

SHRI BUTA SINGH : One hour was allotted.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : If Half-an-hour discussion is not there it is all right; but Half-an-hour discussion is there; it can not be done.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : We can finish this by about 7 O'clock.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I am sorry; that is not possible; Half an hour discussion is there. We can take it up on Monday.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad, the only other speaker is Mr. Rakesh. Then you will reply.

15.01 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

76th Report

SHRI K. PRADHANI (Nowrangpur) : I beg to move :

"That this House do agree with the Seventy-sixth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 25th April, 1984."

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The question is :

"That this House do agree with the Seventy-sixth Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions presented to the House on the 25th April, 1984."

The motion was adopted.

15.02 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE :

RIGHT TO FREE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION AS FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The House will now take up further discussion of the following Resolution moved by Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary on 12 April, 1984 :

'This House expresses its grave concern over the high percentage of illiteracy prevailing throughout the country even after thirty-six years of Independence and resolves that the right to free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years be including as a Fundamental Right in our Constitution.'

Shri Shailani was on his legs. He has already taken 9 minutes. He may take a few minutes and conclude.

श्री खन्नापाल शैलानी (हायरस) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उस दिन निवेदन कर रहा था कि हमारे देश में 1951 से 1981 के बीच में शिक्षा की राज्यवार प्रतिशत क्या है। जहाँ तक जम्मू-काश्मीर राज्य का सम्बन्ध है, 1951 के आंकड़े उपलब्ध नहीं हैं, मगर 1981 में वहाँ का प्रतिशत 26.67 है। कर्नाटक में 1951 में वह 19.34 प्रतिशत था, जो बढ़कर 1981 में 38.46 प्रतिशत हो गया। केरल में वह 1951 में 40.23 प्रतिशत था और 1981 में 70.42 प्रतिशत हुआ। मध्य प्रदेश में 1951 में वह 9.50 प्रतिशत था, जो बढ़कर 1981 में 27.87 हो गया। इसी तरह से सारे राज्यों के आंकड़े हैं। यह काफी लम्बी लिस्ट है। इस वक्त हमारे देश में शिक्षा की प्रतीशतता करीब 15.83 है।

माननीय सदस्य ने यह जो संकल्प पेश किया है, उसमें शिक्षा को अनिवार्य और

निःशुल्क बनाने पर विशेष जोर दिया गया है। जहां तक उनकी भावना का प्रश्न है, मैं समझता हूँ कि पक्ष और विपक्ष के सभी सदस्यों ने उसकी प्रशंसा की है। यदि गहराई से विचार किया जाए, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस बिल का उद्देश्य बहुत ही साफ और महान है। उस दिन मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि इस देश में अधिकांश गरीब और मध्यम वर्ग के लोग रहते हैं और उनके बच्चों की शिक्षा की व्यवस्था आज भी ठीक नहीं है, और वह तब तक ठीक नहीं होगी, जब तक शिक्षा का स्तर एक समान नहीं हो जाएगा। आज हम देखते हैं कि जिला परिषद, नगरपालिका और महापालिका के देहात, कस्बों और शहरों के स्कूलों की हालत बहुत खराब है। वहाँ पर वे अध्यापक जाते हैं, जो सही मानों में अपनी ड्यूटी अंजाम नहीं देते। उन स्कूलों से निकले हुए बच्चे आई० ए० एस०, आई० पी० एस० और आई० एफ० एस० आदि का काम्पीटी-शन्ज में उतनी अधिक संख्या में नहीं आ पाते हैं, जितनी संख्या में पब्लिक स्कूलों और कानवेंट्स में पढ़ने वाले अमीरों और पूँजीपतियों के बच्चे आते हैं। मैंने उस दिन मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन किया था कि जहाँ तक हो सके, इस देश में शिक्षा का स्तर एक समान हो और गरीब तथा अमीर, छूत तथा अछूत, सभी के बच्चों को एक ही शिक्षा दी जाए। तब पता चलेगा कि काम्पी-टीटिव एग्जामिनेशन्ज में कौन पास होते हैं और कौन फेल होते हैं। मेरा सुझाव है कि शिक्षा बजट का 80 प्रतिशत हिस्सा अनुसूचित जाति, जनजातियों और कमजोर वर्ग के बच्चों पर खर्च होना चाहिए, क्योंकि ऐसे वाले शहर के लोग तो अपने बच्चों को अच्छे स्कूलों में पढ़ाते हैं, लेकिन गरीब का बच्चा अच्छी शिक्षा प्राप्त नहीं कर पाता है। जब तक शिक्षा एक जैसी नहीं होगी और स्तर नहीं सुधरेगा तब तक किसी भी चीज में हम तरक्की नहीं कर सकते। मैं

इस बिल की भावना से सहमत हूँ, लेकिन चूँकि यह प्राइवेट बिल है इसलिए पास तो नहीं होगा, अच्छा ही सरकार ही ऐसा बिल लाए और पास हो तो ज्यादा अच्छा रहे।

आज सरकार ने शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में पिछड़ी जातियों के लोगों को काफी सुविधाएं दी हैं और वह अच्छे-अच्छे ओहदों पर हैं। जो लोग पढ़ लिख गए हैं उनके बच्चे भविष्य में अनपढ़ नहीं रहेंगे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं चाहूंगा सरकार अपनी तरफ से ऐसा बिल लाए जिससे देश में सभी वर्गों का हित हो। मैं इस बिल की भावनाओं का समर्थन करते हुए और आपका धन्यवाद देते हुए अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

श्री रीतलाल प्रसाद वर्मा (कोडरमा):
उपाध्यक्ष जी, इस संकल्प पर माननीय सदस्यों ने अपने विचार व्यक्त किए हैं, मैं समझता हूँ यह एक महत्वपूर्ण विषय है कि आजादी के 38 वर्ष और गणतंत्र के रूप में 35 वर्ष गुजर रहे हैं, फिर भी सारे देश में निरक्षरता की संख्या कम नहीं है। 70 प्रतिशत अभी भी लोग अशिक्षित हैं। 30 प्रतिशत जो शिक्षित हुए हैं उसमें भी कई प्रांतों में जो स्थिति है उसके अनुसार देखा जाय तो बहुत ही मंद मूलक है। यह व्यवस्था के अभाव और संतुलित सरकारी व्यवस्था के अभाव के कारण सारे देश में ऐसी स्थिति है। हमारी जो योजनाएं बनी 38 वर्ष के बाद भी 50 प्रतिशत लोग अभी तक शिक्षित नहीं हो पाए हैं। मैंने अपने क्षेत्र के दौरे में देखा एक ब्लाक की 48,000 जनसंख्या है जिसमें शिक्षितों की संख्या 8,000 थी और शेष 40,000 अशिक्षित थे। इस प्रकार वहाँ 16 हजार पुरुष और 20 हजार महिलाएं अशिक्षित थे। इतने दिनों के बाद भी हमारी शिक्षा की यह रफ्तार है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रकार आगे वाले 50-100 सालों में भी हम पूर्ण रूप से

लोगों को शिक्षित नहीं कर पायेंगे। यह बहुत ही भयानक स्थिति है। देश में प्रजातंत्र का अर्थ है कि देश में हर व्यक्ति को शिक्षा हासिल होनी चाहिए, लेकिन देश में 70 फीसदी से अधिक लोगों की संख्या ठप्पा मारने की है। इस प्रकार वे कैसे गणतन्त्र, प्रजातंत्र को समझेंगे। इसके लिए सरकार को प्राथमिकता देकर महत्त्व देना चाहिए ताकि देश का हर नागरिक साक्षर हो जाए। संविधान के अनुसार 14 वर्ष तक शिक्षा अनिवार्य है, लेकिन वह आज भी कितानों तक ही सीमा है। अभी तक जितनी भी व्यवस्थाएं हुई हैं, वे अपर्याप्त हैं। यह बहुत ही वेदना का विषय है, लेकिन अभी भी हम इस दिशा में गुजर रहे हैं। इसीलिए माननीय सदस्य ने निःशुल्क और अनिवार्य शिक्षा के लिए यह प्रस्ताव रखा है, ताकि इसके द्वारा सभी नागरिकों को कम से कम पर्याप्त शिक्षा को व्यवस्था की जा सके। वे क्यों नहीं पढ़ पाते हैं, उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति क्या है, उनके परिवार की स्थिति क्या है, इन सब पर सरकार को विचार करना चाहिए। आखिर इन बच्चों के संस्कार को ऊपर उठाने के लिए सरकार उत्तरदायी है। यदि वह अपने उत्तरदायित्व को निभा नहीं सकती है, तो उसे शासन में रहने का कोई हक नहीं है। अभी भी उच्च शिक्षा में छीना-छपटी है। जो ऊंचे परिवार के लोग हैं, वे बराबर आगे बढ़ते चले जाते हैं, लेकिन निम्न वर्ग के लोग, हरिजन, आदिवासी, गिरिजन, कमजोर और पिछड़े वर्ग के लोग वास्तविक शिक्षा भी हासिल नहीं कर पाते हैं। तकनीकी और वैज्ञानिक शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के लिए भी सरकार ने कारगर कदम नहीं उठाया है। उनकी मूलभूत आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने के लिए भी सरकार की कोई अभिर्घ्न नहीं है। गांव-गांव में प्राइमरी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था बहुत ही दुखद है। यदि है भी तो सामग्री का अभाव है। अभी भी देश में एक प्राप्ति है जहां आजादी

के इतने वर्षों के बाद भी प्राथमिक विद्यालय किसी कच्चे भवन में, झोपड़ीवाले मकान में, वृक्षों के नीचे, किसी मन्दिर में या किसी के दरवाजे पर बैठ कर चलते हैं। न उनके पास बैठने के लिए पट्टी है, न ब्लैक-बोर्ड है और न अन्य साधन हैं। जब ऐसी हालत है तो आप कैसे कह सकते हैं कि हम बच्चों को अनिवार्य रूप से, गारन्टी के साथ, शिक्षा मुहैया कर रहे हैं? हमारी ये योजनायें इस दिशा में आज तक क्या करती रहीं हैं? यह सब हमारी अदूरदर्शिता का परिणाम है—पिछले 38 वर्षों में शिक्षा के लिए सबसे पहले प्राथमिकता देकर जो काम या जो व्यवस्था हमें करनी चाहिए थी, वह हम नहीं कर सके हैं।

हमारा देश गांवों का देश है। इस देश में 5-6 लाख गांव हैं। गांवों में शिक्षा की उचित व्यवस्था न होने के कारण यदि कोई शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के लिए शहरों की तरफ आता है तो वहां उसे एडमीशन नहीं मिलता है। दिल्ली जैसे शहर में माडर्न स्कूल हैं, दूसरे पब्लिक स्कूल हैं जिनमें गांवों के बच्चों के लिए एडमीशन मिलना दुर्लभ है। इन स्कूलों में किन लोगों को एडमीशन मिलता है, जो पूंजीपति हैं या ब्यूरोक्रेट हैं। जो वर्ग पहले से आगे बढ़ चुका है उसको ही ऐसे स्कूलों में स्थान मिलता है। जब ऐसे लोगों को इनमें स्थान मिलेगा तो देश के 70 प्रतिशत लोगों के लिए क्या होगा? जरूरत इस बात की है कि सब को समान रूप से शिक्षा मिले, चाहे गांव का स्कूल हो या शहर का स्कूल हो, सबका सिलेबस समान हो, पठन-पाठन की प्रणाली समान हो ताकि कोई गांव में पढ़े या शहर में पढ़े उसे समान शिक्षा मिले। लेकिन वास्तविकता क्या है—नाना प्रकार के सिलेबस हैं। कई लोग अपनी सामाजिक संस्थाएं चलाते हैं, कहीं सरकार की तरफ से ही अच्छे विद्यालयों के लिए व्यवस्था की गई है। इस

