां प्रकट कर दीं। बिल्कुल यही साइकालॉजी वहां भी विद्यार्थियों के बीच में काम करती है, कोई भी कारण हो लेकिन ईमान से तुरान कर देंगे और उसको सरकार की कमजोरी और दुर्बलता बतायेंगे। नतीजा यह होता है कि विद्यार्थियों में असन्तोष फैलता है, स्ट्राइक शुरू होती है और उसके बाद उनका इन्डिसेप्लिन बढ़ता ही जाता है। उनके मन में एक भावना यह अंकुरित हो जाती है कि वे जो कुछ भी चाहें करवा सकते हैं चाहे वह उचित हो चाहे अनुचित हो। इसीलिए बहुत अच्छा होगा यदि आज हमारे राजनीतिक दलों के जो सारे नुमाइंद यहां हैं वे इस शुभ अवसर पर एक निश्चय कर लें कि वे आज से कभी भी विद्यार्थियों की किसी पोलिटिकल पार्टी में न तो हिस्सा लेंगे न इस प्रकार से उनका

शोषण करेंगे। मैं सोचती हूं कि अगर हम ऐसा कर सकें तो हम लोग विद्यार्थियों में डिसेप्लिन लाने में एक बहुत बड़ा योगदान दे सकेंगे और उनमें एक सही किस्म की साइकालॉजी पैदा करने की ओर हमारा सहयोग बढ़ता ही रहेगा। धन्यवाद।

DR. M. D. D. GILDER (Bombay):
Sir, in international gatherings, it is the custom to first give one's credentials. I hope the House will not consider me disrespectful if I gave my credentials for speaking on this Resolution.

Born of a father who was a secondary school teacher for over fifty years, I myself had a university life as a student for fourteen years. Not that I was a duffer and failed in my examinations, but I passed my matriculation examination at a very young age and to be a doctor, one could not get a degree till he was twenty-one. Therefore, I entered an arts college. I even attended a law course, though I hated the subject and did not appear for the examination. So, I had four years in an arts college and four years in the medical college in the Bombay University. And then I had six years in Europe, mainly at the London University and partly at a university on the continent. After that, I became a university teacher and worked for about seventeen years. And subsequently as Minister of Health and in charge of medical education I had administrative experience for nine years.

During my career as a student, Sir, I was involved in half-a-dozen strikes and was ringleader of one of them. During my career as a professor I had experience of a couple of strikes and during my career as a Minister I faced several strikes, of dental students and medical students, added to which was the modern fashion of hunger strike.

One of the first strikes that I joined as a student was a strike of medical students, because of a very minor incident. The male students had a canteen near their hostel and the female students had their canteen

ear the street and people looked through the window. So they complained and we were asked to exchange our canteens. Some of the boys thought that they would express their discontent at the change in what they thought a pleasant way. They put a couple of happals and a couple of brooms in the room in such a way that the first person to enter it would get it on her head. They expected that the girls would retaliate in some way. Instead of that, the girl who entered first into the room happened to be a prude and she complained to the tutor who happened also to be a prude. The matter went to the Principal and five students were rusticated for life. Some of them had put in three or four years in the medical course. Naturally, all the students went on strike and we were pleased that all the girls excepting one or two, joined us in the strike. The result was that the strike went on for sometime. Ultimately, the Government of Bombay had to intervene and two of the students were rusticated for the term and the others were taken in.

Two years later—and those were the days when we were divided into communities, when one was a Hindu first and an Indian afterwards, one was a Brahmin or non-Brahmin first and Indian afterwards—there was a fight in the dissecting room between two communities. Naturally, an enquiry was held but the professor who held the enquiry was a man with a sense of humour. When the enquiry was being held, the two communities that had fought also came together as also the other communities. We had agreed that if there was any rustication, all of us would go on strike again. Luckily for us, the professor had a sense of humour. He sat down one day seriously to give his judgment. He said, "These persons are guilty of breaking the peace and my sentence to them is, "Till the end of the term you come to me every Monday in the Professors' Common Room and say you have behaved your-

self.' " The result was that there was no strike.

I give these two instances to show that with a sense of humour strikes can be avoided. Then, Sir, in London it was a first lesson to me to see how the police behave towards the students in their rags, how they behave towards the West End London students on boating race day. You know, the students want trophies of policemen's helmets and the policemen are very much harassed but hardly one or two prosecutions occur the next day. Similarly, Sir, I was involved in a couple of rags in London too. The policemen regard these as matters of sport. Supposing they want to prevent us from entering certain streets and if we by any stratagem, manage to enter such streets, they would just chase us, but allow us to go. If they caught us and brought us back, we regarded it as defeat in an ordinary game. That spirit of tolerance of the police is, I am afraid, not very well known here.

One of the strikes that I had to face as a Minister occurred only four or five years ago and that was because we raised the fees for medical education and used part of the fees to give 10 per cent. freeships and 15 per cent. half-freeships to poor students. There was no sense in not charging students who came to the college in motor cars or motor cycles and not allowing any freeships. This change naturally sent the boys on strike and the boys of not one medical college but of all the medical colleges in the Bombay State were on strike. In the case of one boy even though the father, who was a man with Parliamentary repute, had paid up the fees, the boy still went on strike. Such were the boys who were on strike. They came in a *marcha* to the Secretariat. Of course, a *marcha* was not permitted and they came in ones and twos, by bus and tram, by train and taxi, and assembled at the Secretariat shouting "*Gilder murdabad*", "*Kher murdabad*". The police officer came to me and asked me what

[Shri M. D. D Gilder.]

they should do I said, "Are they interfering with the public? Are they interfering with the traffic?" He said, "No" and then I asked him to do nothing Quarter of an hour later he came to me and said that there was horse-play. I said, "Leave them alone. If they climb on each other's shoulders, why stop that? They are not interfering with anything else" The police officer came up again and said, "The Secretariat officers are complaining that there is too much noise for them to work" I always keep a packet of cotton-wool in my drawers I gave it to the policemen and asked him to distribute it to the Secretariat officers who complained of the noise. He came back again and said that the students wanted me to talk to them. I asked them to send a deputation of four. They came up and said that I should address them. I agreed to this, but said that I would do so the next day in their college. In their presence, I rang up the Principal and said that there should be no classes the next day as I was going to address the students. When I went there the next day, as there was a certain amount of Communist influence behind them they had got the Press and everybody there. I said, "Why should the Press be here? I was a student of this very college and you are the students today. It is a family affair between us" I got the Press out. Then the Principal, in addressing them, rather put them down for their indiscipline and all the rest of it and said that they ought not to have behaved like that. I allowed him to speak and then I said, "Medical education takes a lot of time, both in duration and in every day work. The students have to come here before half-past eight, summer or winter. In their first two years, they have to do with dead bodies and half-dead frogs. In their final years they have to do with people who are dying, who are ill and who are complaining. Naturally, they do that from half-past eight to half-past five or six in the evening. They

grow a lot of cobwebs in their brain. They have a lot of spirit bottled up and that spirit must be let out by a safety valve, otherwise, it would explode. I regard this thing that happened yesterday as letting out of that rebellious spirit and I congratulate you in not interfering with the public." After this, one boy got up; he had a whole exercise book full of theme of taxing the rich and giving it to the poor. I told him, "I learnt my political economy and passed my examinations in 1900 when you were not born and possibly your parents were also not born. I had revised my economy at the feet of Gandhiji." I asked him further whether he was going to be a better teacher than Gandhiji. I said that I would enquire into any complaint that they had to make. That saved their face and my face and the whole thing ended.

Look at the scene yesterday in the House. When the Constitution Amendment Bill was passed, didn't we have a clamour for a holiday? Like the Principal, when the students clamoured for a holiday, with a little bit of reluctance you gave it. Those students are merely smaller editions of ourselves and if we treat them as we wish to be treated, with tolerance with forbearance and with a sense of humour I think all this talk of indiscipline would vanish.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar Mr Deputy Chairman, Sir, I feel that my friend, Mr. Mathur, has done a great service by directing the attention of the people to this vital question. For the last one year people's minds were directed towards this question because there was trouble here and trouble there. All sorts of reasons are given for this indiscipline amongst students. I think it is necessary to find out the real causes. Not only the causes, but some remedies must be thought of also and we should act upon them. Sir, I was present nearly about the time when there was trouble amongst students in the State of Bihar and I have some idea about the working of the mind of the students.

feel, as my learned friend has said before, that if they are treated sympathetically no trouble can ever arise. The whole difficulty is that we do not understand them. We do not understand that they have a fund of energy and that it requires some outlet. Therefore, if we treat them well, if we treat them kindly, if we tell them how to utilise their energy we get good results. On the other hand, if we are unsympathetic, if we always find fault with them, if we always criticise them their blood is up. They do relish the former type of treatment. A little caution, a little sympathy can do wonders and I am sure that the students who are the future leaders of this country will do very well if we really gave more attention to the building up of their character, but the educational system that is prevalent is of a wooden framework. We are not directing our attention to the thing that really matters and that is the building up of the character of students. What I find is that except teaching them a few books, which are not very well taught—I am sorry to say—there is no other attention paid to them. We do not think about their future and for them the future is the most important thing. The same standard, the same method of teaching is going on as was in vogue before. We are turning out graduates in ever-increasing numbers; but then wherever they go in search of service they find no vacancy and they are disappointed and of course it is disheartening to them after their education is finished. Therefore, what I feel is this that it is necessary that greater attention should be paid to this question. Everybody is perturbed that there is a lot of indiscipline among students, but if we really go deep into the matter and try to find out the causes, we shall see that the fault lies with us and not with the students. That is my impression about the whole matter.

Now, Sir, it is true that some leaders who belong to certain parties are trying to use the students for

furtherance of their party objective. They know that the boys are good tools. They know that they are impressionable. They know that they have a fund of energy and they know that if they can somehow tell them that they are guiding them properly they will follow them and therefore, these misguided leaders, I should say, try to spoil the life of college students and school students by using them in wrong directions. Therefore, what I feel is that this matter has to be gone into and we cannot leave it alone. We find complaints against students in Patna. We find complaints in other parts of Bihar; we also find complaints in U.P. and we are perturbed. Everybody talks about it and people's minds are agitated. Therefore, I say that we should try to solve this problem and not only have a high-powered Commission to find the causes. After the causes are found out the remedies decided should be acted upon immediately.

Sir, the one important point that generally strikes me is that the teacher or the professor is not in a position to give his whole hearted attention to the problems facing the students because they have their own problems. They are ill paid. They have not enough money and all the time, while they are teaching in the class-room, they are thinking of how to augment the little income they have. Therefore, the net result is that we cannot expect the best of a professor or a teacher and he is not utilised as he should be. What I would suggest is that the scale of pay should be increased so that the teacher or the professor has not to think of tomorrow. He will then direct all his attention not only to the class-room but to the general looking after of his college students. Then again the students do not know what to do in their spare time. Education should be such as should not only provide for teaching in the class-room but should also help them to learn the different methods in which their leisure time could be employed. So, all these problems

[Shri Mahesh Saran]

which are complicated have to be thrashed. All these problems do require immediate attention. It is all very nice that we have the University Grants Commission and other similar things, but the real question is how to build up the character of the students, how to look after them, how to bring out the best among students; and if we do that. I am sure the students will respond, because it was the students and it was the people in the villages who responded to the call of Mahatma Gandhi. I know that they will give the country their best if you only know how to tackle them. If we are unsympathetic take it from me that they will go astray and you can never bring them back to the right path. So treat them kindly. Give them more attention and think out plans how their future may be safeguarded. Not only academic education, but give all sorts of education and see that they get employment. Look after them and look after their future. See that when they come out of the colleges they get employment and are happy. If you make them happy, they will make this country really a country which Gandhiji thought of and Ram Rajya would not be far off.

DR SHRIMATI SEETA PARMA NAND: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I also have to oppose this Resolution for more reasons than have been stated here already. Sir, I also agree with Mrs. Menon that the causes for student indiscipline are well known and it is also not necessary for me to go into detail about the conditions to which the teachers are reduced or the unemployment prospects that face the students, which divert their attention from studies and make them to look to other activities, which will interest them and give them a little popularity and diversion. You must be aware how the Governor of Madras at a convocation address remarked that the girl students these days were doing better on the whole in their examinations than boys, and the reason was that even today, as prospects stand,

for the number of educated women the possibilities that are available for getting jobs are greater. I won't go into detail, but, Sir, I would like to point out to the hon. mover that there are various remedies with which we can even deal with this question, as far as methods also are concerned. There is the Standing Committee of the Party, and that is as far as the majority of the Members are concerned. There is also the informal consultative committee of the Education Ministry to which the Members of the Opposition can go. They can give their notes; and also those who want to make concrete suggestions can send detailed notes—those educationists who are interested. Then these notes would be welcomed by the Ministry. Besides that, Sir, the hon. mover was pleased to refer to the University Commission Report. I should have liked him more to refer to the Secondary Education Committee's Report. When that Report came, everybody complimented the Commission on having brought out a very brief, yet comprehensive survey of the situation and for those who have not had time to read the Report in detail an excellent summary at the end of every chapter is given. I would also say, Sir, that a high-powered Commission is not necessary because I would first like to ask: Supposing one were to agree with the Resolution, supposing a high-powered Commission were to be appointed, what is the definition of a Commission the members of which could be designated by that terms? I understand, as far as the Ministries are concerned, when a Deputy Minister or a Minister is associated with a conference it is called a high-powered conference. And when they are not going there, then they say that it is at a lower level and that they are not supposed to go. If a high-powered Commission or Committee were to be appointed, members of this House will be associated with it and they have, as already pointed out, other ways make their suggestions to the Government.

Secondly, I would like briefly to make a reference to the word high-

powered' The growing use of this word 'high-powered' and thus to bring about a sort of distinction is against the spirit of a classless society. This word is much used and you find that even people having dignity and influence are not considered competent to be associated with such commissions. If a high-powered Commission means only a Commission on which Members of Parliament or people of that grade or even Ministers are there, then I think that kind of distinction need not be there. This is a word which we have borrowed from America as we are borrowing so many things.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR. Then you should object to the words 'higher education' also.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND. I am objecting to the word 'high-powered'. I am not objecting to the word 'higher'. You find special cards for V I Ps. Such things go against the very spirit of a classless society (*Interruptions*). I do not want to waste my time, Sir, I would claim as much time more as is taken by interruptions.

Now, I would like to deal with other aspects of the situation which would really be classed as methods. Now, as regards the reason why students are not very much interested in their studies, I think an hon. Member from the opposite benches hinted that the lecturers did not know the Munroe Doctrine and some other important questions dealing with the subject. When today we are making appointments—I can give several instances where this is happening—even to professorial jobs not so much on merits but because of influence, then you cannot hope to get the best teachers for the job. Secondly, an atmosphere of scholarship and study also has to be created and I can say this from my experience—I would also present my credentials; I have been associated with University bodies for 20 years in Nagpur right there in every possible body—and I have had close opportunities of watching things from within.

It is not because a teacher is ill-paid that he does not take interest in higher studies or that he is not occupying himself with scholastic and scholarly work; but it is a fashion—it used to be so and even today the same thing happens—for the Imperial Educational Service professors to dictate notes which are ten years old even though the text-books may have changed and spend their evenings along with other Imperial Service officers in the clubs playing bridge. That is the tradition. Something was done I think by the Saddler Commission to make a distinction between a lecturer and a reader and a professor, but today you will find that the dignity of a professor is not there and even lecturers in a university where this distinction is made would try to style themselves as professors. When we ourselves do not see to it that we attach importance to the standards of teachers, you cannot expect the students to take interest in the teaching of such teachers and benefit by it.

