

16.35 hrs.

**MOTION RE. GROWING STUDENT UNREST IN UNIVERSITIES—Contd.**

**MR. SPEAKER:** Now we take up further consideration of the following motion on students' unrest in universities moved by Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta on the 15th May, 1978:

"That this House expresses its concern at the growing student unrest in universities and other institutions for higher education deemed to be universities and recommends to the Government to take appropriate steps to remove the causes of unrest."

Mr. Borole.

**SHRI YASHWANT BOROLE** (Jalgaon): The students' unrest is a very serious problem which has attracted a number of politicians, social workers and institutions all over the world. On this problem in India also from time to time various committees were appointed. They have submitted their reports. It has also been considered at length in the Kothari's Commission as well as the University Grants Commission.

The seriousness of the problem has been focussed sufficiently but the remedies which were suggested have been found to be quite ineffective in combating the problem.

The seriousness of the problem lies in the indiscipline which is found in the society as a whole. So, let us not blame the students only. The student's life is a reflection of what is there in existence in the society. The socio-economic circumstances which are existing in the society have a tremendous effect on the students' world also.

16.36 hrs.

[**SHRI RAM MURTI** in the Chair]

If students their visit our Parliament between 12 noon and 1 p.m., have

we ever considered what impressions they will carry? This is really surprising. If one analyses the aspects and the mental conditions of everyone who takes to indiscipline, then probably there will not be a class of people who will be away from the blame. Indiscipline has crept in so much so in the entire life that it is impossible to single out a particular class. The students' unrest which arose on several occasions culminating in violence, in breaking the hostels, the furniture, gheraoing the Vice-Chancellors and so on. All of you are aware that in Marathwada simply because the name of the University, formerly the Marathwada University, has been changed to Dr. Ambedkar Marathwada University, there has been a great tension, there is violence, they are taking out processions and they are burning railway wagons and a number of things have happened simply because there has been a change. Now the change was effected in consultation with all concerned, with all parties concerned and it was a unanimous decision. But the students have gone on strike. The Students' Action Committee has launched an agitation. So we have to find out the real anatomy of the disease, the real genesis where it lies. It is no use simply applying the medicine from outside when the entire system has a cancer in it.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the students' unrest has to be done away with. There are innumerable ways which one can adopt. I hope, Sir, all of you must be aware of Sane Guruji. He trained his students in a very different manner. He would go to the hostel in a room of a student; if the books are not all right, he will see that the rack is all right. For a while, if the chaddar is not all right, he will put it all right without the knowledge of the student. It has a tremendous effect. He will wash the cloth and keep it clean. This has a tremendous effect created in the minds of the students by this constructive attitude of the teacher. In the hostel, the student ultimately has

[Shri Yashwant Borole]

an ambitious life and has discipline throughout the career in his life.

Such acts can be taken up in order that the students could be impressed. Otherwise students are well known that if the politicians take to strikes for their gains, why not the students? The students have an academic career. Therefore, they should not go on par with the politicians and in fact they should be left free from politics as far as possible. They should try to understand politics only. But, they should not participate in active politics. They have been trained on several occasions in politics when the nation at large demands. But, we have seen various revolutions in which the students have fully participated. Barring such occasions, for a small, petty, and trivial reason, the students should not participate in politics. It is for us, politicians, to keep them aloof. It is for our advantage, as politicians and as leaders that we try to take the help of the students. We should not try to mislead them. We try to exhibit that we have got a great following and a great strength. That is entirely a wrong. I would say from the various analysis which has been carried out and scientific study that has been carried out about the students unrest, it is thought that if the students world is left aloof from politicians, aloof from social workers, it will be a better moulding than all these influences which we create on them. Our own political life, our own social life have not remained idealistic as to impress the students with an ambitious thought. And so, Mr. Chairman, what I would like to suggest is this. My first suggestion would be that the students must be kept out of politics in an entirely different way. My second suggestion is that no political leaders no social workers shall exploit the student mass. My third suggestion will be that the universities, schools and colleges shall be a world

by itself wherein they will be preached only the ideals and idealism and be practically away for a while from the implementation thereof in society. Whatever we may suffer from, the student world should never be brought into a controversy and should never try to be employed by one force or the other. With these submission, I finish my speech.

श्री राज नारायण (रायबरेली): श्रीमान्,  
मेरा नाम नोट कर लिया है न आप ने ?

सभापति महोदय : आप ने, अभी खबर की नहीं, इस लिए आप का नाम नहीं आया है।

श्री राज नारायण : तो लिख लीजिए। बिना हमारे आपण के शिक्षा चलेगा कैसे ?

SHRI V. M. SUDHEERAN (Alleppey): Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are discussing a very serious problem, viz., student unrest. I patiently heard the observations made by my dear colleague and to which I do not agree.

Sir, this problem needs to be tackled very basically. Recently, almost half of the universities in our country had been closed, particularly, in Bihar, U.P., etc. This is not a new problem. Many observations had been made about this. Our ministers, political leaders, educationists, and eminent personalities belonging to various sections of our society have analysed this problem in depth. But I must say that none has gone in depth to analyse this problem from the point of view of the students.

Sir, my view is that the basic reason for student unrest is that the students have not been given proper representation in the university administration. Students are the main factor of the universities. To quote Dr. Kothari, an eminent educationist: A true university is a corporation of teachers and students.

Now, what is happening at the moment. Students are not being properly heard. When they demand an

over-all change in the educational system; when they demand better education facilities, I am very sorry to say, the university authorities are very reluctant to hear them at the proper time.

If students are heard at the proper time and the university authorities take immediate steps then almost all the basic reasons of students' unrest can be curbed. Sir, I come from Kerala where students are represented in the university administration. When the students of Kerala demanded representation in the university bodies some so-called eminent educationists criticised the students for this demand as they feared that will spoil the administration of the university.

But, Sir, from the experience from Kerala, I can say this and I am proud of saying this. The performance of the students who are represented in university senate and other bodies is much better than those of the educationists. In Kerala sufficient student representation is there in University Senate and there is sufficient representation in the Syndicate also and other academic councils and bodies. All the universities in Kerala are observing this principle. I would like to know one thing from the hon. Minister, Dr. Chunder. The hon Minister of State is also here. What is the policy of the present Government? If the Government evolves a policy that students must be represented in all university bodies and academic bodies, then, a lot of these problems could be avoided. Lot of such student unrest incidents could be curbed. This is my feeling, Sir. This is a vital issue. The Government should take urgent steps to direct all the State Governments to bring in necessary legislation so that students are fully represented in all these university bodies. This is a very fundamental issue facing us today.

Another reason for the student unrest is the inadequacy of educational

facilities. They don't have proper accommodation, proper encouragement from the authorities, proper transport arrangements etc.

I would appeal to the Government to form a high level committee which will go into the problems of students in depth and recommend the steps to the concerned State Governments to solve their problems.

There must be a committee consisting of representatives of students, representatives of teachers, representatives of the universities and representatives of the Government. This committee must go into the problem of student unrest in detail and in depth. That committee should meet from time to time. They should recommend to the Government the steps to be taken regarding the problems of the students. If this is done, we will avoid many problems.

I do not agree with my hon. friend who spoke earlier that politicians should keep themselves away from the university campus. I don't agree there. Students must be politically aware. If there is fear about politicians and political bodies, my genuine fear is that some other anti social elements will take their place and they may exploit students for their own purpose. There is nothing to fear about the politics of this country. Therefore, let them get themselves acquainted with the politics of this country. Then only they will be able to discriminate between what is right and what is wrong. Therefore I do not agree with my friend on that score.

Another point which I would like to say is this. In all these respects sufficient help must come from the concerned State Governments to provide the students with all facilities needed by them. I don't want to go into details here. Basic problems of student community must be taken into account and Government must settle them quickly. Those problems

[Shri V. M. Sudheeran—contd.]

must be solved at the right time. If the problems are solved at the right time, then almost all the other problems would automatically get solved. With these words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat): Mr Chairman, Sir the student unrest in our country today, as has been rightly pointed out, is not limited to our country alone, rather it is an international phenomenon today. I do not like to discuss that part of the problem because this House and this country are more concerned about what is happening within the bounds of our country. The student unrest today is a problem to which no Government can remain blind or have ostrich-like attitude to the problem. There is no doubt that there has been a lot of unrest among students. As far as my information goes, no university in the country today, the number of which might be more than one hundred, has remained immune from this kind of student unrest and this kind of unrest is not only there but it is also growing day by day. This is an important problem which the Government should take note of. Unrest was there and unrest might be there. But the particular point which this Government should take note of is that the unrest is not getting less and less but it is growing both in volume and also in depth. There is another element in this new situation which the Government should take note of. That is, the unrest is increasingly being accompanied by violence, violence within the campus, violence within the academic institution itself.

I have some figures to quote. In 1966, there was a similar state of student unrest throughout the country. But in those unrest, there was not so much element of violence. As far as my figure goes, it states that during the period of 1966, there has been incidents of students' unrest numbering

about 2206. But of these, 45 demonstrations were reported to have been violent. This time, according to the general information, 60 to 70 per cent of the unrests in the campus were accompanied by violence. This is a new sort of element in the phenomenon of students' unrest. There are a number of causes for it. I would not like to make a catalogue of it because I have got very little time at my disposal. I only want to draw the attention of the Government to the particular causes for unrest. One is that there are certain causes which are of a basic nature of the fall-out effects of the existing socio-economic conditions. This is the basic reason for the unrest among the students today. The second cause for unrest is the Issue-based cause. There are certain issues among the students, among the academicians and that the issue-based unrest had developed and that is the result which flow from the reactions of the student community to a particular issue at a given point of time.

17.00 hrs.

The reaction of the students on that issue creates a condition of violence or condition of unrest. But on this issue-based unrest, a particular trend is sharply discernible today, particularly it is so during the last one year. The students are coming out more and more with the demand of doing away with the emergency excesses. It is a fact that during the nineteen months of emergency, the academic life was stifled, student unrest or students' dissatisfaction was bottled up for the time being, but with the removal of the emergency, it is quite natural that there has been an explosion of their pent-up feelings. My point is that the Government, instead of looking into the problems arising out of the students' demand to eliminate the vestiges of emergency, have taken to the path of crushing the students' movement in the university campuses. While the Government is committed to do away with the emergency

excesses, it appears to me that in certain cases they are interested to maintain the emergency apparatus instead of dismantling it such as in the academic community.

**THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER):** Which Government?

**SHRI CHITTA BASU:** Your Government.

**DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER:** Not the State Governments?

**SHRI CHITTA BASU:** Are you referring to West Bengal Government? When I am discussing these things on the floor of this House, I mean Dr. Chunder, not Prof. Shambu Ghosh or Prof. Parthade.

The Government should not lose time to see that the emergency apparatus which was built up during the emergency is thoroughly and speedily dismantled so that much of the grievances of the students can be really removed. I would not like to go into the details of what happened in Delhi University or Jawaharlal Nehru University or Benaras University, but the fact remains that there has been delay and hesitancy on the part of the Government or university authorities to dismantle the emergency apparatus, which disrupted the academic life of the universities.

There are host of other issues concerning the student community. I do not say that all the issues generally raised are justified, for example the issues raised sometimes are from the postponement of examination to the doing away of the services of a sentry. Sometimes, they also want the liberty of having the right to copy. These are certain flimsy grounds, which the academy community and the elite of our country, Parliament, the legislatures and the political parties should not encourage. That, however, does not mean that I am opposed to the participation of the student community

in politics. The students should learn politics, the philosophy of it, the art of running the Government and the administration and in that process, they will become the capable citizens of the nation. If you do not bring in to the academic life of the students, the political consideration, not the party considerations, the general political philosophy, I think, the student unrest would grow. The entire student community might be at the mercy of the anti-social elements. Therefore, the politics should not be banned, but good politics ought to be there which really can train the students community and make them effective citizens in our country.

I want to finish my observations by making certain suggestions. I welcome the Government of India's move for convening a meeting or a conference of the leaders of the political parties in the country to have suggestions from the political parties. But I do not know what has transpired between them from that conference, because no background papers were supplied to the political parties. I think the matter should not end merely by having one session of the conference but that way it should be further continued, the dialogue should be further continued and some positive recommendations should come out from them. My suggestions are: (1) There should be standardisation and rationalisation of the camps facilities for all the universities. Students' participation in the management of the university is a must. Reforms in the examination system should be brought about immediately. Further extension of functioning and democratic rights of the unions is very vital in this regard. The extension of the scope and functions can make the students' unions an effective instrument of communication of ideas between the administration and the university students.

Lastly my point is that it may be the practice of the State Governments to view the students unrest merely as a problem of law and order. The

[Shri Chitta Basu]

Government of India should send guidelines to the State Governments to see that the intervention of the police force into the campus affairs would be guided by certain guidelines. Otherwise, if the question of the students unrest will be taken to be a more question of law and order and instead of curbing the causes of unrest, the causes of unrest will be further accentuated and intensified.

As far as the socio-economic conditions of the students are concerned, the students of our country today are afraid of tomorrow. They are not provided any guarantee for employment. Therefore, unless the entire education system is geared to the employment needs of the country, these reasons or basic causes for unrest shall remain and brick-batting or lathi-charge shall ever remain a curriculum of the universities.

Therefore, the Government of India, particularly Dr. Chandra should think about improving their economic conditions and social and economic inequalities should be properly tackled and there should be a multi-pronged-attack on this vital problem of students unrest. It should not be on a partisan point of view, it should be on a national point of view so that we can eradicate the basic reasons for students unrest in our country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Four hours had been allotted for this discussion and at least by 5.30, 3½ hours will be completed. Now I want to know whether you want further half-an-hour discussion on some other day.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: We can finish it by 6 O' clock and the half-an-hour discussion can be started at 6.30.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No, in the agenda paper, Mr. Bosu's half-an-hour discussion has to start at 5.30.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: But this discussion was to start at four O'clock. Instead of 4, we started it at 4.30. So, we were late by half an hour. So, we can extend it further by half an hour and finish it by six O'clock, and half-an-hour discussion instead of 5.30 we can take it up at 6 P.M.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Then Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu will have objection because he was given time at 5.30.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: Then we should have it tomorrow.

सभापति महोदय: जब बिजनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी...

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: There is no question of Business Advisory Committee, this House has to take a decision.

श्री नाथ सिंह: इस को कल लेलीजियेगा।

सभापति महोदय: प्रच्छा, अगर हाउस एग्री करता है तो हम 6 बजे के बाद आधे घंटे और बैठ सकते हैं और 6 से 6-30 बजे तक इसे समाप्त कर सकते हैं।

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: Either you continue this discussion till 6 p.m. today or you fix a date when we can take it up, the Minister will speak and then I will reply.

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: There is some difficulty because certain international programmes had been fixed at 6.30 and I will have to go there, that is my difficulty.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The difficulty is that half an hour discussion has been fixed at 5.30 and Mr. Bosu has to take it up. Because four hours had been fixed and three and half hours will be over at 5.30; we can take it up some other day.

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: I understand Mr. Gupta means to say that we can continue this discussion till 6 p.m. and then half an hour discussion may be taken at 6 p.m.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Then let us continue this till 6 O'clock and we will take up Mr. Bosu's half an hour discussion from 6 O'clock to 6-30.

श्री युवराज (कटिहार): सभापति महोदय, जिस प्रस्ताव पर पिछले दिनों श्रीराम चर्चा हुई कि इस देश में आज क्यों छात्र जगत में इतनी अशांति है, सारे लोग चाहे राजनीति से सम्बन्ध रखते हों या सामाजिक सेवा से, उन के सामने यह एक समस्या और चुनौती है। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह शिक्षा, जो लोगों को प्रेरणा नहीं दे पाती है, उस से हम सिवाय असंतोष बढ़ने के और क्या उम्मीद करेंगे? इसी लिये यह असंतोष है।

जब तक हमारी शिक्षा की प्रणाली और नीति में कोई बुनियादी, रेडिकल चेंज न आ जायें, आज शिक्षा और शिक्षा जगत के छात्रों में जो अशांति है वह प्रागे और भी बढ़ेगी, घटेगी नहीं। मैं आपका ध्यान इस ओर आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि केवल शिक्षा-जगत के छात्रों या शिक्षकों की वजह से यह अशांति नहीं होती बल्कि जो सामाजिक और आर्थिक परिवेश है उसका असर छात्रों के जीवन पर पड़ता है। जो लोग पढ़ते हैं, उन की नौकरी की कोई गारन्टी नहीं होती। लड़के यह सोचते हैं कि पढ़ने के बाद हमारे भविष्य का क्या होगा? जहां जीवन में इतनी अनिश्चितता व्याप्त हो, पढ़ने लिखने के बाद कोई गारन्टी न हो, जहां मां-बाप के हज़ारों रुपये खर्च कर के लड़के पढ़ते हैं, लेकिन यूनिवर्सिटीज में जो वातावरण है, जो प्रणाली है जहां लड़कों के मानस और संस्कार का निर्माण होता है, वहां अच्छी हालत न हो तो फिर हम कैसे धारा कर सकते हैं कि अशांति नहीं होगी, शांति होगी। अशांति की केवल चर्चा करने से अशांति नहीं घटेगी बल्कि सरकार को एक साहसिक कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता है।

हम पब्लिक स्कूल खोलते हैं, उन की संख्या बढ़ाते हैं, वहां ज्यादा से ज्यादा खर्चा करते हैं, जिन करदाताओं के कर के बल पर यह सरकार चलती है, सामान्य रूप से जो शिक्षा मिलती है गांव के मजदूर और किसानों के बच्चों को उन के लिये हम कितना कर पाते हैं? आज भी हम उसी पुरानी नीति पर चल रहे हैं जिस पर पुरानी सरकार चल रही थी और पिछले 30, 50 बरसों से यह नीति चलती आ रही है।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब पब्लिक स्कूलों को हटाने की जरूरत है। अगर यह एक काम भी साहस के साथ कर दिया जाता, तो चाहे जो भी अंजाम होता, लेकिन हम गर्व के साथ कह सकते थे कि हम ने पब्लिक स्कूलों को हटा कर समाजवादी समाज की रचना की और एक कदम आगे बढ़ाया है। आज गांवों की प्राइमरी स्कूलों में शिक्षा मिलती है, कालेज में शिक्षा मिलती है, हाई स्कूल में शिक्षा मिलती है और यूनिवर्सिटी में शिक्षा मिलती है। उच्च का क्या अंजाम होता है? आज इस बात

की जरूरत है कि हमारी शिक्षा एक जैसी हो—आज शिक्षा में यूनिफार्मिटी कानून की आवश्यकता है।

छात्र समुदाय बहुत संबेदनशील होता है। थोड़ी बात पर भी वह भड़क उठता है। लेकिन क्या वही हम वर्तमान स्थिति के लिये जिम्मेदार है? इसके लिए हम सभी जिम्मेदार हैं। जब छात्रों की आशाओं और आकांक्षाओं को और उचित रूप से ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है, तो उन में असंतोष और अशांति फूट पड़ती है। इसलिए हम छात्रों की समस्याओं को समझना होगा, उन की आशाओं-आकांक्षाओं को समझना होगा, आज विश्वविद्यालयों में जो स्थिति है, उस की जिम्मेदारी निश्चित रूप से केवल छात्रों पर नहीं है—इस की जिम्मेदारी हम राजनीतिज्ञों पर भी है। हम छात्रों की यूनिन बनाते हैं और उस में हमारा कैरेक्टर रिफ्लेक्ट होता है। हम छात्रों को गलत बातें बता कर, उनका गलत मार्गदर्शन कर के उन को भड़काते हैं। यह जिम्मेदारी किसी एक खास राजनैतिक दल पर नहीं है। जितनी राजनैतिक संस्थाएँ आज छात्र-यूनिन चलाती हैं, उन की सब से बड़ी खामी यह है कि वे छात्रों का सही मार्ग दर्शन नहीं कर पाती हैं।

आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हमारी शिक्षा ऐसी हो, जो सामाजिक परिवर्तन का माध्यम बने। आज की शिक्षा बेरोजगारी बढ़ाती है, भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ाती है। यूनिवर्सिटी से पड़े लोग आई० ए० एस० की परीक्षा पास कर केन्द्र और राज्यों के सेक्रेट्रियट्स पर हावी हो गये हैं। आज तक जितने भी बड़े बड़े कांड और भ्रष्टाचार हुए हैं, वे तमाम पड़े-लिखे लोगों के द्वारा हुए हैं, क्योंकि जो शिक्षा दी गई है वह शिक्षा शोषण को बरकरार रखने के लिये दी गई है, वह शिक्षा हमारी संस्कृति से बहुत भिन्न है, वह शिक्षा हमारे चरित्र का निर्माण नहीं करती है, बल्कि हमारे चरित्र को गिराने में मदद करती है।