प्रकार समाज का जो विशेष वर्ग है उनको ही ज्यादा से ज्यादा लाभ मिलता रहता है।

हमारे सामने आप की एनुअल रिपोर्ट आती है, दूसरी बड़ी-बड़ी किताबें, छापाई जाती हैं, फोटो वगैरह छापी जाती हैं, इन सब पर बहुत ज्यादा पैसा खर्च किया जाता है। अगर इस प्रकार क खर्च को कम करके इस तरफ ध्यान दिया जाय तो उस धन से हजारों स्कूलों की बिल्डिंग बन सकती है, उनको शिक्षा की दूसरी सुविधायें दी जा सकती हैं। लेकिन कठिनाई यह है कि आज जो शिक्षा की व्यवस्था है— उसमें दोहरी-प्रणाली चल रही है। समाज में जो आगे बढ़ चुके हैं, जो आफिसर वर्ग के हैं, नेता वर्ग के हैं उनके लिए जितनी सुविधाएं शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के लिए हैं, डाक्टर और इन्जीनियर बनने के लिए हैं, उतनी भारत के शेष समाज के लिए नहीं हैं। कंपिटेशन फी समाप्त हो गई है, लेकिन उसको दूसरे रूप में लिया जाता है, एक-एक और डेढ़-डेढ़ लाख रुपया दान में ले लिया जाता है। लेकिन एक गरीब इतना रुपया कहां से लाएगा, कहां से इतनी धूस देकर अपने बच्चे को उच्च शिक्षा मुहिया कर सकेगा। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि शिक्षा प्रणाली को समान बनाया जाय, शहरों और गांवों में समान रूप से शिक्षा दी जाय, चाहे वह इन्जीनियरिंग की हो, डाक्टरी की हो या दूसरी साइन्टिफिक एजुकेशन हो, ताकि हमारे बच्चों को गांवों से शहरों की तरफ आने की जरूरत न पड़े और समाज के अन्य वर्गों के साथ-साथ उनको भी आगे बढ़ने का मौका मिले। मेरा यह भी विचार है कि जो हमारे हरिजन, आदिवासी, गिरीजन हैं, कमजोर वर्ग के लोग हैं उनको कम से कम आइ० ए० या बी० ए० तक निःशुल्क शिक्षा देनी चाहिए। 14 वर्ष के बच्चों को अनिवार्य शिक्षा देनी चाहिए और जिन बच्चों के गार्जियन बच्चों को नहीं पढ़ाते हैं, उनको आवासीय विद्यालयों की रचना करके शिक्षा देने की

व्यवस्था करें। बहुत से बच्चे हैं, जिनके गार्जियन उनके लिए खाने, कपड़े, किताबें और दूसरी तरह की सुविधाओं की व्यवस्था नहीं कर पाते हैं और उन बच्चों से मजदूरी कराते हैं। ऐसे बच्चों को साक्षर बनाने के लिए सरकार को कोई व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए और इस चीज को योजना में शामिल करना चाहिए। अगर ऐसा होगा तभी सभी लोगों को साक्षर बनाने में हम सफल हो सकेंगे। कांस्टीट्यूट एसेम्बली के सदस्यों ने महात्मा गांधी की भावना को ध्यान में रख कर इस चीज को रखा था कि शिक्षा में आमूल-मूल परिवर्तन करने की जरूरत है और ऐसी परिस्थिति में इसको सबसे पहले प्राथमिकता देने की आवश्यकता है। जिस तरह से हर व्यक्ति के लिए भोजन की आवश्यकता है, उसी प्रकार से देश की समृद्धि के लिए, देश को गौरव प्रदान करने के लिए हर बच्चे की पढ़ाई आवश्यक है और इसको प्राथमिकता देने के लिए हमें कारगर उपाय उठाने चाहिए। सारे देश में जितने भी विद्यालय हैं, उनमें पढ़ाई के लिए जो आवश्यक चीजें होती हैं, उनकी व्यवस्था सरकार को करनी चाहिए ताकि देश के माथे पर जो यह एक कलंक है और कोढ़ की तरह से जो यह बीमारी फैली हुई है कि इतने सारे लोग निरक्षर हैं, यह खत्म हो और इसको दूर किया जाए।

एक बात मैं प्रौढ़ शिक्षा के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं। प्रौढ़ शिक्षा सारे देश में चलाई जा रही है लेकिन प्रौढ़ शिक्षा का काम ऐसी एजेन्सियों द्वारा किया जा रहा है जो करोड़ों रुपया हजम कर जाती हैं। न वे कोई रजिस्टर इसके लिए रखती हैं और न कोई इस चीज को देखने के लिए जाता है और हर गांव में बैठ कर करोड़ों रुपया सरकार का इस पर नष्ट हो रहा है। आंकड़ों में तो यह दिखाया जाता है कि 50 प्रतिशत लोग साक्षर हो गए हैं लेकिन यह सब कागजों में ही रहता है और

व्यवहारिक रूप में ऐसी बात नहीं है। आप किसी भी गांव में जाकर देख लें, वहाँ पर प्रौढ़ शिक्षा की पढ़ाई ठीक से नहीं हो रही है और इसके लिए कोई कारगर कार्यवाही नहीं की जा रही है। इसकी जांच करने वाला कोई अधिकारी भी नहीं है और घर बैठकर हिसाब बना दिया जाता है और सरकार का करोड़ों रुपया इस तरह से हजम कर लिया जाता है। इसलिए मैं सरकार से आग्रह करूँगा कि प्राइवेट एजेंसियों को जो यह काम दिया है इसको समाप्त किया जाए और गवर्नमेंट का जो शिक्षा विभाग है, उसके द्वारा इस काम को कराया जाए। एक बात मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि रात्रि में ही यह शिक्षा देने का प्रावधान है। दिन में भी दो घंटे इसकी पढ़ाई होनी चाहिए ताकि वहाँ जाकर जांच पड़ताल की जा सके कि वाकई में प्रौढ़ शिक्षा लोगों को दी जा रही है। रात्रि पाठशालों में पढ़ाई नहीं होती है और कोई एकाध जगह ऐसी होगी जहाँ पर यह पढ़ाई ठीक से दी जा रही हो वरना सब जगहों पर कदाचार और व्यभिचार है। इसकी जांच पड़ताल होनी चाहिए।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस संकल्प का समर्थन करता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Two hours were allotted last time for this resolution. Now we have exhausted those two hours. There are 5 or 6 more members to speak. The Minister has got to intervene and the Mover must also reply. Therefore, I would like to know the sense of the House as to by how much time we should extend.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : One hour.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : So, the House has agreed to extend the time by one more hour and then we will see. Anyhow, we must give a chance to move the resolution of Mr. Rahi also.

Shri Girdhari Lal Vyas.

श्री गिरधारी लाल व्यास (भीलवाड़ा) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, चाँधरी सैफुद्दीन जी ने निःशुल्क और अनिवार्य शिक्षा के अधिकार को मौलिक अधिकार मानने के विषय में जो प्रस्ताव रखा है, उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार ने शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में काफी काम किया है। जिस भावना से माननीय सदस्य ने यह प्रस्ताव रखा है, उसके बारे में मैं उनसे भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी पार्टी की एक प्रांत में सरकार है, उस सरकार ने उस प्रांत में इस विषय में कोई कदम उठाए हैं या नहीं ?

अनिवार्य शिक्षा प्रांतीय सरकारों ने कर रखी है और निःशुल्क शिक्षा हमने 14 साल तक के बच्चों के लिए कर रखी है। इसलिए निःशुल्कता का तो कोई प्रश्न पैदा नहीं होता। हमने मिडिल क्लास तक निःशुल्क शिक्षा कर रखी है। इसको आगे बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता है यह हम महसूस करते हैं। इसको 14 साल से आगे बढ़ाना चाहिए जिससे कि बच्चे कम से कम मैट्रिक तक निःशुल्क शिक्षा प्राप्त कर सकें। वहाँ तक तो शिक्षा निःशुल्क हो जाए जिससे कि गरीब से गरीब आदमी के बच्चों को भी मैट्रिक तक शिक्षा प्राप्त हो सके। इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था से निश्चित तरीके से बहुत बड़ा लाभ मिलेगा।

भारत सरकार ने और खास कर हमारे देश की प्रधान मंत्री, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के जरिए से पिछले तीन-चार सालों में प्राइमरी और मिडिल शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में बहुत अच्छा काम किया है और इस साल तो बहुत बड़ा प्रयोग किया है। 6 से 11 साल के बच्चों का बहुत बड़ा एनरोलमेंट जो संस्था करती है, उसको अलग-अलग तरीके से

इनाम देने की घोषणा की, उनको मदद देने की घोषणा की। जिस संस्था में सबसे ज्यादा लड़कियों का प्रवेश होगा, उस संस्था को ज्यादा से ज्यादा लाभ देने की घोषणा की। इससे काफी लाभ हुआ और बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर प्राइमरी और मिडिल स्टेज पर एनरोलमेंट का काम बहुत तेजी से हुआ। इसलिए यह तो नहीं कहा जा सकता कि शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में भारत सरकार और प्रान्तीय सरकारों ने कोई काम नहीं किया। काम निश्चित तरीके से किया। लेकिन इस काम में सुधार की आवश्यकता है और इस काम में जो कमियां हैं उनको दूर करने की आवश्यकता है।

अभी एक माननीय सदस्य कह रहे थे कि यहां पर दो प्रकार की शिक्षा मिलती है। बड़े लोगों को बहुत बढ़िया शिक्षा मिलती है और गरीब लोगों को दूसरे प्रकार की शिक्षा मिलती है। शिक्षा में इस प्रकार का जो भेदभाव चल रहा है इसको समाप्त करना बहुत आवश्यक है। पब्लिक स्कूल और गवर्नमेंट स्कूल की शिक्षा में बहुत अन्तर है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने भी गांवों में देखा होगा कि गवर्नमेंट स्कूलों में न बैठने की व्यवस्था है, न पढ़ाई की सामग्री की व्यवस्था है। गरीब बच्चों को पढ़ाई की सामग्री उपलब्ध होनी चाहिए।

यह ठीक है कि यह काफी बड़ा काम है और सरकार इसके लिए कोशिश करती है कि शेड्युल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्युल्ड ट्राइब्स के बच्चों को और पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे के बच्चों को कितना दें और दूसरी सुविधाएं दें। यह कोशिश उतनी मात्रा में नहीं हो रही है जितनी मात्रा में होनी चाहिए। इसमें बहुत कमियां हैं और इन कमियों को निश्चित तरीके से दूर किया जाना चाहिए।

पब्लिक स्कूल में चाहे किसी शेड्युल्ड कास्ट्स या शेड्युल्ड ट्राइब्स का बच्चा पढ़े,