Secondly, I won't blame only the professors. I would give another instance how we ourselves spread the spirit of indiscipline, by breaking the rules and by using the things for the purpose for which they are not meant. Take the question of election to the universities—even election to the office of the Vice-Chancellor. I was responsible for bringing a rule in Nagpur University that the post of at least the Vice-Chancellor shall not be canvassed because that at least should be the one place where honour is conferred and not sought. Then only you can keep the standard of learning high from top to bottom. But what actually happens? There are many people who want to get on to the courts of universities simply because it gives them an opportunity to travel at the cost of the university for some work to the headquarters of the State. It is the duty of the electorate to see that they elect the proper people to such august bodies which are seats of learning. We call them *Vishva Vidyalaya*. We look upon them as the highest seat of learning. But we elect people who have no

[Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand.]
claim to learning except for the fact that they happen to hold a degree. Even young men are elected; you can make exception in the case of people with experience. But even young men, who have neither learning to their credit except having taken a degree, good bad or indifferent, nor experience, are put in. These are some of the reasons by which we ourselves lower the standards. We ourselves make it clear to the students that it is expediency that counts; it is canvassing that counts; it is the ability to see the proper people and to use influence to get into good places that counts. It is not scholarship or learning; in spite of Public Service Commissions, it is influence that counts in the matter of getting into places of teaching also.

I will now come to another point. On the governing bodies of various colleges you find people who have no claim to learning, who have no time to give to learning. They are there as Chairmen of such bodies not in one, two, three or four, but in a number of colleges, only because they happen to have some influence. If that is the position how can the students have any respect? Sir, when business people become Chairmen of the governing bodies of colleges, naturally the methods that are adopted in their business concerns are bound to be adopted by the students as a means to success as such methods will naturally appeal more to the Chairmen. Sir, the Government would do well to make a rule, at least for some time, that the Vice-Chancellors have to be elected—I do not want that right to be taken away—by the courts; but will be in the beginning nominated by the executive council with the consent of the Government. Then we may hope that more stress would be laid on learning as a qualification for that post.

I would also like to impress on the Government that there must be more co-ordination in the different Ministries and more pooling of resources. If that were to be done, the facilities which the Government is able to give

to students, as for instance the starting of A.C.C., Scouting etc., can be given more easily. I would like to expand this point a little. We know that the Railway Ministry has some money at its disposal for imparting primary education to children; we know that the Defence Ministry has some money at its disposal for education purposes. Similarly, the Information and Broadcasting Ministry has some money for preparing documentary films for use in schools and even the Education Ministry has started tinkering with this problem. A Committee of this House composed of Members interested if appointed again, or after finding out who are the Members who are taking interest in both the Houses in these problems, if they are asked by the Education Ministry to submit a note on four, five or six points which should be the terms of reference and make suggestions as to how they should be solved, that would be a great help. We know very well that in the same country, from amongst the same people, there is exemplary discipline in the army. Anything that the army touches, touches the level of perfection more or less. We can learn a lesson and we can make A.C.C. and N.C.C. training compulsory. But what did Government say? They said they had no money and that they would do it on a gradual basis. Well, you cannot have it both ways.

(Time bell rings.)

Sir, one more point before I sit down. The Government today can by pooling resources from different Ministries start children's clubs on par with what may be called the young pioneers' movement in China. Madam Sun Yat-Sen is coming here today. The subject will be in the forefront very shortly. And through the children's clubs through stories, through songs and through games the spirit of discipline can be inculcated in a very pleasant manner and that spirit of discipline will be like the sugar coated pill of quinine. It will go down and take deep roots.

Finally, one word more. Sir If we want to see that discipline improves, apart from other things, we have to set an example ourselves. I would like to stress that the stage to do this is the school going age, that is between 11 and 16, and not the college, as by that time more or less the foundation of character is already laid

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Hyderabad). Mr Deputy Chairman, I wholeheartedly welcome this Resolution. An objection has been taken to the words "high-powered Commission". May I point out that very shortly we are going to consider the States Reorganisation Commission Report? That was also a high-powered Commission. By the phrase "high-powered Commission" we mean a Commission whose findings will be followed by the Government. That is all.

DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARNAND. Two mistakes do not make one right.

SHRI KISHAN CHAND. Hon Members know that there was the University Education Commission; its findings have not been followed. So, it is very essential that we appoint a high-powered Commission which will go into problem of indiscipline among university students.

Sir, the hon Education Minister has in reply to certain questions and also during the discussion on the University Grants Commission Bill, pointed out the various difficulties and various suggestions were made by him. He has said it is the teacher-student ratio, poorly paid teachers; frustration; unemployment; bad education system, bad examination and so on. And that only shows that it is a complicated problem. Today we have been hearing speeches where it has been stated that the teachers are badly paid and so on. That is why this Resolution has been brought forward, that there should be a high-powered Commission which will carefully examine this question. Some hon Members whenever they speak about the pay of

teachers, probably take the teachers in rural schools. The example may be given of Allahabad University where I do not think any teacher gets less than Rs 250. His scale goes up to Rs 700 or Rs 800. I do not think anybody can say that the scale of pay is very low or very meagre. This Parliament has been asking several times that the salaries of the civil servants should be reduced and now you know the maximum salary of Class I Officers is only Rs 1,100 or Rs 1,200. When university professors also get Rs 1,250 the university readers and lecturers get between Rs 200 and Rs 800 and school teachers in secondary schools get between Rs 150 to Rs 250. I do not wish to put the blame entirely on the Government that the teachers are badly paid and, therefore, the whole thing is bad. That is shelving the issue.

Some hon Member got up and asserted that the students were all unemployed. He probably gave the example of Allahabad University where 22 per cent of the post-graduate students are unemployed. He forgot that possibly many of them are really sitting for competitive examinations or they think that they should get a job with a minimum starting salary of Rs. 300 or Rs 400. Well, when the *per capita* income of this country is only Rs 260 and want to lower the scale of pay, I think people will have to be content with a starting salary of Rs 150 or Rs 100. They will have to be satisfied with it. If everybody wants one thousand rupees, there are not enough jobs going in this country. There are only five lakh students in the universities. Possibly, the number of graduates that pass out every year in this country is not more than twenty-four thousand.

PROF. G. RANGA: Graduates who pass out every year in the whole country? What does he mean, Sir?

SHRI KISHEN CHAND. The total number of students in the universities is five lakhs, including all the professional colleges for all the four years.

[Shri Kishen Chand.]

That is the figure quoted, and hon. Members can verify it. We always take the number in the matriculation. There ten lakhs appear and five lakhs pass. But we forget that in the university, in the degree courses, the number is not so very large. Four lakhs in a population of thirty-six crores—it is a little more than one in a thousand. In U.S.A. and other countries it will be about 15 per thousand, that is, 15 times our number and yet they find jobs for everyone. I think there is no point in simply making a destructive criticism and putting the blame on teachers or the teacher-student ratio or unemployment and frustration.....

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: Is there no unemployment according to you?

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: There is unemployment to some extent, but after all it is not the cause of frustration? Supposing there is five per cent. or ten per cent. unemployment, that cannot be considered to be excessive, especially when students are really trying for higher scales of pay and they are not willing to accept lower grades of pay—much above the average level of income. In this country you cannot get it. They think the Secretary is getting Rs. 3,000 per month, with a house and all these conveniences. Every student who passes out from the universities cannot become a Secretary immediately. We cannot create thousands of posts of Secretaries in this country. They will have to naturally start on Rs. 150 or Rs. 200 and there are some schools and colleges where they can get jobs.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: How many such jobs are there?

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: If the students are prepared to accept jobs on Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 in the schools and colleges all over the country.....

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Do you guarantee a few thousands of such posts?

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Well, first of all produce a few graduates who are willing to accept a job on Rs. 100 or Rs. 150 and I am sure the Education Ministry will provide it. It is not a question of my saying it.

SHRI KANHAIYALAL D. VAIDY. (Madhya Bharat): Graduates are being employed as *chaprassis*.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: That may be one case.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are not concerned with unemployment now.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: That is the cause of frustration. Sir, you have heard the trend of the speeches. They have put the whole blame on unemployment, and bad teachers...

PROF. G. RANGA: He is going to the other extreme, but he is saying the right point.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: My contention is that the causes are different. In my humble opinion, that is because in our Universities we have tried to copy Cambridge and Oxford. And think in copying Cambridge and Oxford we have not copied the essential principles but only copied their form. There was the Sander Commission's Report in 1911 and they suggested teaching universities based on the model of Cambridge and Oxford. And on that basis we started the Lucknow University, Allahabad University, Patna University and several other teaching universities. My contention is that in those countries ninety per cent. of the boys go for research scholarship. We have got two ideas before a university. The ideal of scholarship as was followed in ancient India, in the University of Nalanda. The students were all monks, they were interested in higher education and they devoted a greater part of their time to studies. While in our universities—especially in Allahabad and Lucknow—boys of fifteen or sixteen enter the university. Sir, a young boy of sixteen without any antitac-

if he gets a second class, gets admission to the university. He is there. Well, that boy has not a very great liking for study. He just spends his time, wastes his time. Two or three months before the examination, he learns by heart something and appears in the examination and wants to pass it. When he passes out, he wants a big job. I maintain that, if there was that intense desire to study in our universities, there would be no time for all these demonstrations. I know, Sir, I have been a student of Cambridge...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Will you take more time?

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: I have just started.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please continue after lunch.

The House stands adjourned till 2-30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at one of the clock, till half past two of the clock

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

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I was speaking before lunch to the effect that in my humble opinion frustration caused by unemployment and the poor pay of the teachers is not a major cause of the indiscipline among the students and that there are other causes. Before I give the reasons that in my view are leading to indiscipline, I want to place a picture before you.

The indiscipline is very rampant in the case of Lucknow University, the Allahabad University and the Patna University. That indiscipline has not appeared to the same extent in any other university. There might have been stray cases in Bombay University, in the Mysore University, in the Madras University and the Calcutta University and many other universities but why is it that

the indiscipline is more marked in these three universities than in any other? It is for us to find out the cause.

I maintain, the main controversy has raged round the recognition of the union. An hon. Member got up in this House and asserted that the students must be permitted to organise unions. I ask you: What is meant by the organisation of union among students? Is it a trade union; is it a type of competition to get certain demands against teachers, against the university authorities? Is it that they want to interfere in the prescription of courses, in the prescription of syllabus, in the appointment of professors—because certain demands of this nature have also been made?

You know, Sir, that a union has got a large fund. Compulsorily about Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 per student, per year is collected, and if the strength of the students is about 5,000, it means nearly Rs. 75,000. It is well-known that about Rs. 5,000 are spent in the election of the President of that union. There are posters, election campaigns and even political parties enter into this race. In these universities there has been a tradition of appointing ex-Presidents of the Provincial Congress Committee as Vice-Chancellors. I can give names to show that the last few Vice-Chancellors of the Lucknow University and the Allahabad University have been selected from that group. That is the picture. The four or five thousand students—who are not very much interested in education, who are just taking a pass B.A. degree—are organised in a union with large funds of money at their beck and call. And you find that they are creating a feeling of antagonism against the teachers, a feeling of asserting their own rights. If instead of diagnosing the correct malady we are led away by such slogans as have been asserted by few Members of this House, namely that it is unemployment, it is the lack of pay of the teachers. I think we will be going astray

[Shri Kishen Chand]

I think the Government will have to make up its mind and the appointment of a high-powered Commission, as proposed in this Resolution, is very essential.

The hon. Deputy Minister is thinking on different lines. Just now there is a belief that if we slightly increase the pay of the teachers and if we organise the degree course in constituent colleges we will have solved the problem.

(Time bell rings.)

I took eight minutes before lunch interval; I should have seven minutes now.

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Two minutes more.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: My contention is that the Education Ministry with all its efforts has gone on the wrong path about diagnosing the disease that is prevalent and that is the main cause of indiscipline among the students. Until and unless this question of the organisation of union, this question of organisation of degree courses in a constituent college is settled, we will not be able to solve it. I may point out here that the cost of education in a constituent college is about Rs. 600 per student per year for degree course, while in an affiliated college it is only Rs. 200 per student. Hon. Members complain that university education is expensive. But in Madras, I know, the college fee is only Rs. 10 a month and students live with their parents. You cannot say that education there is very expensive. There a larger number of students take benefit of it. Since they realize that they live in the atmosphere of their families they have to work hard. Therefore, I suggest to the hon. Minister that if he can somehow convert the universities into only teaching universities for the post-graduate course and create an atmosphere of Nalanda, where the students live like hermits, where the students devote their entire time to study for attainment of scholarship, while organise affiliated degree

colleges where there is an atmosphere of struggle, where students are trained for leadership, where stress is laid on extra-curricular activities which will absorb the energies of these growing youngmen, I think, it will give a proper balance. We have really tried to combine in the university both the ideal of leadership, extra-curricular activities and scholarship and we have not succeeded in attaining either. I maintain that this is the cause of indiscipline.

PROF. G. RANGA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, there are two points raised before us: that there is indiscipline among the students and that there is need to have a Commission to suggest ways and means to get over it. I have very mixed experiences in regard to this matter because I have been a teacher since 1927 in this country and a lecturer earlier in England. I have also been organizing students since 1927 and I am still engaged in that work. Therefore, I claim to some extent, anyhow to know the mind of the professor and also of the student.

In the light of the experience I have had as a public worker in this country, I have seen this problem also from the side of a public worker. I am not so much afraid of this bogey of student indiscipline. I think we have stressed too much over it. I am convinced that more than 80 per cent. of the students are not interested in what is known as students' politics, nor do they come near the border-line or the mischief-line of indiscipline.

Secondly, Sir, we had had experience of the student life before independence dawned on us and we know what is happening today. I do not think that the present situation is any more alarming than what it was. If there is any difference at all, the situation is very much better today than what it was before we became free. Therefore, I do not really think that we should give much importance to the wrong impression that this has grown to be such a national evil that from this

platform we should ask the Government to appoint a high-power Committee in order to deal with this problem as if it is very serious.

So many reasons have been given for the so-called indiscipline that is prevalent among our students. My hon. friend, Mr. Kishen Chand has dealt with the complaint raised that this indiscipline is prevalent because of unemployment. I think, there is much truth in what he said. Even there, easily 80 per cent. of the students who manage to take their degrees find some employment or other within three years after they have left their universities. You cannot say the same thing in regard to all these millions of agriculturists or artisans or even the other middle class people who are obliged to suffer from long periods of unemployment, for decades of underemployment and who are obliged also to share a portion of their family property or family income and thus **eke out a miserable living.** Therefore, Sir, I do not think that these unemployed under-graduates and graduates are the real cause of our so-called students' indiscipline.

Secondly, Sir, they talked about there being no prospects at all for the students, and hence their indiscipline. When the boys and girls are being sent to the colleges by their parents, they do not go there to be influenced by the lack of prospects. They are there in the colleges. But something happens, and they get themselves boiled up, and that lasts only for a very short time. So, even this can be overstated as being one of the causes for indiscipline. Certainly, Sir, there is another cause which irritates them, and sometimes, it makes them fall into the trap of those who want to organise students' strikes due to the living conditions available in the colleges and around the colleges, for example, taking mid-day meals obtaining drinking water, having library facilities, sports facilities and various other things. They do not get sufficient facilities today. We deplore this unfortunate position. But we cannot find

fault with this Government here or with the State Governments, in view of the fact that after independence the increase in the number of students has been stupendous. Although the number of educational institutions has gone up immensely, nevertheless, the number of students has gone far beyond that. And that is why today we are not in a position really to cope with this problem. My hon. friend, Mr Mathur, followed by certain other hon. Members, complained that this was also due to the fact that the teachers were not able to play their role well. Are they any the worse today than what they were before the Britishers left us? Secondly, Sir, have we not tried to raise their salaries a little more than what the position existed then? And thirdly, is it not a fact that the teachers are working much more hard today? Is it not a fact that in very many educational institutions, and especially in the colleges, we are working double shifts? And, are not our teachers responding to the call of the nation? Therefore, Sir, why should we blame our teachers unnecessarily?

Then, Sir, the question of their salaries was raised. There also, when the Britishers were here, the Central Government was not making any contribution at all towards the raising of their salaries. On the other hand, today, or rather only this morning, some information was given as to the amount contributed by the Union Government. And what is more, Sir? Only last week, when we were discussing the question of the University Grants Commission, we were expecting the Government of India to place at the disposal of our own universities, even residential universities, several crores of rupees in order to encourage them to carry on their research work and also to develop other facilities for the students to obtain better education and more varied education.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: Is it, Sir, the contention of my hon. friend that the structure of the Administration today is just the same as we had in the British days?

PROF. G. RANGA: Structure in what?

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: Have we not got the financial integration? Has it not changed the whole situation? Rajasthan used to have the customs duty. We have wiped it out. It is a Central subject.