शिक्षा मंत्री इस देश के बहुत बड़े विद्वान माने जाते हैं। इस सरकार को प्रायः घाटार महीने बीत गये हैं, लेकिन यह गाड़ी अभी तक उसी लोक पर चल रही है, डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद के बन्त से लेकर आज तक शिक्षा-नीति में परिवर्तन करने की मांग की जाती रही है। शिक्षा-नीति में परिवर्तन के लिए वर्गों में आयोर्ग बिठाये जा चुके हैं। लेकिन उस में आज तक कोई प्रामुख परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है। भले ही सरकार तारीखों को दो एकड़ जमीन दे दे, या लोगों को छोटी-मोटी नौकरियां दे दे, या दस मील लम्बी सड़क बना दे, लेकिन मानव-समाज के निर्माण की जो बुनियाद या नींव है, अगर साहस के साथ उस शिक्षा में मौलिक परिवर्तन नहीं होगा तो इस समाज का खुश हो हाकिम है।

हमारा देश दुनिया का एक बहुत बड़ा देश माना जाता है। संसार में ऐसे भी देश हैं, जहाँ

अभिधाय शिक्षा लागू है। हमने अपने कांस्टीट्यूशन के जरिये वादा किया है कि हम अपने यहां छः से चौदह बरस के बच्चों को अनिवार्य शिक्षा देंगे, लेकिन उसको प्राप्त तक लागू नहीं किया जा सका है। रोना रोते हैं कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है। अब पैसे कहाँ से आ रहे हैं? उद्योग-धंधे बिटाने चले हैं कि हम उन के द्वारा दस बरस में पूरी बेरोजगारी को खत्म कर देंगे।

दरजनों देशों में अनिवार्य शिक्षा की व्यवस्था लागू है। जिन देशों में अनिवार्य शिक्षा की व्यवस्था दी जाती है, वहाँ के नौजवानों और छात्रों की बेरोजगारी का भत्ता भी दिया जाता है। इस के अलावा वहाँ काम देने की भी गारंटी है। यह देश इतनी बड़ी जिम्मेदारी लेकर चल रहा है। इस सरकार को पाँच बरस का समय मिला है। इसलिए यह बहुत ही चिन्तनीय विषय है और इस पर मनन करने की आवश्यकता है। अगर इस सरकार ने कोई उल्लेखनीय सामाजिक और आर्थिक काम न भी किया, लेकिन अगर उसने शिक्षा में ग्रामूल परिवर्तन करने का काम कर दिया, तो वह देश की भावी सन्तति के लिए मार्ग दर्शन का काम होगा।

SHRI V. ARUNACHALAM ALIAS 'ALADI ARUNA' (Tirunelveli): Mr. Chairman, in support of the motion moved by Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta, I would like to say a few words. One of the most important national problems which is challenging the prosperity of the future generation is nothing but student unrest. It is dolorous to state that in spite of its turgid growth, we find slackness and set-backs in our assessment and approach.

The student unrest has spread and flared up from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and from Amritsar to Agartala. If the leaders who have been entrusted with the responsibility of looking after the youth fail to find out the solutions to this protracted problem, I can say without hesitation that the progress of our country will be put in reverse gear.

A predominant notion still having its hold in England is that education is not the subject of Government. But in India, due to non-availability of adequate number of charitable institutions and lack of avid interest in social services, the Government is

forced to spend huge amounts for education. Though the role of the Centre is minor, every State Government defrays 25 per cent of its revenue for education. In other words, every year we are spending nearly Rs. 3000 crores for education. Now our genuine doubt is whether students are benefited by this enormous amount or, it is a sheer drain on our national economy.

The state of affairs in universities and colleges is deplorable. The students are not attending the classes regularly. The examinations are conducted for the sake of formality. The pedagogues are not teaching intently. The results are nothing but manifestation of manipulation of tabulation boards. Violent demonstrations, virulent agitations, recalcitrant strikes, mnemonic slogans, bellicose hyperboles and even acts of culpable homicide have become the order of the day in every campus of the universities. The institutions which were styled and designed for intellectual service have been demoted as the jungle of lawlessness defeating the purpose of education.

Unfortunately the student community fails to realise the tutelage of the Governments and their parents. When they feel that they are affected, they do not appeal to Government or their parents. Instead they directly launch agitations and strikes. Sometimes they do not even hesitate to fight with deadly weapons. My point is not whether the students are wielding the weapons, but they are the weapons of political parties. Almost all political parties exploit the student community for their political ends. The fledgling youth which is incapable of predicting the future easily becomes the victim of the harangues of demagogues.

The Kothari Commission examined the reasons for indiscipline and unrest among the students. It has adumbrated some causes for this perpetual crisis. According to the Kothari Commission, the defects in teaching,

lack of parental control, atmosphere created by politicians and unemployment are the principal causes for this perennial condition. Even after twelve years I find no improvement. In spite of ameliorating measures, contrary to our expectation, the condition is exasperating the tension. The institutions are still in turmoil.

The rasping factor is that there was a stark absence of violence during the emergency. It does not mean that such repressive measures are necessary to restore peace within the campus of universities and colleges. It reveals the truth that the basic cause for the turmoil within the precincts of universities is nothing but politics. Dr. Zakir Hussain rightly pointed out that there was too much politics in our education but too little education in our politics! To maintain discipline among the students and restore peace within the campus, the political parties should adopt a code of ethics to stay away from campuses and the problems of the students. The State Governments cannot hesitate to take drastic action against those institutions which are running on commercial basis and are exploiting the education as a means of personal livelihood.

Above all, a change in our educational system is quite essential. Our students and teachers are enjoying the paradise of innumerable holidays. In a country like India, free education is welcome by all. But we cannot allow the students to bruise and batter the purpose of free education. Even in Communist China, the parents have to pay for primary education. In Soviet Union, the amount of scholarship is sanctioned according to the merit of the student.

We need not disqualify the eligibility of any community in getting scholarship. But the amount of scholarship should be given according to the marks so that the students will realise their responsibility. Consequently there will be parental control. Lack of parental control is one of the causes for the unrest.

Once Aneurin Bevan remarked: "It is not clever people Britain needs; it is men with guts." Similarly, we know the ways and means to remove unrest and restore the peace. What is needed is men with guts to implement the means successfully.

सभापति महोदय : राज नारायण जी, आप इस मिनट ले लीजिए, उसके बाद मंत्री जी जाबब देंगे ।

श्री नाथ सिंह (दोसा) : सभापति महोदय मैंने भी नाम दिया है । यह विषय मेरे से संबंधित है ।

श्री कंचर लाल गुप्त : आखिर में मुझे भी जवाब देना है ।

श्री राज नारायण : सभी को थोड़ा थोड़ा टाइम दे दीजिए ।

श्री राज नारायण (रायबरेली) : सभापति महोदय, आज विद्यार्थियों में चिंता और बेचैनी क्यों है ? इस के मुख्य मुख्य कारण हैं (1) लिमिटेड भर्ती, (2) कंट्रोल्ड एजुकेशन, (3) महंगी शिक्षा, (4) पक्षपातपूर्ण शिक्षा और (5) इंगलिश माध्यम । ये पांच दोष हैं और जब तक इन पांचों दोषों का निराकरण नहीं होगा तब तक केवल शिक्षा मंत्रियों के बदलने से काम चलने वाला है नहीं । मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि विद्यार्थियों में बेचैनी क्यों है, इसे के बुनियादी कारणों में आज तक जाने की कोशिश ही नहीं की गई । कुछ बड़े बड़ी किताबों को पढ़ लिया जाता है, कुछ बड़े-बड़े लोगों के नाम कोट कर दिए जाते हैं कि राधाकृष्णन् ने क्या कहा, मुदालियर कमेटी ने क्या कहा, आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव कमेटी ने क्या कहा और खाली कमीशन बना दिए जाते हैं लेकिन उन की रेकमेंडेशन को कभी कार्यान्वित किया ही नहीं गया ।

मैं आप के माध्यम से बताना चाहता हूँ कि यूनिवर्स की भी एक समस्या है । जब मैं अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवादी शब्दों से सज्जता था विद्यार्थी जीवन में तो उस समय की और खुली यूनिवर्स के लिए हम यांग करते थे । हमारे बनाए रखे हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी, काशी विश्वविद्यालय में बराबर हर विद्यार्थी अनिवार्यतः यूनिवर्स का संबंध होता था । पर अभी तक यह सरकार नहीं समझ पायी है कि स्वतंत्र भारत में विद्यार्थियों को खुली यूनिवर्स की जायगी या बंदी यूनिवर्स की जायगी । कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि यूनिवर्स बंदी रहे, कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि यूनिवर्स खुली रहे । अभी अनिश्चय की अवस्था है । मैं अभी बाराणसी में था । मैं शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय की सेवा में विनम्र निवेदन करना चाहूँगा कि एक उबालामुखी बसक रहा है । अगर भीभ्रांतिभीष्ट उन्होंने काशी विश्वविद्यालय में कोई जांच आयोग नहीं बैठाया

[श्री राज नारायण]

