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MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House recommends to Rajya Sabha that Rajya Sabha do appoint three members of Rajya Sabha to the Joint Committee on the Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 1967 by Shri Nath Pai, in the vacancies caused by the retirement of Sarvashri Ram Niwas Mirdha, J. Sivashanmugam Pillai and Triloki Singh from Rajya Sabha and communicate to this House the names of the members so appointed by Rajya Sabha to the Joint Committee."

The motion was adopted.

12.40 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1968-69
—contd.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION—contd.

MR. SPEAKER: We have got still about four hours. I would suggest that the Minister may reply at 5 p.m. Now Smt. Tara Sapre may continue her speech. Will the hon. Member kindly finish as quickly as possible as she has already taken 8 minutes?

SHRIMATI TARA SAPRE (Bombay-North-East): Mr. Speaker, Sir...

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE rose.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur): Hers is a maiden speech, let it not be interrupted.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have a cut Motion cut motion No. 189. Yesterday I was not present here and so I could not

move it. Therefore, I should be allowed to move my cut motion 189.

MR. SPEAKER: Yes.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I beg to move:—

"That the demand under the head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to improve the lot of the teachers in the country. (189)]

MR. SPEAKER: Now his cut motion is also before the House.

SHRIMATI TARA SAPRE: Now, coming to the question of text-books I would like to point out the state of affairs in my State which is not quite satisfactory. Many of the text books are hardly ready in time, at the time of the opening of the schools. The quality of paper and printing is poor. Sir, if we want to build up reading habits in children, we must see that the text-books are gracefully sized, boldly and clearly and neatly printed and elegant and attractive jackets are provided. To achieve our objectives in this regard, we should have an autonomous body in each State which works in collaboration with NCERT.

At the university stage gigantic efforts must be made to develop text books in all the modern Indian languages. Substantial help from the Centre should be given for good translations of technical books in the modern Indian languages. Let there not be any discrimination in the protection given to modern Indian languages. All efforts should be made to build up text book libraries in all educational institutions so that every student has reasonable access to books.

I would like to mention about the budget inadequacies. We are creating small States in the Ministries. The same can be said of the CSIR for which we have allotted Rs. 46 crores. The recruitment of research scholars has been criticised vehemently in this House. The real research scholar is always starved of funds because he is

[Shrimati Tara Sapre]

never able to reach the seat of kingdom.

I now come to the examination reform. This is the root cause of the present student disturbances and strikes. Entire emphasis is laid on memorizing the subject and reproducing it once in a year. This is absolutely a wrong method to judge the calibre of the pupil. Some evaluation of pilot studies are necessary both regarding the structure of reforms and their practicability and acceptability. The present system must be remodelled. It should reveal the likely desirable directions of change in which educational effort should be channelised.

Lastly, Sir, I will be failing in my duty if I do not mention the difficulty of our district schools. From the report we learn that a substantial aid for the progress of education is offered every year by UNESCO, but the National Commissions at State level are not reaching the district schools. UNESCO International Coupons Scheme or Gift Coupons were never heard in the districts. May I request the hon. Minister that all the UNESCO aid and their pre-requisites should be made available to the district schools through the Zilla Parishads. Only big towns and the metropolitan cities are getting all the advantages of these schemes. The State agency must be directed to go to the District level.

Before I conclude, Sir, I would like to say a word about the National Service Scheme. The idea of National Service Scheme must be properly put into effect. Before starting we must have the work-programme for the coming 2-3 years. In this context I am proud to mention the work taken up in my State for rebuilding of primary schools with the help of college students in the Koyna affected area. Sir, there is great enthusiasm among the students and the teachers also.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the human

factor is said to be the ultimate factor in all human affairs and education is the medium to mould and train that human factor. It has its greatest significance and importance particularly, in a democratic set-up.

12.45 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Sir, now the system of education that we inherited from the British was not meant to build this country, train the people of this country or to educate them. It was meant to create some clerks for the administration. Therefore, it was expected that after the British had withdrawn, the system will undergo a radical change. But unfortunately even twenty years after freedom, our educational system continues to be as it was. If anything, it has further deteriorated. For the first 19 years of freedom our educational system was presided over by people who had nothing to do with Education at all. Therefore, I need not complain against them. But when Dr. Triguna Sen took over this Ministry last year, a hope was created that he is a man who knows something about Education and something will be done. But, Sir, the experience of the last one year has shown that Dr. Triguna Sen also has become a prisoner of the system which he has inherited. Either he must change it or he will get lost in it, and it is the country that will suffer by that.

Therefore, my suggestion is that we have to look at the problems of education and the budget of the Education Ministry not through the grooves in which they have been moving so far, but we must do some fresh thinking. I have carefully gone through the report of the Ministry. It makes a sickening reading. It deals with everything except Education. There are so many institutions. There are so many subordinate departments which consume most of the budget and the real scope and work of the Ministry is not anywhere to be seen.

We have no money for real education. If a new look is given in respect of the expenditure incurred by the different departments I think that there is lot of scope for simplification, for rationalisation, and for economy.

Some time back there was a strike of the teachers of Delhi. They wanted some more pay and other amenities. But they were told that the Government have no money for them. But when I look at the report I find how money is being wasted. There is an Institute of Advanced Studies at Simla. It has been given the Presidential palace there. More than Rs. 11 lakhs have been earmarked for it. What was the real work which it did last year? There were three seminars held, one on Language and Society in which it tried to criticise and condemn the Government for its language policy. Another was on the influence of Islam in Contemporary India. There were the seminars held; and this is all that was done; and it has consumed more than a million rupees of this Education Ministry's budget. Then, Sir, we have here in Delhi a Nehru Museum in which some relics of late Pandit Nehru are kept. The palatial building of Teen murti House is being occupied by it and a budget of Rs. 11 lakhs has been earmarked for that also. Why cannot the relics of Pandit Nehru be kept in a room of the National Museum? Why should so much money be wasted there? We have a Jamia-Milia in Delhi. A grant of Rs. 18 lakhs has been earmarked for it. There are hardly a thousand students studying there. The college from which I come, has more than thousand students. But they get Rs. 5 lakhs only from the Government of India as grant. But here is an Institute for which you spend so much money. You have given it Rs. 4 crores during the last 19 years and you are giving Rs. 18 lakhs more this year. Then, there is the Delhi School of international Studies. It was part of the Delhi University. Now it has been made a separate University and a top-heavy administration is given to

it and lot of money is being spent. There are Rs. 75 lakhs earmarked for regional training teachers for polytechnics. The institutions we have already started out have produced a glut of engineers who cannot get employment, but still here we find that a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs has been earmarked for training teachers polytechnics. We have Rs. 20 lakhs for a Forge Foundry School in Ranchi. We have already the Heavy Electricals there on which we have spent Rs. 150 crores. Why cannot the Forge Foundry School be a part of Heavy Electricals?

Then, we have the NCERT for which about Rs. 2 crores have been earmarked. I have been trying to look into the report as to what work it has been doing. No real, worthwhile work is being done by it even though Rs. 2 crores are being spent on this sprawling organisation.

So, a lot of economy can be made if this proliferation of the Education Ministry can be stopped. I know, last year the Education Minister was able to effect an economy of about a crore of rupees by ordering that in future the conferences of the Ministry would not be held outside Delhi. I think, he is capable of making more economy also, but then he must get out of this system. The Education Ministry must concentrate only on the work which is meant for it and that is mainly education.

When we come to education, there are two main aspects—one is the structure of education and the other is the content of education. When you come to the structure of education, it is primary education which is the base. It is on that base that the entire educational edifice of the country has to be built. But what do we see here? We have had two university commissions and one higher secondary commission but so far there has been no attempt made even to study the problem of primary education in this country. It is growing as

[Shri Mal Raj Madhok]

a jungle. There is no co-ordination and the primary teacher is the most neglected man in this country. The courses of study also are quite different.

My first submission is that this Ministry must concentrate on improving primary education in this country. For that purpose I have to make some specific suggestions. One is that you must appoint a primary education commission which should consist of not only some top vice-chancellors and others but some primary teachers, some public men and some people who come from the rural areas so that it may go into the question of primary education in all its aspects and suggest how we can have a correlated and co-ordinated system of primary education all over the country.

Secondly, we should try to evolve uniform pattern of recruitment of primary teachers. We must provide them uniform amenities. So far in some States the primary teacher is being paid Rs. 100 or Rs. 150 but in other States only Rs. 70 or Rs. 80. Most of the funds of the Government must go to improve the lot of the primary teacher. It is the primary teacher who really prepares the basis, the foundation, of the student and if primary education is not good nothing is going to come out of it.

We hear the talk of falling standards. To improve standards we give grants to universities and put up buildings and laboratories. They are not going to raise the standard. Until and unless we raise the standard of primary education, we are building the educational edifice of the country on foundations of sand and any building built on foundations of sand cannot stand for long. Therefore, the first thing is that this Ministry must concentrate on building up and improving the system of primary education in the country.

For that purpose I would suggest that primary education at least must become a concurrent subject. The States cannot do it. They do not have the resources. And, may be, the State ministries and the politicians there think that if the electorate gets educated they might not get their votes. Therefore, sometimes I really wonder whether the people who rule this country are really interested in educating the people of this country. The time has come when we see that if we do not educate the voters, our masters, democracy is going to go to dogs. Therefore it is very important that primary education should become a concurrent subject and something should be done to improve it.

Then comes the secondary education. At the secondary stage something has been done but even now much needs to be done. We need a committee like the UGC which should distribute funds for secondary education all over the country. There should not be haphazard growth. Secondly, we must make the higher secondary examination the entrance examination for all professional colleges and all public services. This is the only way in which we can make higher secondary education worthwhile and remove the craze for degrees which is commercialising our higher education.

So far as higher education is concerned, when we talk of higher education we talk only of universities—open more universities, provide more vice-chancellors and more professors. I entirely agree with what Professor Amin said about the way they are appointed and what they do there. I do not want to repeat what he said, but this is not the way of improving higher education. If you really want to improve standards of higher education, you must have good teachers. The standard of education is determined not by buildings or by the pay you give but by the quality of teachers and here the quality is not being

cared for at all. We are a poor country. We can do without big buildings. We can have austerity in our education. But what is happening today? The educational institutions, the Universities, are trying to get grants from foreign Foundations, this and that, to have big buildings, appoint staff, pay higher wages and later on they have no work to do. To increase the expenditure, certain useless things are being introduced. For example, we have the preceptorial system. It has been introduced in some of the Universities as a result of which staff has been increased by fifty per cent. What is the result? Actually, it has led to the falling of standards. Hardly do the boys come to the preceptorial class. What is the need of it? I would urge you to scrap this preceptorial system and with the money you save you open more colleges and more educational institutions.

Then, we should have more of evening colleges, more of morning colleges and more of correspondence courses so that those people who are working in offices, who are working in trade and industry, can also improve their education. In Punjab, for example, there are so many people who are first-class technicians and if they get some academic training in engineering, they might prove to be the best engineers. But they have no scope. Therefore, they must remain as artisans and all that. A man who knows really nothing about the industry gets a degree and bosses over those who are actually in the trade, the artisans, etc. We must provide more facilities for them to improve their educational qualifications while they are earning also.

Even more important than this structure, is the content. What is the content of our education? When the British were ruling they wanted only clerks. So, the education had neither any moral content nor national content. We are a free country now. But even today it

lacks both in national content and in moral content. The result is this. Education which should have become the most important factor for integrating the society, which should have become the more important factor in creating a patriotic and national spirit among our young people is having the opposite effect. Today, we talk of students' indiscipline. I know the students; they are good; our youth are not bad. But what is the education that we are giving them? Apart from the economic factors, the content of the education itself is a very big factor. There is no moral content in it; there is no national content in it. The result is that as a result of the education, not only division is being created between educated and uneducated but instead of uniting the society, it is dividing the society and it is also creating new problems.

Some of the Universities are playing a very very dangerous role. I, particularly refer here to the Aligarh University. The Aligarh University, as is well-known, was created by the British with a set purpose to create a separatist feeling and they did succeed in that. I think, if the Pakistan ideology was reared anywhere it was in Aligarh. After Pakistan was created, most of the staff and the students of the Aligarh University migrated to Pakistan. Then, it was suggested that the campus of the D.A.V. College, Lahore be exchanged with the campus of the Aligarh University. That was not done. Instead, we began to feed the snake once again and we have spent Rs. 15 crores feeding this snake during the last 15 years. What is the result? This University today has again become the biggest centre of anti-national activities in the country. I have with me a number of reports from that University.

When Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, our late Prime Minister, went to Aligarh, a street in the University campus was named after him and a stone was put up. Some days later, the stone was

[Shri Bal Raj Madhok]

destroyed. Later on, the Municipality put up a stronger name plate with the help of iron pillars. That was also destroyed. There is a Nehru Park in the University in which stood a statue of Mahatma Gandhi. That statue was broken to pieces. They cannot tolerate the name of Mahatma Gandhi; they cannot tolerate the name of Lal Bahadur Shastri; they cannot tolerate the name of even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This is the University. What they are teaching there is pure communalism. In fact, Pakistan could not have a bigger centre of education where Pakistani ideology could be developed and reared. What is the position? We are giving more than a crore of rupees annually as grant to that institution. But in that city itself, there are four other degree colleges with the strength of more than five thousand students and those colleges cannot take any benefit of the grant that we make to the University because they are not affiliated to the Aligarh University. I wonder why cannot these colleges which are in Aligarh city itself be affiliated to the University?

Sometime back, a move was made to change the character of this University. It was then demanded that we must change the character of the Banaras Hindu University also and to remove the word 'Hindu' from its name. Any student of history knows that anyone who is an Indian is a Hindu. 'Hindu' is not a religious term. The word 'Indian' is a Greek synonym for the word 'Hindu'. Even then, if Aligarh people want a pound of flesh, I do not mind. Even if you have to remove the word 'Hindu' from the Banaras Hindu University, for God sake, you change the character of the Aligarh University if you want to really develop a national outlook and national unity in this country. Either the Aligarh University should be wiped out or its character must be completely changed. This is my demand and this is the demand of the whole country.

We had only one Aligarh. But now in Delhi itself, in the Capital city also, we have a branch of Aligarh; I mean, the Jamia Millia. I congratulate the Education Minister and also the Home Minister that they asserted themselves some months back and for the first time after 20 years of freedom this institution which is entirely run by the funds of the Government of India, in which more than 85 per cent of the students are Hindus, the weekly holiday has become Sunday instead of Friday, after long protestations by the boys. This institution falls in my constituency and so, some of the boys approached me. That boy who approached me with this genuine complaint was expelled from the college, he was a M.A. student, by name Kapila, his whole career has been spoiled because he had the courage and the patriotism to come to me and say, 'Here is an institution which should be closed on Sunday and not on Friday'. This is a scandalous institution. If you go into the whole thing, you will find this. I have tried to study, I have been there; I do not say anything without verifying the facts. Here is an institution in which most of the boys belong to one community, but the staff belong to another community. Recently, Dr. Prasad of the Delhi University was appointed to go into the working of this college and he said that 90 per cent of the staff of this college came only from Aligarh University, and it is being developed as a branch of the Aligarh University. I would suggest that a Parliamentary Committee should be set up to inquire into the working of Jamia Millia. You have given Rs. 4 crores to this one college during the last 20 years and you are going to give it now Rs. 18 lakhs more. It has a Vice-Chancellor who has been there since 1948; he is not called 'Vice-Chancellor' or 'Kulapati', he is called 'Sheikh-ul-Jamia.' He is the Sheikh of Jamia. Just as we have the Sheikh of Bahrein, we have a Sheikh in Delhi also! This kind of

thing cannot be tolerated. I would like to appeal to the Education Minister, and also warn the country that, if they allow this kind of thing to continue in Delhi, they will be spoiling the peace of Delhi, they will be spoiling the educational atmosphere of Delhi, and, therefore, it is very urgent that Jamia Millia must be either cleaned or wiped out. The best thing would be that it should be affiliated to the Nehru University which is going to be opened . . . (Interruptions). I am not yielding. Nehru University is going to be opened, and Jamia Millia, the Indian School of International Studies and the Institute of Advanced Studies could be affiliated to the Nehru University; this will save money and will improve their efficiency also.