PROF. G. RANGA: That is outside the purview of university education. If my hon. friend were to say that the Central Government has got more money to spare for all these things, and then if it does not spare enough, then certainly there is something to be said for his point of view. Even there, Sir, I can take the House into my confidence and inform the hon. Members that the Planning Commission is very much hard put to it, and it finds it very difficult to meet the demands of the Education Ministry. They are terribly afraid of the Education Minister and of the Education Ministry, because their demands are.....

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO (Andhra): I hope, not afraid of education itself.

PROF. G. RANGA: No, not of education, but of the Education Ministry's demands. I might point out, Sir, that after we became free, at the time of the Demands for Grants, the Education Minister came here in the House in an unconventional manner and told Parliament at that time that until and unless Parliament made up its mind to place more and more funds at the disposal of the Education Ministry, it would not be possible for this country to make any progress. Now, Sir, that is the attitude with which the Education Ministry has been working, so far as the administration of education is concerned in this country. If we are not partial at all, and if, on the other hand, we wish to do justice to the Education Minister and the Education Ministry, we should be willing to pay a tribute to the Education Ministry at the Centre that it has become possible for it to spare so

many crores of rupees for the development of university education, as well as other higher education in this country, after we have become free. How can we be blind to that? Anyhow, if we are not satisfied with our achievements, then, of course, the fault lies in the whole social economy of this country, because we are not able to place sufficient money at their disposal in order to enable them to help the universities to raise their standards and help all their teachers, and so on, and so forth.

Then, Sir, there is the other question, the question of elections. My hon. friend, Mr. Kishen Chand, found fault with it—the union elections, and so on. But do we not have in England the Rector's election? Do they not spend a lot of money? Are not political parties also taking any interest in that sort of thing? And do they complain of any students' indiscipline? Does it not often happen, Sir, that during such elections, they break their bones, and they come to blows among themselves? Do they not come into conflict with the local police and create unrest? And yet, do they talk of indiscipline? Sir, the real remedy lies in the suggestion made by my hon. friend, Dr. Gilder. There is no sense of humour. That is what is required in the various strata of our own social life here in our country. If our teachers were to exercise that sense of humour, well, things would be very much better. Sir, I can give one instance.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: That would be possible only when you have the right type of teachers.

PROF. G. RANGA: But, Sir, even the present type of teachers have produced him and have produced me also. Sir, I find here that some of my friends have unfortunately, castigated them rather very harshly. I think they were very unjust when they did so. Even the present day teachers are not so bad as my friends seem to think. I can assure them about that. I think their achievements are really admirable, and we should pick out any one

of the teachers, as they do for the unknown soldier, and make him Bharat Ratna, instead of confining this title only to the other type of dignitaries in the country. I have had experience of the teacher's life both without drawing any salary, and when I was drawing a high salary too. The teacher's life is not enviable, but at the same time, it is an ennobling life, if only the teacher is given an opportunity of understanding the significance of his profession. In fact, Sir, he has been discharging his duties, according to me, admirably under the present circumstances.

I would like to give one instance here, Sir. The students of a high school wanted to go on strike. How much more time do I have, Sir, so that I can

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Two or three minutes.

PROF. G. RANGA: The teacher told them, "You can protest against the horrors in Goa after the school time is over, because these particular periods and these studies are absolutely necessary for your going through the public examination." Some of the boys did not agree, but there were some others who agreed. But what was to be done? What he then did was that he simply laid himself down and said, "I offer my *satyagraha* here. I believe in what I am saying. That is the only right thing. Therefore, for God's sake, do not go on strike. You go to the High School." He also told them that if they wanted to go out of the high school, they could walk over him. And the result was that the boys quietened down, and at 5 o'clock they held a meeting, which the teachers also attended. And then everything was all right. So, that is the way in which we have got to tackle the students. It is no good complaining that some political parties are taking interest in the students. The British people used to make this kind of complaint when the Congress Party was in a very dynamic mood and was able to utilise the students for real

nation-building as well as for the national freedom movement. Today, Sir, why should not every political party interest itself in the welfare of the students and in raising their social and cultural levels? Instead of that, many of these political parties keep mum, but they go on grouching when some other political party is taking an interest in the students. If political parties were to have an interest in the students, are the heavens going to fall? Should students confine themselves only to their college subjects and nothing more? Evidence has come in plenty to show that the level of general knowledge among the students is very low. Why? It is because the political parties are not playing the role that they should. I think that the Government of India has been playing a very important role, a very revolutionary and dynamic role during the last one or two years. They have devised through the Defence Ministry these schemes of the A.C.C. and N.C.C. in which they have recruited more than six lakh students. No doubt, I speak subject to correction. I was told on the authority of the Defence Minister himself that during the recent troubles in Patna and other places, those students who had joined the A.C.C. and N.C.C. did not take part in those disturbances. The Bharat Sevak Samaj also is organising a number of student training camps. By joining these camps the students will be taking great interest in extra-curricular and extra-college activities. If we pursue these means, it would become possible for us not to be afraid of any kind of student indiscipline at all.

In conclusion, Sir, I would like to say just one thing. My hon. friend was not here and so I did not refer to ~~it~~ previously. She referred to the students coming to the Parliament, their seeing empty benches here and their seeing how we were all behaving here and taking a lesson from it.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: I included myself in that.

PROF. G. RANGA: Even after saying that, she did not act up to her own words. The leadership in the country to whichever party they belong will be judged by the manner in which they behave and act up to their own professions.

श्री द्रवकीनन्दन (मुम्बई) : उपसभापति महोदय, हम लोग यह भूल जाते हैं कि उम् का भी कुछ तकाजा हुआ करता है। मनुष्य बड़ा हो जाने के बाद अपना बचपन भी भूल जाया करता है और जानी भी भूल जाता है। यदि ऐसा न होता तो इस सदन की आज की चर्चा में इस बात का भी ख्याल किया जाता कि बचपन की और जवानी की कुछ उमंगें हुआ करती हैं कुछ ख्याल हुआ करता है; और उनको कहां तक दबाना चाहिये और कहां तक उनको स्वतंत्रता देनी चाहिये इसको भी हमें सोचना चाहिये। हम बड़े हैं, सिर्फ इसीलिये ही 'म छोटा' को उपदर्श देने के लिये और 'डीसिप्लिन बताने' के लिये योग्य हैं ऐसा समझना मेरे ख्याल से प्रगतिशील संसार के लिये और विकास के लिये गलत होगा।

अब मैं इस प्रस्ताव को देखता हूं तो पाता हूं कि इस प्रस्ताव में सिर्फ यूनिवर्सिटी के विद्यार्थियों का ही जिक्र है जैसे कि सेंकेंडरी स्कूलों के विद्यार्थियों में या प्राइमरी स्कूलों के विद्यार्थियों में अनुशासनहीनता है ही नहीं। सेंकेंडरी स्कूल के विद्यार्थियों में भी काफी इनीडिस्सिप्लिन पाई जाती है। मैं कहूंगा कि अनुशासनहीनता का असल में बीज कहीं बोया जाता है तो वह प्राइमरी स्कूलों में पहले बोया जाता है और मैं यहां तक कहूंगा कि उससे भी ज्यादा अनुशासनहीनता का बीज घर में बोया जाता है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि आज हमें विद्यार्थियों में जो अनुशासनहीनता दिखाई देती है उसके लिये जिम्मेदार कौन हैं। यह कहाँ से पैदा हुई, किस तरह से पैदा हुई? जब आप इसको सावधानी से देखेंगे तो आपको पता चलेगा कि जो हम करते आये हैं, करते हैं, वही हमारे विद्यार्थी या हमारे बच्चे करना चाहते हैं। हम यह नहीं चाहते कि हमारा बच्चा हमारी तरह रहे लेकिन

बच्चे ज्यादातर अनुकरण से सीखते हैं। वह घर में अनुकरण करता है, बाहर समाज में अनुकरण करता है, शिक्षकों का अनुकरण करता है और नेताओं का अनुकरण करता है; और अनुकरण करने से आदतें बनती हैं न कि स्कूल और कालेजों में किताबें पढ़ने से आदतें बनती हैं। स्कूल और कालेज में तो कैरिकुलम पढ़ाया जाता है किताबें पढ़ाई जाती हैं और विद्यार्थियों को परीक्षाएं पास करनी होती हैं। किस लिये परीक्षाएं पास करनी होती हैं? नौकरी के लिये। नवयौवक जानता है कि वह नौकरी के लिये पढ़ रहा है आत्मविकास के लिये नहीं पढ़ रहा और उसके पालक भी, उसके माता पिता भी, जानते हैं कि वे नौकरी के लिये पढ़ रहे हैं। बच्चे को पढ़ने के लिये भंजते हैं तो इसीलिये भंजते हैं कि उसको किसी तरह की कोई नौकरी आगे मिल जायगी। जिस तरह से धन के लोभी मनुष्य धन को हर मार्ग से इकट्ठा करते हैं उसी तरह से वह किताबों से मालुमात इकट्ठा करता है और हर किसी तरकीब से, हर किसी जरिये से, परीक्षा पास करने की कोशिश करता है। परीक्षा में पास होने के लिये वह तमाम बातें करता है—कापी करता है, शिक्षक को धमकाता है, परीक्षक को सताता है। क्वेश्चन पेपर पढ़ा करने के लिये रिश्तत भी देता है और क्या नहीं करता है, क्योंकि ध्येय तो यह है कि उसे परीक्षा पास करनी है और अपने विकास और अपनी उन्नति के लिये तो उसे कुछ नहीं करना है। आत्मिक विकास और उन्नति का कोई सम्बन्ध तो आज की शिक्षा से रहा नहीं है। धनवान जिस तरह से पैसा पढ़ा करता है उसी तरह से हम नौकरी चाहने वाले स्कूलों और कालेजों में मालुमात हासिल करते हैं।

तो इनीडिस्सिप्लिन के लिये कौन जिम्मेदार है? इसके लिये बाहर वाले जिम्मेदार हैं, घर वाले जिम्मेदार हैं, शिक्षक जिम्मेदार हैं और समाज के नेतागण जिम्मेदार हैं। इनीडिस्सिप्लिन की भावना किस लिये पैदा होती है? वह इसीलिये पैदा होती है जो स्वतंत्रता हम खुद के लिये चाहते

उसको दूसरों को देना नहीं चाहते हैं, इतना ही नहीं बल्कि दूसरों की स्वतंत्रता को भी छीनना चाहते हैं। सारी इनीडिसीप्लिन का यही कारण है। आप देखें कि जहाँ कहीं गड़बड़ होती है जहाँ कहीं ऊधम होता है जहाँ कहीं सभाएं तोड़ी जाती हैं वहाँ यही चीज दिखाई देगी कि जो स्वतंत्रता हम खुद के लिये चाहते हैं उसको औरों को देना नहीं चाहते हैं और दूसरों को जो स्वतंत्रता मिली हुई है उसको भी छीन लेना चाहते हैं।

यह जो इनीडिसीप्लिन है वह आई कहां से ? यह इस कारण से है कि आज का जो वातावरण है, आज की जो समाज रचना है उसमें जैसा हम स्वयं करना चाहते हैं वैसा कर नहीं पाते हैं। आप खाने पीने की चीजों को देखिये, सरकारी नौकरियों को देखिये, जिसको भी आप देखें एक न एक तरह से भ्रष्टाचार उसमें आपको मिलेगा। कुछ दिन पहले राजा जी ने कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान में कोई भी ऐसी खाने की चीज नहीं मिल सकती है जो कि अनएडलटरेट हो, जो कि अस्वाद्य मिश्रित न हो, जिसमें कि बुरी चीज मिली हुई न हो। जब यहां तक स्वार्थ की परीसीमा इस मुल्क में पहुंच गई है तो कैसे आप समझ सकते हैं कि इस देश के बच्चे उसका अनुकरण नहीं करेंगे ? वे भी तो आखिर घर में, बाहर रास्ते में खाते पीते और चलते फिरते देखते हैं कि चारों ओर क्या हो रहा है और उसका अनुकरण करते हैं।

अभी यह कहा गया कि चूंकि शिक्षकों को तनखाहें कम दी जाती हैं इसलिये इनीडिसीप्लिन बढ़ रही है। मैं मानता हूं कि शिक्षकों को तनखाहें कम दी जाती हैं, परन्तु यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि तनखाह का और इनीडिसीप्लिन का क्या सम्बन्ध है ? क्या कम तनखाह वाले इनीडिसीप्लिन सिखाते हैं ? इसी तरह से यह भी कहा गया कि अनइम्प्लायमेंट की वजह से इनीडिसीप्लिन बढ़ रही है। मैं इसको भी नहीं समझ पाया। मैं मानता हूं कि अनइम्प्लायमेंट बढ़ रहा है लेकिन अनइम्प्लायमेंट का साल तो पढ़ने के बाद, कॉलेज से निकलने के बाद शुरू

होता है। पढ़ने के वक्त तनखाह और अनइम्प्लायमेंट का तो कोई सवाल है ही नहीं। इसीलिये ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता कि अनइम्प्लायमेंट और शिक्षकों की तनखाह से इनीडिसीप्लिन का कोई सम्बन्ध है।

आज कल हम देखते हैं कि स्कूलों में और खास कर के कॉलेजों में स्ट्राइक्स आये दिन होते हैं। स्ट्राइक्स की जिम्मेदारी किस के ऊपर है ? जो चीज बाहर होती है वही स्कूलों में भी होने लगी है। जब शिक्षक स्ट्राइक्स करते हैं, पढ़ाने वाले खुद स्ट्राइक्स करते हैं, जब बच्चों के मां बाप किसी सवाल को तय कगने के लिये, तनखाह बढ़वाने के लिये, बाहर स्ट्राइक्स करते हैं और इस तरह से तनखाह बढ़वा लेते हैं तब बच्चे भी उसी चीज को देखते हैं और सोचते हैं कि ऊधम करो और अपनी बात पूरी करवा लो। तो यह स्ट्राइक्स करने की तरकीब और ट्रेंड यूनिचियनिज्म की भावना शिक्षा संस्थाओं में भी इतनी बढ़ गई कि उससे आज देश को बहुत ही नुकसान पहुंच रहा है और उसकी बहुत कुछ जिम्मेदारी हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाइयों पर है क्योंकि वे तो हर वक्त यही सिखलाते रहते हैं चाहे बच्चे हों चाहे शिक्षक हों, चाहे मजदूर हों सबको हर वक्त यही सिखलाते हैं कि कुछ भी हो आप स्ट्राइक करिये। हर बीमार का उनका इलाज एक ही है। इन स्ट्राइक्स की वजह से अनुशासनहीनता इतनी बढ़ गई है कि उसकी आदत कलना नहीं कर सकते। मैंने भी विद्यार्थियों में काम किया है, मैं भी चार, पांच वर्ष शिक्षक रह चुका हूं और जिस वक्त गांधी जी के असहयोग की धूम मची हुई थी उस बात में भी कॉलेज छोड़ कर बाहर आया हूं। मैं जानता हूं कि नवयुवकों को किस तरह जोश दिलाया जाता है। मैंने पता है कि किस तरह से कहां क्या होता है और किस तरह से हमारे नेता लोग काम करते हैं। मैंने देखा यह देखा है कि कई लोग अपना मतलब सीधा करने के लिए स्ट्राइक्स कराते हैं, परन्तु हमें सोचना चाहिये कि ये हमारे बच्चे हैं, ये हमारे नवयुवक हैं, आगे हिन्दुस्तान के वे नागरिक होंगे। हमें सोचना चाहिये कि हम

[श्री दंबकीनन्दन]