उससे गवर्नमेंट स्कूल का पढ़ने वाला बच्चा कम्पीट नहीं कर सकता। क्योंकि दोनों स्कूलों की शिक्षा में बहुत बड़ा अन्तर है। आप इसी से इस बात का अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि गांव के स्कूलों में जो बच्चे पढ़ते हैं वे कभी अफसर नहीं बन पाते, कभी सर्विस एग्जामिनेशन में कम्पीट नहीं कर पाते। प्रान्तीय और आल इंडिया सेवाओं में पब्लिक स्कूल के पढ़े बच्चे ही आते हैं।

सब लोग यही चाहते हैं कि इस अन्तर को समाप्त किया जाना चाहिए। कई माननीय सदस्यों ने भी कहा है और मैंने भी कहा है कि इस प्रकार की दोहरी शिक्षा व्यवस्था को जो इस समय देश में चल रही है, निश्चित तरीके से इसको समाप्त करने की आवश्यकता है। अगर आप इसको नहीं रोक सकेंगे, तो आप कितना ही प्रयत्न करें, शिक्षा पर अरबों रुपया खर्च करें, गांव के स्कूलों का और पब्लिक स्कूलों का स्टेडण्ड एक नहीं हो सकता। इस अन्तर को मिटाने की बहुत आवश्यकता है। इसके सम्बन्ध में कोई भी व्यवस्था नहीं की जाती है। जब भी इसके बारे में कहा जाता है और इस दोहरी शिक्षा का विरोध किया जाता है तभी सरकार की तरफ से यह कहा जाता कि पब्लिक स्कूल अपने खर्च से चल रहे हैं। लेकिन इससे भेदभाव होता है। इसमें जो भेद हो रहा है, उस अन्तर को किस प्रकार समाप्त करेंगे। आप समाजवादी व्यवस्था की बात करते हैं, समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन इस अन्तर के रहते हुए कैसे आप समाजवाद ला सकते हैं। इसलिए इस व्यवस्था को समाप्त करने की आवश्यकता है।

कुछ लोगों ने सवाल उठाया कि गांवों में स्कूलों के लिए बिल्डिंग नहीं है। अभी हमारी सरकार ने एन० आर० ई० पी० के जरिए बिल्डिंग बनाने का काम किया है।

लेकिन सिर्फ बिल्डिंग से काम नहीं चल सकता। उनको अन्य सुविधाओं की भी आवश्यकता है। इन सारी सुविधाओं की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए। खाने की भी उचित व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। इन व्यवस्थाओं के करने से ही यह अन्तर समाप्त हो सकता है। इस ओर देखने की आवश्यकता है।

हमारे देश में अभी भी सिर्फ 30 प्रतिशत लोग पढ़े लिखे हैं और 70 प्रतिशत लोग अनपढ़ हैं। सरकार ने इस ओर कोशिश की है। प्रौढ़ शिक्षा के कार्यक्रम भी चलाए जा रहे हैं लेकिन अभी इन कार्यक्रमों को उतना बल नहीं मिल रहा है जितना मिलना चाहिए। इस कार्यक्रम को सुधारने की आवश्यकता है। गांव में अपने लोगों को रोजगार देने की दृष्टि से इस कार्यक्रम को चलाया जा रहा है। उनको दी जाने वाली सुविधाओं का दुरुपयोग किया जा रहा है। जनता पार्टी के समय में भी इस प्रकार से हुआ। कुछ लोगों को तो इन्होंने डाक्टर बनाकर गांवों में भेज दिया जिनके पास चिकित्सा का कोई ज्ञान नहीं था। जिन लोगों को इस कार्यक्रम में कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं है, उनको लगाने से कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है। इसलिए ऐसे लोगों को इसमें लगाने की आवश्यकता है जो इसमें दिलचस्पी लें और देश सेवा की दृष्टि से काम करें। तभी इसमें सुधार हो सकता है। तभी हम इस अन्तर को कुछ समाप्त कर सकते हैं। इस व्यवस्था को ठीक करने की नितांत आवश्यकता है।

आज हमारे शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में बदलाव लाने की जरूरत है। अगर आज किसी को एम्प्लायमेंट नहीं मिलती है तो वह आगे बी० ए० एल० एल० बी० और एम० ए० में पढ़ने की कोशिश करता है। थर्ड क्लास लोगों की, जिनकी पढ़ने में दिलचस्पी नहीं है, उनको आगे पढ़ाकर देश के रिसोर्सिज को बर्बाद

किया जाता है? उनके लिए टेक्नीकल एजुकेशन 10वीं और ग्यारहवीं के बाद दी जाए जिससे वे लोग एम्प्लायमेंट में जाएं। उनको अगर ऐसे ही आगे बढ़कर अनएम्प्लायड लोगों की फौज इकट्ठी करते जाएं तो ऐसी व्यवस्था को रोकने की आवश्यकता है। जितने भी सोशलिस्ट कंटरीज हैं, वहां भी यही व्यवस्था है कि जो बहुत अच्छे इंटीलीजेंट, फस्ट क्लास में पास होने वाले बच्चे हैं, उनको आगे बढ़ने का मौका दिया जाता है। आज मीडियोर को मैट्रिक पास करने के बाद किसी न किसी बोकेशनज में भेजने की आवश्यकता है, जिससे वह अपनी रीटि-रोजी कमा सके। जब तक आप यह नहीं करेंगे, अनएम्प्लायमेंट की प्राबलम बढ़ती जाएगी।

आज पढ़ाई के लिए केवल स्कूल की व्यवस्था ही नहीं होनी चाहिए। उसके अलावा रेडियो और टी० वी० के जरिए भी पाठ्यक्रम दिए जाने चाहिए जैसे कि थोड़े बहुत दिए जा रहे हैं। इन्हें विस्तृत पैमाने पर बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता है जिससे जो बच्चे स्कूल अटेंड न करें, वह रेडियो, टी० वी० के जरिए पाठ्यक्रम प्राप्त कर अपनी शिक्षा को आगे बढ़ा सकें।

इससे अशिक्षा दूर होगी। जो प्रस्ताव यहां रखा गया है, भारत सरकार उसके सम्बन्ध में काफी प्रयत्नशील है और उसने काफी काम किया भी है मगर वह 30 परसेंट ही नजर आता है। जब 10 वर्ष पहले सैसेस किया गया था तो उस वक्त क्या पोपुलेशन थी? हर साल 2 करोड़ बच्चे बढ़ जाते हैं। इससे हमारी शिक्षा की एवरेज परसेंटेज उसी स्तर पर बनी हुई है। हम चाहे कितना भी भागीरथ प्रयत्न करें, सरकार चाहे कितनी ही योजनाएं बनाकर आगे बढ़ने की कोशिश कर रही है, परन्तु इसमें सफलता नहीं मिल रही है। जब हम सभी प्रकार के कार्यक्रमों को इस देश में सफल बनाकर

ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों को एजुकेट करके अशिक्षा के क्षेत्र को कम करने का प्रयास करेंगे, तभी यह काम हो सकेगा।

प्रस्ताव रख देने से, अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क शिक्षा सबको मिलनी चाहिए, यह तो हमारा ध्येय है ही, इसलिए इस प्रस्ताव की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। हमें निश्चित तरीके से इसको पूरा करने की कोशिश करनी है।

श्री राम बिलास पासवान (हाजीपुर):

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, काफी सदस्यों ने अपनी भावनाओं को व्यक्त किया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि श्री सैफुद्दीन चौधरी का यह छोटा सा प्रस्ताव काफी महत्वपूर्ण है और संविधानयुक्त है। यह प्रस्ताव सरकार को स्वयं लाना चाहिए था पर सरकार इसे नहीं ला सकी तो अब इसको स्वीकार करने में एक मिनट की देरी भी नहीं करनी चाहिए।

श्री सैफुद्दीन चौधरी जो प्रस्ताव लाये हैं, ठीक यही चीज संविधान के निर्माताओं ने संविधान की धारा 45, डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपलज आफ स्टेट पालिसी, में रखी थी और उसमें कहा गया है—

“The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years.”

आर्टिकल 41 में कहा गया है:—

“The State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness

and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want.”

उसमें भी राइट टु एजुकेशन की बात कही गई है। संविधान के निर्माताओं ने इसके लिए दस साल का पीरियड रखा था। आज हम यह डिसकशन आजादी मिलने के 36 साल के बाद कर रहे हैं। यही सरकार आज भी इस प्रस्ताव को नहीं मानती, तो देश के लिए इससे ज्यादा अफसोस की बात और कोई नहीं हो सकती।

मैं समझता हूँ कि इस देश में जब तक लोग शिक्षित नहीं होंगे, तब तक यहां पर कोई भी तंत्र नहीं चलेगा। हम लाख डेमोक्रेसी की बात करें, लेकिन शिक्षा के बिना वह सफल नहीं हो सकती, क्योंकि शिक्षा ही आदमी को वास्तव में आदमी बनाती है। सरकारी आंकड़ों के मुताबिक गांवों में 75 प्रतिशत लोग अशिक्षित हैं, भूख हैं और शहरों में 30 प्रतिशत लोग पढ़े-लिखे हैं। कुल मिलाकर इस देश में 34 से 35 प्रतिशत लोग शिक्षित हैं और बाकी अशिक्षित और भूख हैं। यह आजादी के 36 साल के बाद का नक्शा है।

यदि हम देश को प्रगति के मार्ग पर ले जाना चाहते हैं, तो हमें तमाम लोगों को शिक्षित करना होगा। हमारे यहां 34, 35 प्रतिशत शिक्षित लोग हैं, शिडयूल्ड कास्ट्स के लोग केवल 22 परसेंट हैं और शिडयूल्ड ट्राइब्स के 14 परसेंट हैं। 22 परसेंट महिलाएं शिक्षित हैं और शिडयूल्ड कास्ट्स तथा शिडयूल्ड ट्राइब्स की केवल 6.40 परसेंट महिलाएं शिक्षित हैं।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में कोई भी आदमी, शिडयूल्ड कास्ट्स, शिडयूल्ड ट्राइब्स, बैकवर्ड क्लासिज का कोई भी आदमी, अशिक्षित न रहे। लोगों को शिक्षित बनाना सरकार का सर्वप्रथम दायित्व है। कोई भी आदमी अपने

अधिकार के प्रति जागरूक तभी हो सकता है, जब अधिकार का उम्रें ज्ञान हो, और वह ज्ञान तब तक नहीं हो सकता है, जब तक आदमी शिक्षित न हो। गांवों के लोग—देश की आबादी का आधा भाग—आज गुलामी की जिन्दगी बसर कर रहे हैं, जिन्हें अपने अधिकार, दायित्व तथा कर्त्तव्य का पता नहीं है। इसलिए सरकार एजुकेशन को कम्पलसरी और फ्री करे। एजुकेशन को कम्पलसरी कैसे किया जा सकता है, यह एक विचारणीय प्रश्न है। इसके लिए सरकार को दो तीन उपाय करने होंगे।