13 hrs.

I would appeal that the education of this country should aim at building up the character of this country. It must create a right sense of values in this country; it should create a feeling of patriotism in this country. For that purpose, it is very essential that the teaching of History must be improved. It is said that if you distort the history of the country, you destroy the nation. In this country what are we teaching? If somebody says that he is a Christian and Clive was a Christian and, therefore, Clive is his hero, and Gandhiji was not a Christian and, therefore, he is a *kafr*, what will I call him? To this country Mohammad Ghorī and Mohammad-bin-Kasim came as invaders. Prithviraj Chauhan fought as a leader of this country . . . (Interruptions). I am not yielding. I want to know this. If anybody says that because Prithviraj Chauhan did not belong to his community, he was a *kafr*, and Mohd. Gori belonged to his community and, therefore, he was a great man, he is his hero and all that, is he preaching the right thing? Is he creating integration in this country? Is he creating national unity in this country?

श्री इत्हाक साम्बली (अमरोहा) :
जनाब डिप्टी स्पोकर मैं प्वाएस्ट क्वेश्चन आर्डर उठाना चाहता हूँ कि जामिया मिलिया हिन्दुस्तान को आजादी के जद्दोजहद का एक निशान है। और जिसका कि फ़ाउण्डेशन स्टोन महात्मा गांधी ने रक्खा था। उस के बारे में यह जो बेलैस चार्ज लगाये जा रहे हैं क्या उन को सफ़ाई देने का हमें मौका दिया जायगा ?

श्री استحقاق سمبھلی [(امروہا)]
جناب ڈپٹی اسپیکر - میں پوائنٹ آف آرڈر اٹھانا چاہتا ہوں کی جامعہ ملیہ ہندوستان کی آزادی کی جدو جہد کا ایک نشان ہے اور جس کا کی فائونڈیشن اسٹون مہاتما گاندھی نے رکھا تھا - اس کے بارے میں یہ پھلسوس چار چیز لگانے جا رہے ہیں کہ ان کی صفائی دینے کا ہمیں موقعہ دیا جائے گا ؟ -

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There is no point of order. Simply because some controversial matter has been raised, I cannot provide extra time. The spokesman of the hon. Member's party would be speaking and he should take it up and he can say something on it.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK: To sum up, I want to say that this unnecessary proliferation of the Education Ministry must be stopped. The Education Ministry must concentrate only on two things, on improving primary education and on correlating the educational work going on in different States and also providing facilities for higher education. For that purpose, it is very important that the Central Education Ministry should run some Central universities in all the regions. We have a few of them already. I would suggest that there must be some Central universities in the South also; there should be a Central university at Chandigarh also. In these universities, the medium should be Hindi and English for the time being but in course of time it

[Shri Bal Raj Madhok]
may become Hindi alone. Such Central universities and Central schools should be opened all over the country.

Secondly, the Central Education Ministry must concentrate on creating the right type of books and literature. I know that more than Rs. 1 crore has been earmarked for this, but nothing has been done so far. I think that if they leave it to the salaried staff, nothing will come out of it; they must set up some guilds of scholars with payment on the basis of work done; thereby alone they can produce books and they can translate books. We must have these books at the earliest so that we may be able to give education through the regional languages.

Thirdly, I would suggest that the Education Minister must be given a free hand, and he should have the courage to assert himself so that the bureaucratisation, fossilisation and proliferation of the Education Ministry is stopped and it comes to do the job for which it is meant.

SHRI BARROW (Nominated-Anglo-Indians): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I do not agree with my hon. friend Shri Bal Raj Madhok . . .

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member may resume his speech after lunch. We shall meet after lunch at 2.05 P.M.

13.05 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Five Minutes Past Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha reassembled after Lunch at five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1968-69—
contd.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION—contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Barrow to continue his speech.

SHRI BARROW: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I repeat what I said before lunch, that I do not generally agree with my hon. friend, Prof. Madhok, but I do agree with his description of the Report, though I would not use the adjectives he has used, because Dr. Triguna Sen, our photogenic Minister has embellished and adorned the Report with photographs of himself, his equally photogenic junior Ministers and some of his Cabinet colleagues. But seriously I expected that the Report would mirror in microcosm the system of education throughout the country. It is a dull, drab Report, if I may use Prof. Madhok's words of the proliferating structure of the Union Education Ministry, and as a visual aid—and as a teacher I am all in favour of visual aids—at the end of the report, in one of the appendices, we get a diagrammatic representation of the Ministry, a sort of a biological specimen of the octopoda family!

I think this House and the country are rightly exercised about the implementation of article 45 of the Constitution. I would be unfair to the Minister if I say that in his Report he did not give some indication of this. At the end of the Report, there are a few pages of histograms giving the enrolment at different stages of education. If you interpret the histograms, you have a very glowing picture. Enrolment in Classes I to 5 had risen from about twenty million in the early fifties to fifty million today; enrolment in classes VI to VIII has increased almost threefold between 1950 and now. But I want to survey the whole picture of Primary education. The term enrolment as is generally mis-understood does not mean attendance in classes. So, when we say that fifty million children are in school or 75 per cent of the school going population of a particular age are enrolled, it does not mean that they are attending the school. What are the other weaknesses that this:

rapid expansion has revealed? About sixty per cent of the children who join Class I never reached Class III. Their number is added to the growing army of illiterates. It is estimated that the number of illiterates between the ages of 15 and 45—thank God. I am outside that range— was 150 million in 1961-62 and will rise to 158 million in 1971, when also I will be outside that range! What is the type of instruction—I am not using the word education—that is given. It may be gauged from this fact that in 1965-66 out of two million teachers over six lakhs were untrained. To make matters worse, eighty per cent of the Primary sections in schools come under what is known as multiple class teaching, that is, one teacher handles more than one class simultaneously. I do not think there is a single Training College in this country that gives any training in multiple class teaching. It is a technique which none of our Primary school teachers are acquainted with. What is the position of buildings? Fifty per cent of the schools at the Primary and Middle stages do not have buildings of their own and are housed in totally unsuitable accommodation. What is the position with regard to equipment? An appraisal in the middle of the Third Plan period showed that sixty per cent of the Primary, middle and secondary schools were without equipment and Technical institutions were short of 53 per cent of the equipment that they require. The teacher ment that at the Secondary stage is hardly any better: there is a forty per cent shortage of trained Mathematics and Science teachers and there is a 35 per cent shortage in technical institutions. The number of failures in our High and Higher Secondary examinations is known to be about 50 cent. This is the position of our School education.

I will not deal with university education. but merely with school education. In a democratic society primary education is vital. Professor Madhok referred to our Primary education being built on sand. I will,

if I am permitted, as I have done before, refer to a Biblical history. Nebuchadnezzar had a dream. He beheld a great image. The head of the image was of fine gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron and the feet of clay. This is our educational system. The Primary school stage is of clay.

Dr. Sen, in the words of Poet Shelley;

"look before and after
and pine for what is not".

Dr. Sen, Sir, not the poet Shelley, has made the plea that education should become either the Central or Concurrent subject. I have been making this plea for many years but Mr. Chagla when he was Education Minister, although the same party was in power in the States and at the Centre, was unable to get any agreement to this except from the Punjab. But today I do not think Dr. Sen will get anything from the Punjab or any of the States because of the political muddle in the country. I think, Dr. Sen, will have to think anew; he will have to think afresh. He must try and work within the framework of the Constitution. Time is running out against him. One year has already gone and the Education Minister has only four short years left.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Nandivasa): Are you sure?

SHRI BARROW: For his first term anyhow. I would like him to go down in the history of this country as having done something for Primary education.

But when we look at the Report, we find what I may call a proliferation by Cell division of the Ministry of Education, into important and footling little sphere of activity. I was discussing this the other day with some friend of mine who happens to be an educationist; perhaps,

[Shri Barrow]

the Minister might call it planning; I would call it "paranoiadal planning,"—the delusion of grandeur created by establishing more and more institutions which do the same work.

My hon. friend, Professor Madhok, referred to the creation of new of institutions. I am referring to the creation of institutions which do the same work. I will give two examples: We have in Delhi an institution which is known as the Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration run in co-operation with the UNESCO, but, under NCERT, not very far away, we have set up a separate Department of Educational Planning. Both institutions are for Educational Planning. We have set up Regional Colleges of Education. In Bhubaneswar we have a full-fledged Department of Agriculture in our Regional College of Education and on the door step there is a University of Agriculture. In the Bhubaneswar Regional College there were 3 students at one time with not only a full fledged Agricultural Department, with many acres of land and much equipment. If this is not "paranoiadal planning," I do not know what it is.

I think Dr. Sen during his tenure of office should concentrate, on the consolidation and expansion of Primary education. He must concentrate on improving the condition of the teachers, on the quality of the teachers. We may do this by setting up the National Board for Primary Education, but he will have to do it in consultation with the local authorities. I am certain, and it is not up to me to tell him, how important it is to have good teachers, I would like to read to him what I generally read to students in the Training Colleges with which I am concerned. It is a description of a Village School master, not Goldsmith's Village School Master. I am saying this because I find Pro-

fessor Hiren Mukerjee looking at me. It reads:

Mark Hopkins sat on one end of
a log

And a farm boy sat on the other.

Mark Hopkins came as a pæda-
gogue

And taught as an elder brother.

I don't care what Mark Hopkins
taught—

If his Latin was small and his
Greek was naught—

For the farmer's boy he taught,
thought he

All through lecture time and quiz,

"The kind of man I mean to be
Is the kind of man, Mark Hopkins
is!

No printed page, no spoken plea,

May teach young hearts what
MEN should be

Not all the books on all the
shelves

But what the teachers are them-
selves,

For education is: Making men.

If Dr. Sen, during the next four years, concentrates on these two aspects, consolidation and expansion of primary education, and on improving the lot of Teachers, I think he will go down in history as the first Education Minister who has made real contribution to the cause of education of our country.

But I do not want attempted through Centrally-sponsored schemes, because sir, there is no involvement the local community and because such schemes distort local priorities. I want that this should be taken up in consultation with the State Governments so that they will have a sense of responsibility. Our Centrally-sponsored schemes are accepted by the State Governments because money is poured in. It is the constraint of resources which makes the State Governments accept them. And what happens after five years when the Central aid is withdrawn they abandon the Centrally-sponsored schemes. What happened to that very excellent scheme, the National Discipline Scheme? It has disappeared. It came as a Centrally-sponsored scheme. General Bhonsle of revered memory must be turning in his grave. The Minister will tell me they are going incorporate it into the National Service Scheme. I want to say this about the National Service Scheme: I do not know anybody in the Education Ministry or any of the Ministers who are capable of drawing up suitable sports programmes; but Prof. Hiren Mukerjee and my hon. friend, Shri Krishna should be asked to help in the preparation of these programmes.

Then I have to say that very cleverly and without imputing any motives the Centre has given up the school feeding programme from the Centrally-sponsored scheme. I do not know whether this is because of the expenditure involved because the Centre realises at the end of the Fourth Plan there will be 8.3 crores of children to be fed and this will cost the Central Government about Rs. 2 crores annually worked out on the basis of 12 paise per meal for 200 meals per pupil per year.

I want to say one thing more. I want to speak on the three-language

formula. Dr. Sen's greatest contribution when he took over was that he opposed the three-language formula. He knows that it is not financially feasible; he knows that it is educationally unsound. But we politicians think that not only do we have the right to make people literate but we have a Divine Right, a Fundamental Right to make the people illiterate in three languages! I think he must convince his Cabinet colleagues that the three-language formula is not going to work. It is not going to work because it is educationally unsound and further the Centre does not have the constitutional power to enforce. Let us work functional bilingualism and I think this will bring about unity and integrity in this country.

I have one thing more to say and it is about sports. When I raised the question of our Davis Cup Team playing against South Africa last year, I raised it not because I am in force it. Let us work functional bi-Africa; the apartheid policy of South Africa is hateful. If you pronounce the word *Apartheid* properly, it means "segregate" and "hate", that is what it means; it is a hateful word. But let there be some consistency in this matter. Let us not play tennis against a White team from South Africa and when we have to compete against a mixed team from South Africa say, "No". Let the Education Ministry make it clear to every Sports Organisation in the country that if South Africa is going to compete against us then they must withdraw from such International Competitions. I want that made very clear.

As far as I am concerned, I would prefer fewer teams to go abroad. We laud our cricket team because they beat New Zealand; we forget our pitiful showing against Australia.

Then we talk about coaching camps. We are trying coaching men of 24 and 25; it is a misnomer completely. How can you coach a person who has reached playing maturity. I would

[Shri Barrow]

request the Minister not to waste money on this. Finally, I would request the Education Minister to have on every Sports Body that exists in this country one of the representatives of the Ministry, so that they may know what their policies are.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Since the time is very limited, I would request all the Members to confine their remarks to 10 minutes each. I would like to accommodate, at the maximum three or four. 10 minutes each.

श्री यमुना प्रसाद मंडल (समस्तीपुर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय आप ने मुझे बहुत थोड़ा समय दिया है लेकिन फिर भी मैं कोठारी कमीशन द्वारा टीचर्स के सम्बन्ध में जिन को राष्ट्र-निर्माता नेशन-बिल्डर के नाम से संबोधित किया जाता है जो मुझाव दिये गये हैं उन के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ ।

कोठारी कमीशन ने बहुत परिश्रम कर के 312 जिलों में से 29 जिलों का सर्वेक्षण कराया और स्कूल टीचर्स के वेतनों के सम्बन्ध में आंकड़े इकट्ठे किये । उन आंकड़ों से पता चलता है कि हायर प्राइमरी टीचर्स में से 2.3 प्रतिशत को 60 रुपये या उस से कम वेतन मिलता है और लॉअर प्राइमरी टीचर्स में से 2.2 प्रतिशत को 60 रुपये या उस से कम वेतन मिलता है । जिन को राष्ट्र-निर्माता कहा जाता है वे शिक्षक 60 रुपये से भी कम वेतन पा रहे हैं और भूखे रह कर काम कर रहे हैं । यही स्थिति देख कर एक बार पंडित नेहरूने कहा था कि ऐसे शिक्षकों से तो बही लोग अच्छे हैं जिन को आईरली कहा जाता है ।

जब यह आवाज डा० त्रिगुण सेन के हृदय तक पड़ोची तो उन्होंने निश्चय किया कि उन शिक्षकों के सम्बन्ध में कुछ होना चाहिए । वह कोठारी कमीशन के एक प्रमुख

सदस्य थे । टीचर्स के स्टेटस और प्रासपैक्ट्स के सम्बन्ध में आज जो स्थिति है वह उस से परिचित हैं । वह जानते हैं कि एक अन्धकारमय भविष्य शिक्षकों के सामने है ।

मैं टीचर्स के वेतनों के सम्बन्ध में विस्तृत विश्लेषण करना चाहता था लेकिन दस मिनट में ऐसा करना मुश्किल है । जहाँ तक विभिन्न राज्यों का सम्बन्ध है हमारे राज्य, बिहार, में करीब डेढ़ लाख शिक्षक हैं, जो भूखे हैं और सड़को पर फिर रहे हैं । 19 मार्च, से उन को स्ट्राइक चल रही है । वे लोग 29 मार्च, को बिहार के मुख्य मंत्री से मिले थे और अपनी सब बातें उन के सामने रखी थीं । लेकिन कोई भी उन की बात मुनने के लिए तैयार नहीं है । कई कमेटीज बनाई गई, लेकिन कुछ नहीं हुआ ।

“रिलेटिंग सैलेरीज टु कास्ट आफ लिविंग ” के बारे में कोठारी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट के पेज 57 पर कहा गया है :

“Two other points which have often been raised in the discussions with us, deserved notice. The first of these relates to the adjustment in salaries consequent upon a rise in prices.”