तो काशी विश्वविद्यालय अग्नि की भट्टी में जल जायगा। केवल वाइस-चांसलर की तब्दीली से कोई मामला बदलने वाला नहीं है। हम पश्चित्त मदन मोहन मालवीय के युग में पढ़ते थे, डा० राधाकृष्णन् के युग में पढ़े, आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव के युग में भी पढ़े। उस में हमारे पांच छः साल जेल में भी कटे। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि मालवीय जी को देख कर अपने आप नतमस्तक हो जाते थे, डा० राधाकृष्णन् को देख कर नतमस्तक हो जाते थे और यह इच्छा होती थी कि वे हमारे बीच में रहें, बोलते रहें। आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव के लिए तो कहना ही नहीं, सिम्पल लिबिंग ऐंड हाई थिंकिंग उन की थी। अब जो हमारे वाइस चांसलर जाते हैं वे विद्यार्थियों और अध्यापकों में दो दल क्रियेट करते हैं ताकि उन की मंथनी जमी रहे। वे दल को दूसरे दल से लड़ाते रहते हैं। यही हाल आज काशी विश्वविद्यालय में चल रहा है। गजेन्द्रगडकर कमीशन बैठा; मैं अनुगृहीत हूँ डा० जाकिर हुसैन साहब का, वे राष्ट्रपति थे, उन्होंने हमारी बात मानी थी। जिन जिन मुद्दों को हम ने उठाया था गजेन्द्रगडकर कमीशन ने सारे मुद्दों को मान्यता दी थी। आज उन को ले कर काशी विश्वविद्यालय में अग्नि भभकने जा रही है। क्योंकि आज तक गजेन्द्रगडकर कमीशन की रिपोर्ट लागू नहीं की गई। जब तक वह रिपोर्ट लागू नहीं होगी काशी विश्वविद्यालय की समस्या सुलझ नहीं सकती है। आप की पुलिस, आप की पलटन काशी विश्वविद्यालय के छात्रों के सामने धायेगी और चली जायेगी, क्योंकि काशी विश्वविद्यालय वह विद्यामन्दिर है, जिस के लिये मालवीय जी कहा करते थे—राष्ट्र की स्वतंत्रता संग्राम की लड़ाई में हमारे विश्वविद्यालय के विद्यार्थी खूब कर शामिल हों, इसी लिये हम ने इस विश्वविद्यालय को बनाया है। उन्होंने यह विश्वविद्यालय गरीबों के लिये बनाया था, उत्तर प्रदेश का पूर्वी इलाका, बिहार, राजस्थान, मध्य प्रदेश—ये जितने गरीब इलाके थे, वे उस में जाकर शिक्षा प्राप्त करते थे, लेकिन आज आप देख लीजिये—कितने गरीब भरती होते हैं, कितने पिछड़े हैं, कितने हरिजन हैं, ये सारी समस्यायें आज वहां उठ खड़ी हुई हैं। शिक्षा मंत्री जी, इन सारी समस्याओं को देखने के लिये आप को वहां जाना पड़ेगा। वहां सामाजिक और आर्थिक समस्यायें हैं, शोषणों इकानामिक्स प्राबलम्ब हैं, क्योंकि जब हमारे पास खाना नहीं है, शिक्षा मंहीगी है, तो हम क्या करेंगे। इससे समस्या सुलझती नहीं है। इस लिये आप कोई ऐसी नीति बनायें जिस से जो गरीब विद्यार्थी अपने जीवन को सार्थक करना चाहते हैं, विद्या अध्ययन कर के, उन के लिये सभी सुविधायें उपलब्ध हों, यानी मस्ती रोटी मिले, जिम को खा कर वे विद्या-अध्ययन करें, माजिश और तिकड़म वहां न रहे। आज हर विश्वविद्यालय में, बाहे जबाहर साल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी हो, या दिल्ली

यूनिवर्सिटी हो, केन्द्र के शिक्षा मंत्रालय से पोलिटिक्स चलाई जाती है। मैं इस के अनेक उदाहरण देने को तैयार हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ—आज आप मुझे वह मौका नहीं देंगे, लेकिन फिर मौका धायेगा तो खुल कर बोलूंगा, क्योंकि हमें देश को बनाना है, इधर-उधर की चापलूसी कर के नहीं बैठे रहना है।

आप इन्जीनियरिंग में देखिये—कितने हरिजन हैं, कितने शूद्र कहे जाने वाले, पिछड़ी जातियों के लड़के उस में भरती होते हैं। वहां जो साक्षात् होता है, जिस को बड़े लोग ध्रुंजी में इन्टरव्यू कहा करते हैं, उस में देहात के रहने वाले चाहे वे कितने ही काबिल क्यों न हों, कितने ही अच्छे नम्बर क्यों न ले धाये कहीं बटन खुला रह गया, या टिप-टाप से रहना नहीं जानते, या सूट बूट से चलना नहीं जानते तो रह जाते हैं, उन को वही छांट दिया जाता है।

सत्पापति महोदय : लेकिन अब आइ० ए० एस० के लिये कानून बदल गया है, अब उस में मार्क्स जोड़े जाते हैं।

श्री राज नारायण : लेकिन साक्षात् में नम्बर कम कर देंगे तो जोड़ने से क्या होगा ? नाना, सुसर, दामाद के मामले में 10 नम्बर बढ़ा देंगे तो बात वहीं हो जाती है।

मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ—फैंसी स्कूल के बारे में आप को कौन सी नीति है ? ये कान्वेन्स आज भी उसी तरह से चल रहे हैं। फैंसी स्कूल तोड़ने की आवाज लगाते-लगाते गांधी जी मर गये, डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया मर गये और हम भी मर जायेंगे, लेकिन ये फैंसी स्कूल चलते रहेंगे। यह कहा जाता है कि हमारे पास पैसा है, हमारे लड़के अगर ज्यादा खर्च करके पढ़ते हैं तो आप को क्यों ऐतराज है ? हर पूंजीपति इसी बात का समर्थन करेगा। वे कहते हैं हम ने अपना पैसा लगा कर मिल लगाई है, हम मजदूर को रख या निकालें, हमारी मर्जी, मिल हमारी है। वे भूल गये कि यह पैसा उनके पास कहां से आया ? “प्रापटी इज राबरी”—यही तो हमारे पूर्वजों ने कहा है। हमारे पूर्वजों की शोषण की कमाई इन पूंजीपतियों ने कारखानों में लगाई—इस बात को वे नहीं देखना चाहते हैं। ये जो बड़े-बड़े वकील बन गये, डाक्टर बन गये—इन के पास पैसा कहां से आता है। आखिर अपने मुक्किलों से ही लेते हैं, कोई दो हजार लेता है, तो कोई पांच हजार लेता है और अब तो 5.5 हजार रुपये रोज लेने वाले भी हो गये हैं। . . .

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : आप ने कितना दिया था ?

श्री राज नारायण : हमारे वकील तो हमें मुफ्त में मिल गये थे।

में इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो समस्याएँ उठ रही हैं, उन का तत्काल समाधान होना चाहिए, उन को उलझाया न जाय। मैं केवल इतना ही कह कर बैठता हूँ कि बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी इस देश की एक राष्ट्रीय यूनिवर्सिटी है, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय क्षाति की यूनिवर्सिटी है, उस में यदि यह उवालाबुद्धि विस्फुटित हो जायगा, तो वहाँ का छात्र मंडल—आप उसे बेचैनी कहिये या जो भी कहिये, उस में चला जायगा।

मंत्री जी, जरा जल्दी कीजिए, गजेन्द्रगडकर कमिशन की रपट में जो सिफारिशों की गई हैं, उनको लागू करवाइए, उस में पक्षपातपूर्ण नीति को मत चलाइए और आजकल हर विश्वविद्यालय में क्या हो रहा है, उस का भी जरा देख लीजियेगा। जो यह कहता है कि विश्वविद्यालयों में राजनीति न चले, वही सब से ज्यादा वहाँ राजनीति चला रहा है। मैं उस का राजनीति नहीं मानता क्योंकि राजनीति हमारे लिये एक धर्म है। उस को कूटनीति कहिये, साजिश कहिये, निकड़म कहिये या संकुचन स्वार्थपूर्ण नीति कहिये और वह वहाँ चलाई जा रही है। कहीं डंडा है और कहीं लाठी, बल्लम चलाना सिखाया जा रहा है। कहीं किसी की कुटिया बनेगी और कहीं किसी दूसरे की कुटिया बनेगी, हमारी बनेगी और हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री भी की बनेगी। जो राजनीतिक दल हैं, जब तक वे बैठ कर इस समस्या के बारे में सोच कर अपने पर अंकुश नहीं लगायेंगे और वे यह सोचेंगे कि हमारे पास शिक्षा मंत्रालय आ गया है तो जितने हमारी विचारधारा के विद्यार्थी हैं, उन को ही सहूलियतें मिलें, उन को ही सुविधाएँ मिलें और वे ही सब जगहों पर विदेशों में जायें, तब तक यह मामला हल होने वाला नहीं है। आज आप हमें दवा दो मगर दूब की तरह हम उभरेंगे। जेट की चिलचिलाती धूप में दूब झुलस जाती है मगर तनिक भी बरसात आई और पानी पड़ा कि वह फिर से उभर आती है। तो मेरा कहना यह है कि इस सब को आप देख लो, सोच लो और ठीक ठाक कर लो क्योंकि आज जो हमारी शिक्षा नीति है वह बड़ी दूषित है और वह पूर्णरूपेण शीर्षासन कर रही है, उस का मिर नीचे है और पैर ऊपर है। इस को आप बदलो, इस को आप देखो।

सभासति महोदय : मंत्री जी।

श्री नाथ सिंह (दोसा)। पांच मिनट मुझे भी बोलने के लिए दीजिए। मैंने भी अपना नाम दिया हुआ है।

सभासति महोदय : अब टाइम नहीं है क्योंकि छः बजे इस का खतम करना है। और भी लोग रह गये हैं, रुक्या बैठ जाइए।

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION,  
SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE  
(DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUN-  
DER): Mr. Chairman, many points

have been urged here and within the short time at my disposal it is not possible for me to deal with all the points in detail. But I will give a broad picture of the problem of student unrest before this august House. I fully share with the hon. Members the concern about student unrest. We are quite aware of the seriousness of the situation, and we are trying our level best to ease the situation in the best possible way that can be available to us. But I would also like to say that the power of the Education Ministry at the Centre is very much circumscribed. All of us have taken oath on the Constitution, and we know that under our Constitution we have certain specific spheres within which we work, on the basis of Centre-State relations. In most of the places education is being managed by the State Governments. It is true that education is now in the Concurrent List but, as is well-known, we are trying to restore it to the State List. So, we are not going to take any advantage of the position.

An atmosphere is sought to be created by some hon. Members within the House, and a large number of people outside the House, as if the position is worse at the present moment. I am placing certain figures, not to justify the situation that happens today, but to show that we should not exaggerate the position as it is. An hon. Member just now said, and this has been repeated within and outside—I am referring the hon. Member, Shri Sudheeran—that almost half the Universities are closed. This is being repeated off and on; this is not a fact. We have noticed that only 13 Universities had been closed, some for two days, some for five days, some of course for more than six days, between September 1977 and February 1978. Again, in March 1978 there were various problems concerning reservation. It was really a political problem; it has nothing to do with the University. As a result of that, a large number of Universities, including almost all the Universities in

[Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder]

Bihar have been closed for a long time. Some Universities in UP also have been closed, mainly on the question of job reservation. In the Banaras Hindu University in the medical college there was agitation by students for reservation. There were similar agitations in Allahabad University, Lucknow University and Kanpur University. So far as the Pantnagar University is concerned, the matter is well-known to this House. I would not like to repeat this. From these figures, you will find that it is not a fact that almost half the Universities are closed. Today we have 105 Universities and about eleven institutions "deemed to be universities". Some new Universities have also been recently recognised. From this it will appear that very few Universities had been closed. But the number of incidents have been rather large. From the information that is available at our disposal we find that in 1974 there had been 11540 cases of students unrest and of these twenty per cent had been violent incidents. In 1975, a part of it was covered by Emergency restrictions, the number came down and the number of incidents was 3,847 and the percentage of violent incidents was 19. In 1976, it still came down and the number of incidents was 1190, but you will notice that 43.5 per cent were violent incidents. Last year, in 1977, 7,520 cases had occurred, of which only 15 per cent were violent cases. I am not justifying this large number in 1977. I just want to cite these figures to show that there is a wrong impression in our minds. For instance, hon. Chitta Basu said that there is frequent occurrence of violent incidents. The figures do not show that. Now the percentage of violent incidents have come down, when we compare this with the figures even during the Emergency period. But the situation is very serious. I repeat and I share the concern of the hon. Member that the situation is serious. It is a national problem and many fine suggestions have come. But I

can submit to you that some of these steps that the hon. Members have suggested have already been taken into account by the Government and definite measures have been taken in that direction.