सिर्फ विद्यालय में फीस माफ कर देने से ही बच्चे उनमें पढ़ने नहीं जाते। हमें मालूम है कि गांव में बच्चा चार, पांच, दस साल के बाद अपने मां-बाप को किसी न किसी रूप में खिलाना शुरू कर देता है। या कम-से-कम अपना पेट खुद भर लेता है, किसी की बकरी गाय चरा कर या कोई और काम करके। मां-बाप के पास इतना पैसा नहीं है कि वे बच्चों को शिक्षित कर सकें। इसलिए सरकार को सबसे पहला काम यह करना होगा कि माट्रिक तक की पढ़ाई की फीस माफ करने के साथ-साथ वह बच्चों के खाने-पीने और कपड़े आदि का सब खर्चा वहन करे। स्कूलों में बच्चों की एक सी यूनिफार्म हो और उन्हें समान रूप से भोजन मिले। इस वक्त सरकार के यहां बहुत फिजूल खर्चा है। इस बजट में 39,000 करोड़ रुपए का नान-प्लान खर्च का प्रावधान किया गया है। उसमें कटौती करके बच्चों की एजुकेशन की व्यवस्था की जाए। जब सब बच्चों को समान एजुकेशन मिलेगा, तो लोगों का सुपीरियारिटी कम्प्लेक्स या इनफीरियारिटी कम्प्लेक्स खत्म होगा, सब एक ड्रेस में स्कूल जाएंगे और सब को एक सा खाना मिलेगा और साथ ही पढ़ने की ललक पैदा होगी।

मैं राइट टू जाब के बारे में सरकार का

दृष्टिकोण समझ सकता हूं। रोजगार के अधिकार को मौलिक अधिकारों में शामिल करना सम्भव नहीं हो सकता। लेकिन सरकार सब बच्चों को पढ़ने का अवसर तो दे सकती है।

जहां तक पब्लिक स्कूलों का सम्बन्ध है, उनका नाम तो है पब्लिक स्कूल, लेकिन यह क्या काम करते हैं? जो पैसे वाले लोग हैं उन्हीं के बच्चे इनमें पढ़ सकते हैं। आप इन पब्लिक स्कूलों को खत्म कीजिए क्योंकि यह मुट्टी भर लोगों के लिए हैं। सरकार के सेन्ट्रल स्कूल बहुत अच्छे हैं।

श्री रामलाल राही (मिसरिख) : गरीब परिवार के बच्चे उनमें भी नहीं जा पाते हैं।

श्री राम विलास पासवान : पता नहीं पालियामेंट के मेम्बर को एक साल में किसी बच्चे का ऐडमीशन रिकमेन्ड करने का अधिकार है या नहीं। आज हालत यह है कि दिल्ली में एम० ए० में ऐडमीशन मिल जाएगा लेकिन बच्चों को नर्सरी और प्री-नर्सरी में ऐडमीशन पाना मुश्किल है। अब एक और नई प्रथा इन स्कूलों ने चलाई है कि ऐडमीशन से पहले मां बाप का इंटरव्यू लिया जाता है। अच्छे स्कूल में उसी लड़के का ऐडमीशन होता है जिसके मां बाप इंटरव्यू में पास कर जायें। लेकिन जिसके मां बाप इल्लिटरेट हैं, और जिनको सरकार ने इल्लिटरेट रखा है, उनका बच्चा ऐडमीशन नहीं पा सकता। इसलिए इन पब्लिक स्कूलों को बन्द कीजिए और सेन्ट्रल स्कूल हर ब्लाक लेवल पर खोलिए।

हमारे एक साथी बता रहे थे कि गांवों में अगर स्कूल है तो टीचर नहीं, टीचर है तो स्कूल नहीं, और जहां दोनों चीज हैं वहां विद्यार्थी नहीं। आपको संसद से अनुभूति लेकर यदि संविधान में संशोधन करना पड़े तो कीजिए

और इन पब्लिक स्कूलों को बन्द कीजिए। जो सरकारी विद्यालय हैं उनका स्टैण्डर्ड सेंट्रल स्कूल के समान कीजिए। अगर आपने पब्लिक स्कूल बन्द नहीं किए तो देश के लिए खतरनाक साबित होगा। यह गृह युद्ध कराएगा, क्योंकि एक तरफ आई० ए० एस० पैदा हो रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ चपरासी पैदा हो रहे हैं।

इसके अलावा यह कैंपीटेशन फी क्या है? जब शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट को रिजर्वेशन मिलता है तो उसके खिलाफ हंगामा होता है कि यह लड़का क्वालीफाइड नहीं है। लेकिन 2, 3 लाख रु० खो कर अगर 30, 32 परसेंट मार्क्स वाला बच्चा जब डाक्टर या इंजीनियर बन जाता है तो क्या उससे स्टैण्डर्ड नहीं गिरता है? इसलिए जिन राज्यों में यह कैंपीटेशन प्रथा अभी भी चालू है उसको केन्द्र सरकार को बन्द करना चाहिए।

गांवों में जो स्कूल हैं उनके विद्यार्थियों का कोई भविष्य नहीं है। मैं जब पढ़ता था तो चौथी क्लास में पढ़ने के लिए हमें 3 किलोमीटर जाना पड़ता था और मिडिल में पढ़ने के लिए हमें 5 किलोमीटर। आज कुछ बदलाव आया है, लेकिन आज भी गांवों में टीचर्स अवेलेबिल नहीं हैं। 75 प्रतिशत स्कूलों में एक कमरा ही है वह भी टूटा हुआ जिसमें बरसात में बैठ नहीं सकते। गरमी में पेड़ के नीचे पढ़ना पड़ता है शांतिनिकेतन की तरह। एक टीचर के पीछे 50, 100 लड़के हैं। बिहार में कहा जाता है कि लड़के इंडिसिप्लिन्ड हैं। लेकिन टीचर्स कितने इन्डिसिप्लिन्ड हैं इसको भी तो कोई देखे।

इसीलिए मैंने आपको कहा है कि अच्छी से अच्छी शिक्षा दें, अच्छी शिक्षा के लिए अच्छा बातावरण बनाना पड़ेगा और अच्छे बातावरण के लिए अच्छी तरह के स्कूल बनाने पड़ेंगे और अच्छे टीचर्स इन स्कूलों में रखने पड़ेंगे। इन

सब की जवाबदेही सरकार के ऊपर है। जिस वक्त हम लोगों ने सोशियलिस्ट पार्टी को ज्वाइन किया था, उस वक्त हम कहा करते थे—राष्ट्रपति का बेटा हो या चपरासी की हो सन्तान, ब्राह्मण या मंगी का बेटा सबकी शिक्षा एक समान। सब लोगों को एक समान शिक्षा देनी चाहिए। कम्पलसरी एजुकेशन दी जानी चाहिए। दूसरे देशों में इस तरह की व्यवस्था है। इसीलिए हमारे देश के निर्माताओं ने इसको संविधान में दस बरस के लिए रखा था। लेकिन अब तो 36 साल बीत गए हैं, 36 सालों के बाद भी हम सब लोगों को शिक्षित नहीं कर सके हैं। इस देश में यदि अराजकता फैलती है, इस देश में यदि हिंसा का वातावरण पैदा होता है, इस देश में यदि आदमी आदमी में नफरत पैदा होती है, तो इसके लिए शिक्षित लोग ही जिम्मेदार होंगे। आशाक्षित लोगों की संख्या को बढ़ाने की जिम्मेदारी शिक्षित लोगों की ही है, क्योंकि 36 साल की आजादी के बाद भी उन्होंने कोई ठोस कदम उदिशा में नहीं उठाया है। इसीलिए सभापति महोदय माननीय सदस्य द्वारा यह प्रस्ताव रखा गया है। अपोजीशन का प्रस्ताव होने की वजह से यदि इसको मानने में असमर्थ हैं, क्योंकि इसका फायदा अपोजीशन को चला जाएगा, तो अपनी तरफ से ऐसा प्रस्ताव लाकर उसको सदन में पेश करें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI ARJUN SETHI (Bhadrak) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Resolution moved by the hon. Member seeks to bring and to make primary education compulsory and according to him, it should be included as one of the Fundamental Rights of our Constitution.

Under the Constitution we all know that the responsibility of the primary education remains in the hands of the State Governments and since our Independence till 1975 or so Education was

in the State List and only by an amendment this was brought to the Concurrent List of the Constitution.

The Resolution specifically mentions about the illiteracy prevailing throughout the country. So, my submission would be that we should find out how this illiteracy is there and what steps the Government has taken during the years to make the people educated and to make these people, whatever is the number, to improve upon it. My hon. friend has drawn the attention of this august House and the Government as well to this. I am one with him, but at the same time I must tell him that under the present system in our Constitution, the implementing machinery is the State Government. Unless the State Government takes adequate care and caution to improve over this literacy percentage of our population, I am afraid, whatever Resolution is moved here and whatever amendment is made in our Constitution is not going to solve the problem. But we have seen, and from our experience we know where the actual difficulties lie.

I am one with my hon. friend, Mr. Choudhury when he said that in spite of the best efforts of the Government, this literacy problem still exists. It is increasing also.

We must also consider the percentage growth of our population. The hon. Minister of Education has given certain figures in reply to the questions put in the Lok Sabha. I would like to point out a few instances. An hon. Member asked a question about the percentage of literacy Statewise from 1951-1981. The hon. Minister supplied this information to the House. In 1951 the percentage of literacy was 15.83. In 1981 it increased to 36.23%. The hon. Member will bear with me that Government has taken steps to improve literacy. But at the same time in spite of efforts, the results are not commensurate with the efforts.

In the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes he has mentioned categorically that during 1971-81, the rate of literacy in respect of Adivasies in the

country has increased from 11.30% to 16.35%. He has also admitted here, the literacy rate of Adivasies increased in all the States during this period. The States where increase has been less than the national average are Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal.

My hon. friend hails from West Bengal. He has also pointed out and found fault with the Central Government while moving the Resolution, stating that the Centre has not done well by not improving upon literacy. May I ask him while apportioning the blame on the Centre, has he seen the performance of his own State? I must appeal to the House, so far as this literacy is concerned, all of us irrespective of party affiliation are involved—both at the Centre and the State. No Government, Central or State, of any Party can eradicate illiteracy. We must approach this problem not from the partisan point of view but should treat it as a national problem. Unless we approach this problem from the national point of view, we cannot solve this problem.

No doubt, a lot has been done by the Government in this regard but literacy among the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe women has not improved. According to the Reports available in the library, I find that the state is deplorable. There are several districts in the country where literacy amongst the S.C. women is as low as 1%. It is going down even to 0.2%. We have, no doubt, done something to improve upon the figures from 15% to 36%. But still, the literacy amongst the Scheduled Caste women remains very low. Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister, as he has attached importance and given stress in various schemes of Planning, to see that these people, especially people from weaker sections and backward area are provided with enough opportunities so that their problems are solved and the literacy among them is improved.

Therefore, I once again appeal to the hon. Minister to see that equitable distribution or equitable percentage of growth of

our literacy is achieved. I once again support the spirit behind the Bill. He tried to invite the attention of the Government as well as the House to the acute problem that exists in the weaker sections of our society. Therefore, I thank him and I thank you, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, for giving me an opportunity.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Ram Lal Rahi. You have got to move your resolution also. So, be brief in your speech.