इन्हें कैसा बनाना चाहते हैं। कहने को ठीक है, Example is better than precept. परन्तु हर एक पालक को, हर एक बाप को सोचना चाहिये : Am I an example to my children? उसका जवाब उसे खुद से लेना चाहिये तब उसे पता चलेगा कि अनुशासनहीनता कैसे आई। आप देखेंगे कि अनुशासनहीनता कालेजों में है, ऐसा ही नहीं है; स्कूलों में भी है। मैं यह कहूंगा कि उनको यह क्यों नहीं सिखलाया जाता कि चाहे जहां गंशाब नहीं करना चाहिये, चाहे जहां कले का छिलका नहीं फेंकना चाहिये। कालेज गैदरिंग में बहनों की तरफ वे बान नहीं फेंकेंगे या स्कूलों से बाहर निकल कर सभा सासाइटी में ऊधम नहीं करेंगे। वास्तव में हम यह बात कर नहीं सकते क्योंकि हम भी वही बातें करते हैं। क्या विद्यार्थी ही कले के छिलके सड़क पर डालते हैं? क्या विद्यार्थी ही सिनेमा में जाकर ऊधम करते हैं और पैस फेंकते हैं? क्या हम नहीं करते हैं? तो सारी जिम्मेदारी समाज की है। यह समाज एक महासागर है और यदि इस महासागर में से कुछ हिस्से को अलग निकालेंगे तो क्या हम यह नहीं समझ सकते कि उसका पानी वहां तब कुछ और होगा समुद्र सागर के पानी से? ऐसी बात नहीं हो सकती है कि कोई हिस्सा खारी होगा और कोई निरा मीठा होगा। जब आप इस सवाल पर विचार करते हैं तो सारा समाज की आज की स्थिति का विचार करना चाहिये, नैतिक वातावरण का विचार करना चाहिये और अपने खुद की जिम्मेदारी का भी विचार करना चाहिये।

अनुशासनहीनता के कई कारण हैं। डा० आर० पी० परांजपे जो शिक्षा के एक बड़े शास्त्री हैं उनका एक लेख में परसों "एजुकेशन" त्रैमासिक में पढ़ रहा था। इन्डीसिप्लिन के उन्होंने जो कारण बतलाये हैं उनमें चिढ़ आने जैसा एक यह है कि हमारे विद्यार्थियों का अपनी बहनों के साथ व्यवहार असभ्यता का हुआ करता है। यह एक ग्रास कारण उन्होंने बतलाया है। बात सच है कि बहनों के साथ जब कोई इस

त हवा तर्तव करेगा तो चिढ़ आयेगी ही और जरूर आयेगी और यह बात भी सच है कि आजकल यह बात बढ़ रही है। बहनों के साथ हमारे नवयुवकों का व्यवहार हमारी विद्यार्थिनी बहनों के साथ विद्यार्थियों का व्यवहार और जहां जहां विद्यार्थी और विद्यार्थिनी एकत्र होंगे वहां का व्यवहार सिनेमा का व्याहार आदि देखेंगे कि वह सभ्यतापूर्ण नहीं होता है और उस पर चिढ़ आना एक स्वाभाविक बात है। परन्तु यह क्यों है? इसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है? मैं यह कहूंगा कि इसके लिए जिस तरह से पालक और शिक्षक जिम्मेदार हैं, उसी तरह से हमारी बहनें और हमारे नवयुवक भी जिम्मेदार हैं और खास करके बहनें जिम्मेदार हैं। आज हम क्या देखते हैं? आज आप जाइये क्रिकेट ग्राउंड पर, फुटबाल ग्राउंड पर स्कूल के विद्यार्थियों की तादाद सैकड़ा दस नहीं मिलेगी। कम्पलसरी प्ले कैंरिकुलम में है, मगर आप देखेंगे कि स्पोर्ट्स के लिए सैकड़ा दस विद्यार्थी नहीं जाते। वे कहा जाते हैं? सिनेमा हाउसों में या सड़कों पर जहां पर बहनें या गांव के सब तरह के लोग घूमते रहते हैं, वे जाते हैं। हम और क्या देखते हैं? हमारी बहनों का आजकल का क्या दर्जा है? ज्यादा से ज्यादा खुद को आकर्षित बनाने की वे कोशिश करती हैं। माफ कीजिये मैं किसी के ऊपर किसी तरह का आक्षेप नहीं करता, परन्तु दोनों तरफ से होता है, आकर्षित एक तरफ से किया जाता है और दूसरी तरफ से आकर्षित होने का प्रयत्न होता है। जो सिनेमा में देखते हैं उसको प्रत्यक्ष आचरण में लाने की कोशिश होती है। हमारे आज के स्त्री पुरुष सम्बन्ध को यदि किसी ने बिगाड़ा है तो सिनेमा ने बिगाड़ा है। इसीलिए मैं कहूंगा कि इस बात को हमें सांचना चाहिये। जिस वक्त हम किसी पिक्चर को इजाजत देते हैं, उस वक्त हमें यह सांचना चाहिये कि उस पिक्चर का हमारे भाई बहनों के ऊपर हमारे नवयुवक और नवयुवकियों के ऊपर क्या असर पड़ने वाला है। परन्तु इस और हम नहीं सांचते हैं। ये समाज से सम्बन्ध रखने वाली बातें हैं और इनकी तरफ हमें खास तौर से सांचना चाहिये। इस तरह का कमीशन

कायम करके यह काम होने वाला नहीं है। यह हर एक का फर्ज और कर्तव्य है कि हम अपने घर के बच्चों को संभालें।

आखिर में मेरा एक सझाव है कि हर एक स्कूल के लिए पैरेंट्स और शिक्षकों की एक कमेटी कायम हो। There should be a Committee of parents and teachers and that should be invited every third month and the teachers should place before them all the examples and instances of indiscipline so that the parents may be in the know always. ताकि वे अपनी जिम्मेदारी को समझ सकें और उसके अनुसार काम कर सकें।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri Vallabharao.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: May I know, Sir, if I am getting my chance? I was the fourth to give my name. I feel that I am not having a fair deal.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will call you. I have got several names.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: But I was the third or fourth.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Resolution will go on for the whole day.

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: Sir, I am very unfortunate that I was not here in the morning to listen to the learned speeches of some of my friends.

DR. P. C. MITRA: Why unfortunate?

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: I am unfortunate in the sense that I would have been enlightened with the views of different generations—not of parties—because the various speakers who have dealt with it—and I have not had occasion to hear the mover himself—have missed the point completely. What is it? Instead of calling it “indiscipline” I would much rather call it “the problem of the students themselves”. Because as my friend, Shri D. Narayan, put it—of

course, in his own way and to suit his own political views also—it is not a problem of students alone. Because the conditions that exist outside, economic, political and otherwise, have a very great effect on the minds of the students. As one coming straight from the college to politics, I can tell you and I can also tell my hon. friend Shri D. Narayan that I was one of those students who were asked to come out of the college by Congressmen and not by Communists. Today, I have before me various Reports. Many of my hon. friends here said that student indiscipline was due to negligence of teachers, student indiscipline was due to political parties, student indiscipline was due to bad handling of teachers, student indiscipline was due to the cinemas; but everyone of them has missed one brilliant Report that has been submitted by the Calcutta University. There was a survey made and I think many of my hon. friends might have read about it in the papers and almost all the leading dailies of India have commented editorially on that also. In that the university had appointed a Committee to have a survey of the living conditions of the students—what are the living conditions? From where do they come? What percentage of the students are able to sit at home and read? How many of them are able to buy books? How many of them are able to have two meals a day? What is the position? How many of them are willing to study? How many are willing to prosecute their studies further? What are the opportunities given to them and where is the lag? They have pinned down and said—I have here before me the figures and I think my hon. friends will understand—that out of 28,000 under-graduate students, nearly 13,000 come from families whose *per capita* income per month per head is not more than Rs. 30. Similarly, there are many things said and in the end the Committee gave a suggestion, viz., that the students must be kept in better atmosphere—atmosphere not in the sense of free from political parties, or free from this and that but

[Shri J. V. K. Vallabharao.]

better atmosphere in the sense that they must have at least Rs. 100 per student and the Government must give it. Let us run some model institutions where they can have education, where they can have good text books, where they can have opportunities to know many things. But what is the position now? There is uncertainty all round. There is no guarantee of employment, whatever they may learn. They do not even know what will appear in the question papers. They learn something and something else is asked in the question papers. No wonder, because the teacher who teaches the lessons does not frame the questions, they are set by some other, some university professor. There is no guarantee of getting text books. The syllabus is there, but there are not the necessary text books. There is a library, but when the students go there for books, they find the books have been pinched by somebody else. They go to the college, but there are no seats there. They go to the laboratory; but they have to keep standing and do the work. There is no accommodation. All the same, under all these conditions, they are expected to be quite disciplined. How can discipline come? From where will this discipline come? We all know we condemned the British Administration. When we were students, I know, many hon. members on the other side, they were leaders and they said to us, "You look at these colleges. What is being taught there? You do not need such education. You must strike. Come out and protest." And we did come out. But now the same thing exists today. The situation is a bit changed, but almost the same conditions exist. And the same weapon which you gave them, they are using now and they are protesting. A strike is nothing serious. One hon. Member quoted the case of the Lucknow University. Here before me are the minutes of the Uttar Pradesh Assembly on that subject. Who were responsible for that strike? The great Sampurnanandji said the

Communists were responsible. The Executive Committee of the university said, "No, the Communists are not responsible." They said, the late Rafi Sahib was responsible. Ultimately, they said the university union was responsible. Did the university union ask them to strike? The university unions in India are for discussing subjects of interest. Every student has a vote. Every student pays something towards its funds. He pays it along with his fees, say, two rupees or three rupees. All that money is kept and once a week or once a month, lectures are to be organized to debate and discuss burning issues, on academic, scientific and political issues. Those are extra curricular activities. Is it dragging the students to indiscipline? I cannot understand. If so, let us close all the colleges. But what we want is more and more colleges. Scan the various Reports. What happened in the Andhra University. They recently published a Report where they say the students do not know who is who, that they gave funny answers to questions. Where are we drifting to? I agree with the suggestion of my hon. friend Mr. Mathur about the appointment of a Commission, but I do not agree with him when he says it is students indiscipline. I would call it the problem of students. It is the problem that we have to face and let us face it in a concrete way.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: That is exactly what I want.

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: I want a high power committee to go into the question. Let it see the percentage of students who were in the colleges previously and the percentage now. We must remember that a labourer today saves Rs. 3 out of his earning of Rs. 10 so that he may send his son to a college and from there to an agricultural institution and to make him an agricultural graduate. Similarly, every worker saves something in order to be able to send his son to a college. The urge for learning is much more now than before.

And so, they all come with this urge to the colleges. But what do they find? They come in great numbers, hoping that "our government" would give them all opportunities. After all, it is our Government. But when they come, what do they see? The same colleges and the same number of teachers. More students have come. There were 40 students and they had 10 benches. Now there are 100 students but all the hundred have to somehow adjust themselves on those 10 benches. Or they can go away. "What can we do?" ask the authorities. There is no accommodation. There is this problem of accommodation. There is the problem of text books. From all this we can clearly see that the urge is more. But there is this lag. Are we prepared to say today that there are sufficient university professors or teachers to impart such education to all these students as is so necessary for the nation? In the Uttar Pradesh Assembly when the hon. Minister was saying that indiscipline was due to so many things, straight came the bang from no less a person than Dr. Ishwari Prasad: "The students are not indisciplined. They are more disciplined than you are." And surely Dr. Ishwari Prasad is no Communist.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: Dr. Radhakrishnan also has said the same thing.

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: Scan the University Education Commission's Report and you will find the same thing said there also. A new situation has come and instead of facing that situation, you are worried on this side and on that and say there is indiscipline and you blame the political parties. It seems the days of blaming the Communists are over, for now they say Dr. Raghuramaya's party is dominating the students, or Prof. Ranga's party is dominating the students and so on. There is no question of anyone dominating the students. Let us organise them. Let us educate them. We have no objection to that. You cannot blame any political party if it is taking

interest in this problem. I would rather blame those parties which do not take any interest in this burning problem. **They want to keep the students ignorant.** They want to keep these growing students who are the citizens of tomorrow ignorant of everything and then, if they are ignorant, they say, the students will be good. I do not think so. As a matter of fact, it is more and more of activity that is needed now. The problem has to be faced in a concrete manner. Today the percentage of students is more and so the colleges have also to be more. Priority should be given to college education today. And I see one of the officials of the Education Department in one of the articles also has said the same thing. Discussing the problem of indiscipline, I think it is Prof. Humayun Kabir, who has also laid stress on this point. We have today more students and we do not have enough teachers to cope with them, with the result they are not able to have a compact view of the students, to pay direct attention to the students.

Therefore, I suggest that from the side of the Government, they should examine the ways of how to meet the situation, not this so-called situation of indiscipline among college students, but the situation of this greater urge for education, this situation created by this great urge for knowledge among the people; and see where lies the lag. Where there is a lag, naturally the students strike. They strike if an injustice is done. A good professor teaches them excellently. No student keeps away from the classes or school. But, unfortunately, that professor is not liked by the Principal of the college or by the Vice-Chancellor and he is asked to handle some other class. The students say, "Give us back our professor or else we do not come to the class." This, they say, is indiscipline, and the Principal or whoever it is, fines them Rs. 5 each. But they say, "We pay no fine, but we go on strike." The demand, therefore, is for the professor and not for anything else. They

[Shri J. V. K. Vallabharao.]

do not demand for a seat in the Cabinet. They do not demand any bonus to be paid to them. They simply say, "Give us back our professor." That is the sort of thing that happens in the Allahabad University and in various colleges. The students' demands centre round such things. My hon. friend there said that the Communists asked the people to strike, that the Communists asked the workers to strike, that the Communists asked the students to strike, that they also asked the teachers to strike. Unfortunately, he did not say that Members of Parliament were asked to strike. And so it goes on. Sir, it is not a question of blaming anyone. They taught the people to protest and to strike wherever there was injustice. Unfortunately, they gave it up themselves.

The Government should study the causes from this angle as to what the needs of the students are. Certainly, the problem of reconstruction is there, but my personal view is that Government should provide for more of students to take part in technical education and I think at least 10 per cent. of the Budget must be allocated for education. The demands of the Education Ministry may be more, as they say, but I think it is insignificant compared to the needs of the day.

With these few words, I would request the hon. Minister not to fight shy but to appoint a Committee to go into the problem of students, not in respect of indiscipline.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Mr. Deputy Chairman, when one says that there is indiscipline among the students, I must tell Mr. Ranga, that it is not overstating. It is certainly not alarming. Nobody need be alarmed but the fact that indiscipline is growing should engage the attention of all educationists in the country, not only educationists but of all the leaders in the country. I recognise that by itself it is not a very huge problem but it is connected with other vital

and important problems and, therefore, it is also a very important one. That is why it is engaging the attention of the Minister for Education and also of our Prime Minister. Whenever there is an occasion for them to speak about the educational institutions, they are emphasising the need for discipline among the students. Discipline is a thing which should be either self-imposed or should be imposed by an external authority. Nobody can say that the students can impose upon themselves discipline because they are not at an age of discretion whereas we could do that. Therefore, it means that discipline should be enforced on the student class. When I say that, I do not mean to say that it should be brought about as a matter of compulsion, but circumstances in which the students would cultivate that habit should be created and that is the greatest responsibility of the country. If we agree on this proposition, it means that the authority which deals with education should have powers to do it. I fail to understand Mr. Mathur and other Members blaming the Education Ministry for indiscipline among students. I would ask them, "What powers have the Education Ministry got?" Take the Constitution. Under entry 66 of the Union List, the Education Ministry has only the duty of maintaining and co-ordinating standards. The universities are free, subject to this. Primary education is out of the scope of the functions of this Ministry. If one were to foster discipline, encourage discipline among students, it cannot be done in a single day or single moment. It requires a stretch of time. This, therefore, should be started at the primary stage.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: A great constitutionalist has appeared on the scene.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: That is why every country considers primary education to be very important in the life of a student. It is there that the firm foundations for the individuality and for the growth of

the student's personality and character are laid. Where does the Central Education Ministry come in the matter of primary education? Although the Constitution lays down that it is the duty of Government to bring about compulsory education, education as such has been assigned to the States and the States are responsible for it.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Why don't you change the Constitution?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Let us, for a moment, see in whose hands our educational institutions are. I will give you the example of what is happening in Delhi, right before our eyes. There is a man in Delhi who, I suspect, is not an Indian. He opens schools and closes them as soon as he makes money from one school. There is such a big scandal about it. I was greatly troubled about it when I, accidentally, came to know about it. I went to verify the allegations that were made against him.

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: Who is that man?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: When he is not here to defend himself, it is not proper to name him. I met two teachers.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: If he is a cheat, why don't you name him?