कमीशन ने इस प्रश्न पर बड़ा सहानुभूति से विचार किया है और यह मिफारिश की है :

“While we realize the need to link salaries with the cost of living, we think that this can be better done through the principle of parity. We have recommended that all salaries of teachers should be reviewed every five years;

1966 में यह रिपोर्ट पेश की गई थी, लेकिन अभी तक इस मिफारिश पर अमल नहीं किया गया है । मैं समझता हूँ कि इस बारे में राज्यों को केन्द्रीय सहायता दी जानी चाहिए । हमें यह भली-भाँति समझ लेना चाहिए कि केवल

बातों से और "राष्ट्र-निर्माता" के सम्बोधन से हमारे शिक्षकों के पेट नहीं भर सकते हैं। यह ठीक है कि थोड़ा बहुत काम किया गया है, लेकिन यह काम केवल राज्यों के साधनों से नहीं हो सकता है। इस में सेंट्रल एसिस्टेंस की काफी जरूरत है।

कमीशन की रिपोर्ट के पेज 59 पर इस समस्या की अरजेंसी और सेंट्रल एसिस्टेंस की आवश्यकता के बारे में कहा गया है :

Urgency of the problem and need for Central assistance:

The first is the urgency of the problem. The need for improving the salaries of the school teachers in a big way is justified fully on its own merits and has become urgent, partly because of the programme of educational improvement we have in view and partly because of the rise in the cost of living. This urgency has been heightened by the recent revision of the salaries of university teachers, which has widened the existing disparities even further. We, therefore, recommend that the proposals made by us regarding the improvement of salaries of school teachers should be given to immediately.

I emphasise the word 'immediately'. But it has not yet been done so long. The State Governments will not be able to deal with this very important problem quickly and adequately unless central assistance is made available on a generous basis.

कुछ राज्य सरकारों ने तो इस सम्बन्ध में काम किया है मगर बिहार अभी तक कुछ नहीं कर सका है। आप बिहार की हालत को जानते हैं। वहां के सभी डेढ़ लाख शिक्षक प्राइमरी शिक्षक से लेकर कालेज शिक्षक तक, एक आवाज से कह रहे हैं कि यद्यपि हमें राष्ट्र-निर्माता कहा जाता है लेकिन हम भूखे हैं हमारे लिये कुछ किया जाये। वहां पर महा-विद्यालयों में पे-स्केल में पैरिटी लागू करने के

लिए 60 लाख रुपये प्रतिवर्ष के एडीशनल एक्सपेंडीचर की आवश्यकता होगी जिस में से 80 प्रतिशत यू० जी० सी० को और 20 प्रतिशत बिहार सरकार को देना होगा।

जहां तक आन्ध्र प्रदेश का सम्बन्ध है वहां की गवर्नमेंट ने कह दिया है कि उस के लिए यू० जी० सी० के स्केल को लागू करना सम्भव नहीं है क्योंकि उस का रिपरक्शन दूसरे एम्प्लॉईज पर भी होगा। आसाम सरकार ने कहा है कि हमारे पे-स्केल हिन्दुस्तान में अच्छे हैं और इस लिए इस बारे में कुछ करना आवश्यक नहीं है। आल-इंडिया टीचर्स फंडेशन ने बार-बार कहा है कि इस पर ज्यादा जोर दिया जाये और जो तीन तरह के बेनिफिट्स टीचर्स को दिये जाने हैं उन की भी व्यवस्था की जाये।

आप को मालूम है कि दिल्ली के शिक्षकों ने भी अपनी मांगें सरकार के सामने रखी थीं। उसी के सिलसिले में हमारे मित्र, शशि भूषण, को जेल तक में रखा गया था। उन का यही कसूर था कि उन्होंने शिक्षकों की मांगों का समर्थन किया और कहा कि उन के वेतन कांठारी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट के मुताबिक बढ़ाये जायें। उन दिनों दिल्ली एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की ओर से रोज़ अख़बारों में ये वक्तव्य दिये जाते थे कि दिल्ली के शिक्षकों को सब से ज्यादा वेतन मिलता है। लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि दिल्ली में मकानों के किराये आदि की क्या स्थिति है और यहाँ पर कास्ट आफ़ लिविंग कितना उंचा है। डिप्लोमेटिक एनक्लेव आदि स्थानों में एक एक कोठरी के लिए तीन सौ से चौदह सौ रुपये तक किराया देना पड़ता है। मैं तो बहुत कम और दबी जुबान से कह रहा हूँ। यहाँ की सब हालत को आप जानते हैं।

हरियाणा सरकार ने गवर्नमेंट और नान-गवर्नमेंट यूनिवर्सिटी और कालेज टीचर्स के वेतनों को यू० जी० सी० की सिफ़ारिशों के

[श्री यमुना प्रसाद मंडल]

अनुसार बढ़ाया है। इसी प्रकार पंजाब सरकार ने भी यू०जी०सी० की सिफारिशों के अनुसार प्राइवेट कालेजों के टीचर्स की डिमांड को एक्सेप्ट कर लिया है। मैं फिर निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यदि इन राष्ट्र-निर्माताओं, अर्थात् हमारे शिक्षकों, के लिए कुछ करना है, तो उन के वेतनों में वृद्धि के लिए केन्द्रीय सहायता दी जानी चाहिए।

कोठारी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट के पेज 199 पर मैथेमेटिक्स के महत्व पर जोर दिया है। फिजिकल साइमिज के डेवेलपमेंट में मैथेमेटिक्स का बहुत महत्व है और इस लिए उस के अध्ययन को बढ़ावा दिया जाना चाहिए। दिल्ली के स्कूलों में तो इन के सम्बन्ध में काफी प्रगति हुई है, लेकिन बाकी देश में उस को न्यूनेस्ट किया गया है। मैं रिपोर्ट में से क्वोट करता हूँ:

"It is, therefore, most desirable that the course in arithmetic and algebra be integrated and emphasis placed on the laws and principles of mathematics and logical thinking. The syllabus should include development of the number system, systems of numeration and notation, equations, graphs and functions."

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता था कि कुछ और विश्वविद्यालय खोले जाने चाहिए। बिहार के मिथिलांचल में एक मिथिला यनिवर्सिटी की स्थापना की बड़ी आवश्यकता है। वहाँ तो एक बड़े प्रमुख गाँव में भी एक कालेज खोला गया है और एक एक-एक कालेज में करीब-करीब दो हजार विद्यार्थी पढ़ते हैं। दरभंगा मिथिला कालेज, कास्टोडियंट कालेज जो अभी बिहार यूनिवर्सिटी का है जिसे आगे आहें ताँ न्यक्लिमस बना कर आगे प्रस्तावित मिथिला विश्वविद्यालय की ओर बढ़ सकते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि शायद इस को तरफ आप ने कुछ कदम बढ़ाया होगा। प्रस्तावित सेंट्रल हिन्दी यनिवर्सिटी हैदराबाद के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। बीते हैदराबाद में कई

यनिवर्सिटियाँ हैं लेकिन हिन्दी के प्रचार और प्रसार केन्द्र के लिए खोलना बहुत जरूरी है। मैं आप से यह कहूँगा कि हिन्दी की उपेक्षा जिन तरह से आज तक हुई है वह नहीं होनी चाहिए। हिन्दी की उपेक्षा के कारण ही आज देश में कई तरह के सवालात आते हैं और बराबर यह मंत्रालय इस की उपेक्षा करता आ रहा है उस का एक-एक उदाहरण आप को दूँ तो आप को आश्चर्य लगेगा लेकिन मेरे पास समय की कमी है। हिन्दी के लिए थोड़ा-कुछ आप कुछ करना नहीं चाहते हैं। मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता हुई जब मैं डा० सेन (संघीय शिक्षा मंत्री) से मिला तो उन्होंने कहा कि "मंडल साहब, सब काम होगा, आप घबड़ायेँ न। काफी रुपये दिए जायें।" मैं आशा करता हूँ कि डा० सेन साहब उस के बाद कुछ न कुछ जरूर करेंगे। इस के संबंध में केन्द्रीय हिन्दी निदेशालय में और दूसरी जगहों में जितनी गड़बड़ियाँ हुई हैं, मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन गड़बड़ियों को आपके सामने रखूँ। उस के यह थोड़े से कागज मेरे पास हैं। आज जिस तरीके से वहाँ पर विद्वानों के साथ व्यवहार होता है वह किसी प्रकार उचित नहीं है। उन का कसूर केवल यही है कि वह हिन्दी जानते हैं। अगर वह हिन्दी नहीं जानते, दूसरी भाषा जानते तो शायद उन के साथ इस तरह का दुर्व्यवहार न होता।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have taken 15 minutes. I will not be able to accommodate even one more Member. Please conclude.

श्री यमुना प्रसाद मंडल : गिरिजन और हरिजननों में शिक्षा के प्रसार की बात कहने के लिए भी अगर 'समय' नहीं है तो फिर किस के लिए समय है? तो फिर मैं आप के कयनानुसार बैठ जाता हूँ।

श्रीमती जयाबेन शाह (अमरली) : यह जो अभी हम ने सुना कि हमारे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर या स्टेट मिनिस्टर भी बोलने जा

रहे हैं, तो मैं यह जानना चाहती हूँ कि क्या यह क्लब बना दिया है कि हर एक डिमांड पर यह मिनिस्टर, स्टेट मिनिस्टर और डिप्टी मिनिस्टर सभी बोलेंगे ? ... (व्यवधान) ... मेरा यह कहना है कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा मेम्बर बोलें और मिनिस्टर तो आखिर में बोलेंगे ही । आप ऐसी व्यवस्था दीजिए कि स्टेट मिनिस्टर का जो समय है वह मेम्बरों को दे दीजिए ।

श्री शशिभूषण बाजपेयी (खारगोन) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, एक एक मिनिस्ट्री में चार चार मिनिस्टर चारों बोलेंगे तो मेम्बरों को टाइम कैसे मिलेगा ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I entirely share your anxiety because a number of Members are there who have never spoken. They have some problems and they are writing to me.

श्री रणधीर सिंह (रोहतक) : अगर मिनिस्टर साहब कभी न बोलें हों तो उन को तो समय मिलना चाहिए । हरयाना मिनिस्टर मस्ट स्पीक ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: And Shri Randhir Singh also must speak. It is very unfair.

What I will suggest is that I will put some time limit even for the Minister.

SHRI A. S. SAIGAL (Bilaspur): May I suggest that time should be extended in that case?

श्री यमुना प्रसाद मंडल : मैं उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, और बातें लिख कर भेज दूंगा ।

श्री एस० एच० जोषी (पूना) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, शिक्षा मंत्रालय की जो मांगें सदन के सामने पेश हैं उन का समर्थन करना मेरे लिए मुश्किल हो रहा है । हमें उम्मीद थी कि आजादी के बाद शिक्षा की तरफ हमारे नेता लोग अपना पूरा ध्यान देंगे । मगर वह नहीं हुआ । राष्ट्रीय निर्माण के काम में शिक्षा को बच्चों की तालीम को प्राथमिकता मिलनी

चाहिए थी । इस देश के जो बड़े बड़े नेता हैं गए हैं उन्होंने अपने जीवन में शिक्षा को भारी महत्व दिया है । राजा राम मोहन राय, महात्मा फुले, डाक्टर अम्बेडकर, लोकमान्य तिलक, महात्मा गांधी कितने नाम मैं गिनाऊँ इन सब लोगों ने यह सोचा था और बताया था कि जब तक हम अपने बच्चों की तालीम ठीक तरह से नहीं करेंगे तब तक जो आजाद भारत हम बनाना चाहते हैं वह नहीं बना पायेंगे । आप को याद होगा, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कि 1920 में जब असहयोग आन्दोलन चला तो महात्मा गांधी ने राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा का अपना एक कार्यक्रम दिया था जैसे कि स्वदेशी का भी कार्यक्रम था और उन दिनों में राष्ट्रीय स्कूलों में जो कार्यकर्ता, जो नागरिक बने, उन्होंने देश की सेवा की अपनी जिन्दगी भर और अभी भी उन में से कई लोग मौजूद हैं । हम लोग समझते थे, उन दिनों में महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था कि यह जो स्कूल उन दिनों में चलते थे वह तो ब्रिटिश मजदूर बनाने के लिए चलते थे, हमारे यहां उन को हमाल-खाना कहा जाता था जहां पर कि हमाल बनते थे, क्लर्क बनते थे और वह चाहते थे कि अपने देश में अच्छे नागरिक बनाने के लिए, जो नई दुनिया, नया भारत हम बनाना चाहते हैं, उस के लिए अच्छे नागरिक बनाने के लिए, हम को अपने बच्चों को उचित शिक्षा देनी चाहिए वह जमाना चला गया । आजादी तो आ गई और आजादी के बाद अब हम समझते हैं कि अपने देश में हम एक अच्छा शासन चलाएंगे और अच्छी समाज-व्यवस्था बनाएंगे और चूँकि हमारे देश में पिछले पिछले धर्मों के लोग करोड़ों की संख्या में बसते हैं इसलिए तमाम धर्मों की तरफ हम को समानता की भावना रखनी चाहिए और इस लिहाज से हम लोगों ने इस हद तक सेकुलर स्टेट का जो प्राइडियल है उस को कबूल किया । मगर क्या हुआ ? आज जो हमारे बच्चों को तालीम मिलती है क्या वह तालीम हमारे जो मकसद हैं अपने देश को बनाने के लिए, उस के लिए फायदेमंद हो सकती है ? आप को

[श्री: एस० एम० जं:श्री:]

मालूम है कि हमारे संविधान में जो निर्देशक तत्व हैं डाइरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स हैं उस में तो साफ बतलाया गया कि दस साल के अन्दर 14 साल तक जिनकी उम्र है उन को मुफ्त और अनिवार्य शिक्षा मिलनी चाहिए। दस साल क्या बीस साल बीत चुके हैं। हमने अपने बच्चों की तरफ जो उपेक्षा वृत्ति रखी है उसी का यह सब नतीजा है और आज जो देश की दुर्घ्यवस्था है उस की जड़ हम उस में देखते हैं। जैसा कि मेरे पहले जो भाई बोले उन्होंने बताया कि हमारे बहुत सारे राज्य ऐसे हैं बिहार है, बंगाल है, यू०पी० है जहां पर अनिवार्य शिक्षा क्या, मुफ्त तालीम भी नहीं होती है 14 साल तक के बच्चों की और यह काम हम ने नहीं किया क्योंकि कहा जाता है कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है। रुपये पैसे स्टैट वाले इकट्ठा करें और वह यह काम करें। लेकिन यह कोई ठीक दलील नहीं है। यह केन्द्र की जिम्मेदारी है। मैं जानता हूँ कि शिक्षा कानकॉरेंट सबजेक्ट नहीं है फिर भी केन्द्र की जिम्मेदारी यह है कि संविधान में जो कुछ कहा है उस की पूर्ति करे। आज तक यह जो शिक्षा विभाग है उस की तरफ उपेक्षा करती गई है। मैं ने मजाक में एक बार कहा था डा० सेन साहब से कि शिक्षा विभाग की स्थिति तो ऐसी है जो कि बड़े बड़े होटलों में जैसे अशोक होटल है उस में हमारे बेजिटेरियन लोगों की होती है। वहां तो सब उनका नान-बेजिटेरियन चलता है। उस के बाद अगर बचा खुचा कुछ तेल होगा जिस में मछली तली गई होगी उसी में हमें आलू तल कर दे देंगे। इसी तरह तमाम आयोजन होते हैं, आयोजन होने के बाद कुछ पैसा बचा तो शिक्षा के लिए मिलेगा। इतना बड़ा बजट है उस में हम अपनी शिक्षा के लिये कितना खर्च करते हैं आज हमारी दृष्टि ही गलत हो गई है। हम यह कहते हैं कि मशीन लूज बनाओ दूल्ज बनाने के लिये बड़े बड़े कारखाने खोलो लेकिन जो हमारा मनुष्य बल है उस की तरफ हमारी कोई निगाह नहीं जाती है।