श्री रामलाल राही (मिसरिख) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, चौधरी साहब का जो संकल्प है, उसके बाद मेरा संकल्प है और मुझे अपने संकल्प पर बोलना है लेकिन इनका संकल्प अत्यधिक महत्वपूर्ण है, ऐसा मैं मान कर चलता हूँ और इसलिए मैं कुछ बातें इस संकल्प पर कहना चाहता हूँ। श्रीमन्, इनका संकल्प बहुत स्पष्ट है। इन्होंने लिखा है :

“यह सभा स्वतंत्रता-प्राप्ति के छत्तीस वर्षों के बाद भी देश भर में विद्यमान निरक्षरता की अत्यधिक प्रतिशतता पर गहरी चिन्ता व्यक्त करती है और संकल्प करती है कि 14 वर्ष तक की आयु के सभी बच्चों के लिए निःशुल्क और अनिवार्य शिक्षा के अधिकार को हमारे संविधान में मूल अधिकार के रूप में सम्मिलित किया जाए।”

यह संविधान के मूल अधिकारों में नहीं है और यह राज्य के निदेशक तत्वों में है। अभी भाई पासवान जी, निदेशक तत्वों के खंड 4 में 45वें अनुच्छेद को पढ़ रहे थे और कह रहे थे कि संविधान निर्माताओं ने शिक्षा के लिए व्यवस्था की है संविधान में लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि चौधरी साहब ने इस बात को कहा है कि इसको संविधान के मूल अधिकार में शामिल किया जाना चाहिए। यह राज्य के मूल निदेशक

तत्वों में शामिल है और उसमें भी बड़ी चालाकी से इसको शामिल किया गया है। मैं पढ़कर आपको सुनाता हूँ :

“राज्य, संविधान के प्रारम्भ के दस वर्ष की अवधि के भीतर सभी बालकों को चौदह वर्ष की आयु पूरी करने तक निःशुल्क और अनिवार्य शिक्षा देने के उपबंध करने का प्रयास करेगा।”

इसमें लिखा है कि “प्रयास करेगा”, यानी कोई संकल्प भी नहीं है, कोई निश्चय भी नहीं है कि हम जल्द ही इस काम को करें कि इस देश के हर नागरिक को शिक्षा मिलनी चाहिए। राज्य के निदेशक तत्वों में यह बात बड़ी चालाकी से लिखी है और मैं यह मान कर चलता हूँ कि चौधरी साहब की निगाह इस बात पर पड़ी होगी। इस चतुराई को समझ कर चौधरी साहब जो प्रस्ताव लाए हैं कि शिक्षा निदेशक तत्वों से हटा कर मूल अधिकारों में शामिल की जानी चाहिए, यह एक बहुत अच्छा प्रस्ताव है। इस देश के हर बच्चे को प्राथमिक शिक्षा मिल सकेगी।

श्रीमन्, 36 वर्षों की आजादी के बाद भी आज आप 36-37 साल के लोगों को प्रौढ़ शिक्षा दे रहे हैं। इस देश के अन्दर प्रौढ़ शिक्षा पर करोड़ों रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है। क्या मंत्री जी यह पता लगायेंगे कि प्रौढ़ शिक्षा वास्तव में दी जा रही है? क्या सही मायनों में प्रौढ़ शिक्षा के नाम पर जो पैसा आप राज्यों को दे रहे हैं, क्या वह उस पर खर्च किया जा रहा है? कहीं भी, किसी जगह पर भी प्रौढ़ शिक्षा का कार्यक्रम नहीं चलता है। आप छान-बीन करा लें, वह पैसा जाया जाता है। चौधरी साहब ने जो सुझाव दिए हैं उनसे मैं सहमत हूँ। आप यह न सोचें कि चूंकि आप सरकारी पक्ष में बैठे हैं और यह प्रस्ताव विरोध पक्ष की ओर

से आया है तो इसको स्वीकार न करें। कोई भी अच्छी चीज कहीं से भी आए, इस देश के सुदूर गाँव का रहने वाला भी अगर कोई अच्छी चीज कहे और वह देश हित में हो तो आपको उसको मान लेना चाहिए।

इस देश का दुर्भाग्य है कि, जैसा कि एक सवाल आया था कि इस देश के अस्पतालों में डाक्टर नहीं हैं और हजारों डाक्टर बेकार घूम रहे हैं, इसी तरह से इस देश के स्कूलों में, चाहे प्राइमरी स्कूल हों, जूनियर स्कूल हों, चाहे हाई स्कूल हों, उनमें मास्टर नहीं हैं और मास्टर लोग बेकार बैठे हैं। चाहे जे० टी० सी० टीचर हों, चाहे एस० टी० सी० टीचर हों, चाहे बी० एड० टीचर हों, वे हजारों की तादाद में मारे-मारे बेकार घूम रहे हैं। उनको काम नहीं मिल रहा है। पता नहीं कौसी यह शिक्षा व्यवस्था है।

मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि इस देश की शिक्षा-प्रणाली दोषपूर्ण है। इससे आप आम आदमी को शिक्षा नहीं दे पाएंगे। जब तक आप उसको शिक्षा नहीं देंगे तब तक उसको रोजगार कैसे मिलेगा। अशिक्षित आदमी अपने मूल अधिकार को भी कैसे जान पाएगा? इस देश का प्रत्येक नागरिक अपने मूल अधिकारों को समझे, जो इस देश में भौतिक सम्पदा है, चाहे वह खेत में पैदा होती है, चाहे खानों से निकलती है, चाहे वह कारखानों में पैदा होती है, उसकी उसको जानकारी होनी चाहिए। अगर वह शिक्षित होगा तो वह यह सब समझेगा। लेकिन आप नहीं चाहते कि अनिवार्य शिक्षा हो। आप इसे मानव-मूल्यों के विपरीत बात समझते हैं। आपको इस देश के हर नागरिक के बच्चों को अनिवार्य रूप से शिक्षा देनी चाहिए। हर बच्चा जितना भी पढ़ना चाहे, उतना वह पढ़ सके। होना तो यह चाहिए। अगर आप यह न कर सकें तो कम से कम आप

प्राथमिक शिक्षा तो अनिवार्य कीजिए जिससे कि सभी अपने मूल अधिकारों को तो समझ सकें।

जो प्रस्ताव चौधरी साहब लाए हैं, आप इसको मानें। अगर आप इसको नहीं मानते हैं तो आप ही ऐसा संवैधानिक प्रस्ताव लाइए जिसमें कि शिक्षा को राज के निदेश तत्वों से हटाकर मूल अधिकारों में शामिल किया जा सके अगर आप यह नहीं करते हैं तो आपका जो यह 'प्रयास' शब्द है वह चालाकी से भरा है इसको आप हटाइए और इससे निश्चिन्तता को लाइए। तभी राज्य आपको बात को सुनेंगे और इस पर अमल हो सकेगा।

इतना कह कर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ और इसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI S.B. SIDNAL (Belgaum): Mr. Deputy Speaker, I sentimentally share the objective of Shri Saifuddin Choudhury in bringing forward this resolution.

Education is the base for any country to flourish. I can say that we have succeeded to a great extent in spreading education in our country in the post-independence period till now. I congratulate the Government for taking all necessary steps in this regard. If the economy of our country has to improve, education is a must.

We have rural and urban areas in our country. There are full facilities for education in the urban areas and in the rural areas there are no educational facilities. This is the difficulty. The whole country depends on the urban areas for education.

Technical education regarding agriculture is not adequate in our country even though Government has thought it fit to provide latest techniques of agricultural implements and devices to the farmers in the rural areas. But the farmers would not be able to make the best use of those

implements and devices of agriculture without getting education on agriculture. Government must, therefore, set up more and more technical schools to impart agricultural education. This has not been done so far.

Other countries are far more advanced than our country in imparting not only general academic education but also technical education. Other countries have made much rapid progress in education. Education on agriculture is also imparted in other countries more than in our country and this is the reason why the economy of other countries has improved much better.

Therefore, I urge upon the Government to consider seriously imparting education on agriculture in India.

Pre-primary education is very important and it is not given the importance it deserves in our country. Pre-primary school education has to be taken up very seriously. Pre-primary education enables the child to form the habit of going to the school. This is very important because unless the child is habituated to go to the school, it is impossible to pick up education in the primary school. The educational facilities in the rural areas are very very poor. There are no buildings for schools. If there are buildings for schools, there are no teachers and vice versa. This is a matter of serious concern.

Such poor conditions exist in our country because the State Governments are not fully involved in the spread of education. We have to consider this problem and solve it.

We must put competent and efficient people as teachers. Unless this is done, we cannot expect quality and merit in education. At present, the teachers are not appointed on merit basis. Therefore, appointments to teachers should be given on merit.

The poor salaries paid to teachers is a disincentive for competent and efficient

people to accept the profession of a teacher. Teachers should be paid adequate and good salaries. Unless this is done, the teaching profession cannot attract competent people. There are competent people in IAS and other cadres because the salaries are good. If the salaries are good in the teaching profession, competent people will also be attracted to it and we can have really good teachers in the schools. Because of poor salaries, there are no good teachers in the schools and without having teachers in the schools, we cannot eradicate illiteracy from our country.

We have to rebuild and reconstruct and rehabilitate the rural India. This is the prime objective of our Five Year Plans. The disparity in educational facilities between the urban and rural areas should be bridged. Equal opportunities of education should be made available both in the rural and in the urban areas of our country. At present, there are good educational facilities only in Bombay and other big cities. This is most deplorable.

As regards Karnataka State, we have many Universities and Engineering Colleges in our States, but not many pre-primary schools in villages. In fact, pre-primary educational facilities are all the more important than University and college educational facilities because without education at the grass-root level, there is no hope for the child to go to either a College or a University. If the educational facilities at the grass-root level are evenly spread through the State, all the children in the State can get equal opportunities to enter colleges. Therefore, I urge upon the Government to allot more funds to the States to have, pre-primary schools in larger and larger numbers in the rural areas.

The Government of India has implemented the adult education programme in the villages. Adult education is very good, in principle. I agree. Adult education is helpful for illiterate adults to get educated. But it is not of much help to enable the adults to make a living. The same funds could be diverted to pre-primary schools in rural areas, at least in the interest of the

ucceeding generation and for building up the future of this country. Whatever educational system we have now is old pattern of education. The old pattern of education is creating only frustration because it leads to unemployment, because we have never thought in proportion to the population and the demands of this country, how many technicians we require, how many doctors we require, how many engineers we require. We are producing them out of proportion to the demand. This is also one of the reasons for the society not shaping in a proper way. We are going in a random way. That does not help building up of our country. The entire syllabus has to be changed and a scientific approach has to be given to education. We have made achievements, but we have not achieved according to the expectations of the thinkers or planners. So, in the interest of the country, in the interest of the next generation, we have to re-build rural India and establish schools and colleges.

In villages the teacher will never attend the school. Only on the day when the inspector comes, he will be present. Also the agriculturists are not attracted towards education. They take their children to the fields. They do not know what is the importance of education. They themselves are not educated and, therefore, they do not send their children to schools. It is only statistics that comes to us. 50 per cent of that is wrong. Actually illiteracy is increasing, specially among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the Adivasis. The school facilities are decreasing instead of increasing. We have seen that no teacher is taking serious interest. Though teacher is the basic social worker, he is not taking interest, and why he is not taking interest is because the pay is not attractive; also he is not an intellectual as we get in urban areas.

Therefore, to go back, pre-primary schooling in each village should be made compulsory. Then automatically it will pick up in the next stage of primary school.

We have not switched over to technic@/

schools. When we do not apply our mind to the technical aspect, it is very difficult to make progress. A country always progresses when there is technical education. In Japan even kindergarten children dismantle telephone, radio, etc., and assemble them. They are like play-things for them because they take so much interest. The moment a child attains school-going age, he will become an engineer, a technician. That has to be introduced in our country. Otherwise, there is no future for us.

16.18 hrs.