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: I met two teachers and tried to verify the allegation. One lady said, "I have children. My husband is unemployed. Therefore, I have to do his bidding". Sir, it brought tears in my eyes. That is not a statement made by one teacher. There are many teachers. This gentleman, who is in the habit of making teachers and sometimes students also serve him in every way, has imposed himself upon very big people. One influential Member of this House and one influential Member in the other House, without knowing his antecedents, agreed to float a co-operative society for the promotion of education in Delhi. Soon after they

promoted the co-operative society, he got himself appointed as the Educational Adviser or principal of all schools that they were managing. Within three months, the people who floated the co-operative society had the bitter experience of seeing everything going amiss and complaints pouring in. There are decrees in courts against him for the default of payment of rent. I do not mind his being a defaulter so far as payment of rent, etc., is concerned, but this White Mansingh should go about in Delhi carrying on depredations on the morals of young and old alike is something which causes me very serious concern and I wonder why the Delhi authorities have not been able to remove this evil, although this is on the lips of everyone who knows something of schools in Delhi. I had a talk with the hon. Deputy Minister but his difficulty is that somebody should give it in writing to him. Since I am not personally aware of these things,—I have no personal knowledge of these things—I cannot give it in writing. I hope he will take this opportunity to see at least the antecedents of this man are enquired into. I would like to know, why he is allowed to stay at all in India.

Of course, one may say that all the educational institutions are not in such hands and that the States are handling them. We should look to the resources of the States also. The resources are slender and the demands for other economic activities are greater so that the States have not been able to devote greater attention and set apart greater resources for primary education. Education is of common importance. A great educationist has defined education as the preparation for life, but the products of universities, as is known, are not trained to face the vast problems of life. Are we building character? Hon. Members who have spoken before me have said that it is not so. Are we developing a common outlook in the country among students? No, that is not there. This is so because we have denominational schools and there are several conflicting interests.

[Shri M. Govinda Reddy.]

That is one reason why the country has not been able to attach primary importance to education, an importance which it should have got. Sir, the teacher and the doctor should be the first citizens of a country; whereas one attends to the mind, the other attends to the body, one builds up his personality and his individuality, the other builds up his health. Whatever projects we may have in the second Five Year Plan, whatever benefits we may get out of the successful working of these projects, it is all for the citizens. If the citizens are not trained properly, if they do not have character, if they do not have a common patriotic outlook, how are we going to benefit by our economic activity? The students of today are the future citizens. We have a plan for the economic upliftment of the country; it is all very good as far as it goes but, alongside with it, we have to plan also for developing a common outlook in the country. We do not have this at present. Therefore, it is very important that now, at this juncture, one should try to see that there is a uniform system, a uniform pattern of education in the country.

But there are educationists pleading for decentralization of education. The hon. Member himself, who has moved this Resolution, is not prepared, I dare say, to admit that education should be a Central subject. We should all give powers to the educational authorities. Then only we can take them to task if there is indiscipline among students and if educational aims are not achieved. But we are now keeping them just as we see a person kept in *Trisanku swarga*, all the same make them responsible here to bear all the criticism of the Members of Parliament whereas they have no powers to interfere with States and mould education in the way they like. This is the thing. I do not understand many hon. Members here as well as educationists in the country pleading for decentralization of education. They usually take the example of U.K. or U.S.A. or other **advanced** countries.

But our public is not in that state of civic progress as the enlightened public of U.S.A. or U.K. There, of course, decentralization has meaning, but here we have to create an outlook, a common outlook in the country. When we have to mould the whole people as such, how can decentralization help this? And I do not know why the Education Ministry has not been urging the Government to take education as a Central subject. Perhaps it is out of the fear that they do not have enough resources to manage this. It is an understandable thing. But, Sir, when once the country directs its entire attention on education, I dare say it would be possible to find means. We can sacrifice some of our economic upliftment if we can thereby build up the nation's intellect and the nation's character, which we sorely need.

Well, Sir, some points have been made that there is unemployment among graduates and, therefore, there is indiscipline among students. I do not agree with that point of view because it is after he passes his student career that he goes and meets with unemployment. It is not there but there is one glaring factor which contributes to student indiscipline and that is the growing strength of the universities and educational institutions. They are unmanageable. So how can any teacher with the best of character be able to impose discipline among the mass of students? It is all right one teacher or principal can be tactful, as Dr. Gilder was able to point out to us; it is all right, as Mr Ranga said, one or two teachers or all of them can offer *satyagraha* but that stage, I must say, has gone. There are students who thrash teachers because they do not give them marks. There are students who thrash professors because they do not pass them. We have read in newspapers principals being stabbed because they do not pass them. As you know, Sir in our State where elections among students are conducted, they are conducted with more animosity and more fervour than the general elections are sometimes conducted in the country.

and on communal lines. If there is a man of one caste as secretary, well, he should be sent out and there should be a man of another caste.

SHRI J. V. K. VALLABHARAO: It is a reflection of the States.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Of course. As some said, they are pocket editions of ourselves. That is true, but there it is; it is growing, and this, in fact, is a little too serious and one has to take note of it.

So, Sir, these various factors are there. I would urge upon the hon. Member to withdraw the Resolution because it is an obvious problem. No Commission can help us. He himself recognises that there is indiscipline among students and he himself also recognises that the remedies are not easy. So what can a Commission do? As the hon. Mrs. Lakshmi Menon was saying here, by this time we know what the reasons are which contribute to student indiscipline and we know that the remedy is not too easy and it does not lie on the shoulders of anyone to remove it, but it is a serious problem which can only be remedied, in my opinion, if education is taken on as a Central subject and an educational framework is framed for the whole country and the country works up that scheme.

Thank you.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA (Bombay): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, first of all may I know how many minutes I can get?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Maximum 15 minutes.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: Sir, we have heard a number of views expressed on this subject. But I stand here to oppose this Resolution, which reads: "This House is of opinion that Government should appoint a high-powered Commission to investigate the causes of indiscipline among university students" and so on. I oppose this. Let us take it this way,

hypothetically, that the Commission has been appointed and the report is ready lying there on the Table. What next? Who is going to implement it? The States are autonomous where education is concerned. The Central Education Ministry has its own problems. And how are you going to deal with the subject of indiscipline? We have to go to the root causes of what we are discussing here about teachers, about parents, about students; but I am in agreement with Mrs. Lakshmi Menon that the problems are great for the students. While we are discussing here, let us again imagine that outside a seminar is going on among the students themselves and what they can think of us on this subject. What are their problems? Look at them through their eyes, as the poet has said:

"Oh, would some power the gift
give us

To see ourselves as others see us!"

In this case—

"Oh, would some power the gift
give us

To see ourselves as our children
see us!"

Sir, today the whole difficulty begins from the point that mass education is going on. Whatever the historical past has been, whatever the historical factors have been, whatever the political struggle that caused disruption in the character building of the mass of our students, the fact remains that when the mass education is going on, we have not reorientated our policy to a new type of education that is going to build up a national character in this country.

Now, I come to the point that through the First Five Year Plan we have built up physically many things in this country. Psychologically we are lagging behind. Psychologically we have not yet undertaken to build up the national character. I agree with Mrs. Lakshmi Menon when she

[Shrimati Violet Alva.]

says that she has been a teacher and she understands the child. I for my part have been both a teacher and a mother and I may say that it is very necessary to understand the child. I agree with Dr. Gilder, who sits next to me, that tact and humour go a long way to keep the child within your control rather than bullets and batons. Bullets and batons are never the way nor the remedy to inflict on their impressionable minds or to build up their character. Understanding goes a long way. As a mother I have seen and as fathers you must have seen the problems of your children at the most impressionable age. In fact you need more tact in handling your children. Let us not forget that the young men and women in their schools and colleges are budding into manhood and womanhood. They have a sort of confidence in them, whether it is pseudo or real, but they are planning for the future. They have hopes. They think the world is opening out before them and they find themselves in an educational institution with teachers, good, bad and indifferent. But the main fact remains. How is that child handled? Very often it happens that your child who is the most docile and obedient at home is the most unruly child in the school. Why? I am saying this from experience of a child who could not do well in a school, and at the end of the year, when he failed, he came back and said, "I can never do well with that teacher in front of me. He says I shall never come anywhere higher than the twentieth in the class because the teacher has favourites." This is what is happening when classes are run with an unwieldy number of students, 50, 60, 100, to a class and the teacher is bound to have some students as his favourites. Presents go to him. There are such corruptible practices going on. As Mrs. Menon has said, we cannot chargesheet ourselves in this House, but if we were to be chargesheeted I think 99 per cent. of the adults can be chargesheeted in this country for some sort

of corrupt practice one way or the other, by thought, word or deed. What I want to emphasise is, as some hon. Member has said, that there should be a better understanding and a better association between the parent and the teacher. I think the parent-teacher association should grow. And I may here cite the example of what we were very cursorily able to see in the Soviet Union. At every stage the parents are kept in touch with the teachers and that way in touch with the students. Again, as my friend Mr. Vallabharao said, the problem is that a student goes into an institution, goes into a school and then he passes out his S.S.C. He goes into a college. He does not know what subject he has to take; what he is meant for, what he is fit for. He has no guidance from the teachers, and the parents are unable to give him any guidance either, and there are not enough institutions for study of attitudes of children. And these young men when they go for engineering for which they are not meant or when they go for medicine for which they are not meant, they get frustrated before they pass out. In the meantime there are the unions. More than the students' unions, let me point out here, there are the cliques and intrigues that exist in our universities at the higher level, not among the students. From there the indiscipline percolates into the students and unless we rid our universities, and even our schools, of these cliques and intrigues, we are not going to build up character or discipline at all.

Sir, I want to come back to the subject of indiscipline. Wherever the Prime Minister goes, he rubs into the student world, into the student population, the problem of indiscipline. We agree with him, but sometimes with a reservation of the mind—at least I do—because the reactions of the child have to be studied and here I may recall what our Chairman, the Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan,

said very recently in one of his speeches that the students—I am not able to quote his words but this is what he meant—were young people, were made of blood and nerves. You have to treat them as such and you have to give them opportunities, and healthy opportunities, for the outlet of their energies, otherwise you cannot control them. Any slight provocation is an outlet for their energy. How can you say that it is indiscipline? What is indiscipline to you and me is fun for the child, for the impressionable young child. He says, “See what I can do and what I shall do”. But no, it is you and me and the teachers and the elders and the politicians who are concerned. I do not say that the politicians should keep their hands off the students as somebody—I think it was Prof. Ranga—said that in England it was not so. I ask you. Why are you afraid of politics? Ultimately, everything has become politics in this world. In the first world war oil became politics; in the second world war food became politics. Whatever you do or think is politics and we should not, therefore, keep our students in a water-tight compartment or channel them away from politics especially in this young democracy when we are trying to build it up, when we are trying to build up a socialistic pattern and when we are trying to make our young men and women work voluntarily and put in manual labour. How can you keep them out of politics? They have to understand politics fully. If this democracy is to live, they have to resist the bad influences and take in the good influences. They have to build up their character after having jostled against bad forces during their studentship. Then only can we say that we have a healthy nation and the students can say, as they come out, that they have built their character from their *alma maters*.

Sir, Mr. Mathur wants this high-powered Commission. If this Resolution were to be accepted—I hope it is not going to be accepted—are you

sure that the students will not ask for representation on this Commission? The student world will themselves want representation and they will demand to have a voice in the Commission, for why it should be done objectively by some dignitaries and intellectuals who do not understand the child mind. Today we have to understand the child mind. When I say child mind, even the university students who are over 18—even they are children—are also included. We who are mothers know that a child remains a child. It is not the legal age that matters. We know how an individual child grows up at different periods. One child will grow up at the age of 12; another child may grow up at the age of 18; another might take a longer time, say at the age of 22. That is why I press for a better system of education, for a reorientation of education and I want it to become a Central subject for some time instead of each State pulling in a different way and the Centre paying for the great fun that is going on. We are not, after eight years, grown up psychologically; we have not yet built up the nation. Physically, we are building big projects and factories and big hydro-electric schemes and what not. But it is time now that we sit down and produce 30,000 to 50,000 teachers every year. I agree that the teachers are not well paid, but I do not agree with the opinion expressed here that all teachers are bad. There are teachers and teachers. There are teachers who even if they are paid ten times more than what they receive today, will still be greedy, will still be mercenary and will still not be interested in their work; but there are teachers who, even if you do not pay, have a love to teach, who have that ennobling influence. Sir, there must be a system by which we are able to study our teachers in schools and colleges. We must find out fit persons who can take charge of our children of different ages. In the juvenile courts when we hand over a child they have to certify that he is a fit person and we give the child only in the care of a fit

[Shrimati Violet Alva]

person In the same way we must keep a record of every teacher and we must encourage them to have refresher courses I am inclined to cite again what we have seen in the Soviet Union The teacher is paid salary and she is paid again to correct their home work books I have seen teachers in our schools hand over the piles of books to the higher class students and ask them to correct those books I know it from my own experience, from my own daughter who stood third in the class I was not told about that by her report but by another girl in another class who said, "Your daughter comes third" This is the way the teacher conducts what is supposed to be the most responsible task That is why we need a weeding out of the teachers who are not fit persons to take care of the children

Now, I go to the question of attitudes and aptitudes of children and the opportunities that they need I think Mr Vallabharao spoke about books and about games and I think Mr D Narayan said that they went to the cinema Why do they go to the cinema? Because that is the only form of recreation that is there Even we adults do not know what to do in the evening We ourselves sometimes go to the cinema to spend the evening There is nothing else There are not sufficient dramas, there are not sufficient clubs Whatever clubs there are they are far too expensive for the people You do not know where to send your children in the evening Where else can they go? What can they do? Can they play tennis? There are not enough tennis courts Here, this is what the Central Ministry can do They can provide more funds for recreation recreation that builds up the mind and the body, not the mind alone or the body alone What you say is indiscipline is really the problem of the young mind because the body activities are not in tune with their mental make-up All that they do is to cram, cram, then go to the cinema show, back to the

desk and cram again If any one of you had a child being brought up in a hill station school paying heavily, you can understand

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN It is time

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA Let me wind up nicely at least If you have a child in a hill station school, if you pay more than half of your income, or if the income is small as that of an MP more than your income, then you know what the child exactly receives He is so dog-tired physically in the evening and he has a good sleep He does not think of any problem and there is no indiscipline The whole day he works with his brain; in the evening he plays hockey or tennis and when he comes home he comes home as a well-balanced child He knows how to behave, how to react to adults even when he is admonished Sir, these are the factors that must be borne in mind

Now, about the material, again Mrs Lakshmi Menon

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN It is time, Madam Shrimati Sharda Bhargava

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA Thank you, Sir

श्रीमती शारदा भार्गव (राजस्थान) .
 उपसभापति महोदय, यह जो प्रस्ताव आज हमारे सदन में रखा गया है उसके सम्बन्ध में यह मैं अवश्य कहूंगी कि इसका उद्देश्य बहुत सुन्दर है और इसके उद्देश्य से मैं सहमत भी हूँ, परन्तु जहाँ तक इस प्रस्ताव की व्यावहारिकता का प्रश्न है यह प्रस्ताव अनावश्यक सा मालूम होता है। मैं इसमें कुछ संशोधन भी देना चाहती थी परन्तु ध्यान से इसको पढ़ने के बाद मैंने यह सोचा कि यह प्रस्ताव स्वीकार होने वाला तो दीखता नहीं है इसलिए मैंने इसमें संशोधन भी नहीं दिया।

इस प्रस्ताव में कहा गया है :
 "to investigate the causes of

indiscipline among university
students and to suggest remedies
for removing the same "

वहाँ तक मुझे ज्ञान है, माध्यमिक शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में जो आयोग बैठा था जिसमें कि हमारे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर साहब भी एक मंत्री थे उसमें इस विषय पर काफी चर्चा हुई थी और जो बातें हम इस नये कमीशन से करवाना चाहते हैं वे सब उसमें हो गई हैं। यदि इसमें यह सुझाव दिया गया होता कि "how to implement these remedies" तब तो कुछ काम की बात इसमें हो जाती, वरना इस तरह के नये आयोग को बना कर हम फिर उसी बात पर विचार करेंगे जो कि सोची जा चुकी है और यह व्यर्थ ही होगा।