For instance, there was this question about Emergency excesses and giving back the students' rights to have elections, etc. As soon as we assumed Office, we sent directions to all the Universities to hold elections of the students in a proper manner, in a democratic atmosphere and in most of the Universities this has been done. On 10th June 1977, the Education Secretary at our direction, had written to all the Chief Secretaries and the Chief Commissioners of the State Governments and the Administrators that action must be taken to look into whatever representations had been made prior to and after the elections to the Lok Sabha were announced, to identify such of those genuine requests and concede them or implement them. Then suggestions were made that there must be forums for discussion of student problems and the same suggestion was given by the Education Secretary. He wrote: "It would also be necessary that steps are taken to ensure that forums are brought into existence to give representation to each one of the categories, viz., students, teachers, non-teaching employees. These forums would then provide necessary opportunities for each one of the categories and to make legitimate representation in a democratic manner." Then we have also said that there should be steady contact with the law and order authorities to see that violent incidents do not happen.

Then again on March 27, 1978 the Education Secretary at our direction, wrote to the Chief Secretaries of the States and the Administrators of Union Territories that the grievances, whether they are imaginary or reasonable, should be promptly look-

ed into and steps should be taken to redress them wherever possible.

In addition, I had myself to all the Chief Ministers of the States that sometimes these incidents are due to political involvement and I wrote on 31st March, 1978 as follows:

"As you are very much aware, student: unrest is not divorced from politics and this is a matter which only you can handle on political plane".

So, I drew the attention of the Chief Ministers to this and I am glad to tell you that a number of Chief Secretaries as well as the Chief Ministers have responded to these letters. I have got a long list. Many of them have said that they have taken steps in this matter.

Often it has been said that politics is at the root of some of these evils. I called a meeting of the leaders of the major political parties, and we had a four-hour discussion on this matter. Many useful suggestions have come forth, but the main suggestion which emerged out of the meeting, we have already tried to implement namely, setting up forums, having dialogues, meeting the students, so that the students may share their grievances with the authorities. So, it is not correct to say that the Central Government is doing nothing. I should say that most of the State Governments are also conscious of this. Recently we had a meeting with the Education Ministers of the States. We know that many of the State Governments are actually taking proper steps to look into the problem in a proper manner. Some of them have written to me that, in their States at least, there is no student problem whatsoever. I congratulate them for the good situation that they are enjoying in their States. But in other States we have these problems. As many of the hon. Members have pointed out, these problems are linked up with the socio-economic problems

of the country. If it is a socio-economic problem, it does not lie within the power of the Education Ministry, whether at the Centre or in the States, to solve the problem. It has to be solved through proper planning and proper implementation of the various points which would come out after planning. Therefore if it is a broad problem like that, then you cannot hold the Education Minister, whether at the Centre or in the States, responsible for this student unrest.

Suggestions were made to change the educational pattern. You know, during the debate on the Budget concerning the Education Ministry, we have discussed all these matters in detail. We are going to change the educational system by giving a greater priority to education at lower levels.

AN HON. MEMBER: When?

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: It depends on the State Governments largely. They have taken pains to implement some of these measures already. Even at the Central level, our Central Schools have implemented some of the suggestions..

SHRI V. M. SUDHEERAN: May I know from the hon. Minister as to what is the policy of the Government regarding student representation in university administration and other bodies?

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: I did not want to mention this. But as the hon. Member has referred to it, I would like to tell the hon. Member that his suggestion was that if there was student representation in university bodies, there would be no unrest or that the number of unrests would be reduced, and he has rightly pointed out that, in Kerala, the students have representation not only in the bigger body that is to say, the Court of the University, but also in the smaller body,

[Dr. Pratap Chandra Chunder.]

that is, the Executive Council. But I would ask him as to the figure which we have got from Kerala. From the list we find that, in 1977, out of the total number of unrests, namely, 7,520, 2,029 cases came from Kerala alone. Therefore that is no solution. (Interruptions) It is not an easy problem like this. I do not want to hit him directly. This is a problem which is very serious and it has to be studied in all its depth. For the information of the hon. Member I might say this.... (Interruptions),

SHRI V. M. SUDHEERAN: The Minister is totally under a wrong impression. (Interruptions).

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: I have brought a Bill for amendment of the Viswa Bharati University Act and there we have tried to give representation to the students in the Academic Council as well as in the Court of the University. Therefore, we are trying to introduce student representation. I have been a teacher for 31 years; I have worked with the students; and I have faith in the students. I know that, if handled properly, they will also react in a proper manner....

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: What action has been taken by him on the report on the Jawaharlal Nehru University?

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: I am very sorry that Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta is very much agitated about one University when we are considering 105 Universities and 9 deemed Universities. If there is any question on that, he may give notice of a Short Notice Question. There is no time now. So we are dealing with so many Universities and we are not confined to a single University.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: The Minister just now said that if the

hon. Member gives a short notice question....—the other half he has not said. Will he accept it?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Naturally. He has said it.

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: I will deal with it.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: Blackmailing.

DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER: This is a serious problem and we are aware of the seriousness of the problem and I will most humbly appeal to all the hon. Members certainly to accept the seriousness of the problem and try to help us solve the problem so that the future of the younger generation may not be black.

श्री नाथ सिंह (दोसा) : सभापति जी, मेरा एक प्रश्न है कि जिन विश्वविद्यालयों में आपातकाल के समय में ज्यादातियां हुई, शिक्षा विभाग में एक काकस बना हुआ है, उन्होंने उस समय विश्वविद्यालयों को राजनीतिक भ्रष्टाचार बना दिया था, आज भी वह वही जमे हुए हैं, उनके बारे में आपने क्या कार्यवाही की है, जिनके कारण अनेक विश्वविद्यालयों में हड़ताल हुई है और आज भी होने वाली है ?

डा० प्रताप चन्द्र चन्द्र : मैंने जवाब दिया कि यहाँ हम कानून के मुताबिक चलते हैं और विश्वविद्यालयों के जो कानून हैं उसके मुताबिक अगर हम किसी को नहीं हटा सकते तो नहीं हटा सकते ।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: rose— ..

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chandrappan time is very limited.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: I am trying to catch your eye but you are looking all the time to that side.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: You cannot question the Chair why he is looking that side.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN (Cananore): I have got to catch the eye.

The hon. Minister has rather ridiculed the idea of students' representation by saying that in a State like Kerala where students' representation has been given in the Syndicate and the Senate, the Minister said it did not bring any positive results. I would like to know in this context, especially after introducing a Bill in the other House where in the Viswa Bharati University students' representation has been neglected, I would like to know what exactly is his policy on the question of students' representation in the University body.

**DR. PRATAP CHANDRA CHUNDER:** I have already explained and the hon. Member perhaps has not listened to me. I have not ridiculed the idea, I have simply said that that is no solution of the students' unrest problem. I have introduced the Viswa Bharati Bill where students are sought to be represented in the Academic Council and the Court of the University.

**SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN:** Inadequate.

**श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) :** सभापति जी, मुझे 5 मिनट का समय और बढ़ा दिया जाय ।

**सभापति महोदय :** देखिये साढ़े 6 बजे तक तो वैसे ही बैठना है क्योंकि प्राधे घंटे की चर्चा है । आप बोलना तो शुरू कीजिये ।

**श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त :** सभापति जी, मैंने मंत्री जी का प्रापण सुना और मुझे उससे बहुत डिसऐपोइंटमेंट हुआ है । मुझे नहीं सादे सदन को हुआ है । उन्होंने एक ही बान सीखी है कि स्टैट सबजैक्ट है इसलिये मैं कुछ नहीं कर सकता । सैन्ट्रल यूनिवर्सिटीज का उन्होंने जिक्र ही नहीं किया जो कि इनके नीचे हैं । और उन्होंने प्राकड़े बताने की कोशिश की कि वायलेंस कम है, पहले ज्यादा थी । सभापति जी, मैं भी कुछ स्टैटिस्टिक्स पढ़ा हूँ, यह हिन्दुस्तान में इतने टेढ़े मेढ़े हैं कि इसको कैसे भी करके एक मंत्री अपनी जिम्मेदारी को न निभा कर समस्या को उलझन में डाल दे, यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है । बड़ा डिसऐपोइंटमेंट हुआ । इनके मंत्रालय ने सर्कुलर भेजे हैं, इन्होंने काम भी किया है, लेकिन इम्प्लीमेंटेशन कितना हुआ यह इन्होंने कभी नहीं देखा ।

दूसरी बात यह है कि इस मंत्रालय के अन्दर सबसे ज्यादा किमिनल इनऐक्शन है, कोई कार्यवाही नहीं होती । यह जो यूनिवर्सिटी बन्द हुई, या खुली, यह अपने आप ही हो गया और अपने आप खुली । इसमें न इनको नेस्टिड है न डिसक्रेडिट है । यह होते तब भी ठीक था, नहीं होते तब भी ठीक था । और मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जवाहर लाल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी की रिपोर्ट इनके पास पड़ी है, दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी के बाइस चांसलर के खिलाफ 124 ऐलोगेशन्स हैं, और प्रधान मंत्री ने जवाब दिया हुआ है कि 15 जुलाई तक उसका निर्णय हो जायगा । लेकिन उसका निर्णय अभी तक नहीं हुआ । एक साल से मामला लटक रहा है । स्टूडेंट्स क्या करेंगे ? अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी का सवाल है, जो सैन्ट्रल यूनिवर्सिटीज हैं, सब में गड़बड़ है ।

वायलेंस की बात का जिक्र करते हुए इन्होंने जो 13 यूनिवर्सिटीज बताई, वह ऐसी हैं जो 15 दिन से ज्यादा बन्द रही, जिसमें जवाहरलाल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी 2 महीने बन्द रही । मेरे पास इसकी रिपोर्टें हैं, मैं ज्यादा समय हाउस का नहीं लेना चाहता, लेकिन उसमें है कि एक्वाइटमेंट में गड़बड़ है, बड़े-बड़े अफसरों की पत्नियों का वहाँ एडवाइजरी एक्वाइटमेंट कर दिया, जो पाटिकुलर आइडियोलॉजी के टीचर्स और स्टूडेंट्स हैं, उनको ले लिया और जो दूसरी आइडियोलॉजी के टीचर्स हैं उनको डिसमिस कर दिया ।

यह सब रिपोर्टें हैं, पर मंत्री महोदय यहाँ कहने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं, शर्माते हैं । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब इस सदन में आप उनको लिये पैसा मांगते हो ऐसी ऐसी चीजों पर पर्दा डालना क्यों चाहते हैं ? जिन लोगों ने बच्चों को छोटे-छोटे विद्यार्थियों को एमर्जन्सी में अन्दर कराया दिया, दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी में 150 टीचर्स को अन्दर कराया दिया, उनके बारे में यह कहते हैं कि हमारा अधिकार नहीं है । अगर इनका अधिकार नहीं है तो यूनिवर्सिटी एक्ट में संशोधन कर और देखें कि

If you are responsible to Parliament they should be responsible to you.