[SHRI R.S. SPARROW *in the Chair*]

This is a serious subject and it is a very good subject; apart from party bias or any such thing, we really appreciate it. But my friend has blamed the Central Government on so many grounds, that it has not taken steps. Really we should congratulate the Government. It has taken all the steps towards that. My only request to the hon. Minister here and to the Government is that more funds should be allotted for rural areas and for pre-primary schools.

16.19 hrs.

[DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI VAJPAI *in the Chair*]

The third aspect is Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Adivasis. We have not taken with seriousness about their literacy. When we make a progressive law, when we make some improvements, they do not understand where to go, what to do, where to sign and what is the benefit. That is because there is no literacy and they do not understand. Many times they are cheated by the cheats. They suffer for want of literacy. Therefore, it should be taken on a war footing and special allocation should be made for spreading literacy in rural areas. Especially when women are educated, the whole country is educated. But we find a total neglect of women's education in the society. They

are not coming forth. Only in the urban areas women are getting educated and never in the rural areas. Women form 50% of the population in the country. When the mother is not educated, when the wife is not educated, the child cannot be educated. When a man is educated, he only gets educated. But when a woman is educated, the whole family is educated and in other words, the whole country is educated. So more importance should be given to women's education and it should be done on a war footing.

Another aspect of our education is the capitation fee. This is a disease in urban areas. Now this disease is spreading to rural areas also. I find in Delhi or Bombay or in big cities an ordinary clerk's or a peon's son cannot get admission in the big schools because there is the capitation fee of Rs. 15,000 or Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 25,000. How can an ordinary man give his son a good education? So Government has to open many more school for facilitating these ordinary people and middle class and down below. Otherwise, we are creating a gap where it is beyond the reach of a common man. Therefore, it should be compulsory to open many schools in urban areas as well as in rural areas. The capitation fee is not stopped in the primary stage. It is there in technical education—medical, engineering and other technical courses. This creates no confidence in the majority of the people. Why? They will think that only a moneyed man can become a doctor and that only a moneyed man can become an engineer or a technician. Our Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi has given an awareness to this country, to the masses and the lowest in the society. But we have to enlighten them through education, because to make use of the progressive laws and other welfare measures like IRDP, NREP and the 20 point programme, they should have education. Otherwise they will not understand where to go, whom to approach, what to get and how to get it. This is the difficulty. Unless we educate the people and unless we educate the masses, we cannot successfully implement our programmes. That is the basic need—to educate our masses. Otherwise we cannot develop our economy with the

result that we cannot develop our country.

Therefore, I really welcome this resolution because it is in the interests of the nation and it is one of the national programmes. It is also one item of our 20 Point programme.

Thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now it is 4.25. Time allotted was extended.

I will request all the speakers to take only 2 or 3 minutes. Then only we can finish it. We have to take up the other resolution also.

Mr. Nirmal Sinha.

SHRI NIRMAL SINHA (Mathurapur): I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this resolution....

MR. CHAIRMAN: We have to finish this by 5 O'clock. So please co-operate.

*SHRI NIRMAL SINHA: Madam Chairman, I am grateful to you for allowing me time to speak on this resolution. This resolution was brought forth in this House by Shri Saifuddin Chowdhary on 12th April last and calls for right to free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years and demands that this be included as a Fundamental Right in our Constitution. While introducing the resolution, Shri Chowdhary expressed grave concern over the high percentage of illiteracy prevailing throughout the country.

Now Madam, this grave concern and anxiety is not his alone. We are all seriously concerned over this. Even after 36 years of independence it is indeed regrettable that the number of educated people in our country is below 5 1/2%. Our

*Original speech was delivered in Bengali.

great leaders gave us the dream before independence that after attaining freedom we shall make all round progress at a very fast pace. Now this dream can be made a reality if the 700 million people of our country work shoulder to shoulder and try to take the country on the path to progress only then can the speed of progress be accelerated. To achieve this it is necessary to awaken consciousness among the masses. They must be made to realise that the progress of the country means their progress. If the country makes advance, they will also advance and prosper. They must be a partner in this progress. But we have failed to kindle that consciousness among them because the majority of the masses is illiterate and uneducated. Madam, an illiterate person and a blind person stands on the same footing. Our country is the mother of 70 crores of people. If the two hands each of these 70 crores people could be fruitfully utilised, if their intellect could be developed and properly utilised then this country also would have found a place among those advanced countries of the world who are today at the summit of progress. But it is a matter of misfortune that over 50 crores of people in this country are illiterate and therefore as good as blind and hence useless. With this large army of useless and idle people it is not possible to take the country on the path of rapid progress.

Madam, we have seen that many Socialist countries, even those that attained freedom long after us, have marched ahead on the road of progress leaving us far behind. All those Socialist countries had visualised that it will not be possible for them to make rapid progress unless the entire masses could be involved in the stupendous task of nation building and it will not be possible to achieve the pinnacle of economic, social and cultural development. They realised that to achieve that goal topmost priority will have to be given to education. Those countries had given due importance and priority to education and this is reflected in the fact that they had included the right to education as a Fundamental Right in their respective Constitutions.

We have also declared our country as a Socialist country in the preamble to our Constitution. In this context I will like to read out some extracts from the Constitutions of a few Socialist countries to show the extent of importance given by them to education.

Constitution of Polish Peoples's Republic

Chapter 7 (Fundamental rights and duties of citizens)

Article 61 (Page 31)

- (1) The citizens of the Polish Peoples' Republic have the right to education.
- (2) The right to education is ensured on an ever increasing scale. by :

Universal free and compulsory primary school.

Constant development of secondary schools, providing general or vocational education and universities.

A scheme of State grants and scholarships, the development of hostels...together with forms of material aids for children of workers, working peasants and intelligentia.

Constitution of the Republic of Korea

Chapter II (Rights and duties of citizens)

Article 27/29 (Page 23)

- (1) All citizens shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their abilities.
- (2) All citizens who have children to support shall be responsible to their elementary education and other education as provided at least by law.

- (3) Compulsory education shall be free.
- (4) The State shall promote life long education.
- (5) Fundamental matters pertaining to the educational system, including in-school and life long education, administration finance and the status of teachers shall be determined by law.

The Constitution of G.D.R.

Chapter I (Basic rights and Basic duties of citizens.)

Article 25 (Page 23)

- (1) Every citizen of the G.D.R. has an equal right to education. Educational facilities are open to all.

In the G.D.R. general ten-year secondary schooling is compulsory.

Article 26 (Page 24)

The State ensures the possibilities of transference to the next higher stage of education upto the highest educational institutions, universities, colleges.

Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Chapter II (Rights and Duties of Citizens)

Article 24 (Page 10)

All citizens shall have the right to education.

The right shall be secured by compulsory free basic school education.

All education and schooling shall be based on the scientific world outlook and on close ties between school and the life and work of the people.

Constitution of the Peoples' Republic of Bulgaria

Article 45 (Page 19)

- (1) Citizens are entitled to free education in all types and grades of educational establishments under conditions determined by law.
- (2) The educational establishments are State owned.
- (3) Education is based on the achievements of modern science and Marxist Leninist ideology.
- (4) Primary education is compulsory.
- (5) The States creates condition for the introduction of secondary education for all.

The Socialist Republic of Romania

The Constitution Chapter II (Fundamental rights and duties of citizens)

Article 21 (Page 12)

The citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania have the right to education.

The right to education is ensured by compulsory general education, by the fact that education at all levels is free and by the system of State scholarships.

Education in the Socialist Republic of Romania is State education.

Constitution of the Peoples Republic of China

Chapter III—Fundamental Rights and dues of citizens)

Article 94 (Page 25)

Citizens of the Peoples' Republic of China have the right to education. To guarantee enjoyment of this right the

State establishes and gradually extends the various types of schools and other cultural and educational institutions.

The State pays special attention to the physical and mental development of young people.

The Constitution of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Chapter III—Article 165

Primary education lasting at least eight years shall be obligatory.

I am not quoting from the Constitution of USSR as you say that there is no time.

Madam, in our Constitution education has not been included as a Fundamental Right. Education has been merely considered as a directive principle of State policy. It is stated that :

“The State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provisions for securing the right to work to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want.

So you see that education has been given that much importance as ‘undeserved want’. Our great leaders of the freedom movement had assured that after independence education will be made compulsory. But today we find that even after 36 years of independence due importance has not been given to education. Moreover, the important subject of primary education been left to the States. Now, the capacity of the State Governments, specially financial capacity is very much limited. With this limited capacity and powers it is not possible for the States to discharge this heavy responsibility effectively. Whereas the Centre has the responsibility for adult education. Madam, there is a saying that a tree cannot be saved if you cut it out at the root and then keep watering it at the top. Similarly, due to utter negligence of primary education, every day, every year,

lakhs of illiterate children are swelling the ranks and generating an army of illiterate masses. Madam, all this is happening only because of the attitude and outlook of our ruling party. The ruling party is determined to protect their vested interests. They realise that if the masses become educated through compulsory and free education, then they will gain consciousness and will be alive to their rights. They will come to understand how they are being exploited. The exploiting class will no longer be able to exploit the innocent people easily. Therefore, the ruling party wants to keep the masses illiterate and blind so that they may go on exploiting them in peace. That is why the right to education has not been given due importance in the Constitution. This has been done wilfully and with a purpose. Madam, I have listened to the various speeches made on this resolution. I will specially refer to the speech of Shri Daga who is a leader in the ruling party. Now the main subject matter of this resolution is that the right to free and compulsory education for all children upto 14 years may be included as a Fundamental Right in this Constitution— Shri Daga is a learned person wise person but in his speech he did not touch the basic issue. He raised various ulterior issues and even questioned the utility of education. Not only that many other speakers also ignored the basic subject of primary education and spoke about higher education and the resultant unemployment situation etc. Thereby trying to divert the attention of this august House from the main problem. From all this it appears to me that the ruling party will reject this resolution also today.

Madam, it was my sad experience last year when I came to this House for the first time that another resolution recommending right to work to be included as a Fundamental Right in the Constitution was rejected although it was sponsored by a member of the ruling party. All those who participated in that discussion also spoke in its favour. But they rejected it at the time of voting. So I have an apprehension that today also all those members of the ruling party who spoke in favour of the present resolution of Shri Chowdhary and advocated that it is a progressive resolution

and it should be adopted in the interest of the country will vote against it in their class interest and reject it at the time of voting. This resolution will also meet the same fate. This is my apprehension. I will indeed be very happy and pleased if my fear and apprehension is proved baseless and wrong.

***SHRI S.T.K. JAKKAYAN** (Periakulam): Madam Chairman, in support of the Resolution of my Hon. friend, Shri Saifuddin Chaudhary, which tries to focus the attention of the House to the need for declaring as fundamental right the free and compulsory education. I wish to make a few suggestions.

The objective of the Sixth Five Year Plan is to have universalisation of free and compulsory education throughout the country. In order to ensure that by 1990 this objective is achieved, this has been incorporated in the new 20-Point Programme. This is the 16th point in the new 20-Point programme. A National Campaign was started in 1982-83 for augmenting the rate of enrolment in elementary education and for reducing the drop-out in elementary education. This has resulted in some significant progress in this sector. During the first four years of the Sixth Five Year Plan 96 lakhs of additional children have been enrolled in elementary education courses.

At the same time, it also regrettable that even after 36 years of Independence 9 States have been found to be educationally backward. A State Task Force has also been constituted to have a continuous check on the implementation of this programme. In spite of this, the rate of drop-out in the country has not come down.