जहाँ तक इस प्रस्ताव के उद्देश्य का सम्बन्ध है हम सब पूरी तरह से जानते हैं—शायद इस सदन का कोई भी सदस्य अथवा दश का कोई भी व्यक्ति यह कह सकता है—कि सचमुच में हमारे विद्यार्थियों में अनुशासनहीनता है। सोचने की बात तो यह है कि अनुशासनहीनता क्यों है। यह तो मान ही लिया गया है कि अनुशासनहीनता है, परन्तु जहाँ तक मेरी समझ में आता है अभी तक कोई ऐसा उपाय काम में नहीं लिया गया है जिससे अनुशासनहीनता कम हो। आयोग बैठा देने के बाद सब बातों पर विचार कर लेने के बाद और रिपोर्ट बना देने के बाद भी उस पर कोई अमल नहीं हुआ है और उसके सम्बन्ध में कोई पग नहीं उठाया गया है। ऐसी स्थिति में आयोग बनाना और रिपोर्ट बनाना व्यर्थ सा ही मालूम पड़ता है।

हमारा देश अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में बहुत ऊँचा उठ रहा है परन्तु अब हम देखते हैं कि हमारे विद्यार्थियों में अनुशासनहीनता है तो हमें यह मानना पड़ेगा कि वह हमारे लिये एक घुन का काम कर रही है। कहा जाता है कि अनुशासनहीनता इसीलिये बढ़ रही है क्योंकि यह दूसरों में है, अध्यापकों में है और हर एक व्यक्ति में है, इसीलिये विद्यार्थियों में भी है। मैं समझती हूँ कि यह कोई कारण नहीं है यह बोर्ड सफाई नहीं है कि चूँकि अनुशासनहीनता दूसरे

व्यक्तियों में है इसीलिये विद्यार्थियों में भी है, बच्चों में भी है। हम इस वक्त जैसे हैं वैसे तो बन चुके हैं और हम लोगों के लिये अब सुधारने का कोई विशेष स्थान नहीं है परन्तु जो आज के विद्यार्थी हैं वे हमारे भावी नागरिक हैं, भावी नेता हैं और वे ही भविष्य में शासक भी होंगे, इसीलिये यदि बचान में ही उनमें कोई कमी रहती है तो हम सब का यह कर्तव्य है कि हम उस कमी को दूर करने का प्रयत्न करें।

अनुशासनहीनता के उत्तरदायित्व को मैं दो भागों में बाँटती हूँ। पहला तो विद्यार्थी वर्ग है और दूसरा अध्यापक वर्ग है। जहाँ तक विद्यार्थियों का प्रश्न है यह एक पक्की बात मैं मानती हूँ कि विद्यार्थी एक बढ़ता हुआ व्यक्ति है और वह हर वक्त यह चाहता है कि हमारा आगे के लिये कोई काम मिले और कोई शिक्षा मिले। हम उसको आज जैसी शिक्षा देंगे वैसी ही उसकी आदत पड़ जायेगी। पर होता यह है कि जो कालेज पाँच सौ विद्यार्थियों के लिये थे वहाँ आज तीन-तीन और चार-चार हजार विद्यार्थी पढ़ते हैं। वहाँ आज चार-चार या तीन-तीन शिफ्ट चलती हैं, आठ बजे सुबह से रात को ८ बजे और १२ बजे तक शिफ्ट चलती हैं। कालेज में एक ही प्रिंसिपल होता है और यह मानी हुई बात है कि वह सारे वक्त कालेज में नहीं रह सकता है। जो कालेज का अध्यक्ष है वही जब कालेज में नहीं रहेगा तो फिर अनुशासन कैसे रह सकता है, अनुशासन तो स्वयं ही नहीं रहेगा। इस शिफ्ट सिस्टम से दूसरी बात यह होती है कि जैसे ही एक शिफ्ट खत्म हुई वैसे ही दूसरी शिफ्ट के लड़के आ जाते हैं और पहली शिफ्ट के लड़के चले जाते हैं। इसके माने यह हुये कि कालेज का उद्देश्य केवल क्लासेज तक ही सीमित रह जाता है, टीचर ने क्लास ले लिया और वह तथा लड़के चले गये, यहीं तक कालेज का उद्देश्य रह जाता है। मैं समझती हूँ कि इस तरह की पढ़ाई बिल्कुल ही अनावश्यक हो जाती है। जब तक कि अध्यापक और विद्यार्थी में कोई व्यक्तिगत सम्पर्क न हो तब तक सच्ची पढ़ाई हो ही नहीं सकती है केवल क्लास

[श्रीमती शारदा भार्गव]

शिक्षा उपयोगी नहीं हो सकती हैं क्योंकि अध्यापक को केवल किताबें ही नहीं पढ़ानी हैं बल्कि उनको यह भी बताना है कि विद्यार्थी का दर्श कें प्रति, प्रान्त कें प्रति और संसार कें प्रति क्या फलदायी है। जब तक वे यह नहीं समझेंगे तब तक शिक्षा अधूरी है। जब तक विद्यार्थी अध्यापक कें सम्पर्क में नहीं आयेंगे तब तक वे यह नहीं समझ सकेंगे कि अध्यापक कें पास किताबी बातों कें अलावा भी कुछ और बताने का है। जब तक वे और बातों को नहीं सीखेंगे तब तक उन्हें क्या मालूम होगा कि अध्यापक कुछ और बातें भी बतला सकते हैं। इसके अलावा कुछ कालेज ऐसे हैं जहां कि आर्ट्स की शिक्षा दी जाती थी लेकिन अब वहां साइंस की शिक्षा भी दी जाती है। चाहे लैबोरेटरी हो या न हो लेकिन साइंस की शिक्षा दी जाती है। इसी तरह से जहां आर्ट्स की शिक्षा दी जाती थी, वहां कामर्स की भी शिक्षा दी जाती है, लेकिन कामर्स कें लिये जो प्रीक्टिकल एक्सपीरियंस की जरूरत है उसका कोई विचार नहीं रखा जाता है। तो इस प्रकार की जो पढ़ाई हमारा यहां हो रही है उसको हम सम्पूर्ण पढ़ाई नहीं कह सकते हैं। फिर, जब किसी किसी कालेज में तीन या चार हजार विद्यार्थी होते हैं तो वहां सौ या डेढ़ सौ अध्यापक भी होते हैं। मुझे तो ऐसा भी अनुभव है कि कभी कभी ऐसी स्थिति होती है कि प्रिंसिपल हर एक टीचर को भी नहीं पहचानता है। तो जब प्रिंसिपल अपने टीचर्स को ही नहीं जानते हैं तब वह अपने लड़कों को कैसे जानेंगे और क्या जानेंगे कि कौन कालेज का विद्यार्थी है और कौन बाहर का है। जब ऐसी हालत है तो आप कैसे यह आशा कर सकते हैं कि अध्यापक और विद्यार्थी में कोई सम्पर्क हो सकता है। मैं अपने यहां का एक विशेष उदाहरण देना चाहती हूं। जबपुर में एक कालेज लड़कियों का है और एक दूसरा कालेज लड़कों का है। लड़कियों कें कालेज में लड़कियां अपनी अध्यापिकाओं का इतना सम्मान करती हैं कि कोई बात ही नहीं है और अध्यापिकायें भी अपनी लड़कियों से बहुत ही अच्छा व्यवहार करती हैं

और वे दोनों आपस में बहुत ही खुश रहती हैं, परन्तु लड़कों कें कालेज में लड़के जहां बाहर निकले कि वे टीचर्स को जो चाहे कहने लगते हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहना चाहती हूं कि लड़कियां ज्यादा अनुशासन में रहने वाली हैं और लड़के नहीं हैं। यह एक कारण हो सकता है परन्तु यह कारण गौण है। असल में कारण यह है कि लड़कों कें कालेज में चार हजार विद्यार्थी हैं और लड़कियों कें कालेज में कुल पांच सौ हैं। तो लड़कियों कें कालेज में सब एक दूसरे को जानते हैं। टीचर्स से पूछो कि तुम्हारे क्लास में कौन कौन सी लड़कियां हैं तो वह सब बता देंगी, लेकिन यदि लड़कों कें कालेज कें प्रिंसिपल से यह भी पूछो कि तुम्हारे कालेज में कौन कौन से प्रोफेसर्स हैं तो वह प्रोफेसर्स कें नाम भी नहीं बता सकेंगे। तो मेरा कहना है कि जहां अध्यापक और विद्यार्थी का सम्पर्क नहीं होगा, वहां शिक्षा क्या होगी और अनुशासन किस प्रकार से रह मकेगा। अनुशासनहीनता का सब से बड़ा कारण मैं इसी को मानती हूं।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि कालेज में लड़के तीन या चार हजार पढ़ते हैं और उनके लिये होस्टल्स में कोई जगह नहीं है। एक गरीब विद्यार्थी क्या करे ? उसको मजबूरन सड़ी गलियों कें कमरों में रहना पड़ता है। एक बड़ी गली में कमरा दो, चार रुपये महीने में ले लेते हैं और उसमें दो, चार स्टूडेंट्स रहते हैं। अगर एक सड़ी गली की कोठरी में चार लड़के रहेंगे तो वे अनुशासन कहां से सीखेंगे, सिवाय इसके कि वे परेशान रहें और विद्रोह की भावना रख कर कें काम करें। अगर अच्छी तरह से होस्टल्स हों तो सब लड़के और अध्यापक भी आपस में मिलें और कुछ एंटरटेनमेंट वगैरह भी हो, शाम को भी और सुबह को भी कुछ प्रोग्राम हो। अभी तो यह है कि वे जितनी दूर पढ़ते हैं उतनी दूर कमरे में, सड़ी गली की कोठरी में, घुसे रहते हैं, रात को दिया जला कर पढ़ते हैं और सुबह शाम घुमते हैं और जहां मर्जी आती है वहां जाते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में रहने से उनमें क्या डिप्लिनेशन हो सकती है। वह हमारे एजुकेशन को हलत है।

जहां तक अध्यापकों का प्रश्न है मैं नहीं मानती कि सचमुच में अध्यापक बुरे हैं, वे लड़कों के साथ दुर्यवहार करते हैं और पढ़ाना नहीं चाहते हैं। मैं तो यह मानती हूं कि हर एक अध्यापक यह प्रयत्न करता है कि लड़कों को अच्छे से अच्छा पढ़ाये और अच्छी से अच्छी तरह अपने कर्तव्य को पूरा करे। यह बात कह देना तो बहुत आसान है कि अध्यापकों को पैसे की परवाह नहीं करनी चाहिये, लेकिन व्यवहार में यह बात क्या संभव हो सकती है? हमारे यहां युनिवर्सिटी टीचर्स की तनखाह तो कुछ बढ़ा भी दी गई है लेकिन स्कूलों के अध्यापकों की हालत बहुत बुरी है। स्कूलों के अध्यापकों को बहुत ही कम वेतन मिलता है। उस पर भी यह उपदेश देना कि अध्यापकों को पैसे की परवाह नहीं करनी चाहिये, ठीक नहीं है। आखिर वे भी मनुष्य हैं। जैसे दूसरे मनुष्य पैसे की परवाह करते हैं वैसे वे भी करते हैं। होता यह है कि कोई अध्यापक स्कूल में तब तक ही टिकता है जब तक कि उसको कोई दूसरी सर्विस नहीं मिलती है। छोट-छोट स्कूलों के अध्यापक रोज बदलते रहते हैं और जिन बच्चों को और कहीं सर्विस नहीं मिलती है केवल वह ही पढ़ाने का काम करते हैं; लेकिन उनके मन में भी हमेशा यही रहता है कि कोई और अच्छी सर्विस मिले। तो मेरा कहना है कि अनुशासनहीनता का सब से बड़ा कारण विद्यार्थियों की भीड़ और स्कूल-टीचर्स का कम वेतन पाना है। ये सब से बड़े कारण हैं, जिनकी वजह से विद्यार्थियों में अनुशासनहीनता आ रही है।

अंत में एक बात मैं और कहना चाहती हूं। हमारी बहन श्रीमती लक्ष्मी मेनन ने बहुत अच्छे-अच्छे प्वाइंट्स यहां बताये हैं, परन्तु मैं एक बात से सहमत नहीं हूं और उसको कह देना चाहती हूं और बहुत नम्रता से कहना चाहती हूं। उनके अन्य विचारों से मैं सहमत हूं परन्तु एक प्वाइंट से मैं सहमत नहीं हूं इसीलिए उसके सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना मैं आवश्यक समझती हूं। उन्होंने संसत्सदस्यों की तुलना विद्यार्थियों से की और कहा कि जो कुछ यहां

विद्यार्थी देखेंगे वही करेंगे और चूंकि यहां बहुत कम संसत्सदस्य बैठे हुये हैं इसीलिए इसका देख कर वे भी स्कूल और कॉलेज में नहीं जायेंगे।

4 P.M. मैं इस तुलना को बिलकुल गलत इस लिये मानती हूं कि जब एक विद्यार्थी स्कूल में जाता है तो उसका हर एक विषय से सम्पर्क रहना चाहिये, हर एक विषय उसे समझना चाहिये और हर वक्त उसे उपस्थित रहना चाहिये, किन्तु जहां तक एक संसत्सदस्य का प्रश्न है मेरे ख्याल में हमारे नेता लोग भी यह नहीं उम्मीद करते हैं और न चाहते हैं कि जिस विषय में उसे रुचि न हो उसमें भी वह सदन में बैठ करके टाइम वेस्ट करें, और वह लाइब्ररी में जा करके कोई किताब न पढ़े, न कोई दूसरा काम करें और न अपनी कांस्टिट्यूंसी में ही जाय। इसी लिये हमारे यहां कोरम रखा गया है कि वह दस प्रतिशत रहना चाहिये।

श्री कन्हैयालाल दाँ० बँद्य : कम से कम कोरम तो रखना है ?

श्रीमती शारदा भार्गव : हमारे सदन में कभी ऐसा नहीं हुआ कि कोरम न रहा हो। यह तुलना मेरी समझ में नहीं आई कि संसत्सदस्यों को देखकर विद्यार्थी कहेंगे कि उनको कॉलेज और स्कूल नहीं जाना चाहिये क्योंकि सब संसत्सदस्य हर समय ससद में नहीं रहते हैं। मैं फिर कहना चाहती हूं कि संसत्सदस्यों का सदन में उपस्थित रहना विषय पर निर्भर करता है। यदि आज हम इस विषय में इंटरस्टेड हैं तो हम बैठेंगे और बोलेंगे। दूसरे विषयों में यदि हम इंटरस्टेड नहीं हैं तो लाइब्ररी में जा कर कुछ पढ़ेंगे। यहां बैठकर ऊँघते रहे इससे अच्छा यह है कि कुछ पढ़-लिखें या जो अपना क्षेत्र है वहां जाकर कुछ कार्य करें। हमें फ्री पासंज इसी लिए दिये गये हैं कि कांस्टिट्यूंसी में जाकर जिन्होंने हमें चुन कर यहा भेजा है, उनका कुछ कार्य करें।

श्री कन्हैयालाल दाँ० बँद्य : पार्लियामेंट का काम सफर नहीं होगा ?