हम चाहते हैं कि वह इंडिपेंडेंट फंक्शन करें, लेकिन इसका मतलब यह नहीं है कि वह किसी पोलिटिकल पार्टी की बाँच बन जायें । यह नहीं होना चाहिये ।

मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आज स्टूडेंट्स ग्रान्ट-रैस्ट का कारण यह है कि एमर्जन्सी में बच्चों को जितनी कठिनाइयों और यातनाएँ दी गई हैं, उन्हीं बाइस-चांसलरों को आप बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं, उनके खिलाफ कोई कार्यवाही नहीं कर रहे हैं । उन बाइसचांसलरों का स्टूडेंट्स के साथ की

[श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त]

बाइलोन नहीं हुआ है। दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी में एक दिन भी बाइस चासलर ने स्टूडेंट्स के साथ बाइलोन नहीं किया है, क्योंकि

They were not on speaking terms. He is the man who got arrested 200 lecturers and about 300 students. Can he talk with them? He is still there. I do not know why he is still being sheltered by some boys.

मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह कहानी सच है। यदि आपका प्रतिकार नहीं है तो आप यूनिवर्सिटी एक्ट में संशोधन करवायें।

दूसरी सोशियो-इकनामिक प्रावलय भी है, यह मैं मानता हूँ कि आपके साथ इसका सम्बन्ध नहीं है, लेकिन श्रीर भी इश्यूज हैं, उनमें आपका भी कन्सल्टेशन होना चाहिये, आपको भी सलाह देनी चाहिये। आप प्रोफेसर रहे हैं, मैं चाहूँगा कि आप उस बारे में सलाह दें।

एक चीज आपने यह भी कही थी कि आप सब चीफ मिनिस्टर्स के साथ बातें करेंगे क्योंकि पोलिटिकल इश्यू जो है इस पर नेशनल कन्सेंस होना चाहिये कि यूनिवर्सिटीज में वायोलेंस न हो, हर जगह हम खास पद्धति पर काम करें। आपने खद यह कहा था कि चीफ मिनिस्टर्स की मीटिंग में यह बात रखूँगा, लेकिन यहाँ आपने यह नहीं बतलाया कि आपने चीफ मिनिस्टर की मीटिंग क्यों नहीं बुलाई और अगर बुलाई तो उसमें यह इश्यू क्यों नहीं रखा। आपको इसे रखना चाहिये था ताकि एक नेशनल कन्सेंस इस्ताब होना जिसकी वजह से वायोलेंस और गड़बड़ बन्द होती।

मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जो प्राकट्य दिये हैं,

समाप्ति महोदय : कंवरलाल जी समय हो गया है, समाप्त कीजिये।

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : मैं 2, 3 मिनट में समाप्त करता हूँ।

जो अभी तक यूनिवर्सिटी में सरकुलर गये हैं, मैं जानना चाहूँगा कि उस पर अब तक क्या प्रमल हुआ है। मुझे मालूम है कि जितनी सेंट्रल यूनिवर्सिटीज हैं, उसमें इतनी करप्शन है, एपाइक्रेट में गड़बड़ है, स्टूडेंट्स के लेने में करप्शन है, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में करप्शन है...

They were not on speaking terms. He is the man who got arrested 200 lecturers and about 300 students. Can he talk with them? He is still there.

I do not know why he is still being sheltered by some boys.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR (Gandhinagar): Mr. Chairman, it is now six. Half-an-Hour discussion is at Six.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let me take the sense of the House. Mr. Gupta, you will please finish it in one or two minutes.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: We shall give him five minutes.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: I shall finish.

18.00 hrs.

श्री कंवर लाल गुप्त : क्या अभी तक दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी, अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी और बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी की कोई आडिट रिपोर्ट सरकार के पास आई है ? अगर आई है, तो कौन से साल की आई है ? मेरा कहना यह है कि सेंट्रल यूनिवर्सिटीज की तीन तीन, चार चार साल की रिपोर्ट्स सरकार के पास नहीं आई हैं। वहाँ कितना खर्चा हुआ है, कैसे खर्चा हुआ है, कुछ मालूम नहीं है। इतनी बंगलिंग है। अगर चार साल के बाद कोई रिपोर्ट सरकार के पास आयेगी, तो मंत्री महोदय उस पर क्या कार्यवाही कर सकते हैं ? वहाँ पर एकैडमिक एड्मास्त्रिफर नहीं है, वहाँ पर एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में आनेस्टी नहीं है। मंत्री महोदय को यह बताना है कि उसके लिए वह क्या कार्यवाही कर सकते हैं।

मैं चाहूँगा कि मंत्री महोदय थोड़ा सा तेज हों। यह कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा कि सेंट्रल यूनिवर्सिटीज तो प्राटानोमस हैं, इस लिए मैं कुछ नहीं कर सकता हूँ, और अन्य यूनिवर्सिटीज स्टूडेंट्स के अधीन हैं, इस लिए मैं कुछ नहीं कर सकता हूँ। तो फिर मंत्री महोदय क्या कर सकते हैं ? जो वे लोग लिख कर भेज दें, यहाँ पर वही जबाब दे सकते हैं। यह ठीक नहीं है। यह ऐपरोच गलत है। इस ऐपरोच को ठीक करना चाहिए।

मैं माँग करूँगा कि जवाहरलाल नेहरू यूनिवर्सिटी की रिपोर्ट को पटल पर रखा जाये, ताकि लोगों को मालूम हो कि वहाँ पर कितनी गड़बड़ हुई है।

मैं दूसरी माँग करूँगा कि दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी की एनक्वायरी खत्म हो कर इसी महीने जनता के सामने आनी चाहिए और यह बताया जाना

बाहिए कि सरकार ने इस बारे में क्या कार्य-वाही की है। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया जायेगा, तो दिल्ली में स्थित इन दोनों यूनिवर्सिटीज में भाग जलती रहेगी, स्टूडेंट्स अनरेस्ट जारी रहेगी और सरकार उस को कभी भी खत्म नहीं कर पायेगी। अगर मंत्री महोदय यह समझते हैं कि जैसे चल रहा है, वैसे चलने दो, तो यह ठीक नहीं होगा।

मैं मांग करूंगा कि मंत्री महोदय तेजी से काम करें, अपने डिपार्टमेंट को ठीक करें, यूनिवर्सिटी वालों को कमें। अगर उनके पास अधिकार नहीं हैं, तो वह अधिकार लें, और कीफे मिनिस्टर्स से बात कर के एक नेशनल कानसेन्स डेवेलप करें, जिससे यूनिवर्सिटीज में किसी प्रकार की बायलेंस न हो।

श्री एच० एल० पटवारी (मंगलवाड़ी) : सभापति महोदय, मेरे सवाल का जबाब नहीं दिया गया है कि सरकार पब्लिक स्कूल कब खत्म करेगी।

सभापति महोदय: अब टाइम खत्म हो गया है।

श्री एच० एल० पटवारी : जब तक पब्लिक स्कूल रहेंगे, तब तक स्टूडेंट्स अनरेस्ट रहेगी। इस लिए यह जबाब देना पड़ेगा कि सरकार पब्लिक स्कूल कब खत्म करेगी। मैं हाथ जोड़ कर पूछना चाहता हूं कि पब्लिक स्कूल कब खत्म करेंगे।

सभापति महोदय : इस की रिकार्ड मत कीजिए। आप के सवाल का जबाब नहीं दिया जायेगा। आप टाइम के अन्दर नहीं बोले हैं। जब टाइम खत्म हो गया, तो आप बोलने के लिए खड़े हो गये।

श्री एच० एल० पटवारी : \*\*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now I am putting the amendments to the vote of the House unless the Members withdraw. Dr. Ramji Singh—absent. Shri Vinayak Prasad Yadav—absent. Shri Hukumdeo Narain Yadav—absent. Shri A. K. Roy—absent. Shri Anant Dave—absent. Shri Yuvraj.—are you withdrawing it?

SHRI YUVRAJ (Katihar): I seek leave of the House to withdraw my amendment.

Amendment No. 8 was, by leave, withdrawn.

SHRI H. L. PATWARY: \*\*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Patwary: Please sit down. You are unnecessarily disturbing the House.

जब डिस्कशन हो रहा था, आप खड़े नहीं हुए और आप ने एक सवाल नहीं किया। अब टाइम नहीं है।

I will now put amendments Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, and 7 to the vote of the House.

Amendments Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7 were put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now half and hour discussion. Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): Sir, South India Viscose and Madras Aluminium present a picture of mismanagement, malpractice, fraud, invoice manipulation and misappropriation of public money, and Violation of economic statutes. What we see in case of South India Viscose and its sister concern Madras Aluminium is a common feature of the private economic empire today. (Interruptions).

SHRI H. L. PATWARY: The Minister left the House without the consent of the House. I am also leaving the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Patwary, the Minister has gone. There is nobody to reply to your question.

Now, I will put the main motion to the vote of the House. The question is:

"That this House expresses its concern at the growing student unrest in universities and other institutions for higher education deemed to be universities and recommends to the Government to

[Mr. Chairman]

take appropriate steps to remove the causes of unrest."