It is my privilege to point out here that in Tamilnadu the drop-out in elementary education has been completely eliminated. This has become possible because of the introduction of nutritious meals scheme introduced by our inimitable leader Dr. Puratchi Thalaivar Thiru MGR. This has

also led to increase in enrolment of children in elementary schools. The former Secretary of Central Ministry of Education, Shrimati Anna Malhotra had witnessed this in person and made a detailed report about this achievement of Tamilnadu. Our Chief Minister knows that the children are the blossoming buds of humanity and he is keen to ensure that these buds become fragrant flowers. I am sorry that the expenditure incurred on nutritious meals scheme has not been treated as Plan Expenditure. I take this opportunity to demand that nutritious meals scheme expenditure must be treated as Plan expenditure, in view of the fact that it has led to reduction in drop-outs and increase in enrolment of children in elementary schools.

Madam, now education is in the Concurrent List of the Constitution. It is not enough to open Central Higher Secondary Schools in different parts of the country. Without proper elementary education, secondary education cannot meet with success. Adequate attention must be paid for the spread of elementary education in the country. Article 45 of the Constitution under the Directive Principles Chapter states that the State shall endeavour to provide free and compulsory education within ten years after the commencement of the Constitution. But the regrettable phenomenon is that 9 States are educationally backward even after 36 years of Independence. Hence it is necessary to have free and compulsory education as a fundamental right.

In Tamilnadu we have Director of Elementary Education to look after the needs of elementary education. Throughout Tamil Nadu many voluntary organisations are running primary schools which get financial assistance from the State Government. We have also the Director of Non-formal education to eradicate illiteracy. If the concepts like Ignorance is worse than Death, God creates man and education makes him a gentleman are translated to be in action, then elementary education must be given all the due importance in our scheme of activities.

India lives in rural areas. But unfortunately rural areas have been neglected

*Original speech was delivered in Tamil.

in the provision of elementary schools. The elementary schools have not kept pace with the population growth. The rural areas woefully lack in school buildings and other amenities. The elementary school teachers in rural areas get less than what a Fourth Class employee of the Central Government gets in metropolitan cities. In order to encourage the teachers to go to rural areas, their salary must be enhanced forthwith. The Government of India must have a time-bound programme for opening school buildings in the rural areas. If we believe in the saying that teacher is next only to God, then the teachers must become respectable members of the society. Presently they are in the lowest rung of the society, particularly in the rural areas. The Central Government must give more grants to the States for this purpose and inspire them to expand elementary education in rural areas. With these words I conclude my speech.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY (Puri) : I invite the attention of the House to Article 45 of our Constitution. It says :

“The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years.”

This amendment to Article 45 was incorporated under the 42nd amendment. A period of ten years has been provided. This comes under the Directive Principles.

The latter part of this Resolution says :

“...resolves that the right to free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years be included as a Fundamental Right in our Constitution.”

My submission is that this Resolution is incompetent. I invite your attention to Article 368(2) of the Constitution. It categorically says that any amendment to the Constitution must be by way of introducing a Bill, not through a resolution.

And this is an amendment to Part III of our Constitution. This amendment will be possible only through a Bill, if a Bill is introduced, and not by a resolution.

I will now place Article 368(2) of the Constitution before the House :

“An amendment of this Constitution may be initiated only by the introduction of a Bill for the purpose in either House of Parliament, and when the Bill is passed in each House.....”

I need not read it fully.

Naturally, this resolution is incompetent in this sense.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla) : By saying that it is incompetent, do you mean that it is incomplete ?

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY : ‘Incompetent’ means that even if the resolution is passed, the amendment of the Constitution cannot be made, because only through another Bill, the amendment of the Constitution is possible.

Now, so far as the first part of the Resolution is concerned, really it reflects an agonizing spirit of the nation, that 74% of the people are illiterate in this country, and the entire expenditure on education, made by both the Union Government and the State Governments does not touch 74% of the people.

You know that previously, there was a wrong tradition, viz. that equal opportunity for education was not permitted by the then society. To-day it is guaranteed under the Constitution. I recall the story of Ekalavya. Drona could not give him training because he belonged to the Bhil community. To-day, equal opportunity is guaranteed under the Constitution. But that does not provide the answer to the problems in this field. Inequality of means of certain sections of people in our society has brought about the situation where either they remain illiterate; or, if they go to the school, they subsequently drop out. This is most important to remember.

Article 45 has given shape to the national upsurge in the matter of education. It was incorporated under the 42nd amendment to the Constitution. But the fact remains that it was introduced in 1976. Ten years will expire in 1986. So, I submit that the hon. Minister should remember that it becomes a moral obligation for the Union Government and the State Governments to see that within three more years, this objective is achieved.

I also want to point out that higher education in India is the cheapest in the world.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You can give your suggestions to the Minister. Now please conclude.

SHRI BRAJAMOHAN MOHANTY : I conclude my remarks now, for want of time. Thank you.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla) : I think it must be by choice that the Deputy Minister has come forward to listen to the points of view to be expressed on universalisation of education. I give my strong support to the resolution put forth by Shri Saifuddin Chowdhury. I have moved an amendment also because I want to bring in an element of seriousness to the discussion. I would request the Deputy Minister to take a rather very serious notice of what we say about universalisation of education. I have gone through the Report of the Ministry of Education; and it has left me in no doubt that you have had a cursory reading of the situation, because when you talk of the additional enrolment, you say that by the close of the year 1983-84, you will have 47.02 lakhs more people within the age group up to 14, that is from class 1 to 8; you neglect one fact rather. I should not say deliberately—but it is a kind of negligence of the Ministry that you do not take the rate of drop-out into consideration. If you have a graph to see at what stage the drop-out is the highest, you will find that it is at the elementary stage that you are having it, and you get satisfied yourself by a kind of statistical jargon.

From the non-formal sector, you say you

will have the enrolment and then you say you^u will have another 25.64 Lakhs. In the non-formal sector again the drop out rate is very high. Here you enrol more people in the elementary sector and here you enrol people for the non-formal sector; and there the drop-out rate offsets your enrolment; and still the Minister of State for education made an assertion not only through the report but when she replied to the debate here, she made an assertion that by 1990 they will have enrolled all the 11 crore illiterates of this country. They forget that while they enrol by the time they reach 1990, many people, may be more than half must have gone back to the realm of illiteracy. Therefore, there is something radically wrong with the philosophy of understanding this situation. Now don't think that I am merely speaking for the sake of opposing your move for getting funds for universalisation of education; I honestly believe that you require to understand this problem afresh. Then you ask for funds. I would request you to go through the Kothari Report afresh. It is a very laudable contribution towards improvement of the system of education in this country. I must tell you that all the third world, those countries must be benefited from this Report. There lot of problems have been discussed. This is a bible for education improvement in this country. You kindly see page 89 of this Report. When the Kothari Commission discusses this problem, it reminds you that you have a philosophy of life; it tell you why do you want to enrol people for education. The Kothari Commission says, if it is an industrialise country, it will have universalisation at the secondary stage; if it is a poor society which has no fund, it will not have any concept of universalisation; if it is a feudal society it will have education for a few. It further says as follows :

“India has committed herself to the creation of a democratic and socialistic pattern of society. The fundamental principles that should guide the provision of facilities at the different stages and sectors of education, therefore, may be stated as follows.”

They are 1, 2, 3, and 4. Now the first thing

that the commission days is as follows;

“To provide an effective general education of not less than 6 years’ duration to every child on a free and compulsory basis and to expand lower secondary education on as large a scale as possible.”

Now, Mr. Saifuddin Choudhury has put forth a Resolution, and he reminds you that it is provided in the Constitution of India that you should have the right to free and compulsory education as a Fundamental Right. He invites your attention to the Constitution of India and when this country forgot to allot priority to education, and when the Kothari Commission was appointed, the Kothari Commission tells you that if you have a philosophy of life, you will have to have compulsory education. Now, neither do you care for the Constitution of India nor do you derive any kind of enlightenment from the Kothari Commission’s report, and then you come forward for funds for funding the universalisation of education. Now, you get funds for universalisation of education, and that money goes down the drain. Because then, you say, that we do not have universalisation of education. You never make it compulsory and whatever money you get either for non-formal education or for the scheme of universalisation of education, you get children, by persuasion and you never take stock of the situation, whereby their enrolment is effect by the drop out rate. Therefore, you get money pumped into the system, without taking any effective measures; that money is lost and this the country should take care. We have not yet gone to the maturity stage. We are making a hard effort for a take-off stage. Now money should not be wasted.

If you want to have universalisation of education you will have to have universalisation of elementary education, for the time being because it means, then universalisation of education at all stages. But if you want to make universalisation of education possible, it will have to be by elementary stage compulsorily. Therefore, I have moved an amendment. Whatever

Shri Saifuddin Choudhury says is correct. But he should ask the Ministry of Education to take measures as have been taken by the Government of Kerala. They have made it compulsory and we have also taken measures very recently in Jammu & Kashmir State. We passed a Bill whereby at the elementary stage for the age group 6-14, that is the elementary stage for which you got money and never took care of the drop out rate and you will have to take the elementary education, you will universalise and make it on a compulsory basis. Therefore, I proposed to add this much to the Resolution put forth by Shri Saifuddin Choudhury :

“so as to achieve the objective of universalising Elementary Education as has been decided by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.”

I do not say that it is a matter of pride for me. It should be a matter for pride for you also.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That is all right; Now, the Education Minister will reply.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ : I am closing. I have already requested both the Ministers, in the Consultative Committee that they must organise a national debate and a conference, and take effective measures for making universalisation of education possible on a compulsory basis.

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur) : First good speech you have made.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRIES OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE AND SOCIAL WELFARE (SHRI P.K. THUNGON) : Madam Chairman, I am grateful to those hon. Members who have taken part in the discussion on this Resolution. I am particularly thankful to Shri Saifuddin Choudhury for bringing this Resolution, because he has given an opportunity to discuss this educational problem, particularly in the elementary stage to bring out the points

and to give the hon. Members an opportunity to give various suggestions. He has also given us an opportunity to express what we are doing in the Ministry of Education for universalisation of elementary education.

Before I state what we are doing I would like to respond to Mr. Choudhury's mention about the All India Educational Survey conducted in 1978-79. According to this survey there are 9,64,664 habitations in the country with varying population slabs. According to Fourth All India Education Survey, the provision of primary and middle schools has been as under :

- (i) Primary schools are available within a distance of one km in respect of 7,73,997 habitations i.e. 92.82 per cent of population.
- (ii) Primary schools are also available within a distance of 1 to 2 kms in respect of another 1,24,679 habitations.
- (iii) For the remaining 65,988 habitations, primary schools are available at a distance of more than 2 kms.
- (iv) Middle schools are available at a maximum distance of 3 kms in 6,44,971 habitations i.e. 78.83% of population.
- (v) Middle schools are also available at a maximum distance of 5 kms in respect of another 1,80,051 habitations.
- (vi) For the remaining 1,39,642 habitations, middle schooling facilities are available at a distance of more than 5 kms.

This shows how far we have progressed in taking the educational facilities to the doorsteps of the people.