श्रीमती शारदा भार्गव : पार्लियामेंट का काम तो सफर नहीं होना चाहिये। यहां तो मैं केवल यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि यह ससत्सदस्यों और विद्यार्थियों की तुलना सही नहीं है। विद्यार्थियों के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि वे अपने अपने क्लास में उपस्थित रहें, हर विषय पर ध्यान दें और जब खेलने का वक्त हो तब खेलें भी। किन्तु ससत्सदस्यों के लिए यह आवश्यक नहीं है। ससत्सदस्यों की ड्यूटी दूसरी तरह की है और विद्यार्थियों की ड्यूटी दूसरी तरह की है। जो ससत्सदस्यों की खाँसियाँ हैं, कीमियाँ हैं, उनको कहने में कोई बात नहीं है लेकिन मैं इस तुलना को बिल्कुल गलत मानती हूँ इसलिए मैंने यहां पर यह बात कही है।

कुछ सदस्यों ने कहा कि स्टूडेंट्स में एलेक्शन होते हैं जिनके लिए रुपया इकट्ठा होता है और खर्च होता है और इस लिए भी उनमें अनुशासनहीनता है। यह मैं नहीं मानती हूँ। जब भारतवर्ष गणतंत्र की प्रणाली को गृहण कर चुका है, जब हम एलेक्शन लड़ते हैं और पार्लियामेंट के लिए चुनाव करवाते हैं तो फिर आप स्टूडेंट्स से कहें कि वे एलेक्शन न लड़ें या गणतंत्र की प्रणाली पर न चलें, इसको मैं गलत मानती हूँ। उनको यदि आप सही रास्ते पर ले जाना चाहते हैं तो उनको गणतंत्र की पद्धति पर चुनाव लड़ने में सहयोग दीजिये। परन्तु इसके साथ ही साथ अध्यापकों प्रिंसिपलों और अध्यापकों का कर्ज होता है कि वे एलेक्शन में कोई अनुचित कार्य न हों वें। वैसे जैसा कि कहा जाता है कि बच्चे और बन्दर एक तरह के होते हैं बच्चों की प्रवृत्ति शैतानी करने की और ऊधम करने की होती ही है। मगर यह माँ-बाप और अध्यापकों का कर्तव्य है कि वे देखें कि बच्चों की प्रवृत्ति गलत रास्ते पर न जाय। अगर कोई सही रास्ता बतलाने वाला मौजूद है तो वह गलत रास्ते पर कभी नहीं जायेंगे और अगर कोई सही रास्ता नहीं बतलाता है तो गलत रास्ते पर अवश्य जायेंगे।

इसीलिए मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि जो कुछ हमारे पुराने कमीशनो ने तय किया है आयोगों

ने तय किया है कि अनुशासनहीनता के क्या कारण हैं और उनको दूर करने के क्या उपाय हैं उन पर सरकार को अधिक से अधिक जोर देकर उनको फलीभूत करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। दूसरे आयोग को बनाने से कोई लाभ नहीं होने वाला है।

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR EDUCATION (DR K L SHRIMALI): Mr Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have listened with great interest to the debate that has taken place on this very important subject. I am, however, afraid that I am unable to accept the Resolution which has been moved by my hon friend, Shri Mathur

Mr Mathur has been very vehement in his criticism of the Education Ministry and he has said that the Education Ministry is completely unaware of the problem that exists in our country today with regard to the indiscipline of the youth. I am afraid that he is completely unaware of the work that has been done in this direction.

A lot of light has been thrown on the subject by the hon Members. From the very discussion, it should be apparent that there is nothing new to be known about the causes of indiscipline in our country. The problem is certainly difficult. But we have to view it in a wider aspect. It is not right to consider the educational problem in isolation. Education is related to society. It reflects and it should reflect the changes that take place in the society. Considering the big changes that are taking place in our country and the transformation that is going on in our society today, I personally think that the problem has been exaggerated. I do not deny that there have been cases of indiscipline among the university students. But the condemnation of university education and of our teachers who are doing a noble work under very difficult circumstances, and the condemnation of the youth of the country, to my mind, is wholly unjustified.

Sir the youth of the country have played a very important role in the freedom movement and I have no doubt that they will play an important role in the reconstruction of our country. In fact, if only we look at the various constructive activities in which the youth of the country are engaged, we will not condemn them in the way in which we have done

Sir, as I said, there have been cases of indiscipline here and there, but the problem is certainly not countrywide. It is to a great extent localised, as compared to the cases of discipline. Look at the number of constructive activities in which the youth are participating. They have taken an active part in the various national programmes that we undertook in the first Five Year Plan and I am quite sure that they will take a more active part in the next Five Year Plan.

The causes of indiscipline have been enumerated by various hon. Members. As I said, it is necessary to view this problem in the social context. Education is influenced by what is happening in the society. And, as I said, since this great transformation is taking place in our society today, we have to approach this problem from a sociological point of view. Let us for a moment look at the big changes that have taken place in our society. The great political change that has come about, namely the independence, that in itself was a great event. Then, the whole economic structure of the society is being transformed. When such big changes take place in a society, there are certain emotional stresses and strains. The greatest thing about the Indian society is that in spite of these big changes that have taken place there has not been too much of stress and strain. In the various spheres of life changes are taking place, joint family system which existed in the past is gradually changing. Home is the place where education is given to the child at the first instance. The impressions formed and the character built up in the home last permanently. It has been

said that the child carries a family wherever he goes. In our present society, the family influence is diminishing.

Then, religion, another great educative factor, does not exercise the same influence which it used to do in the past.

SHRI NAWAB SINGH CHAUHAN
(Uttar Pradesh) Why so?

DR K L SHRIMALI The reasons are obvious. The old values are being questioned. Science is making its impact on the society. Many of the beliefs which we cherished in the past are now being questioned by young people and quite rightly. Science does not accept everything on the basis of faith, but it has to examine and experiment with things. That is the spirit in which the youth is working today.

As, I said, there has been a certain disintegration of the values which we held in the past and our problem today is to reconstruct new values. The old order is disappearing. The youth is restless to reconstruct the new values.

DR P C MITRA Who is responsible for that?

DR K L SHRIMALI The whole society is responsible for that. We have accepted willingly that new order. That silent social revolution is taking place in our society at the present moment. In the political field, in the social field and in other spheres of life changes are taking place. It is a well known fact that when such big changes take place in a society there is a certain kind of restlessness. We must be happy that these changes are taking place in a peaceful way.

Various factors responsible for the indiscipline among our students have been enumerated here. As I said, the transformation that is taking place, is to my mind one of the important factors. When such big changes take

[Dr. K. L. Shrimali.]

place there is sometimes a slackness in the group-morality itself. My own belief is that there is nothing wrong with our youth today. Our young people in the universities are some of the finest young men and women, but when they go in a group there is a general deterioration of the standard. What is the reason? Individually they are very fine people; but when they mix in a group there is indiscipline, there is lack of certain moral standard. To my mind that is due to lack of leadership. Lack of leadership is one of the important reasons for some of the indiscipline which is prevalent in our country today, and, as I said, this is a wider problem and has to be looked in a wider context.

Another important factor, I think, is a certain kind of boredom in our educational institutions. I, certainly, would not condemn the present educational system in the way in which many of our Members—specially Mr. Mathur—have condemned. Sometime this very condemnation of the educational system creates this problem of discipline among the students. It is true that we have to reconstruct the educational system, that we should have better staff and better teachers, better equipment, better buildings and better relationship between the students and teachers. But it does not help either the Government or the students or the teachers to condemn the system outright. Sometimes this very condemnation itself creates unrest among students.

I was saying that there was a certain boredom in our educational system. It is not the only factor, there are various other factors. When a society is changing and transforming itself some kind of difficulties are bound to arise and the only thing that we have to do is to make that constructive effort which will remove that boredom and lack of interest in studies. It means that we have to develop transition techniques. Take for example the number of students which are being enrolled in our educational

institutions. Today we have to deal with a much larger number than we were used to in the old days. It is a colossal problem. We have to develop new techniques to deal with such numbers.

Mr. Reddy suggested the taking over of all the universities by the Central Government to solve the problem of students indiscipline. I would raise one question at this stage. What kind of discipline do we want? Do we want democratic discipline or do we want autocratic discipline? Are we preparing our citizens for a democratic society or for a totalitarian society? This is the basic question when we talk of discipline. If we are preparing them for a democratic society we have to adopt democratic procedures; we have to adopt democratic methods. Democratic methods are not quick methods; they take time. You have to influence the minds of young people. You have to cultivate in them right ideals. You have to cultivate self-discipline in them. Unless that self-discipline is cultivated, unless right ideals are formed, unless the youngmen pursue goals which they have themselves accepted, self-discipline does not come about. And unless there is self-discipline, a democratic society cannot come into existence.

Sir, the totalitarian methods, on the other hand, are very easy. You have to order the students to accept a certain form and to behave in a certain manner. You have to order from the top, and the students will certainly be regimented. They will certainly learn to obey, but they will merely be slaves and not citizens of a free society. Sir, when we are talking of discipline, we have to think of the type of society that we are visualising, and for a democratic society, our young men must devote themselves to the humanitarian principles and ideals. We must understand that discipline cannot be attained through humiliation but by recognising the inherent dignity of the individual. A democratic society must have self-discipline and self-direction, and the

students must understand the purposes for which they want to work and they want to live. Now, Sir, this is not an easy task. It is easy for us to say that the Ministry of Education has done nothing, but it is a question of making man for the future society, it is a question of making new citizens for the society. After all, we have attained independence only a short while ago. If we introduce the methods of regimentation, the society could be transformed tomorrow. There will be no difficulty about that. But cultivation of democratic attitudes takes a long time, and the task is not an easy one. Sir, discipline is not to be attained through coercion or force. But it is a question of spirit, and that spirit cannot be ordered or regimented for. We have to create admiration and love for the ideals and the democratic purposes. And this is certainly a long process.

With these few general remarks, Sir, I would like to touch on some of the points which the hon. Members have raised during the course of the discussion. Now, Sir, I think it was Mr. Mathur who said that youth was demoralised and frustrated. I am afraid, I do not subscribe to that view. We have in our country some of the finest young men today who are devoted to ideals, who are patriotic, and who are prepared to make any sacrifices for the country, and when any opportunity comes, I have no doubt that they will come forward.

Then, Sir, another hon. Member raised the question with regard to unions. It was said that the unions in the universities should have freedom, and there should be no interference from the side of the university authorities. I am afraid, Sir, when we make that suggestion, we do not fully understand the implications of the educational process. When the students come to the universities, they are preparing themselves for the life which they will have to live. There should certainly be self-government in the educational institutions, but we should not forget that teachers are a

part of the society, and they have got the right to advise and to guide the young students. Now, to say that the students should have complete freedom in the universities and the teachers should not in any way influence their decisions or guide them, is, I think, entirely misunderstanding the whole educational process.

Sir, it is quite true—the Members have also referred to the problem of unemployment—that there is unemployment in our country. It is quite true that there is also some amount of frustration among the students when they come out of the universities, but it is a national problem, a wider problem, and the whole Second Five Year Plan is directed towards the solution of this problem. And I have no doubt that as our Plan progresses, the problem of unemployment will be solved. But the hon. Member was repeatedly emphasising that the Education Minister, in his speech at the Youth Festival, had said that there was no unemployment problem. Sir, what he meant was that with the big projects that we were taking up, and with the big plans that we had ahead, the youth need not have felt diffident and frustrated, because they had great opportunities before them. Now, Sir, should we go and tell the youth.....

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: May I request the hon. Deputy Minister to read the full passage?

DR. K. I. SHRIMALI: Sir, I have read it. I have read that speech myself. And I think it is nothing but a distortion of the whole speech of the Education Minister. What he said was that the youth should not feel frustrated and they would have many opportunities before them. Now, Sir, does the hon. Member expect the Education Minister to tell the youth that there will be no opportunities for them and, therefore, they should feel themselves frustrated? Does the hon. Member expect the Government to tell the youth that they shall have no openings for them? Certainly, Sir, that is not the way in which the youth should be guided and directed.

[Dr. K. L. Shrimali.]

Then, Sir, some reference has been made to the participation of students in politics. I think, in the universities the students should study politics. They should keep themselves abreast with what is happening in their own country and in the rest of the world. But, Sir, the students must also realise that with the change in the political structure of our country, there must be a change in their attitude also. There may have been some justification for strikes and for various kinds of activities outside the universities in which the students indulged at the instance of our own leaders, but there is no justification for these kinds of activities in the present context of things. We have to build up a democracy, and democracy is based on the methods of persuasion and reasoning. That is the spirit which the students must cultivate. Direct methods or methods of coercion and strikes, I think, should be ruled out of the universities. Of course, I do not by any means wish to suggest that students should not study politics or they should not keep themselves abreast with political movements, or they should not take any active part in the public affairs. But, Sir, it is wholly unjustified for them to go on strikes for the fulfilment of certain demands.

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL (Bihar): What will you do, if they go on strikes?

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: Well, Sir, the universities are looking after their own affairs. My own feeling is that as we progress, the students will adopt the democratic methods and the democratic processes.

Sir, I do not think I have to add anything more to what I have already said. As I said, this is a much bigger question, and it should not be viewed in isolation. It is related to the whole of our society; it is related to the changes that are taking place in our society; and it is related to the state of our social and political systems which are undergoing transformation.

And my own feeling is that this problem has been too much exaggerated. It is certainly true that certain cases of indiscipline have taken place in some universities, but it is not a countrywide problem. There are universities where there have been no cases of indiscipline at all, and where the students and the teachers have been behaving in an admirable way. Therefore, Sir, I do not think there is any need for a Commission like this. In fact, the Ministry of Education is fully aware of this problem, and it is advising the State Governments and the universities to tackle this problem, and work is actually being done.

श्री कन्हैयालाल दाँ० बैद्य : उपसभापति महोदय, माननीय मंत्री महोदय ने जिन बातों का उल्लेख किया, उनके बाद एक प्रश्न बहुत ही विचारणीय हमारे सामने रहता है, और वह यह है कि क्या विद्यार्थियों में जो अनुशासनहीनता है, उसके लिए आज की शिक्षा-पद्धति जिम्मेदार है या बाहर के कुछ तत्व भी जिम्मेदार हैं। यदि हम स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद के सारे विद्यार्थी-आंदोलन के इतिहास को देखें तो पता चलेगा कि उसमें अधिकांशतः हमारी युनिवर्सिटीयों के विद्यार्थियों का हाथ रहा है। माननीय श्री माधुर का जो प्रस्ताव है उससे प्रकट होता है कि वह भी उन्हीं के विषय में है। आप देखेंगे कि देश में कई जगह विद्यार्थियों को राष्ट्रद्रोही तत्वों ने या तो गुमराह किया या उनको ऐसी स्थिति के अंदर ला कर रखा कि जिससे वे उस आंदोलन में शरीक होने को विवश हुए और शरीक ही नहीं हुए बल्कि उसके परिणामस्वरूप कई घटनाएं हुईं, अशान्ति फैली और सरकार को शान्ति स्थापित रखने के लिए मजबूर हो कर कुछ कदम उठाने पड़े। कल और परसों की बात है, रीवा में बहुत सी राजनीतिक घटनाएं हुईं, जिसका आज यह परिणाम आया कि वहां के स्कूलों को सरकार को बन्द करना पड़ा। ये कौन लोग हैं, ये कौन तत्व हैं, जो राष्ट्रहितों के विरुद्ध विद्यार्थियों को इस प्रकार राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में खींचने के लिए चंष्टा करते हैं? जहां तक

विद्यार्थियों के अनुशासन का प्रश्न है, यह ठीक है कि विद्यार्थियों के शिक्षा-केंद्र, स्कूल, कॉलेज या यूनिवर्सिटीयों के ऊपर उसका पालन कराने की पाबन्दी आती है, लेकिन इस विषय में कहाँ तक हम शिक्षा-विभाग को उसके लिए जिम्मेदार मान सकते हैं उसको हमें सोचना है और जानना है कि उन घटनाओं के लिए कौन लोग दोषी हैं। मैं जिस राज्य से आता हूँ, पिछले चार वर्षों में वहाँ दो बार गोलीकांड हुआ और ऐसे तत्व उसके पीछे रहते थे जिन्होंने विद्यार्थियों को न केवल गुमराह किया बल्कि जब मौका आया तो उनको ऐसी स्थिति में रखा कि जहाँ राष्ट्र-द्रोही तत्व उन बातों में आगे आए, उन्होंने उपद्रव किये और अंत में विद्यार्थियों के नाम को बदनाम किया, उनके नाम को कलंकित किया, और तमाम लांछन विद्यार्थियों के नाम पर लगे। इसीलिए जहाँ हम इस बात के ऊपर विचार करते हैं वहाँ हमें इस बात को भी गम्भीरता से देखने की जरूरत है कि हमारा देश के विद्यार्थियों को गुमराह करने वाले बहुत से ऐसे राष्ट्र-द्रोही तत्व हैं जो अनुचित रूप से एक ऐसी नाजुक जगह पर हाथ डालते हैं और उसको उभाड़ने का प्रयत्न करते हैं जिससे उनके जो आन्दोलन हैं और जो मन्सूबे हैं उनका मकसद पूरा होने में मदद मिले और सरकार व्यर्थ में बदनाम हो, जो सरकार की व्यवस्था चलाने वाले लोग हैं वे बदनाम हों और इस प्रकार वे अनुचित रूप से लाभ उठा सकें। इसीलिए जब ऐसी परिस्थितियाँ हैं तो मैं नहीं समझता कि उसके लिये हमारी यूनिवर्सिटीयों, हमारे कॉलेजों को उन दोषों के लिए जिम्मेदार माना जाय।