इन्हीं लोगों को लेकर आये चल कर हम अपना समाज बनाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन जो हमारा मनुष्य-साधन है उमका आयोजन कभी नहीं हो पाया है यही मेरी शिकायत है।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश के बच्चों को जो शिक्षा मिलती है क्या हम लोगों ने उसमें धर्म निरपेक्षता की शिक्षा का भी प्रबन्ध किया है? अभी हमारे मित्र मधुकर साहब ने कुछ कहा मैं उन के साथ मुक्तिफिक नहीं हूँ ऐसी भावनात्मक बातें कहने से हमारा कोई फायदा नहीं होगा। हमारी सैक्यूलरिज्म क्या चीज है—हम को इस्लाम के उमूलों को भी अपने बच्चों को बताना चाहिये। हमारे बजुर्ग नेता जो अफगानिस्तान में हैं, खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां, जिनको हम बादशाह खान भी कहते हैं, हम उन को अर्ध भी अपना नेता मानते हैं जिस तरह से वह इस्लाम की तरजूतानी करते हैं—क्या वह हमारे बच्चों को बनाई जाती है—चाहे वह बच्चा हिन्दू हो या मुसलमन हो? लेकिन वह नहीं होता है। यही कारण है कि आज देश में कम्यूनलिज्म का वातावरण फैलता जा रहा है, शिक्षा की इस तरह से उपेक्षा कहां तक चलेगी, मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है।

जब डा० सेन साहब यहां आये तब मुझे उम्मीद हुई कि चूंकि वह शिक्षा क्षेत्र से हो यहां आये हैं इस लिये वह फुर्ती से एनर्जी से काम करेंगे। हम लोगों ने भी जो संपदीय कमेटी बनी थी उस में जितना हिस्सा लेना था जितनी मदद करनी थी करने की कोशिश की लेकिन वह नहीं हो पाया। मैं यहां पर आपको बताना चाहता हूँ—यहां पर बताया गया है और बार बार घोषित होता है कि हमारी जो देशी भाषायें हैं उन में लोगों की शिक्षा होनी चाहिये। लेकिन अब यह कहा जाता है कि युनिवर्सिटीज आजाद हैं ब आटोनीमस हैं इसलिये उन पर कैसे रोक लगाये। महाराष्ट्र राज्य में जहां से मैं आया

हूँ। इस साल 1 लाख 55 हजार विद्यार्थी एस० ए० सी० एग्जामिनेशन के लिये बैठे हैं उन में से आधे से ज्यादा पास हो जायेंगे। इन विद्यार्थियों में से 1 लाख 5 हजार विद्यार्थी ऐसे हैं जिन्होंने अंग्रेजी विषय नहीं लिया है क्योंकि वहाँ पर अंग्रेजी विषय ऐच्छिक है। अभी उन के यहां यूनीवर्सिटी का एक कानून बना है कि जिन्होंने अंग्रेजी विषय नहीं लिया है उन को महाविद्यालय में प्रवेश नहीं मिलेगा। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हम लोगों को यह अधिकार कहाँ से प्राप्त हुआ है कि जिन्होंने अंग्रेजी नहीं सीखी तो उन को उच्च शिक्षा से महाविद्यालय की शिक्षा से वंचित किया जाय। हमारे महाराष्ट्र के मंत्री अन्ना साहब चौधरी ने बयान दिया है कि हम ऐसा नहीं चाहते हैं फिर ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है। कहते हैं कि यूनीवर्सिटीज को विश्वविद्यालयों को, विद्यापीठ को आजादी है। मैं पूछता हूँ कि आजादी का मतलब क्या है? आप लोग उन को पैसा देते हो उस पैस को देना बन्द कर दो। मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ कि आप उन पर रून कीजिए लेकिन हमारे सामने जो सवाल है उस को हल तो करना ही होगा अन्यथा छात्र लोग भी सत्याग्रह करेंगे। अगर आप यह कहते हैं कि यूनीवर्सिटीज आजाद हैं तो ये विद्यार्थी कहाँ जायेंगे। जब ये विद्यार्थी यूनिवर्सिटीज के सामने प्रदर्शन करेंगे तो आप कहेंगे कि विद्यार्थियों में अनुशासनहीनता बढ़ रही है—यह तो नहीं चल सकता।

कल नागपुर के मैडिकल कालिज को एक डाक्टरनी मूत्र से मिली और वहाँ पर जो अत्याचार हुए हैं वे उन्होंने मुझे बताये। विद्यार्थियों ने वार्डन से जाकर कहा कि देखो यहां पर युरीनलज ठीक नहीं है, पानी नहीं है। जहां पर एक हजार विद्यार्थी रहते हैं वहां से एक रास्ता जाता था जिससे बिल्ट और जीवन को खतरा था, चोरियां होती थी, विद्यार्थियों ने कहा कि उस रास्ते को बन्द करो, वार्डन साहब ने इस्तीफा

दे दिया। फिर वे लड़के डीन के पास पहुंचे उन्होंने भी कुछ नहीं किया उसके बाद उन्होंने धरना दिया फिर एक रोज वहां पर सिपाही भेजे गये वहां की हुकुमत ने उन लोगों के साथ जो व्यवहार किया जब मैं ने सुना तो मेरा खून खौलने लगा। मैं हमेशा से अहिंसावादी रहा हूँ लेकिन जब मैंने सुना कि विद्यार्थियों को इस तरह से पीटा गया कि उन के चार-चार फ्रेक्चर्स हो गये, उन के पैर पर मारना उन को गिरा कर फिर मारना करीब करीब 50 विद्यार्थी जख्मी हो गये, उन को अस्पताल नहीं भेजा गया। विद्यार्थियों की यह माँग है कि इस की जाँच होनी चाहिये। मैं यह बात इस लिये कह रहा हूँ कि अगर सरकार का कहना यह है कि यूनीवर्सिटीज आजाद हैं, तो फिर आप उन को पुलिस की मदद दे कर पुलिस से अत्याचार क्यों कराते हैं। मैं महाराष्ट्र पुलिस को जानता हूँ—लेकिन अभी पी आप रोक लगा सकते हैं, आप यूनीवर्सिटीज को कह सकते हैं कि जब तक आप इस की जाँच नहीं करायेंगे, जूडीशियल एन्क्वायरी नहीं करायेंगे, तब तक आपको कोई ग्रांट नहीं मिलेगी। विद्यार्थियों के साथ यदि इस तरह का बर्ताव होगा, तो क्या हमारे देश के विद्यार्थी अच्छे नागरिक बन सकते हैं।

जब एक मित्र से मैं ने यह बात कही, तो उन्होंने कहा कि विद्यार्थियों ने घेराव किया था। मान लिया कि उन्होंने गलत काम किया, अगर पुलिस ने वहाँ जाकर लाठी चलाई होती, तो भी मैं नहीं बोलता, लेकिन जब घेराव टूट गया, तो उनकी खोलियों में जा कर उन को मारना, उन के साथ इस तरह से अत्याचार करना, जैसे कि वे लोग शराब पीकर गये थे। यह कहाँ तक उचित था? यह चीज बन्द होनी चाहिये। महाराष्ट्र के विद्यार्थियों में अब तक हम ने ऐसी चीज नहीं देखी थी, लेकिन जब उन के साथ इस तरह का बर्ताव होगा, तो अनुशासनहीनता की बीमारी वहाँ भी फैलेगी—मैं तो यह कहूँगा कि आपके हाथ में अधिकार है—यू कैन बुक देम—अत्याचारी पुलिस को बुक करना चाहिये।

[श्री ए० एम० जोशी]

हिन्दी प्रचार के बारे में आपकी जिम्मेदारी है। हम भी यही कहते हैं कि हिन्दी का प्रचार हो, जो लोग नहीं चाहते हैं, उन के ऊपर लादी न जाय, लेकिन जो चाहते हैं—क्या उन के लिए हमें सुविधायें नहीं देनी चाहियें ? मैं केरल में गया था—अक्सर मेरा यह कार्यक्रम होता है कि हिन्दी प्रसार के लिये जो वालंट्री आर्गैनिजेशनज होती हैं, मैं उनमें भेंट फरता हूँ और पूछता हूँ कि तुम्हारी क्या कठिनाइयाँ हैं, तुम क्या चाहते हो। जब वे लोग बताते हैं कि हम को यह चाहिये, वह चाहिये, तब उनकी छानबीन कर के मंत्रालय को लिखता हूँ। केरल के एलाइड कालेज फार हिन्दी की जो माँग थी। उसके बारे में मैं आपके मंत्रालय को खत लिखा, आपकी तरफ से मुझे जवाब मिला कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है। वहाँ पर एक एलाइड कालिज है, उस को मदद चाहिये थी, लेकिन हम को जवाब मिलता है कि हमारे पाग पैसा नहीं है। हमारे जो वित्त मंत्री हैं—डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर—उन्होंने यह कहा था कि हिन्दी के प्रचार के लिये हम पैसे की कमी महसूस नहीं होने देंगे, फिर मैं पूछता हूँ कि पैसा क्यों नहीं है ? यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है।

केरल से एक बहिन का खत मेरे पास आया है, मैं उस का एक वाक्य ही आपको पढ़ कर सुनाता हूँ—“हिन्दी की पढ़ाई कर के नौकरी की तलाश में घूम कर घर और समाज के लिये परिहास का पात्र बन चुकी हूँ।” मार्च, 1962 में एम० एल० सी० पास करने के बाद, इस लड़की ने लिखा है मैं ने कई परीक्षाएँ पास की, हिन्दी प्रवेश, हिन्दी भूषण, हिन्दी विद्वान परीक्षा दूसरी श्रेणी में पास की। हिन्दी प्रवीण तथा 1966 में प्रचारक का डिप्लोमा प्राप्त किया, इन परीक्षाओं के पास करने के बाद भी आज मैं बेकार हूँ। मेरे माता-पिता ने अपना रुपया, पैसा, गहना बेच कर मुझे पढ़ाया, लेकिन आज

उन की परवरिश करने के लिये मुझे नौकरी भी नहीं मिल रही है। वह बहिन देश के किसी भी हिस्से में नौकरी करने को तैयार है। मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर हम लोग सही मायनों में हिन्दी को बढ़ावा देना चाहते हैं तो ऐसे लोगों की तरफ हम को ध्यान देना चाहिये।

अभी हाल में राज्य सभा में कौन्सिल आफ इण्डस्ट्रीयल रिसर्च के बारे में चर्चा हुई थी और हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने उन को आश्वासन दिया है कि वह कोई पार्लियामेन्ट्री कमेटी बनाने वाले हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उस कमेटी में आप लोग सभा के सदस्यों को भी रखिये। तथा उन के साथ-साथ कोई एक्सपर्ट भी रखिये।

जो यहाँ पर इंटरनेशनल स्टडीज का इंस्टीट्यूशन है उसके बारे में रिपोर्ट आ गई है मैं उसकी तफसील में जाना नहीं चाहता लेकिन एक बात जरूर कहूँगा। इस इंस्टीट्यूशन में जो बी० ए० में फर्स्ट क्लास आयेगे उन्हीं को पोस्ट-ग्रेजुएट में जाने का मौका मिलेगा। जो गरीब पिछड़े हुए लोग हैं, खास तौर पर जो शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोग हैं वे वहाँ पर पहुँचते नहीं हैं। एक भी उनका आदमी वहाँ पर नहीं है। क्या सरकार के लिए यह उचित नहीं है कि इनके लिए भी वहाँ पर कोई सीटें रिजर्व रखें; चाहे वे फर्स्ट क्लास हों या न हों। इसके साथ यह भी आवश्यक है कि उस संस्था में देशी भाषाओं का जो अध्ययन है वह भी हो। दिल्ली यूनिवर्सिटी में तो आज भी हिन्दी में कुछ नहीं होता है। जो हिन्दी में लिखना चाहे उसको इजाजत नहीं है।

मैं यहाँ पर सी० आई० ए० के सम्बन्ध में नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि यह तो हुकूमत की जिम्मेदारी है, संस्थायें क्या जानें कि फंड कहां से आता है रुपया दिया तो हम ने ले

लिया, वह कहां से आता है यह सी० बी० आई० को मालूम होना चाहिये। दूसरे लोग तो उसका फायदा उठा रहे हैं।

एक बात कह कर मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। मैं आसाम गया था। नेफा के विद्यार्थी जो कि गोहाटी स्टडी कर रहे हैं वे मुझ से मिले और उन्होंने कहा कि हम चाहते हैं कि हिन्दी की शिक्षा नेफा में अनिवार्य हो। वहां पर सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट का अधिकार है। वे कहते हैं कि हमें चार भाषायें सीखनी पड़ती हैं ट्राइबल भाषा आसामी अनिवार्य है हिन्दी तथा अंग्रेजी। वे कहते हैं कि अगर हम हिन्दी सीखेंगे तो दूसरी जगह भी जा सकते हैं। तो फिर वहां पर हिन्दी अनिवार्य क्यों नहीं की जाती है? इस बात पर भी आप विचार कीजिये। जो बच्चे चाहते हैं कि उनको तो आप नहीं सीखायेंगे और जो नहीं चाहते हैं उन पर आप जबरदस्ती लादेंगे, यह कहां का न्याय है?

चूकि अब समय नहीं है इसलिये मैं इतना कहकर ही समाप्त करता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shri Sher Singh. I would request him to confine his remarks to twenty minutes, not more.

श्री यशवन्त सिंह कुशवाह (भिंड) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम लोगों को आपने समय क्यों नहीं दिया। हम लोगों से पूछा गया था हम ने लिखकर दिया उसके बाद भी हमको समय क्यों नहीं दिया जाता है। . . . (व्यवधान) . . . हम लोग भी उसी प्रकार शान से चुन कर आये हैं जैसे कि दूसरे लोग आये हैं और जिन को कि आपने समय दिया है। हमको बताया जाय कि कब समय मिलेगा।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Two Members from unattached sections are getting an opportunity to participate on Demands. And those who have already spoken since the Budget discussion started are not given an

opportunity. Those who have not spoken will get an opportunity. That is what we are following:

श्री रघुबीर सिंह शास्त्री (बागपत) : हमको बोलने का मौका नहीं दिया गया है 5 हम भी आपसे न्याय चाहते हैं।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Shastriji, I am trying to accommodate as many as possible, but the time is very limited. The time was determined by the Business Advisory Committee.

श्री यशवन्त सिंह कुशवाह : शिव कुमार शास्त्री जी को किसी डिमान्ड पर भी टाइम नहीं दिया गया है। आपको इन्हें टाइम देना चाहिये।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: A number of hon. Members are very eager to participate. I rerealise it. But I am helpless.

श्री यशवन्त सिंह कुशवाह : शिव कुमार शास्त्री जी को टाइम दिया जायेगा या नहीं यह बता दिया जाय। हम लोग भी संख्या में 15 हैं और अपने हिस्से का समय चाहते हैं।

एक माननीय सदस्य : कुछ टाइम बढ़ा दीजिए।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I must conclude the Demands today. I cannot curtail that time.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna): Please give me an opportunity to make a suggestion. 15 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: What we have done is that we have limited the time to every Member who speaks; every Member is supposed to get 12 minutes only during this discussion. We are not calling those who have spoken before. We are giving time only to those who have not spoken so far. How is it possible to accommodate the Members otherwise?