Very valuable suggestions have been given by the hon. Members in the course

of their deliberations. But before I come to that, I would like to mention what the Government is doing for universalisation of elementary education. The central budget for education was Rs. 110 crores in 1982-83, Rs. 198.75 crores in 1983-84 and is proposed at Rs. 203.65 crores in 1984-85. This shows a constant substantial increase in outlays for education. The overall outlay on education has increased from Rs. 169 crores in the First Plan to Rs. 2524 crores in the Sixth Plan. The number of schools has increased from 2,23,267 in 1950 to 5,92,969 in 1980. During the corresponding period the number of primary school teachers has increased from 5,37,918 to about 22 lakhs in 1980. The enrolment has increased from 223 lakhs in 1950-51 to 984 lakhs in 1982-83. The coverage of elementary education now is 90.1 per cent in primary classes and 47.5 per cent in middle classes. It is now proposed to achieve coverage of 95 per cent at primary level and 50 per cent at middle level by 1984-85 and 100 per cent for both by 1990. The problem of low enrolment has been identified, particularly in 9 States. These States are Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, UP and West Bengal. For proper enrolment in these States, various schemes of assistance, various programmes of assisting them have been chalked out in the Ministry of Education.

17.05 hrs.

[SHRI R.S. SPARROW *in the Chair*]

We are assisting 90 per cent of the total expenditure in the case of non-formal centres of education and 50 per cent of total expenditure in the case of other non-formal centres in the educationally backward States exclusively for girls. Besides this, we provide per cent assistance to voluntary organisations conducting or running non-formal education in the educationally backward States.

We are providing 80 per cent of the expenditure for appointment of lady teachers in the schools in these 9 States. They may be even in the formal system. More than one lakh non-formal education

centres have been opened with Central Assistance and 35 to 40 lakhs of persons are expected to be covered by these centres by the end of the Sixth Plan. From 1983-84 a scheme of cash award to States and Union Territories has been started for excellence in performance in enrolment of girls at elementary level of 6 to 14. A sum of Rs. 6.21 crores has been sanctioned under this scheme for awards to various States.

Some hon. Members, especially Prof. Soz, referred to drop-outs. We have suggested to the respective States certain steps to avoid drop-outs.

PROF. N.G. RANGA : Co-operation of the parents is needed here.

SHRI P.K. THUNGON : Of course, that must be there. One of the most important steps which has been suggested to the State Government to stop drop-outs is the introduction of the un-graded school system and no-detention policy so that every child shall complete one class each year and will be promoted to the next higher grade till he completes Class VIII, until the child reaches the age of 14 years.

Then, we have suggested to the State Governments to provide two teachers in all single-teacher schools. Due to economic and social conditions, some of the children cannot go to formal schools. To add momentum to the enrolment, it has been stated that they can study in non-formal centres but, at the same time, they can have entry into formal education. So, instead of one entry point, this is a multi-point entry to formal education. This will also give boost to the enrolment for universalisation of elementary education.

Hon. Members have raised some other points also during the course of their deliberations. One of the points which was raised is regarding pre-primary education. Hon. Members will be glad to know that we have a scheme which has already been introduced during the Sixth Five Year Plan. It is a Central scheme to

provide assistance to the voluntary organisations in the 9 educationally backward States to start pre-primary educational facilities.

Some of the Members have spoken about the standard and syllabus and also about abolition of public schools or for nationalisation of public schools. So far as the standard is concerned, I would like to impress upon hon. Members that there is no difference in the standard because of the syllabus but wherever the difference in standard is there, it is because of the physical facilities being provided by different schools. As regards the syllabus, it is the same for all the schools which are under a particular Education Board. For instance, all those schools which are covered by CBSE have the same standard so far as the syllabus is concerned. Whether the student is studying in Jammu and Kashmir or in Kanyakumari or in Nagaland, the standard of the syllabus is the same and the lessons are almost the same...

(Interruptions)

PROF SAIFUDDIN SOZ : At what stage ?

SHRI P.K. THUNGON : In any part of the country wherever the syllabus is prescribed by the CBSE, there is no difference in the standard so far as the syllabus is concerned. But so far as the physical facilities are concerned, these may be different in different schools.

In the case of these schools in which the examinations are conducted by different State Boards, their standard may not be the same because the syllabus prescribed by the different State Boards may not be the same. There may be slight difference in the syllabus. But our effort in this respect has been that through NCERT we try to evolve certain standard or model syllabus which is sent to all the State Boards and most of the State Boards accept that syllabus so that the same standard is maintained. Naturally, the same standard or model syllabus evolved by NCERT is not followed by all the

States and they adjust it according to their regional or local needs.

A point was also raised about the capitation fee. In this regard our views have been made clear several times, not only in this House but in the other House also. We are not in favour of capitation fee and that is why we have been taking steps to abolish capitation fee wherever it is in existence. Not only the Ministry of Education, but Our Prime Minister is very much aware of this and she has written to the concerned Chief Ministers earlier to see that Capitation Fee in any form is abolished and not encouraged.

A point was raised about illiteracy rates among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Besides whatever facilities we provide from the Ministry of Education to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, there are programmes and schemes in the Ministry of Home Affairs also, which take care of the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes' education. They provide stipends and other facilities to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes students.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : What is the percentage of literacy among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes ?

SHRI P.K. THUNGON : It is a little over 16 per cent.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : And what is the total percentage of literacy ?

SHRI P.K. THUNGON : It is 36.23 per cent.

Shri Ram Lal Rahi has raised one point which I thought I must mention. He said that the Government should not think that because this is a resolution which has come from an Opposition Member, they should not support it and that it should be negative. Sir, I can assure the Hon. Member whether it is from the Opposition or from the ruling party, if certain good and purposeful suggestions are given in

the interest of education we will certainly accept those suggestions. He can take out from his mind that fear that we will be against them for the sake of opposition.

I would like to conclude by saying that we are already have the enactments for compulsory education in sixteen States and three Union Territories. But you will be surprised to know that out of nine educationally backward States, eight States are those which have already made that enactment. Mere enactment is not enough to universalise the elementary education. By bringing in this as a Fundamental Right, I don't think it can help in the universalisation of education.

Regarding the public schools, I would like to state that the public schools cannot be abolished.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Why ?

SHRI P.K. THUNGON : Because as per Constitution it cannot be abolished. And also many of the public schools are run by the minorities and are under the safeguard of the minorities. So, they cannot be abolished.

For the information of the Hon. Members we have got it examined through the law Ministry. It has been clearly stated by the Law Ministry that those public schools cannot be abolished. Therefore, I would like to make it very clear that public schools are also contributing in their own way to the interest of the country.

SHRI XAVIER ARAKAL (Ernakulam) : Sir, the Centre has given substantial assistance in the case of non-formal education. It is nearly 80 per cent. I would like to know whether the Central Government—and since the Planning Minister is also here—will consider giving help to the State Governments in the matter of providing formal education ? Sir, they are spending nearly 43 per cent of their revenue.

That is a very crucial point in the matter. Will the Central Government

consider, for the purpose of financial assistance, allotting a major share of the expenditure in providing education to the children of this age bracket? Will they consider this point?

SHRI P. K. THUNGOON : As the Hon. Members are aware, at the time of Plan discussions—the Planning Minister himself is sitting here—it is the duty of the Ministry of Education to explain the necessity and to assist the respective State Governments, and after seeing the overall interest and overall budget, the availability of resources, the Planning Commission makes the allotment to the respective States. But what I would like to impress upon is that while the proposals are made from the States, there also appropriate projects in this sector are required. Moreover, so far as the Centre is concerned, we are giving 80 per cent of the total expenditure for the appointment of lady teachers in the nine educationally backward States. This is what we can do and what we are doing.

In conclusion what I wanted to state was that more enactment is not sufficient. Inclusion of this in the Fundamental Rights is not going to solve the problem.

(Interruptions)

There are practical problems here. If it is made compulsory by making it a Fundamental Right, the problem will be that in those remote places where two or three houses consist of one village, we shall have to provide facilities to them also. In case we are not in a position to provide them, they can go to court. Likewise there may be so many litigations in this regard. Instead of helping people we may be trying to involve the people in litigation. Therefore, I do not see any good reason for agreeing to this Resolution and since we are putting all our efforts, since the Government is putting all efforts to universalise elementary education, I request the hon. Member to withdraw his Resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN : We have got only a little time for this, and then there is also a Half-an-Hour discussion later. So, I

wish to request Shri Saifuddin Choudhury to very kindly be as brief as possible.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Mr. Rahi also is to move his Resolution, but he will not get time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : We have to take up Half-an-Hour discussion also at 5.30 p.m.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : What I suggest is, you take up Half-an-Hour discussion at 5.40 p.m. and in the meantime, Mr. Rahi will move his Resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is not possible. Once we have worked out some formula, we have to abide by that. You have to close this by 5.30 p.m.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North East) : I have any important Resolution; you should specially see that it is moved !

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY : I think I can go beyond 5.30 p.m.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No.

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY : Otherwise I cannot do it in a few minutes.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Up to 5.30 you can speak. Later on you can continue next time.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SAIFUDDIN CHOUDHURY (Katwa) : Fourteen Members have participated in this Resolution. I am thankful to all of them for taking part. Most of them have very strongly supported the contents of my Resolution. Only one or two have spoken otherwise. For those who thought this Resolution unnecessary, first of all I would recommend to the Minister to grant them this right to be educated at the very first instance.

From the ruling party many Members have supported and from the Opposition all have supported. I have heard with attention the reply of the hon. Minister.

Last day when we discussed it, Shri Mool Chand Daga took a diversion to other areas. He said that population growth is the reason for our lagging behind in the application of universal education. This point comes in all the sectors. When we make certain demand and point out certain deficiencies this point of population growth is put forward by the ruling party. Its Members, propagators and advocates do so. It should be put rest now. Population growth is not the cause of our illiteracy. On the other hand, illiteracy is one of the causes for our population growth.

(Interruptions)

I do not want to speak much more. I wanted that it should have the support from the Government also. But it has exposed their character. They want people to remain ignorant.

I do not withdraw my Resolution. I press my Resolution.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I shall now put amendments to the Resolution moved by Shri Mool Chand Daga and Prof. Saifuddin Soz the vote of the House.

The amendments were put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I shall now put Resolution of Shri Saifuddin Choudhury to the vote of the House.

The question is :

“This House expresses its grave concern over the high percentage of illiteracy prevailing throughout the country even after thirty-six years of Independence and resolves that the right to free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years be included as a Fundamental Right in our Constitution.”

The Resolution was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Ram Lal Rahi.

17.30 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE : DEVELOPMENT
OF RURAL AREAS

श्री राम लाल राही (मिसरिल्ल) : सभापति महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ कि :—

“इस सभा की राय है कि सरकार अपने प्रशासनिक तंत्र की भारी कमियों के कारण, कम आय वाले लोगों की दशा को ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के योजनाबद्ध विकास के द्वारा सुधारने में असफल रही है और इसलिए सरकार से सिफारिश करती है कि वह शैक्षिक और नैतिक मूल्यों पर बल देने हुए और प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था को सुधार कर गतिशील नीतियाँ बनाएँ, जिससे कि जन-साक्षरण की उन्नति हेतु ग्रामीण का समेकित विकास सुनिश्चित किया जा सके।”

सभापति महोदय, मैं धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव को प्रस्तुत करने का आपने मुझे अवसर दिया। मैं गाँव का निवासी हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN : Motion moved :

“This House is of the opinion that Government have failed to ameliorate the lot of low income group people through planned development of rural areas on account of serious inadequacies in the administrative machinery and therefore recommends to the Government to devise pragmatic policies by laying emphasis on educational and moral values and by revamping the administrative structure so as to ensure integrated development of the rural areas for upliftment of the masses.”

He will continue his speech next day.