हमारे कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने दूसरा सुझाव प्रस्तुत भी रखा कि हमें जहाँ तक हो यूनिवर्सिटीयों में चरित्र-निर्माण की तरफ अधिक ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। ठीक है, यूनिवर्सिटी आदर्श चरित्र-निर्माण का स्थान है जहाँ उच्च शिक्षा होती है और देश उससे अपेक्षा करता है कि जहाँ से निकलने वाले विद्यार्थी आदर्श नागरिक होंगे, वे हमारे स्वतंत्र भारत और उसकी सरकार और जनता की आकांक्षाओं को पूरा करने वाले

होंगे। इस दिशा में हम देखते हैं, जैसा कि यहाँ सदन में बताया गया, आज एन० सी० सी० और ए० सी० सी० के जो कैम्प बन हुए हैं जिनके अन्तर्गत माध्यमिक स्कूलों से लेकर यूनिवर्सिटीयों तक के विद्यार्थी शरीक होते हैं, उन्होंने देश के निर्माणकारी कार्यों में अनुशासन का उदाहरण उपस्थित किया है। उसका अध्ययन करने की आवश्यकता है। जिन लोगों ने इस विषय में अभी कुछ अनुभव नहीं किए, हो मैं उनसे आग्रह करूँगा कि वे एन० सी० सी० और ए० सी० सी० के कैम्पों में जाकर देखें। मैंने स्वयं अपनी आंखों से, कोसी नदी के विस्तार के क्षेत्र में जो बांध बनाया जा रहा है उसमें इन लोगों द्वारा किये गये कार्य को देखा है, और मेरा यह कहना है कि यदि कोई व्यक्ति आखें रखता है तो वहाँ जा कर देख सकता है कि वह देश का विद्यार्थी ही है जिसने अनुशासन में रह कर, ठंड में और असुविधाजनक स्थिति में रह कर, वहाँ महीनों काम किया है, और ऐसा आदर्श कायम किया है कि जो पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० को वहाँ इंजीनियर्स हैं और जो दूसरे स्वतंत्र रूप से ठेकेदार काम कर रहे हैं उनके मुकाबले में विद्यार्थियों का काम अच्छा, पुराना, मजबूत और ईमानदारी का सबूत देने वाला है। इसीलिए जिन लोगों को यह अनुभव करना हो कि हमारे देश के विद्यार्थियों में चरित्र का भी विकास हो रहा है, जिन लोगों को यह देखना हो कि वास्तव में उनके अंदर एक सुंदर अनुशासन का विकास हो रहा है वे इन एन० सी० सी० और ए० सी० सी० के कैम्पों में जा कर देखें। हमारे देश की प्राचीन संस्कृति वास्तव में एक आध्यात्मिक संस्कृति रही है और वर्षों से जो हम एक भौतिक संस्कृति के अंदर रह कर एक चकाचाँध की दुनिया में आ गए हैं उसके कारण न केवल विद्यार्थी का जीवन गिरा बल्कि हमारे राष्ट्र का जीवन भी चारित्रिक पतन की ओर जा रहा है।

आज जहाँ कई माननीय सदस्यों ने स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद की स्थिति को बतलाया, वहाँ उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि जो हमारे अध्यापक हैं उनको एक आदर्श वंश मिलना चाहिए। बल्कि

[श्री कन्हैयालाल दौ० बेंद्य]

सुन्दर बात हैं। यह प्रश्न सरकार की आर्थिक नीति से सम्बन्धित हैं और इस पर भी सरकार को गम्भीरतापूर्वक सोचना चाहिए। हमारी सरकार की पॉलिसी डीफिशिट फाइनेन्सिंग की हैं और यहां के जो भ्रष्टाचार, चोरबाजार करने वाले बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपति हैं, जो कि अंगरेजी साम्राज्यवाद और अमेरिकन साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ हैं, वे इस देश के अंदर वस्तुओं के दामों को नीचा गिराने वाली सरकार की उस नीति के मार्ग में कांटें हैं जिनकी वजह से आज सारे देश के लोगों का चरित्र गिरता जा रहा है। जो अध्यापक हैं, जो गुरु का पद लेने वाला व्यक्ति है वह एक आदर्श चरित्र का निर्माण करने वाला व्यक्ति होता है और वह बच्चों में प्राइमरी एजुकेशन के समय से संस्कार डालता है। कभी कभी वह व्यक्ति अध्यापक की जगह इसीलिए लेता है कि जिससे वह आगे पढ़ सके। मर पास ऐसे बहुत से अध्यापक आते हैं जो पहले तो नौकरी के लिए कोशिश करते हैं और थोड़े दिनों बाद कहते हैं कि हमें किसी बड़े शहर में ट्रांसफर करा दीजिए। इसमें उनका मूल उद्देश्य होता है आगे शिक्षण लेना और उसके लिए वे अध्यापक की तनखाह की जगह केवल स्कालरशिप लेने के लिए भी तैयार होते हैं। तो जहां हम अन्य बातों पर विचार करते हैं वहां हमें मूलभूत बातों के ऊपर पहले सोचना चाहिए।

आप यहां सेकेंडरी एजुकेशन और यूनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन की बातें करते हैं। आपको यह पता नहीं है कि जो बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपति, निकम्मे और मुफ्तखोर लोग होते हैं उनके लड़के अनुशासन भंग करते हैं। जो गरीबों के बच्चे हैं वे कभी अनुशासनहीनता प्रदर्शित नहीं करते हैं। वे अपने मां-बाप की गाइडेंस में रहते हैं और ईमानदारी से पढ़ने जाते हैं। उद्वेगता और उच्छ्वलता का जो दृश्य वहां उपस्थित किया जाता है वह उस वर्ग के द्वारा उपस्थित किया जाता है जो आज भी देशद्रोह करके इस देश को रसातल में ले जाने के लिए तैयार हैं। जो देश में राष्ट्रीय शक्तियां हैं उनको इस ओर ध्यान देना

चाहिये अन्यथा विद्यार्थियों में चरित्र-निर्माण या अनुशासन की कल्पना करना व्यर्थ है। मैंने पिछले दिनों इस सदन में एक प्रस्ताव रखा था कि संविधान की पवित्रता की रक्षा के नाम पर प्राइमरी एजुकेशन की व्यवस्था करना नितांत आवश्यक है, परन्तु उस सम्बन्ध में सरकार कहती है कि अर्थ के साधन न होने के कारण ऐसा करना संभव नहीं है। यदि हम देश के विद्यार्थियों का या नागरिकों का चरित्र-निर्माण करना चाहते हैं तो उसके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि हम बचपन से ही बच्चों की ओर विशेष ध्यान दें। आप जानते हैं कि अभिमन्यु को वह शिक्षा दी गई थी। माता के गर्भ में जो उसे ज्ञान मिला था, उसी के आधार पर वह चक्रव्यूह में बंध करने के लिए गया था। इसके अतिरिक्त आज के युग में जब मां-बाप की आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक नहीं होती है तो अपने बच्चों की ओर विशेष ध्यान देना उनके लिए कीठन हो जाता है। माननीय सदस्य गोविंद रंङ्गू ने बतलाया कि किस प्रकार की बातें शिक्षा के नाम पर की जा रही हैं और कैसे कैसे स्कूल होते हैं। आप देखें कि आज भी लाखों छोट-छोट बच्चे होटलों, छोट-छोट कारखानों में काम करते हैं। इस प्रकार चाइल्ड लैबर का इस बुरी तरह एक्सप्लायटेशन होता है कि बहुत से बच्चे की हांकर अकाल मृत्यु को प्राप्त हो जाते हैं। स्वतंत्र प्राप्ति के बाद भी उनकी शिक्षा के लिए क प्रबन्ध नहीं हुआ है और मां-बाप अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण अपने बच्चों को काम करने लिए भेज देते हैं। उसका परिणाम यह होता है कि १८-१८ घंटे उन बच्चों से काम कराया जाता है। आपके ये बड़े-बड़े लैबर लाज आज भी बच्चों का रक्षण नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। तो मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि सरकार को मूलतः इन बातों पर ध्यान देना चाहिये और जब सरकार इस ध्यान देगी तभी देश का कल्याण होने वाला है जो देश में उच्छ्वलता फैलाने वाले लोग हैं, देशद्रोह करके, विद्यार्थी समाज का शोषण कर उनको गुमराह करते हैं, जब तक उनकी उचित ध्यान नहीं दिया जायगा, तब तक

नहीं समझता कि इस प्रकार के कमीशन से देश का कल्याण होने वाला है।

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, while moving this Resolution and even today, I made it abundantly clear, and I thought the hon. Deputy Minister was listening to it, that I had never condemned the student community as such. I had not even mentioned that the problem of indiscipline could be examined as such. I had made it clear that, to my mind, the question of indiscipline is only to be examined in that particular context and I felt that indiscipline was only a symptom and I still remain fully convinced, after listening to all the speeches here that this indiscipline is only a symptom of certain conditions obtaining in the life of the student community, obtaining in the system of our education; and if the hon. Minister had taken note of this fundamental basis on which I had proceeded, I think a major portion of his speech would not have been necessary. I had listened with all care and attention to all that he said with reference to my speech and that of the other hon. Members and it really very much disappoints me. Nobody denies that this student problem is there. The Minister for Education himself, on more than one occasion, has stressed it. The Prime Minister of this country has, on more than one occasion, referred to it. The President of the Republic has, on more than one occasion, referred to it and every Member who participated in this debate was definitely of the opinion that the student problem as such did exist and that we had got to give necessary attention to this whole problem as such. My friend who spoke from here in a very convincing speech, placed before the House, the whole aspect of this question. We expected the hon. Deputy Minister to say a word about that. What the Ministry for Education is doing in this particular respect? He, throughout the half-an-hour that he spoke, gave us the factual position which we ourselves knew and which every Mem-

ber on the floor of this House had reiterated.....

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: That is exactly the position. We all know the causes of indiscipline. There is nothing to be known.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: I am coming to the cause of indiscipline later. All that he stated was merely a reiteration of these facts. What we expected from him to know was what the Ministry for Education was doing in this matter. Say, for example, he mentioned that the home influence was dwindling away. Everybody knows it that the joint family system is breaking up. Everybody knows it that today the home influence is diminishing, but we wanted to know whether we can do anything in this respect or not.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: I think I made it very clear that it is a reconstruction of the values and that is a colossal problem which will have to be tackled from all fronts—not from education alone.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: Yes. Here again I ask him: If it is to be tackled from all fronts, may I know what the Education Ministry is doing about it? We are here not to be told that it has to be tackled from all fronts. We know it. What we expected from the hon. Minister to tell us is what the Education Ministry is doing about it—about this entire problem? There was not one word in the whole speech which he delivered in the whole half-an-hour in which he said what was being done about this matter. What steps the Education Ministry was taking in this.....

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: If the hon. Member had listened to me, I said that we had advised the universities and we had brought this matter to the notice of the State Governments. Unfortunately, it seems that this has escaped his attention.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: I am very happy that the hon. Minister makes it

[Shri H. C. Mathur.]

clear and clear to this extent that the Ministry at the Centre has done nothing beyond inviting the attention to this matter of the universities. I am very happy to record and to know what to expect from the Central Ministry. All that we can expect from them is that when the problem deteriorates, when it gets worse and worse and when the Minister for Education himself feels that he should interfere, that he cannot take the whole thing lying down as he himself mentioned, then all that they will do is to refer it to the universities. So, it should be clear to every Member that it is all that has been done by the Ministry of Education. When I spoke on the Resolution, I pointed out to you and I thought at least that will excite the hon. Minister to say something. I told him that he.....

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: I refuse to be excited even by the severest condemnation which he has made.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: Well, Sir, that is the whole trouble with this Ministry. The Ministry is in such a state of stupor that it can never be excited. That is the misfortune which this country is suffering from. They will do nothing from their own side, they will never listen to the arguments which are advanced, they will never be provoked, they will never be excited, they don't exist. I pointed out from this Report that here is a Report which was submitted about six years ago and how little has been done to implement the recommendations made even in this Report. The hon. Minister very rightly pointed out that the whole society was changing. There is a great transformation coming on and our complaint is that the Ministry is not keeping pace with that change and the transformation that is coming on. If they were aware and if they were alert and active, things would have been entirely different in the country today and as I submitted earlier, I am only repeating what was said by the President that it is only in the Ministry of Education that

we have been able to do so little. My hon. friend objected to my saying that the student world is today demoralised and frustrated. These are not my words. If he had listened to me attentively, what I said was that I was quoting that distinguished educationist Dr. Amarnath Jha. These are his words.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: I thought he was also subscribing to that view.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: Well, it is not only my view, Sir, as I submitted. This is the view expressed by that distinguished educationist and that is the view which has been expressed by no less than three or four Vice-Chancellors who have given their convocation addresses. The last convocation address at Agra makes a special reference to the same problem and in the same words almost, the same ideals. Well, Sir, if my friend has got such scant respect for the views of the educationists of that eminence, God alone will help him. He says that there is very little for them to know about this matter. That again is the attitude of a closed mind which is very dangerous. When one begins to feel that there is very little to know, there the danger starts. I wish at least the Minister for Education should have an open mind. We are changing so rapidly everyday that the conditions have to be kept under constant review if he hopes to be able to guide the destinies of such an important Department as the one he is controlling. Sir, I submit that we have made progress in all the various spheres of life. But if we are not successful, in this most vital problem of educating the youth, we will be betraying the future of the nation.

I would have felt very happy if the hon. Minister had told us what new values they have evolved, what new values they are placing before the student community of the country, and what steps they are taking to inculcate those new values in the lives of our youth at the present moment. There is actually a big vacuum that has been created. There is a trans-

formation going on. But neither here on the floor of the House nor through any of the pamphlets that we receive, nor through the knowledge that we have of the colleges and universities we have been able to know that anything whatsoever is being done in this matter.

Sir, it hurts us, and it hurts me to say anything which will hurt the feelings of the venerable Minister for Education. We cannot be ungrateful. We know that he has rendered great service to this country. But, Sir, we cannot permit ourselves to be carried away by these sentiments. We would never grudge him any position of honour in this country; but it is our definite feeling that if the present arrangements in the Ministry of Education are to continue, this country will have a sad future. We want, as a matter of fact, a dynamic personality like that of Subhash Bose, to guide and to take forward the youth of this country at this most crucial moment. It is only then, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that we will not have to listen to such speeches, that we will not be told that a reference has been made to the various universities, that we will not be told that it is the responsibility of the States, that the universities are autonomous bodies. The universities will remain autonomous bodies and the States will also remain autonomous States, but they will be made to function.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is time, Mr. Mathur.

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: I will wind up in a minute. Sir, I would never hesitate even to suggest—and my hon. friend Mr. Reddy has supported me today—that in spite of jealousy guarding the autonomy of the States and all their rights, we would not hesitate for the sake of our national advancement, if powers are taken by the Centre, to put the whole system of education in proper order and get things going. It is not because we want centralisation. It is not because we want any authoritarian form of

Government. To say so is just misusing and misunderstanding us purposely. What we want is a co-ordinated effort to be made. What we want is that the national needs should be taken into consideration. The whole plan that we make should be in conformity with our national needs so that the nation may make advance.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do you press your Resolution?

SHRI H. C. MATHUR: Yes, Sir. I do press my resolution.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

“This House is of opinion that Government should appoint a high-powered Commission to investigate the causes of indiscipline among university students and to suggest remedies for removing the same.”

The motion was negatived.

RESOLUTION RE FIXATION OF FAIR MINIMUM PRICES FOR TOBACCO, JUTE AND GROUND-NUT.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There are five more minutes. Yes, Mr. Prasadarao.

SHRI N. D. M. PRASADARAO (Andhra): Sir, I move the following Resolution:

“This House is of opinion that Government should fix fair minimum prices for tobacco, jute and groundnut.”

Sir, as we all know, the question of prices has assumed very great importance today. When we consider the question of increased production of foodgrains and other crops in the Second Five Year Plan, this question of prices has to be given great importance. And that importance is increased by the fact that recently the prices of foodgrains and also of