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: I am not talking about myself, but I would like to make a suggestion. If you

[Shri J. B. Kripalani]

want to economise time, why should two Ministers speak? In the end the hon. Minister of Education can reply and there is no need for any other Minister to speak now. If the Deputy Minister has any points to suggest he can suggest them to his boss. This will be the proper way of doing things.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have set a limit and within that time-limit I shall see . . .

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: Then, he would be taking away those minutes which would be available to the Members.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (SHRI SHER SINGH): If Members object, then I would not speak.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: If the Minister of State is not going to speak then I shall call some other Member . . .

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti): This is not the way. You have called the Deputy Minister already and he should speak.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He has withdrawn just now. Some more time would be saved thereby. I shall try to accommodate one or two more Members. But how is it possible to accommodate so many Members?

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION (DR. TRIGUNA SEN): Since my colleague Shri Sher Singh deals with the development of languages, I thought that he would reply to those points. But since the Members object, I shall say whatever I can. He need not speak.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: When I set that time-limit I had this in mind namely that there was some distribution of work between the different Ministers in the Ministry. Shri Sher Singh is prepared to confine himself to ten minutes. I called him but he voluntarily withdrew.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN: He has not withdrawn. He is being pressurised to withdraw. This is not the proper way. You have called him and he should speak now.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: All right, Shri Sher Singh may speak for just ten minutes only.

श्री शेर सिंह: उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं माननीय सदस्यों की भावना का आदर करते हुये केवल दस मिनट ही लूंगा। मुझे बड़ी खुशी है कि इस बार जब शिक्षा पर बहस शुरू हुई तो बहुत से माननीय सदस्य शिक्षा पर ही बोले हैं। पिछली बार जब एजुकेशन कमिशन के प्रतिवेदन पर बहस हुई तो अधिकतर भाषा पर बोले परन्तु इस बार भाषा के सम्बन्ध में दो तीन माननीय सदस्यों ने कुछ प्रश्न उठाये हैं।

कल श्री नारायणन ने यह कहा था कि भारत सरकार भारत की दूसरी भाषाओं के प्रति भेद भाव की नीति बरत रही है और हिन्दी के लिए सरकार बहुत कुछ कर ही है। इधर दूसरी और संयुक्त समाजवादी दल के नेता ने कहा कि हिन्दी के लिए बहुत कम किया जा रहा है। एक दूसरे माननीय सदस्य ने भी यह आपत्ति उठाई कि जो जिम्मेदारी भारत सरकार ने ली, संविधान ने धारा 351 के अन्तर्गत जो जिम्मेदारी डाली उसके ऊपर पूरी तरह से अमल नहीं हो रहा है। दोनों प्रकार की बातें कही गई हैं।

जहां तक पहली बात का सम्बन्ध है कि दूसरी भारतीय भाषाओं के लिये हम पैसा खर्च नहीं करते हैं, केवल हिन्दी के लिए ही खर्च करते हैं, मैं माननीय सदस्यों की जानकारी के लिए बताना चाहता हूँ कि दूसरी योजना में हिन्दी के लिये 24 लाख 61 हजार रुपया खर्च हुआ और भारतीय भाषाओं के लिये 13 लाख 89 हजार खर्च हुआ। तीसरी योजना में हिन्दी के लिये 468 लाख 39

हजार और भारतीय भाषाओं के लिए 36 लाख 12 हजार खर्च हुआ। चौथी योजना बनी नहीं, दो वर्ष ही हुए हैं, इन दो वर्षों में 14 लाख के करोड़ अभी तक खर्च हो चुका है। इस प्रकार भारतीय भाषाओं के विकास के लिए उतरोत्तर हम अधिक से अधिक खर्च करते जा रहे हैं।

इस के अलावा सन् 1966 में एक भारतीय भाषा समिति का गठन हुआ जिसको कि इस वर्ष 28 और 29 मार्च को बैठकें हुईं। उनमें हमने यह निर्णय किया कि एक उपसमिति बनाई जाय और पुराने जगहों जो भारतीय भाषाओं के विकास के लिए चल रही हैं उनको हम जांच करें। उनमें कोई कमी हो तो उसको कुछेक नया कार्यक्रम बनायें जिससे हम सभी भारतीय भाषाओं का विकास कर सकें।

आपको मालूम है कि इसी सदन में यह निर्णय हुआ कि हमने भारतीय भाषाओं को शिक्षा का माध्यम बनाना है और विश्व विद्यालय स्तर तक उन्हें माध्यम बनाना है। उस के लिए सभी राज्यों को एक करोड़ रुपये तक भारत सरकार की ओर से सहायता के रूप में देना है और इसी वर्ष से आरम्भ हो रहा है ताकि अच्छे से अच्छे साहित्य का हम निर्माण कर सकें और भारतीय भाषाओं को हम शिक्षा का माध्यम बना सकें।

अभी एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि भारतीय भाषाओं को माध्यम बनाने के लिए केवल विश्वविद्यालयों पर ही हमें निर्भर नहीं करना चाहिए; मैं उनको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि राज्य सरकारों ने भी यह निर्णय किया है। संसद ने भी यह निर्णय किया है और जितनी भी शिक्षा सम्बन्धी संस्थाएँ हो सकती हैं सभी ने निर्माण किया है। अभी आप जानते हैं कि विद्यार्थियों का मत भी तैयार हो रहा है। यह मामला अब रहेगा

नहीं। इस के पूरा होने में पाँच वर्ष लगे चाहें अधिक से अधिक 10 वर्ष लगे लेकिन यह निश्चित है कि सभी विश्वविद्यालयों के अन्दर भारतीय भाषाओं के माध्यम से शिक्षा होगी। मैं चाहूँगा कि सभी माननीय सदस्य अपने अपने प्रदेशों में जाकर इस के लिए प्रयत्न करें। इस के लिए पहले ही लोकमत बना हुआ है वह उस लोकमत को और प्रबल बनाये। इस के लिये वे राज्य सरकारों पर जोर डालें विश्वविद्यालयों पर जोर डालें ताकि भारतीय भाषाओं को हम जल्दी शिक्षा का माध्यम बना सकें

श्री एस० एम० जोशी : जिन विद्यार्थियों ने अंग्रेजी नहीं ली है और दूसरे ऐच्छिक विषय लिये हैं उन के लिए विद्यालयों में प्रवेश बंद है। ऐसा तो नहीं होने देना चाहिए।

श्री शेर सिंह : अगर माननीय सदस्य इस बारे में मुझे अलग से कोई बतलायेंगे कोई ऐसे क्वेश्चन मेरे नोटिस में लायेंगे तो हम उस बारे में देखेंगे और अगर कोई कमी होगी तो उसको पूरी कर देंगे। अगर कोई खामी होगी तो उसको ठीक कर देंगे।

जहाँ तक त्रिभाषाई सूत्र का सम्बन्ध है एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि दो भाषाओं का सूत्र ही हमको अपनाना चाहिए। अपनी गलती को मान लेना चाहिए। इस त्रिभाषा सूत्र से हमारा काम नहीं चल सकेगा। माननीय सदस्य को चाहे अपनी भाषा से कितना ही प्यार हो लेकिन यह ऐसा क्यों सोचते हैं कि केवल उनको वह भारतीय भाषा और विदेश की भाषा चलेगी? सम्पर्क भाषा को जो लोग बीच में से निकाल देना चाहते हैं ऐसी भावना जिनकी है वह देश की सेवा नहीं करते हैं। देश को अगर हमने एक रखना है देश को सुदृढ़ बनाना है देश के लोगों में भावात्मक एकता लानी है तब यह आवश्यक है कि हम तीन भाषायें जरूर पढ़ायें। उसमें एक भारतीय को कम से कम भारतीय भाषाएँ जरूर सीखनी चाहिए।

[श्री शेर सिंह]

संसार भर में कोई ऐसा राष्ट्र नहीं है जहाँ लोग तीन भाषाओं से कम भाषाएं सीखते हों। केवल यह एक हमारा अभाग्य राष्ट्र ही है जहाँ लोग अपने देश की भाषाओं के प्रति नफरत फैलाने की कोशिश करते हैं और आपस में लड़ाने का प्रयत्न करते हैं।

सभी भारतीय भाषाएं सगी बहने हैं। उन विकास होना हैं तो साथ साथ विकास होना है। जो लोग इन भारतीय भाषाओं को आपस में लड़ाते हैं वह केवल उन भाषाओं के ही शत्रु नहीं हैं अपितु वह देश के साथ भी शत्रुता करते हैं। यह देश के साथ शत्रुता की बात हम छोड़े तो अच्छी बात है। जिन्होंने दो भाषाओं के फारमूले की तरफ ध्यान दिया है कृपा करके वह भी तीन भाषाओं के फारमूले को, त्रिभाषी सूत्र को अपनाये। इस में राष्ट्र का लाभ है। इसे किसी ने ऊपर से ठूसा नहीं है जैसा कि उन्होंने कहा है कि भारत सरकार इसे ठूसने का यत्न न करे। यह त्रिभाषी फारमूला सेंट्रल ऐडवाइजरी बोर्ड आफ एजुकेशन ने 1956 में बनाया था। उस के बाद 1961 में सारे देश के मुख्य मंत्रियों ने उस में थोड़ा संशोधन करके उस को स्वीकृत किया। उस के बाद बहुत सारी जगहों में उस पर अमल शुरू हुआ है। हमें यह करना चाहिए कि जहां जहां उस पर अमल शुरू नहीं हुआ है वहां वहां हम अमल शुरू करें। लेकिन वहां हम एक भारतीय भाषा को उस के बीच में से निकाल देने की बात करें तो उस से हम राष्ट्र का अहित करेंगे। इसलिए त्रिभाषी सूत्र ही राष्ट्र के हित में और सभी प्रदेशों के हित में है और उसके ऊपर अमल होना चाहिए। भारत सरकार उसे किसी के ऊपर लादने की बात न करे। सभी प्रदेशों ने अपनी इच्छा से उसे अपनाया है और अब अपनी इच्छा से मानने बाद उस के ऊपर अमल भी करना चाहिए। किसी प्रदेश में अगर इस पर अमल नहीं हो रहा है तो वहां उस पर

अमल करवाना चाहिए लेकिन जहां थोड़ा बहुत होता रहता है उन को इस कारण पीछे की ओर नहीं जाना चाहिए अपितु उन्हें आगे की ओर जाना चाहिए। इस में कोई भावना ठंसने की बात नहीं है कोई भावना किसी को दबाने की नहीं है। यहां तो भावना यह है कि राष्ट्र के सभी देशवासी, सभी प्रदेश एक दूसरे के साथ मिल कर चल सकें, एक दूसरे की भाषा सीखें और एक ऐसी भावना हमारे अन्दर बढ़ावें ताकि राष्ट्र के लोगों में भावनात्मक एकता आये, राष्ट्र मजबूत बने और जो हमारे शत्रु हमारी तरफ कुदृष्टि से देखते रहने हैं और देश के ऊपर हल्ला बोलने की ताक में सदा रहते हैं उन का हम कामयाबी के साथ मुकाबला कर सकें। हम शत्रुओं का मुकाबला सफलतापूर्वक तब तक नहीं कर सकेंगे जब तक कि हमारे देश के 50 करोड़ लोगों का मन और उन की भावना एक न हो। उस के लिए आवश्यक है कि हम एक दूसरे की भाषाओं का आदर करें सभी भारतीय भाषाओं को अपनायें व बढ़ायें और सभी भारतीयों को 2 भारतीय भाषाएं कम से कम जरूर पढ़नी चाहिए।

श्री रघुवीर सिंह शास्त्री : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हम ने शुरू से ही यह सोच कर कि आप को बारबार तंग न करें, अपने में से एक, एक आदमी का नाम अलग अलग मंत्रालय की बजट मांगों पर बोलने के लिए पहले से दिया हुआ है। अभी तक चार मंत्रालय की बजट मांगों पर बहस हो चुकी है लेकिन हमारे में से किसी भी सदस्य को उन पर बोलने का अवसर नहीं मिल पाया है। हमारी प्रार्थना यह है कि एक एक मंत्रालय पर बोलने के लिए जो, जो नाम हम भेंजें उन को बोलने का समय दिया जाये लेकिन जैसा मैं ने कहा अभी तक हम में से कोई नहीं बोल पाया है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We have a record here. Even if they send the names of those who have already spoken, we keep awake. But there is an exception—Acharya Kripalani.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: I have not spoken on any of these demands.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No, no. I am laying down a rule with an exception. It is difficult for me to say 'no' to you.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: You give the impression that I have spoken.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur): The Ministry has produced a bulky report probably to hide the fact that they have not much to do at the central level.

15.13 hrs.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK *in the Chair*] They have added a number of photos with the charming smiles of our ministers probably to cover its empty verbosity and the drab reading of the report. Even a cursory view of the report clearly shows that they have not performed the work entrusted to this Ministry in a satisfactory manner. Take for instance the Centrally-administered areas. In such areas education is the direct responsibility of the Centre. Last year they spent Rs. 31 lakhs in Andaman and Nicobar Islands and this year the estimate is Rs. 34 lakhs. In the South Andamans and particularly in Port Blair, the capital of Andamans, the population is predominantly Tamil-speaking but their children are not provided educational facilities in their mother tongue even at the primary level. The Tamilians there have taken it upon themselves to run private schools in order to educate their children in their mother tongue. This Government claims that it champions the cause of linguistic minorities in the various States. But under your very nose, in your own Administration, you are not attending to this basic need of the children to have primary education in their mother tongue.

I would like the Ministry to take up this matter and see to it that people wherever they are and to whichever area they belong, if they live in a considerable size must have adequate facility to have primary education, and secondary education through their own medium. I wish the Minister would bear this in mind and take up the necessary measures to see that enough teachers are posted there and enough schools are opened for primary education for the benefit of the Tamil children there. Probably in other areas also there may be similar cases, but I just quoted this as an example to show how this Ministry is functioning.

There seems to be a sort of pre-occupation with the propagation of Hindi then with the promotion of education as such as far as this Ministry is concerned. It is a malady with almost all the Central Ministries, that whatever function is entrusted to them, they are more keen to see that they promote the cause of Hindi, whether it is relevant to their post or not. After all, what is the job of the Ministry of Education as enjoined by the Constitution, earmarked as obligation and duty of the Ministry at the Central level? Education is just to impart knowledge towards higher education and to mould the character and culture of our students, of the younger generation. What have the Government been doing all these 20 to 25 years, and what do they propose to do? Definitely the picture is very gloomy. What have they been doing so far? I would like to charge this Ministry: they were more concerned with Hindi than with the promotion of knowledge or instruction. They may say they are doing it in the interests of integration of this country. I would rather say that the question of integration should be left to the Home Ministry and not to the Education Ministry. With regard to education, I may just attempt to give a picture of the whole thing by taking the question of the medium of instruction. The Deputy Minister who preceded me said that

[Shri S. Kandappan]

it is the declared policy of the Government of India to see that all the national languages in their respective regions become the medium of instruction in the respective universities and colleges. But what are they doing? Did they help the universities and colleges elsewhere, those which are situated in the non-Hindi region, to promote the medium of instruction in their own languages? Certainly not. Even the figure that the Minister has given has clearly shown the partial attitude of the Central Government in this regard.