Those in favour will say 'Aye'—those against will say 'No'. The 'Noes' have it.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: Sir nobody said, Aye or No. So "Silence" has it; neither 'Noes' have it nor 'Ayes' have it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It does not matter. Even if one Member said no, that is enough.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: But nobody said, 'No'.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order please. If you are not satisfied I will put it again to vote. The question is:

"That this House expresses its concern at the growing student unrest in universities and other institutions for higher education deemed to be universities and recommends to the Government to take appropriate steps to remove the causes of unrest."

Those in favour please say 'Aye'—

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Aye.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Those against may please say 'No'.

There is nobody to say 'No'—

The motion is adopted.

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Now, Sir, it is ten minutes past six. It means we will sit upto 6.40.

MR. CHAIRMAN: When time is over at 6.30, I will again take the consensus of the House. Now, the House will go upto 6.30.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Sir, I repeat what I have said a few minutes ago. Now, there are two concerns—South India Viscos and its sister concern Madras Aluminium—where the

gloomy picture of mismanagement, malpractice, fraud, invoice manipulation....

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI TEJ PRATAP SINGH (Hamirpur): Sir, I have a point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

SHRI TEJ PRATAP SINGH: You had called Mr. Bosu for raising the Half-an-hour discussion without taking the consensus of the House . . .

*(Interruptions)*

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No it has already been taken. *(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We have taken the permission of the House.

SHRI TEJ PRATAP SINGH: Without putting to vote of the House that motion, you asked Mr. Bosu to raise the Half-an-hour discussion.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: You never challenged it. Nobody challenged it. They said "Ayes have it" but you never said "Noes have it"

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI TEJ PRATAP SINGH: You only asked him and you must put that motion to the vote of the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I put it to the vote of the House. They said "Ayes have it" but you never said "Noes have it". At that time if you had question it. I would have put it to vote.

SHRI TEJ PRATAP SINGH: It was not put to vote.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The motion was put to vote. They said "Ayes have it".

SOME HON. MEMBERS: No, Sir. *(Interruptions)*.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The motion was put to vote and this is on record. You please sit down. Let Mr. Bosu start.

**SHRI VAYALAR RAVI:** Your ruling was final, Sir.

(Interruptions)

**SHRI TEJ PRATAP SINGH:** Only after he began his speech, you asked..

समापति महोदय : उनको रोकने के बाद मैंने मोगन पुट किया, आईज और नोज किया। उन्होंने आईज कहा You never said "Noes have it" अगर आप नोज हैव इट कहते तब उसके बाद बोर्डिंग शुरू होती और गैलरीज क्लियर की जाती। (व्यवधान) मैं तो आपका इन्तजार करता रहा लेकिन कोई नहीं बोला।

**SHRI TEJ PRATAP SINGH:** Nobody has spoken on the motion.

(Interruptions)

**SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA** (Murshidabad): I am on a point of order. Was the motion moved by the mover?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** I put the motion to vote. The motion was already put to vote.

**SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA:** Unless it is moved . . .

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The House is already in possession of the motion. That is why I put it to vote.

**SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA:** But the person must move.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Please see the Order Paper. In the Order Paper it has been mentioned that this House expresses its concern at the growing student unrest in universities and other institutions...etc.. The whole thing is here.

**SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA:** But the question is that the Member who have moved the motion, must be here and move it.

**SHRI VAYALAR RAVI:** It was moved. (Interruptions).

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The motion was moved by Mr. Kanwarlal Gupta.

(Interruptions)

No, no. Mr. Kanwarlal Gupta had moved it.

**SHRI VAYALAR RAVI:** Sir, I have a point of order. Under what rule he has raised this point? (Interruptions).

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Mr. Kanwarlal Gupta moved this motion.

**SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA:** Did he move it, Sir? Sir, he is not here in the House. If the mover of the motion is not here in the House..

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** But this is not a point of order. I put the motion to vote (Interruptions).

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR:** Sir, I have a point of order. When you have already conducted the proceedings according to the rule . . .

**SHRI K. GOPAL:** and given a ruling....

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR:** and you have given the correct ruling, I do not understand why anybody from the Government side or ruling party should get up and challenge your ruling. It has already been done.

**SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA:** We are not challenging the ruling of the Chair.

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR:** Even if Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta is not present, the motion has to be put to the vote....(Interruptions).

**SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA:** Somebody has got to move it; nobody has moved it. It falls by itself when it is not moved in the House. How is it moved? The mover of the motion was not there in the House....(Interruptions) You asked hon. Member, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu to speak. Here, the mover of the motion is not present and nobody moved it. You never asked anybody to move....(Interruptions). How can it become proceedings of the House....(Interruptions). The motion has dropped by itself.

**SHRI K. GOPAL:** The hon. Member is challenging the ruling of the chair.

**SHRI SYED KAZIM ALI MEERZA:** I am not challenging the chair, but it is not really the procedure.... (*Interruptions*). How can it be over? When it is not before the House, can any motion be taken up like this?

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** The amendments to the motion were also put to the vote of the House, the motion was also put to the vote of the House....

**SHRI K. GOPAL:** The debate takes place only after the motion is moved. How does it take place otherwise? Unless there was a motion, how did the debate take place?.... (*Interruptions*).

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SOCIAL WELFARE AND CULTURE (SHRIMATI RENUKA DEVI BARAKATAKI):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am really sorry that one Mr. Patwari was shouting; it was five minutes past six....

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI K. GOPAL:** Not one Mr. Patwari, he is an hon. Member..

(*Interruptions*)

**SHRIMATI RENUKA DEVI BARAKATAKI:** When Mr. Patwari was speaking, it was ten minutes or five minutes past six. Then, what happened? You asked Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu to raise the half-an-hour discussion instead of putting the motion to the vote of the House. When you did that, the Minister left the House with the understanding that it would not be put to the vote of the House. We, of course, did not know.... (*Interruptions*). When you called Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu and he stood up and started speaking, the Minister, Dr. Chunder, left the House; we thought that everything is over. Then you put the motion to the vote of the House; nobody knew what happened actually.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** Thereafter, I requested Mr. Bosu to speak and he started....

**SHRIMATI RENUKA DEVI BARAKATAKI:** May be, Sir....

**SHRI VAYALAR RAVI:** On a point of submission.... (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI TEJ PRATAP SINGH:** The hon. Member is here; he may be now asked to move.

**MR. CHAIRMAN:** He has moved the motion; how did all this discussion take place?

**SHRI TEJ PRATAP SINGH:** He did not move the motion; the hon. Member has just arrived.

**SHRI VEYALAR RAVI:** The hon. Minister of State has tried to mislead the House. When you said, 'noes' have it; we said, 'ayes' have it. They never said, 'noes' have it. When you repeated, we said: yes, yes: they kept quiet. It was the duty of the Minister to stand up and say that they wanted time. When you gave your ruling and shifted to the next business, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu started speaking. It is never the practice of the House to challenge the ruling of the chair. It is for the first time that the ruling party or the Minister are challenging the ruling of the Chair. It is very unfair; it is not a democratic parliamentary practice. It cannot be allowed. The business of the House should continue and Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu should speak.

**PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR (Gandhinagar):** You make the record straight. What happened was while Mr. Patwari was speaking loudly the discussion was apparently over. Mr. Chairman, I say inadvertently you asked Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu to start the half-an-hour discussion. Then it was pointed out to you that although Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu had been asked by you to start half-an-hour discussion, you had not completed the earlier proceedings of putting Mr. Gupta's

motion to vote. Therefore, at that particular point of time—I hope they will hear me—you requested Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu to sit down and he sat down.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes, I requested him.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: When you put Guptaji's motion to vote, when you put that motion to vote,—and let the House know that when the motion is moved, it becomes the property of the House even if the Member is there or not there. If he is not there, all the more reason why that motion must be put because it is already in the possession of the House. When it was put by you, Sir, you must have noticed that nobody else said either yes or no. I immediately said: "Silence has it, neither 'Noes' have it nor 'Ayes' have it". So, you immediately put it again the second time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: When you put it second time saying those in favour of Mr. Gupta's motion may say 'Ayes', we all said: 'Ayes'.

AN HON. MEMBER: They said: 'Noes'.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: Nobody said: 'Noes'. (Interruptions). The motion was passed. Now you cannot go back on that.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Not only that, I waited for some time for somebody to get up but nobody got up and said anything. That is not my fault.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA (Delhi Sadar): On a point of order. I think I was also not aware whether my motion will be voted. I left the House. I am very lucky that my motion was adopted even in my absence. So, I think there is no..... (Interruptions). It was adopted in my absence. So, I am very lucky. But what is there if it is adopted. I have only said that appropriate steps should be taken by the Government.

There is nothing in it and I think we should not take any objection to it unnecessarily.

(Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Law Minister wants say something

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: Now the hon. Member Shri Mavalankar has put the facts in the sequence. But the question that arises in that sequence of facts is what has been the result. As he had rightly pointed out, what happened was, you would remember, that time had been extended for that motion, but time had been extended till 6.05. Then till 6:05 the motion had not been put to vote. If I may say so, with all respect. thereafter,—because the time was not further extended and the time had expired and the motion had not been put to vote—then obviously the motion was talked out unless there was any motion....

(Interruptions).

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: May I complete whatever I wanted to say. If I may say so, you very rightly called upon hon. Member Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu to initiate his discussion on the half-an-hour discussion and he initiated it. But thereafter he stood up and started addressing. Now whether he spoke five words or 50 words, that is immaterial. Thereafter, you would have noticed that the Education Minister also left the House and the mover of the motion also left because obviously they took it that, because the time for that motion had not been further extended and you had called upon the next item on the Order Paper without putting that motion to vote, that stood adjourned to some other date or it was talked out. So the question of putting it to vote did not arise. The hon. Minister had left. The mover of the motion had also left thereafter when...

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): You could not raise that point at that time. You were present. Mr. Shanti Bhushan was present.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let me explain the position. I requested Mr. Bosu to move his half-an-hour discussion. Then it was pointed out to me that Mr. Gupta's motion has to be put to vote. I requested him to sit down and he sat down. Then I put the motion to vote. I waited; they said ayes. I looked at this side. Nobody spoke. What to do?... (Interruptions).

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: The next item in the agenda had been called and it had been taken up. In the midst of the next item, when the next item on the agenda is, thereafter, in the midst of the next item a matter which has been concluded, can it be taken up... (Interruptions).