After all there are five States in India which are promoting the cause of Hindi—Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Haryana. So, when there are so many States to cater to the need of Hindi and when there is no State whatsoever in the case of Urdu and Sanskrit to look after the interests of those particular languages, when such is the case, when we want that the medium of instruction should be in a particular language, there are certain prerequisites which we have to evolve before we go ahead with the programme. I would just point out two things here. For example, we need an encyclopaedia in each language. For that, the Central Government has created a Board or a Cell—I do not know. There is an organisation at the Central level to see that they go ahead with the programme of preparing an encyclopaedia for Hindi. A lot of money is being spent on it. I do not quarrel with that. But what about other languages? In the same way, there is a periodical to propagate scientific knowledge in Hindi that is being published by the Central Government. But what about other languages? The number of people, the population language-wise, may be small compared with Hindi, but the subject and the knowledge that they may need to have in their own languages is the same. A Chemistry student in Tamil may need the same literature that a

Hindi student in Chemistry may have, for his higher studies. Is it not fair, is it not justifiable for us to demand that they should equally promote all the languages and equip all the languages and make them fit enough to be the vehicle of modern thought? But that is being utterly ignored.

There is another very serious aspect I would like to bring to the notice of the House. It is completely forgotten or conveniently ignored. A stage may come when all the languages are promoted in their respective regions. When they become the media of instruction for scientific knowledge, what will happen? My university will be having Tamil. Other universities will have their respective languages. Hindi regions will have Hindi. What is the link in between? Now when we are laying the ground for our national languages to occupy their rightful places replacing English as medium of instruction, is it not our responsibility to see that the country is not balkanised? Here comes in English. When DMK speaks for English, we imply that for the link of the country at the university and other levels, what else is there? The minister indicated in his reply that Hindi can take that place. I am afraid it cannot in the near imaginable future. Various developments are taking place in the scientific world and we need a window to the outside world. It is not possible for me to reconcile to the thinking that it would be possible to carry on our dialogue without English being there. I ask the minister, is there any country in the world, developed or undeveloped, which has completely eschewed English from its curriculum? Not a single country has done it. Every country concerned with international dialogue rightly feels that there must be some link between nations. Rightly or wrongly, whether you like it or not, English has come to occupy that position and it is being recognised by everyone in the

world today. Knowledge is universal; it is not the monopoly of anybody. So, we need to have certain contacts with the developments in the modern world and there is already a language handy for us for that purpose. What is the urgency and necessity for us to throw away that language and try to replace it by something, which may not be possible?

People argue that we can create a glossary for all science subjects in Hindi. Sir, I have been working in a university and I know how difficult it is. I doubt very much whether it would be possible. Attempts were made by the Government and they are having bulky glossaries with them. But they are not being used in Tamilnad. Whether it is physics, chemistry or any other subject, at the PUC level and at the B.Sc. level in some places we are using Tamil itself. There are many scientific words that have come into common usage in Tamilnad which it would be impossible to replace. For example, we say *anu* for atom, *karp aram* for campher, *uyirvayu* for oxygen, *kandagam* for sulphur and so on. So, do not minimise the hurdles that are there.

MR. CHAIRMAN: They are all Sanskrit words.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: I do not concede they are Sanskrit words. If all the terms in vague in Tamilnad are accepted as common words, I have no quarrel, but I am afraid it would not be possible. Even some professors who were associated with the preparation of glossaries have said that it is very difficult to evolve common terms that would be acceptable to us. The problem is not so simple. If we do not take measures from now on and evolve a compromise procedure for the future, taking into consideration all these facts, I am afraid our whole curriculum will be affected and the quality and content of education will go down.

I have been listening to the speeches and the reply of the junior mi-

nister. There is a growing tendency, dangerous and pernicious in my view, that primary and secondary education should be brought under the concurrent list under the Centre on the plea that the state do not have enough finances. I put it this way. After all, the Centre's finances do not come from Russia or America; it is from the States. They can very well give a share of the lot to the States and the States will manage. I do not want this kind of thinking to prevail in this country that on financial grounds, primary and secondary education should be handed over to the Centre. At present, primary and secondary education are very well carried on by the States. Of course, they do have some difficulties and for that the centre should give financial assistance. There ends the matter. Even higher education which they have been entrusted with, they are not able to manage well and they are not fair in their dealings. If they take primary and secondary education also, it would not be acceptable particularly to non-Hindi states.

I agree that as one nation, in our syllabus and curriculum there could be some standardisation. I do not have any quarrel there. The Central Government has already started preparing syllabi for various subjects in various strata of education and they are sending it to the State Governments. With that I am sure the State can have their own programmes of work in the schools. That can be done at the primary, secondary or at any level. With regard to science, there is no problem. But with regard to humanities, there are certain problems. For example, take history. It is very strange that the Indian history I read is different from the Indian history which my brethren read in northern universities. About our ancient age, take the beginning of Christian era and a few centuries before. We very much appreciate the rule of chera, Chola, and Pandya kings at that period.

[Shri S. Kandappan]

I do not find anywhere in the north this being much represented. But we do read of the Gupta Age and the Maurya Age, the so-called Golden Age. For example, I can tell you that this history is not the DMK version of the history. While the Maurya Age and the Gupta age are being considered the Golden Age in ancient history, in our Tamilnad during the Maurya Age and the Gupta Age there are other powerful empires. We called the Imperial Cholas, as the golden age, so far as we are concerned. We find that only a cursory account is given in the north about that period also. These are certain basic points which should be borne in mind. We cannot hide our own history from our own school boys. It should never be done. So, we have to think in terms of standardising these books by bearing in mind these factors. These are vital issues which we cannot forget except at the cost of the unity of this country.

Finally, I would like to say that there is a good case for minimising the work of the Ministry at the Central level, not for increasing it. So far the performance of the Central Education Ministry has been like that of a dog in the manger. They neither help the States nor do anything themselves, so far as higher education is concerned, which is the obligation of the Ministry at the Centre.

श्री नर देव स्तन 5 (हायरस): सभापति महोदय अभी आपके सामने डी०एम०के० के एक नेता ने बड़े जोर से अंग्रेजों की वकालत की। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनको मालूम होना चाहिये कि वह भारतीय संसद है इंग्लिस्तान की संसद नहीं है। वह भी वेश भूषा और रंग रूप में भारतीय है। इस देश की 55 करोड़ की आबादी है जिसमें से आधी से अधिक आबादी हिन्दी समझती है और हिन्दी बोलती है। मुझे बड़ा दुख है कि हमारे डी०एम०के० के भाई और बास कर तमिलनाडु के इस तरह की बातें करते हैं। मद्रास

के जो नेता हैं मुख्य मंत्री हैं वे अशुद्ध साहब उनके नाम के साथ ही आन्दोलन लग रहा है। वह अपने प्रदेश में अपने फालोअर्च को अपने हिमायतियों को यहाँ भेज कर शायद हिन्दी और अंग्रेजी का उत्तर और दक्षिण का विवाद खड़ा करना चाहते हैं। समझ में नहीं आता है कि जब हमें यहाँ पर केवल शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में विचार करने के लिए समय दिया गया है तो क्यों अंग्रेजी की वकालत की जाती है। हमारे शिक्षा मंत्री जी बहुत समझदार हैं बहुत बुद्धिमान हैं। वह शिक्षा शास्त्री भी हैं। उन्होंने इनकी बात को भी सुना है तथा दूसरे महानुभावों की बातों को भी सुना है। माननीय सदस्यों ने शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ कहा है उसको उन्होंने सुना है। यह ठीक है कि आज भी स्वतंत्रता के बीस वर्ष बाद भी हम अंग्रेजी राज्य काल में शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में जो कमियाँ पाते थे उनको दूर नहीं कर पाये हैं। आज भी वे चली आ रही हैं। बहुत ही कम सुधार अभी तक हुआ है। फिर भी सरकार ने बीस वर्षों में कुछ न कुछ सुधार किया तो अवश्य है। आशाएँ तो बहुत ज्यादा की गई थीं लेकिन वे पूरी नहीं हुई हैं उम हद तक जिस हद तक की गई थी।

मेरी समझ में शिक्षा मंत्रालय के लिए ठीक प्रकार के मंत्रियों का चुनाव किया गया है ठीक उनका चुनाव हुआ है। इसमें वृद्ध भी हैं और जवान भी हैं। अन्य मंत्रालयों में जितने मंत्री हैं उन में वृद्ध भी हैं और जवान भी हैं। परन्तु भगवान की दया से इस मंत्रालय में वृद्ध भी हैं और जवान भी हैं अगर ठीक उनका चुनाव हुआ है। जो वृद्ध हैं वह विश्व-विद्यालयों की बात को सोचते हैं और वह हमारे त्रिगुण सेन साहब हैं। युवा अवस्था से जो आगे पहुँच गए हैं वे कालेजों की तरफ देखते हैं। वह हमारे श्री शेर सिंह जी हैं और जो जवान हैं, आजाद साहब वह खेल कूद और स्कूलों की बात को सोचते हैं। इस तरह से

ठीक चुनाव इनका हुआ है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि इन्होंने विश्वविद्यालयों की बात को ही सोचा और प्राइमरी तथा बेसिक स्कूलों की ओर ध्यान न दिया, नीचे की जो पढ़ाई होती है उसकी ओर ध्यान न दिया जो बुनियाद है उसकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया, फून्सी और पत्तों की ही सिचाई करते रहे और जड़ों को नहीं सोचा तो उसका परिणाम यह होगा कि शिक्षा रूपी महल गिर जायेगा, ढह जायेगा इस वास्ते मेरा निवेदन है कि आप अंग्रेजी राज्य काल में जो होता था उसको छोड़िये। आप अपने पुराने आदेशों को देखते हुये शिक्षा में आमूलचूल परिवर्तन कीजिये अगर आप शिक्षा में आमूलचूल परिवर्तन कर देंगे तो वास्तव में आपका देश आगे बढ़ जायेगा। हमारे यहां पर पहले दुनियां के दूसरे देशों के लोग आया करते थे, हजारों लाखों वर्ष पहले ऐसा चलन था और यहां से प्रेरणा ग्रहण किया करते थे, हमारे यहां के ज्ञान विज्ञान, शिक्षा, सभ्यता संस्कृति आदि से प्रभावित हुये वरौर नहीं जाया करते थे। लेकिन देश का आज दुर्भाग्य है कि हम लोग शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में भी विदेशों का मुख देखते हैं, विदेशों में शिक्षा ग्रहण करने के लिये जाते हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि कुछ इस दिशा में आप परिवर्तन करें। इसका कारण यह है कि अंग्रेजी राज्य के समय जो शिक्षा पद्धति चली आ रही है, उसमें धार्मिक भावना को कोई स्थान नहीं दिया गया है। जैसा कि कुछ मित्रों ने कहा है, हमारी शिक्षा में धार्मिक भावना का समावेश न होने के कारण हमारे देश में रोज आन्दोलन होते हैं, बच्चों में अनुशासनहीनता है, बच्चे बिगड़ रहे हैं, जिसका परिणाम यह है कि राष्ट्र और देश बिगड़ रहा है। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि हमारी शिक्षा में धार्मिक भावना का समावेश होना चाहिये बहुत जल्दी ही।

यह ठीक है कि हमारा देश एक सँकुलर

स्टेट है, लेकिन उसका अर्थ यह नहीं है कि लोग अपने अपने धर्म के प्रति उदासीनता हो और उसके अनुसार आचरण न करें। हर एक धर्म के अनुयायी को अपने धर्म की मान्यताओं के अनुसार आचरण करना चाहिये। हिन्दू अपने हिन्दू धर्म की मान्यताओं के अनुसार अपने धर्म का पालन करें और मुसलमान अपने इस्लाम धर्म की मान्यताओं के अनुसार अपने धर्म का पालन करें, इसी तरह ईसाई, बौद्ध, सिख और जैन आदि भी अपने अपने धर्मों का पालन करते हुये अपने देश को उठा सकते हैं। यदि हमारी शिक्षा-प्रणाली में धार्मिक भावना आ जायेगी, तो निश्चय ही आज जो हड़तालें और आन्दोलन हो रहे हैं, जो अनुशासनहीनता फ़ैली हुई है, वह सब खत्म हो जायेगी।

आज हमारी परीक्षाओं के सिस्टम में यह होता है कि बच्चे साल भर धाराम करते हैं, उसके बाद एक दिन उनकी परीक्षा होती है, जिसमें आठ दस पुस्तकों में से कुछ छांटे हुये प्रश्न होते हैं, उन प्रश्नों में भी चायन दिया जाता है; कोई भी बच्चा 33 फ़ी सदी मार्क्स लेकर परीक्षा पास कर सकता है और अगर किसी को 30 अंक ही मिले हैं तो उसको प्रेस मार्क्स देकर पास कर दिया जाता है। सारे साल की पढ़ाई की परीक्षा तीन घंटों में पूरी हो जाती है और यदि पचाई सेट करने वालों की कृपा हो गई, तब तो इस तथाकथित परीक्षा में पास होने की कुछ भी कठिनाई नहीं होती है, सब के सब प्रश्नों के ठीक उत्तर दे दिये जाते हैं।

इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि परीक्षा की इस पद्धति में परिवर्तन करना चाहिये, जिसमें साल भर के बाद विद्यार्थी को प्रश्न-पत्र का उत्तर लिखने के लिये कहा जाता है। प्रति-मास विद्यार्थी की परीक्षा होनी चाहिये और बारह महीने के मार्क्स जोड़ कर उसको पास या फ़ेल किया जाये।

वर्तमान शिक्षा-प्रणाली में बढ़े-रुड़े इंजीनियर और डाक्टर तैयार हो जाते

[श्री नरदेव स्नातक]

हैं, लेकिन वे बेकार फिर रहे हैं। हमारी शिक्षा में एप्रीकल्चर और सैनिक शिक्षा को भी स्थान दिया जाना चाहिये। आज चारों तरफ से हमारे देश की सुरक्षा को खतरा है। अगर हमारे स्कूलों-कालेजों के नौजवानों को सैनिक शिक्षा दी जाती, तो ऐसी नौजवानों को कभी न आती कि हम चायना से पिट जाते या कोई भी दुश्मन हमारी तरफ बुरी निगाह से देख सकता। इसलिये आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हमारे स्कूलों-कालेजों में सैनिक-शिक्षा की व्यवस्था की जाये।

इसी प्रकार हमारे देश के लिये खाने की समस्या सबसे बड़ी है। यदि हमारे बच्चों को स्कूलों-कालेजों में पढ़ते हुये कृषि की शिक्षा भी मिल जाये, तो वे अपने आप भ्रष्ट पैदा कर देंगे और हमारे देश को कभी भी भ्रष्ट संकट का सामना नहीं करना पड़ेगा।

जिन पाठ्य-पुस्तकों के आधार पर हमारे बच्चों को शिक्षा दी जाती है वे बहुत पुराने जमाने की अंग्रेजी राज्य की समय की। किसी शायर ने ठीक ही कहा है "हम उन तमाम किताबों को काबिले जन्मी समझते हैं, जिनको पढ़ कर बच्चे बाप को खन्ती समझते हैं।" मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इन पुस्तकों से हमारे बच्चों को अपने देश की संस्कृति और आदर्शों को कोई शिक्षा नहीं मिलती है। इसलिये हमारी पाठ्य-पुस्तकों का भी नये सिरे से निर्माण किया जाना चाहिये ताकि हमारे बच्चे अपने देश की संस्कृति, सभ्यता और पुराने आदर्शों को समझ सकें।

मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ और मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि डी० एम० के० के नेता के मुख से यह बात कैसे निकल गई कि संस्कृत भाषा के प्रचार से और प्रसार की तरफ कम ध्यान दिया जा रहा है और उसके लिये कम अनुदान दिया जाता है, क्योंकि मद्रास में स्कूलों और ग्रन्थ इमारतों पर "सत्यमेव जयते," "धर्म चर" और "सत्य

वद" आदि जो संस्कृत शब्द लिखे हुये थे, वे उनके अनुयायियों और समर्थकों द्वारा नष्ट कर दिये गये। मुझे यह कहना है कि संस्कृत सारी भाषाओं की जननी है, लेकिन इसके तरफ कम ध्यान दिया जा रहा है। बुढ़िया माता की तरफ लोग कम ध्यान देते हैं और जवान लड़की की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जाता है, यह स्वाभाविक भी है। मंत्री महादय बड़े बूढ़े हैं, वे वृद्ध हैं। वह "त्रिगुण" है—उनमें मर्तागुण, रजोगुण, और तमांगुण, ये तीनों गुण हैं। संहारक शक्ति भी उनमें है। वह अपनी संहारक शक्ति द्वारा दक्षिण में फैली अवाञ्छनीय प्रवृत्तियों को समाप्त करें जैसा कि मैंने कहा, संस्कृत भाषा सारी भाषाओं की जननी है, इसलिये वह उसकी ओर भी ध्यान दें और उसके लिये ज्यादा से ज्यादा अनुदान दें।

सरकार की ओर से संस्कृत पाठशालाओं और विद्यापीठों को बहुत थोड़ा—दाल में जितना नमक होता है, उतना ही नहीं—धन दिया गया है। संस्कृत जननी है, लेकिन इसकी तरफ किसी का ध्यान नहीं जाता है। अगर सरकार की ओर से संस्कृत के प्रचार और प्रसार की तरफ ध्यान दिया गया, तो देश में शिक्षा और आदर्श जल्द बढ़ेंगे, पनपेंगे। इसलिये संस्कृत भाषा के लिये और अधिक प्रचार तथा प्रसार की व्यवस्था की जाये और इसके लिये ज्यादा से ज्यादा धन दिया जाये।

आप जानते हैं कि पुराने युग में हजारों विद्यार्थी गुरुकुल, विद्यापीठ और ऋषि-कुलों में शिक्षा ग्रहण करते थे। उनमें राजा रंक, छोटे-बड़े और गरीब अमीर का कोई भेद-भाव नहीं होता था। राजा, की तरफ से हजारों विद्यार्थियों के खाने, कपड़े, रहने और पढ़ाई-लिखाई का सारा खर्च होता था। इस वक्त भी यही सिस्टम कहीं कहीं

देखने में आता है। गुरुकुलों की तरफ भी ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये और उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा अनुदान दिया जाना चाहिए। भूतपूर्व केन्द्रीय शिक्षा मंत्री, डा० श्रीमाली, ने गुरुकुलों को कुछ अनुदान दिया था, परन्तु यह दुर्भाग्य और आश्चर्य की बात है कि इस साल उसमें से आघात कर दिया गया है, जब कि मुझे आशा थी कि डाक्टर साहब और प्रोफेसर साहब उसमें कुछ न कुछ बृद्धि करेंगे। यदि वे चाहते हैं कि हमारी शिक्षा और संस्कृत भाषा का प्रचार और प्रसार हो, तो यह आवश्यक है कि गुरुकुलों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा अनुदान दिया जाये।

मुझे आशा है कि मैंने जो सुझाव रखे हैं, मंत्री महोदय उनकी तरफ अवश्य ध्यान देंगे और संस्कृत भाषा का अधिक से अधिक अनुदान देकर उसके प्रचार और प्रसार की व्यवस्था करेंगे।

SHRI C. JANARDHANAN (Trichur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, everybody admits that our country is in the grip of an economic and political crisis unprecedented since our Independence. Naturally, this crisis affects every sphere of life. But the crisis as reflected in the field of education is the worst of all.

At the first meeting of the Advisory Committee of Vice-Chancellors constituted by the University Grants Commission, the Education Minister, Dr. Triguna Sen, himself hinted at this. In the *Times of India* of 7th March it is reported.

"The dominant theme in the education Minister's speech was unsatisfactory state of higher education in the country. Indeed, in many States, the education system was hardly functioning and colleges and universities remained closed for a long period. The situation had reached such a serious state that the system of examinations was breaking down."

Dr. Triguna Sen further said:

"In Calcutta, the March 1967 examinations have not been held as yet. In Bihar and Uttar Pradesh invigilation at examinations is becoming more and more difficult and I have had reports of several assaults on invigilators, some ending in fatality."

He said that the incidence of student unrest was on the increase and so also its component violence. He also expressed extreme concern over the growing unemployment among the educated—an evil which had now affected the engineers also. He added that this was the time when we must undertake and implement some vigorous programme of action to counteract these evils.

This is only a small side of the picture. Though the people in power realise at least that the so-called vigorous programme is necessary, no action is forthcoming yet. The fact is that no vigorous programme of action is possible unless the Government has a clear perspective and the readiness to bring about a change in the socio-economic relations that now exist in our country.

Many speakers before me have dealt with the problem of primary education. It is a shame that, even after 20 years of Independence, we have failed to fulfil the provisions and compulsory primary education to all our children. Now the Government has laid down a certain programme to fulfil this belated task before 1975-7. But what has happened to our earlier programme? Sometime our Ministers point an accusing finger towards the States. I do not know whether he is of the opinion that, if primary education is made a Concurrent or a Central subject the task would be fulfilled easily. I think, it is a wrong approach. The problem of compulsory education is closely linked up with our social and economic

[Shri C. Janardhanan]

backwardness. Unless the Government is prepared to tackle these problems along with education, the ambitious programme of our enthusiastic Ministers will remain unfulfilled.

Then, what about the character of the little education that our students get? This was reported in the *Times of India* of 23rd March, as remarked by the Education Minister in the Informal Consultative Committee of Parliament:

"This was a State subject and the States were free to handle it as they liked. Consequently, the textbooks varied widely from State to State with emphasis being laid on different values. Quite often, the child had no idea of national values such as unity, secularism, similarity of culture and tolerance which were so important for nation integration..."

He therefore, suggested that the question of taking up this as a Concurrent or a Central subject should be thought of. Anyway, I am glad that our Minister realises the importance of this issue. But I am afraid the situation is worse than what he thinks. There is no definite direction to our education. In certain textbooks of primary schools they teach the students some rot; sometimes it is contrary to facts also. I can give you certain examples. The other day, the *Blitz Weekly* published an article quoting certain passages from a Mysore textbook. The other day I think, it was on the last Friday—this House was discussing how to eradicate obscene literature or obscene art from our cultural life. But obscene pictures are printed in the textbooks; obscene articles and poems are written, and these were taught in Mysore schools. I will give you one or two examples, small things, which are contrary to facts. Sir, this is a book published by Macmillans, a firm of international repute and this is taught

in one of the best schools in Delhi. Sir, as I am coming from Kerala, I am interested in what it says. What does it say? It says: 'Kerala is all length and no width'. Can you imagine such a thing, Sir? Then it says, 'In few places it is more than 50 miles wide.' About its length it says, 'In length, however, it is more than a thousand miles'. We have to invade Tamilnad or Mysore State to make it that long! It is not more than 300 or 400 miles long, Sir.

SHRI RAJARAM (Salem): Then there is no necessity for the Mahajan Commission.

15.51 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

SHRI C. JANARDHANAN: The earlier speaker from that side wanted religious instructions in our schools. As a sample of what sort of religious instruction is imparted to our children in schools, I shall quote from this book which is entitled 'Moral Science Series', again a production of Macmillans and it is taught in the same model school. There is a chart about God delegating His powers to others. There are three branches. In one Branch, God delegates His powers to parents, then parents delegate their powers to school Principals, School Principals delegate powers to the teacher and the teacher delegates his powers to the monitor and the monitor stands before the students as God. Then take the second branch. Here, God delegates powers to Government, Government to the Ministers and the Ministers to high officials and the high officials to the Police and the Police is the God before you. Under the third branch, God delegates powers to the Scout Master, the Scout Master delegates powers to the Troop Leader and the Troop Leader delegates power to the Patrol Leader and the Patrol Leader is the living God before you.

AN HON. MEMBER: What about the Chief Whip?

SHRI C. JANARDHANAN: Just I do not know. This is a sample of the moral instruction imparted in our schools. Sir, unless we do something on the lines which Dr. Kothari has recommended, the future of our education is in trouble and the Government must give immediate consideration to improve the character and content of the text books.

SHRI RAJARAM: Dr. Sen was also on that Commission.

SHRI C. JANARDHANAN: He more or less agrees with me, I think. But he is not implementing the whole thing. That is my complaint.

Regarding the conditions of teachers, Sir, they are deplorable throughout India. They are agitating for better pay, for better living conditions. Now, in Bihar, two lakhs of teachers are on strike for the last few days. The teachers are agitating all over India, in U.P., even in my State of Kerala and virtually in all the States Sir, in the recent strike in Delhi which was the biggest of them all, the Government tried its best to suppress the movement. They arrested 107 teachers. Five of them were handcuffed like criminals. Sir, it is a shame for this Ministry.

SHRI D. C. SHARMA (Gurdaspur): Not by this Government. It was the Jana Sangh Government.

SHRI C. JANARDHANAN: But abetted by this Government. 77 teachers were suspended and 346 teachers were thrown out of service. But the teachers faced all this terror very boldly. But now that the movement is withdrawn, it seems, the authorities are bent upon wreaking their vengeance on the teachers. The recent circular issued by the Directorate of Education is insulting. But the NDMC is going further. That nominated body and its President are not even prepared to implement the instructions of the Directorate. What right has this organisation got, which represents nobody in this country, to refuse to implement it? I do not know, it is beyond my comprehension. Now, the teachers have put forward certain demands which should be

looked into sympathetically. The teachers in difficulties and there are three different units of Administration under which the teachers are pressed and they are now here to go now. To bring the subject of Education under one authority was the standing demand of the teachers of Delhi. It is under the consideration of this Government, I know, but will the Government take immediate steps to implement it? That is what is necessary now. I request the Government to intervene immediately and revise the circular of the Directorate and press the NDMC to behave properly.

A contented teacher is indeed the base of effective educational system. If the hungry teachers are on war path, they cannot teach the students properly. You know that. Therefore I request the Government to consider immediately the grant of uniform pay-scales and uniform service condition throughout India. Otherwise our whole educational system will go to rot.

While considering the problems of our educational system, our attention is drawn to the question of unemployment among the educated, especially those of the engineers. In some States like Kerala, for instance, where some amount of progress has been made in education, the problem of unemployment among the educated classes is very acute; and the number of unemployed engineers is rising. There is an increasing number of unemployed engineers and diploma-holder now. The figure is going to be of the order of 35,000. In Punjab it 2,000; in Mysore it is 3,000, in Kerala it is 3,000 engineers. There are about 18,000 ITI diploma-holders. This is because of the economic crisis which this country is facing. Everybody knows, and the Minister has admitted. It is because of the economic recession, it is because of the monopolistic pressures of the masters from abroad. That is why the so-called recession has come back and our engineers are thrown out of employment and they find no avenues for employment. We have to consider all steps for industrialisation. Then only we can solve

[Shri C. Janardhanan]
the problem of unemployed engineers in this country. We must think about the system of education as solving the economic problems of the country. Then only we can tackle this important problem of unemployed engineers in this country.

SHRI BIMALKANTI GHOSH (Serampore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Education. While supporting the Demands I would like to put a few suggestions before the hon. Minister of Education for his consideration. The Demands relating to the Ministry of Education should not be looked upon as an item of expenditure. It should always be looked upon as an item of investment. The greatest need of the country today is more production and, therefore, our education should be production-oriented. At the same time we must remember that Education is intended not only to make a man fit to earn his livelihood, but also to enable him to become a useful citizen and a man of character. Unless the problem of Education is properly tackled, all our future plans will fail. Education must also bring about national integration. A common pattern of education for the whole of the country is an urgent need of today. Education is a State subject. Yet, I think that it is the moral responsibility of the Centre to formulate and implement a national policy and programme of education for the entire country.

16 hrs.

For the proper educational development and also in the interest of national integration, it is necessary that education should be made a concurrent subject. The Directive of the Constitution provides for free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 has not yet been implemented. The Centre must see that this constitutional requirement is given effect to.

The problem of education should be taken up on a war footing, and more and more money should be spent on

education so that literacy may spread. In spite of the fact that a large number of schools had been opened during the last twenty years, the percentage of literacy is still at a very low level. I think the Ministry should pay proper attention to this matter.

The system of education which we are following at present will do no good to the country. Unless some fundamental changes are made in that system, there cannot be any real progress.

Right from the primary level up to the top, the medium of instruction must be the mother-tongue. Greater stress should be laid on primary education. No village should remain without a primary school and no school without a sufficient number of teachers.

We should have more polytechnics and technical schools so that we can train more technicians and get employment for them easily. We should spend more money on technical and scientific education. We should have more medical colleges. The standard of multipurpose schools and polytechnics should be improved. The standard of education at the higher secondary level needs a great deal of improvement.

The school fees and the cost of books are so high that it is very difficult for a common man to educate his children. Therefore, I think it should be the responsibility of Government to supply books free of cost to the poor students. In this way, the creative talent of a poor student should be encouraged by the Government.

In the field of higher education also, great expansion is needed. The most important thing in higher education is the strengthening of the post-graduate departments. A strong post-graduate department is the best source from where we can recruit our future teachers and scientists.

The examination system in our country should be immediately reformed. At present, it is nothing but a memory composition. No real merit can be tested under the present system of examinations.

The students from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes community should be given more facilities and scholarships. More money should be provided for this purpose. Liberal grants should be given to colleges in rural areas. More agricultural colleges and universities should be established in rural areas.

More attention should be paid to the development of the Sanskrit language. The study of Sanskrit should be made compulsory for arts students.

The primary aim of education is character-building and physical development. Therefore, it is absolutely essential to provide sports grounds for schools and colleges in urban areas.

We have scientists of quality in this country, but unfortunately their talents are not being properly utilised. If our democracy is to survive, we must make necessary arrangements to impart good education to our children.

I feel that if the problems of students are always considered with sympathy, there would be no student unrest. In most of the cases, I think mismanagement at the top has resulted in indiscipline among the students. I think at present our teachers are not paid according to their merits or even according to the cost of living index prevailing in the country. Their conditions of service in most of the States are really shocking. Therefore, the condition of the teachers must be improved immediately by upgrading their salary scales. Teachers' salary scales should be revised in accordance with the rise in prices and cost of living. There should be a minimum below which no teacher should be paid. In the case of primary teachers, their minimum basic salary should be at least Rs. 150. Dearness allowance for teachers should vary according to the price index prevailing in the country. The scales of teachers in junior high school, high school and higher secondary schools should also be suitably revised and upgraded. The same scale should be given to teachers with the same qualifications in different categories of high schools. All categories of teachers should be provided with free

accommodation. The age of retirement for all categories of teachers should be raised to 65.

SHRI D. C. SHARMA: 70.

SHRI BIMALKANTI GHOSH: All college teachers should have a uniform pay scale. It should be Rs. 350—950. The Education Ministry at the Centre should try to get it done through State Governments. The University Grants Commission is now looking after higher education. I hope and firmly believe that the Centre will set up two more Commissions, one for looking after the secondary education and the other for looking after the primary education.

Adequate financial assistance should be given to the first grade private colleges so that they can open post-graduate classes for the expansion of higher education with the approval of the universities. The members of the non-teaching staff of schools and colleges have so far been neglected. Proper steps should be immediately taken to improve their service conditions. The UGC benefits should be extended to the non-teaching staff members in colleges. Adequate financial assistance should be given to State Governments so that they can take proper steps to improve the service conditions of members of the non-teaching staff in schools.

With these words, I support the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Education.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna): You have made me wait so long that I have forgotten my ideas. Anyway, since you have called me, I have to say something. I will not talk of the faults of commission and omission of the education departments at the Centre or in the States. I would confine myself to more fundamental questions. If these are properly tackled, there will be no difficulty; if we have not stupid people running the department, there will be no difficulty in solving our educational problems.