सभापति महोदय : यह तो यहां प्रोसीडिंग्स में बन्द हो जाता है। जब ऐसा हो जाता है तो कार्य को रोक कर पहले की कार्यवाही पूरी कर देते हैं। इस में कोई अनियमित बात नहीं है।

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: After that item had been concluded, the next item had been called. Even the hon. Minister and the hon. Mover of that motion had left the House.

सभापति महोदय : अगर आप प्रोसीडिंग्स देखेंगे तो पायेंगे कि कार्यवाही को रोक देते हैं और रोकने के बाद उसको फिर आर्डर में ले आते हैं।

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: May I make a submission? The factual position must enter into your reckoning, as the hon. Minister of Law and Justice has pointed out..

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: ....Very late.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The time for discussion on this particular motion was extended by five minutes. During that period it was not your pleasure to take a vote on that. That was a limited time

given. You had proceeded to another item. So, the inevitable conclusion would be that the debate on it was adjourned; that would be the factual position, because under 184, you have to take a vote. It cannot be talked out. You have to take a vote under 184. That is precisely the characteristic of the motion under 184, that it is subject to the vote of the House. It is a substantive motion. Since it was not your pleasure to take that vote within that time the time extended, therefore, if you take it later, then the vote may be taken next time or it can only be taken to have been adjourned; that is the factual position. You cannot take a vote at any time you like, because in the meantime the hon. Minister of Education left and many others left under the impression that there was not going to be a vote on this. So it should be taken as adjourned and the next time vote should be taken.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: May I request the hon. Ministers here, since it is a harmless resolution moved by Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta, even if it is adopted it is not going to harm anybody. Why should they stand on prestige. There is nothing wrong. It is nothing. Otherwise it will be very difficult. (Interruptions)

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: Are you going to revise your decision?

MR. CHAIRMAN: No.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: Then the matter ends.

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: As Shri Mishra pointed, rule 191 is clear:

"The Speaker shall, at the appointed hour on the allotted day or the last of the allotted days, as the case may be, forthwith put every question necessary to determine the decision of the House on the original question."

So, it is 'at the appointed hour'. The debate on that item was extended only upto five minutes past six, it should have been put to vote at that time; it cannot be put to vote any time. It was not put to vote at that time when it was five minutes past six. The Chairman called on Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu to initiate discussion and he did initiate. Thereafter, when the time had lapsed, it cannot be put to vote thereafter. The hon. Minister left; the hon. Mover of the motion also left, because as it has been pointed out, it has been adjourned.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you see the proceedings of the House, it often happens. Sometimes lapses take place and when it is pointed....

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: Unless the debate is extended, how can it be put to vote at any time.... (Interruptions).

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPA: You have taken a decision and they on that side, including the Ministers are trying to challenge your decision. It is very unfortunate.... (Interruptions).

SHRI K. GOPAL: Discussion concluded at 6.03 and the motion was voted in this House.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: Shri Shanti Bhushan was sitting here.

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: I cannot participate in the voting. I can only intervene.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I have a submission to make. It is not a question of merit of the Resolution. Whether the merit of the Resolution is innocuous or not, that is not the question. The question relates to procedural matter as has been rightly pointed out by the hon. Law Minister and you have also admitted that after the appointed hour and appointed time you called Shri Jyotir-

moy Bosu and he started his Half-an-Hour discussion. That means the House was seized of another business. Unless you take the permission of the House either to suspend that business or to withhold the pleasure of the House, unless you asked the House whether Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu's Half-an-Hour be suspended or withheld, you cannot depart to other item.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Guha, you are repeating the same argument which Shri Mishra has already said and what Shri Shanti Bhushan has also said. There is nothing new.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: I am just concluding.

You could have taken the voting just at that time and you would not have passed on to another item. But you passed to another item. I am quite certain that the Chair cannot take up immediately another item without the pleasure of the House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Guha, as I pointed out, it often happens, lapse takes place.

Then I requested Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu to stop for a minute and he stopped.

Then the Motion was put and the vote was taken.

Now there is one way out. If the Government wants, they can sometime afterwards get the whole thing rescinded. Now nothing can be done. If they want they can get the whole thing rescinded by another Motion.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: What happens when a particular time has been fixed for that item. As soon as the time is over and the Chairman passes on to the next item, all the persons who were interested in the earlier item, they leave. After they,

[Shri Shanti Bhushan]

have left, suddenly that matter is re-happening.

(Interruptions)

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: It was a matter of a few seconds.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Shanti Bhushan, you were here. You were hearing everything. Everything was happening.

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: Now the position is that I am not a Member of this House. I cannot vote. I cannot say Ayes or Noes. I cannot challenge. I can only intervene. I was concerned with Half-an-Hour discussion.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not saying you have a right to vote. You were a witness here. You were watching everything here. Everything was taking place before your eyes.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: Honourable Members came and raised this question. My attention was drawn to what was happening. I was sitting for Half-an-Hour with which I am concerned.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can see the earlier proceedings. It is not happening for the first time. Many a times this has happened.

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: Can voting be taken when Members have no information? The other Members were interested in that Motion. I was interested in Half-an-Hour discussion. I was not concerned with that matter. Therefore, those Members who were concerned with that Motion had left. Some of them might have left. Everyone must have information. All the Members must have information that the matter is going to come up. Suddenly the matter cannot be taken up.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jethmalani, I put one question. Please reply to that.

I put the motion to vote. I said 'Ayes' and 'Noes'. When they said "Ayes have it", I waited. Nobody stood up from this side. They knew it that the Motion was being put.

[[[ किसी ने प्रावजेकशन नहीं किया, किसी ने बोला नहीं, वाला नहीं। मैंने बैठ किया और उस तरफ मैं देखता भी रहा। ]]]

AN HON. MEMBER: I objected.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: You remember there was not a single voice to say 'Aye'. (Interruptions).

SHRIMATI RENUKA DEVI BARAKATAKI: Nobody said 'Aye'. I waste the only person to say 'No'.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Nobody said 'Aye' in the first instance. She was the only one who said 'No'. (Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nobody said 'No' when I put it.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: This has become a joke because even they knew that this matter is not before the House any longer. That is why not one of them got up and said 'Aye' at that time. When you put it a second time, some of them might have said 'Aye'. But first nobody said 'Aye'. After that, how can a motion come?

MR. CHAIRMAN: When I said, "The motion is adopted", nobody challenged it. (Interruptions).

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: If nobody says 'Aye' what is the point in asking for 'Noes'? (Interruptions). When you said "Those in favour shall say 'Aye'" nobody got up and said 'Aye'. If nobody supports the motion, then there is no question of asking for 'Noes'.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Not that. It was pointed out that nobody said 'Aye' and 'No'.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Therefore, the motion falls.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Then I again put it.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: You cannot ask again a second time, This has become a joke, Mr. Chairman and this should not be allowed. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: They are defying the Chair. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: The matter is over now. Let Mr. Bosu continue.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: The matter has taken place either way. You must give an opportunity....

MR. CHAIRMAN: It has not happened for the first time.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Let everybody be present. The Minister has left. Everybody has left. Everybody has forgotten about it. Nobody gets up and says 'Aye'. Still the motion is put to vote!

MR. CHAIRMAN: Next time I again put it. (*Interruptions*).

This is over. Please allow Mr. Bosu to continue.

AN HON. MEMBER: This must be expunged. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The confusion has to be cleared. This is a very important matter which has been raised in the House; You find a conflict, Mr. Chairman....

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: If you want, you please stage a walk out against the ruling of the Chair. The only option left to the Government is to stage a walk out. They are defying the Chair. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu, please continue.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: There is a conflict between your generosity and the rules. You are not pleased to address yourself to

what appears to me the most pertinent question in this context. The question is whether having moved on to another item, you can again switch back to that item.

MR. CHAIRMAN: This has been done several times in the past. I have seen the Speaker stopping it. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: There is some sanctity about the voting time. Every member must be alert. Every member must know that this is the voting time. If you have moved on to another item, how do I know the voting time? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: Those Members who have gone away, how would they know that you will again start taking a vote?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Only the Education Minister, only two Members have left.

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: It is a matter of principle. Once having gone over to the next item, Members are entitled to go away unless they are informed that this item will be taken up again. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: What can be a better proof of this than the fact that the hon. Minister of Education withdrew from the House after you have moved on to another item.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not going to change my opinion now. Whatever I have said, I have said. I am asking Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu to start.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: This is highly irregular.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Please note the time.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We have to sit upto 6.30; now it is 6.42. Is it the pleasure of the House to sit for another half-an-hour?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: After the Chair goes through the proceedings, it will find its position untenable. This is my respectful submission. After you go through the proceedings, you will find your position untenable. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: That point is over. I have moved on to other question. I am taking the consensus of the House on Half-an-hour discussion because in the agenda papers, only half-an-hour has been allotted for discussion. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI NATWARLAL B. PARMAR (Dhandhuka): Sir, there is no quorum.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He says that there is no quorum. Let me count. (*Interruptions*)

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: Shanti Bhushanji, this is not fair; please do not do this. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: He is not pressing his objection on quorum. (*Interruptions*).

18.42 hrs.

## HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

CHARGES AGAINST THE MANAGING DIRECTOR OF SOUTH INDIA VISCOSE

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, we take up Half-an-Hour Discussion. Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI  
Chairman

CENTRAL YOUTH ADVISORY  
COMMITTEE

S. INDRASAIN REDDY  
General Secretary.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): I am raising the discussion on charges against the Managing Director of South India Viscose and its sister concern, Madras Aluminium. I would like to say that there is a gloomy picture of mismanagement, malpractice, fraud, invoice manipulation, misappropriation of public money, violation of economic laws. What we see in case of South India Viscose and its sister concern, Madras Aluminium, is a common feature of the private economic empire today. The capitalist path of development is the profit as the motive. And this is inevitable because maximisation of profit is the sole objective here. And that is not an isolated case. But since information of allegations against this company have reached us, it needs to be high lighted and we want information from the Government as to what they proposed to do in this regard. We do not wish to go into the quarrel that is now coming within the family we are not interested. Government should ensure that decision should not give undue benefit to any private party. But the benefit should go to the people of the country, and to the Government. For two brothers' quarrel and anxiety to loot, the nation cannot suffer. The worst part is that Shri Venkataswami Naidu, the present Managing Director, was able to purchase protection, help and patronage from Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her Youth Congress leaders like... \*\*Indersain Reddy, General Secretary, Youth Congress, 10, Janpath, and many others. I have a photostat of a letter which reads like this. The top of the letter head is:

INDIAN YOUTH CONGRESS  
COMP OFFICE.

No. 10, JANPATH,  
NEW DELHI:

28th OCTOBER, 1976.