There is no section of society which can do without education. Even a cutpurse, thief or robber has to be educated in his profession.

16.09 hrs.

[SHRIMATI LAKSHI IKANTHAMMA in the Chair]

SHRI S. K. TAPURIAH (Pali): Ministers have no qualification or education.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: As a matter of fact, the education of the individual begins from his childhood. The mother sees to it that first he is fed and then he is educated. Sometimes both processes go together. What does the mother do? What do the parents do? They have to socialise the little animal. He must fit into the society of the family. Supposing it is a cultured family and the child because of his contact with other children speaks bad language, immediately the parents will say that this is not done in our family or in our social set-up. Thus the physical maintenance of the body and education go together. If we are starving in our physical body, the nation is also starving in its education. How did this come about?

We must go to the very origin of the present system of education. Why was it introduced? Was it introduced to socialise us in our society to make us good members of our society or was it invented to wean us away from our society? This education was primarily meant to create a cheap administrative agency for the East India Company and then for the English Government. But the English people are as hypocritical as ourselves and they would not do a profitable thing without giving altruistic reasons. The altruistic reasons were given by Macaulay. He said: we want to produce in India an educated class; we want to make Englishmen of them except in the colour of their skin and the blood running in their veins. I am afraid that the colour of the educated is changing a little, at least in Northern India... (*Interruptions.*) Therefore, you will see that reformer after reformer in modern times tackled the question of education. In the beginning there was the founder of the Arya Samaj; Dayananda Saraswathi wanted to re-

form society in a particular way and he devised a scheme of education for that way of life. He was of course thinking of only Hindu Society. Afterwards, when there was great political agitation in connection with the partition of Bengal and the nationalists proposed a system of national education. It was one of the points on which the moderates and the extremists were divided in Surat. The moderates wanted the system that had been introduced by the British for the purpose which I have already indicated to continue as they considered it good. The extremists wanted a change in educational system because they wanted a change in our society. Then came the Home Rule movement of Besant which again tackled this question of national education. There was also the experiments of Rabindranath Tagore in Santiniketan. He believed that children can grow best when they are brought up in freedom and in the joy of life. Afterwards came Gandhiji's movement and that also produced a system of education in which I think all the trends that had gone before were included. He not only changed the medium of instruction and the methodology but also the whole system. Because he wanted to create a society of his conception which must be free from exploitation, social, political and economic.

Every reformer throughout the world, if he has desired to give a turn to society has taken into hand education. With Buddha we had a different educational system than the Brahmin one. With Muhammad we had not the educational system that was confined to the Arabic tribes but a new kind of system. With Christianity the old system of education, the Greek and the Roman, was dispensed with and a new system of education came into existence. So, no society, if it wants to make anything of itself can neglect education. But the question is, what society do we want to create here? It seems that we are in a confusion about it; that we are in some kind of vicious transitional stage where we do not know where

we stand or what we want. It is true that from the housetops the Government that has been in power for the last 20 years says that it wants to establish a socialist society in India. If it wants to establish a socialist society in India, has it taken any steps whatsoever to see that the education that the young received is such that it would make for a socialistic system of society? If the education is class education, if the education is bourgeois education, then you cannot out of that education produce socialism or a socialist pattern of society. It is true that most of the education throughout the world given through schools and colleges have been class education. But, if you want to have a socialist society, you have to direct your education to the goal that you have kept before yourself. It is because of this that our education is suffering. And what did we do? We took up the old education. There was nothing of nationalism in our system. As soon as we came into power, we thought everything was changed as by allauddin's lamp. With freedom we became rich and so we must have big and huge factories; with freedom our administrators whom Jawaharlal Nehru called often as wooden, without initiative, who could only carry out orders, became patriotic! Our education which we before Independence called foreign education, a vicious education, an education that was done for a certain purpose that suited the British Government at once became a national education. All the primary schools became the Naya Talim schools. All the universities became national universities. Every teacher was a nationalist. This is the great mistake that we have done.

Then, what have we done? We have appointed Commissions and Committees. We began to build from the top. First we had a commission for university education. Recently I suppose some committee was appointed to review the whole of education—the Kothari Commission. Did the Kothari Commission think in terms of

the society that is going to be produced here? Did they cater for an education that would be useful in a democratic society, not to talk of socialism? No such thing. A tinkering here and a tinkering there, that is all. No department of our life is so confused as education.

My friend gave certain examples of textbooks. How can the textbooks be improved unless education has some aim and purpose in life? Why are our engineers without work? Because we give them education which is of the old type, which would only enable them to be servers to the administration of some big-bellied moneyed boss. They cannot stand on their own legs. I have seen these coming out of the agricultural colleges searching for jobs in the government, as if in the compounds of the Ministries, cultivation is going on! It is the system that is wrong. It is not that we do not need engineers. We require engineers, but we have never taught them to stand on their own legs. It is not that we do not need scientific agriculture. But our agricultural graduates do not go to the villages. I am sure an educated graduate can make a couple of hundred rupees a month by having two acres of land to cultivate. But we have never taught them to be self-reliant. We have taught them only to be Government servants, for which the old education was designed. We have done nothing to make the people stand on their own. They come to the government begging for jobs; if they do not get jobs, they blame the government, the society and everybody excepting the system of education that produced such drones who could do nothing. In America, I was sitting at a table where there were some 12 university teachers also sitting. I said something that was not very complimentary to the Americans and I said, "You will please excuse me for making this remark". They said, "who is to excuse you?" One was a Jew, another a Canadian, the third an Englishman, the fourth

[Shri J. B. Kripalani]

a German and so on. There was nobody who was really American. They get these technical people from all corners of the world to enrich their education. There if a student passes his examination today, tomorrow work is assigned to him on a salary of about Rs. 1000 a month.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He should conclude now. I have given him 5 minutes more than the allotted time.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: I have no objection to carry out your wishes, as you are also a lady and I am governed at home and in the country by ladies. I have no desire to disobey you but I must say that you must give me a few minutes more; that also if the audience is interested in what I am talking.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude in two minutes.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI: So, unless we have a national aim, a national goal, be it may, we cannot direct our education in proper channels; we cannot devise a suitable system of education for ourselves.

We have been talking of unrest among the students. How can there be anything but unrest among the students when there is unrest in society? When there is conflict in society, when we are not able to live as one nation, how can the students? I have been teacher for umpteen years and I do not think any student ever thought of revolting against my authority. The students used to tell me. "Sir, we do not know whether you are the same man outside the class that you are in the class." In the class absolute discipline, outside the class absolute friendship and equality. I treated them as gentlemen and they treated me as ancient teachers used to be treated in ancient times where it is said that the teacher is the god. So, the students' unrest is due to the defectiveness in education that it has no goal. Education

has no goal because we, as a nation, have no goal yet towards which we are working. We profess but we do not have.

Then, it is said that the universities should be autonomous. I have seen these universities and I have seen their vice-chancellors. I am sorry to say that if there is to be real autonomy in education, our teachers would make a mess of it. I have seen them thinking of nothing else but their promotions, their ambitions, their own selves and not the students.

There is in our universities something like meeting the students or, what they call, tutorial classes, but nowhere are there tutorial classes where the teacher comes in real contact with the students. Perhaps it is good that the teacher does not come in contact with the students because his own conduct is such that it will spoil the conduct of the students! Under this system it is much better that the professors do not come in contact with them because their own intrigues would percolate among the students. The politicians are always a wretched lot; you cannot help them. They will always interfere. But their interference can be avoided only if the teachers are masters of the situation and they behave honestly.

What is the meaning of a teacher? Now we are hearing about the emoluments of the teacher. Right through the ages a teacher has lived in a hovel. But if he loves his work he teaches from that hovel. I have seen that there are institutions in Banaras and ancient cities where our old education is being taught. And who are the teachers? The teachers will be with one *dhoti*, not even an upper cloth, and that may be a dirty *dhoti* but they are teaching highest philosophy in the world. They are teaching the philosophy of the Upanishads and the Gita. They are living in that atmosphere and they do not care for their earthly needs. What

they need is very little and that is provided for by the students themselves. The students themselves go and beg and they work night and day because they have an objective behind them. We may not appreciate their objective. But they have an objective and for that objective, the teacher and the student kill themselves. The student would put his *choti* in a strong and see that he keeps awake in order to read what he has come to study. This is how real education is given and received. There can be no other kind of education.

I am sorry I have taken more time than you ordered me to take.

SHRI D. C. SHARMA (Gurdaspur): Mr. Chairman, it is my first duty to congratulate Acharya Kripalani for the most excellent speech that he has delivered in this House. I hope not only the Members of this House but all the citizens of India will take note of what he has said. My second duty is to thank Mr. Shashibhushan Bajpayee for going to jail in the cause of the teachers of India. The teachers of Delhi are not the teachers of Delhi but they are the teachers of India. I must say that he did something which is enviable and which should have been done by some more Members of this House.

When I think of the Education Ministry and when I think of the Education Minister, I have no end of sympathy for it and for him. The Education Minister has got a sick, anaemic and bloodless child to hold and though the Education Minister has broad shoulders and has sound common-sense and has some kind of practical skill, I think, he cannot set the house of education in order. The reason is this that education has been compartmental divided into many mansions, sub-divided into many many houses, and the result is that the education has lost any kind of central unity, any kind of unifying aim, any kind of centripetal direction.

Education is being diffused and is being thrown about in all kinds of

directions. Therefore, I think, if Acharya Kripalani's speech has any meaning, the only thing that has to be done by the Government of India and, I think, that is a national Government, it is this that education should become a Central subject.

People have been talking of a primary education commission; people have been speaking of a Second Education Commission; people have been urging the extending of the scope of the University Grants Commission. It is like saying to a man, you have Aspro in the morning, Vit. B complex in the afternoon and Multi-Vitamin in the evening. I think, this will not work. The only thing that can work is this. The hon. Minister should come forward with the utmost vigour and say, "I cannot change the map of education in India; I cannot set in motion any reforms in the field of education; I cannot handle this multi-farious thing. I can do this only if I am made the sole master of the house of education whether in the Adamans to which somebody referred, or in Kerala or in Haryana or in Punjab." The house of education should be one; it should be a joint family house and not a house which is divided against itself. That is the only thing that can do something; otherwise, this education is like a hydro-headed monster. Dr. Radhakrishnan cut off one head and 12 more heads sprang up; Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar cut of another head and 12 heads sprang up at another place. The Kothari Commission could not cut off any head, but it is something, and you all know the result. Therefore, if you want to restore order in this jungle of education, which is characteristic of India, you must have Education as a Central subject all along the line.

Somebody was talking about Jamia Millia and Aligarh University, somebody was talking about Nehru Museum, somebody was talking about Lal Bahadur Shastri road or Lal Bahadur Shastri statue. It has been said by the thinkers on education all over the world that the greatest educator in

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

this world has been Plato, and all the books on education that have been written by the others have been only footnotes to Plato's. What did Plato say? Plato said that the whole community educates. Nehru Museum educates much more than anything else; the Aligarh University educates us; all the factors that are to be found in the society, to borrow the expression of my learned senior, Acharya Kripalani, educate us. Therefore, these small, petty things about this thing or that thing must go. But they shall not go as long as we do not have a Central system of education.

If we have that, then, I think, the teachers will heave a sigh of relief. After all, education is a question of system and I do not think that we do not have a system. We have a system of primary education, of secondary education, of university education, of post-graduate education, of professional education and of all kinds of education. I do not think that we should tinker with any system that we have got. But I want that the teachers should be made the focus of that system. When I think of the teachers, I do not think of the teachers of the Central universities; I do welcome them; let them get whatever they like; but I think of the primary school teachers who go bare-footed, bare-headed and sometimes without the necessary clothes in winter. I want that they should be given their due. The primary school teachers are the basis of the pyramid of education, and after them, come the secondary school teachers, then come the college teachers, then come the university teachers, then come the post-graduate teachers and so on. All of them should have their due. But, I think, our reform should begin, so far as this is concerned, at the primary school stage. Unless we make the primary school teacher the master of his own destiny, I think, things will not improve.

My third point—I do not want touch any other point, but I want to touch this point—is this. Education has been treated in this country in a stepmotherly way. I think Madras has been good in the field of education, Kerala has been good in education and some of the States have been generous to education or at least they have made a splendid gift to education. But what percentage of our gross national product is spent on education? What you spend on education, Madam, is not a dole given to education. It is not something like charity given to a Brahmin or poor people, as you have got enough. It is not something which is given away for nothing. Education is something which brings a return. Education, as people say, is the best kind of training. Therefore, I would suggest, Madam, that 10 per cent of the Fourth Five Year Plan should be spent on education and 20 per cent of the Budget of each State should be spent on education. If there are some States which are spending more, I do not want them to curtail that, but this must be done.

Then, Madam, one thing more and I have finished and it is this. I think the hon. Minister will take note of these things which had been said here. But I want to say one thing. If you cannot take our education much forward, I would like you to take our education at least one step forward. Have one Central University in every State of India, whether it is north, south, east or west.

I would also suggest, Madam, that we should have a model Central Secondary School in every town of India and that should be done by the Union Education Ministry. I would also suggest that a classless, casteless primary school should be established in every District town of India to begin with, if they cannot have it all over the place. Unless this is done, I think this jungle of education will

be a wilderness and this wilderness will become a desert but I want the desert to gloom. I want the jungle to become a garden and the wilderness to become a paradise and that can become only if we do that.

One sentence more and I have finished. I will say that it is the three-language formula that can build up the real citizens of India. I think it was Mr. N. C. Chatterji who said, we talk about deficit financing, but, Sir, we are deficit in nationalism, we are deficit in patriotism, we are deficit in Indianness and we are deficit in all kinds of national emotions. If there is one thing which can unite the country, it is this three-language formula. We should have three languages, we should study two Indian languages and one foreign language which will link us all together.

When we look at the Education Minister, I have lot of sympathy for him. He has been given a task which is very very onerous, which is very very heavy and which is very very burdensome. But, since he had nothing else to do and since he can dedicate himself to the cause of education, I have no doubt that this dedicated son of India will bring about a far-reaching revolution in India. We do not want tinkering with education. We want a social, and economic and political and a patriotic revolution as far as India is concerned. India wants producers and builders.

16.44 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

India wants a citizen of all-India dimensions. India wants patriots of the highest magnitude and I think, Sir, our hon. Minister will be able to bring all this about.

16.45 hrs.

STATEMENT RE. INCIDENTS
RELATING TO HARIJANS

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): Sir,

I had made a statement in this House on 28th March, 1968, regarding certain incidents involving Harijans in Mehboobnagar and Krishna Districts of Andhra Pradesh. I have received information from the Government of Andhra Pradesh regarding the alleged incident in Mehboobnagar District. The Kannada Daily 'Praja Prabha' published from Bangalore had carried a news-item regarding an alleged incident involving parading of Harijan ladies naked in Mehboobnagar District of Andhra Pradesh. The State Government have reported that they made intensive inquiries in Mehboobnagar District and found that there was no such incident in any village in that District. The State Government have issued a Press statement on March 31, 1968, denying the occurrence of this incident.

The Government of Uttar Pradesh have reported that on 29th March, 1968, a report was lodged at Police Station Ghatampur in Kanpur District by Shri Devi Din that Lal Singh of his village had thrown his nephew aged seven years and daughter aged three years into his well and disappeared. The two children on being taken out of the well were found dead. A case under Section 302 IPC was registered and the Station Officer rushed to the scene. The culprit was promptly arrested and lodged in jail. A charge-sheet is being sent to the Court.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1968-69—
contd.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION—Contd.

16.46 hrs.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, instead of giving us further pleasure to see the well-known faces of our Ministers in printed form, we would have been happy if the pictures of our National Professors, scholars, teachers Sahityakars, Kalakars and silpis, those who have got national awards are given in this report. And I hope, Sir, next year the