

12.25 hours.

## PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

## REVIEW OF CEMENT CORPORATION OF INDIA LIMITED FOR 1969-70 AND ANNUAL REPORT THEREOF

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT (SHRI GHANSHYAM OZA): On behalf of Shri Moinul Haque Clouthury, I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers (Hindi version) under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956 :

- (1) Review by the Government on the working of the Cement Corporation of India Limited, New Delhi for the years 1969-70
- (2) Annual Report of the Cement Corporation of India Limited, New Delhi, for the year 1969-70 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-642/71]

## REVIEW OF WATER AND POWER DEVELOPMENT CONSULTANCY SERVICES (INDIA) LIMITED AND ANNUAL REPORT THEREOF

THE MINISTER OF IRRIGATION AND POWER (DR. K. L. RAO) : I beg to lay on the Table a copy each of the following papers (Hindi and English versions) under sub-section (1) of section 619A of the Companies Act, 1956 :

- (1) Review by the Government on the working of the Water and Power Development Consultancy Services (India) Limited, New Delhi, for the period 26th June, 1969 to 31st March, 1970.
- (2) Annual Report of the Water and Power Development Consultancy Services (India) Limited, New Delhi, for the period 26th June, 1969 to 31st March, 1970 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-643/71]

## PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE

## THIRD REPORT

SHRI C. C. DESAI (Sabarkantha) : I beg to present the third Report of the Public Accounts Committee regarding paragraph 36 of Audit Report (Civil) 1970 relating to Exploratory Tubewells Organisation.

12.26 hours

## \*DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1971-72 Contd.

## MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE

MR. SPEAKER : The House will now take up discussion and voting on Demand Nos. 6 to 10 and 113 relating to the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare and Demand Nos. 98 to 100 relating to the Department of Culture for which 6 hours have been allotted.

Hon. Members present in the House who are desirous of moving their cut motions may send slips to the Table within 15 minutes indicating the serial numbers of the cut motions they would like to move.

## DEMAND NO. 6—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,00,57,000 including the sums already voted ‘on account’ for the relevant services be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of Department of Education.”

## DEMAND NO. 7—EDUCATION

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved :

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 73,12,86,000 including the sums already voted ‘on account’ for the relevant services be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of ‘Education’.”

\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

**DEMAND NO. 8—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION**

**MR. SPEAKER :** Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,49,59,000 including the sums already voted 'on account' for the relevant services be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of Other Revenue Expenditure of the Department of Education"

**DEMAND NO 9—DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE**

**MR. SPEAKER :** Motion moved .

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 16,11,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of Department of Social Welfare."

**DEMAND NO 10—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE**

**MR SPEAKER :** Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 4,91,29,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Department of Social Welfare' "

**DEMAND NO 113—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE**

**MR. SPEAKER :** Motion moved .

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 1,44,55,000 including the sums already voted 'on account' for the relevant services be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Capital Out-

lay of the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare'."

**DEMAND No 98—DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE**

**MR SPEAKER :** Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 21,42,000 including the sums already voted 'on account' for the relevant services be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Department of Culture'."

**DEMAND No 99—ARCHAEOLOGY**

**MR SPEAKER :** Motion moved :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 1,41,24,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Archaeology'."

**DEMAND NO 100—OTHER REVENUE EXPENDITURE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE**

**MR SPEAKER** Motion moved

"That a sum not exceeding Rs 3,36,44,000 including the sums already voted 'on account' for the relevant services be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1972, in respect of 'Other Revenue Expenditure of the Department of Culture' "

**SHRI R. D. BHANDARE** (Bombay Central) . May I make a submission, Sir ? The Ministry of Education and Social Welfare and the Department of Culture have been combined for the purpose of discussing their Demands Only 6 hours have been allotted for the purpose In fact, three Departments have been combined, including the Social Welfare. Previously, we used to discuss the Demands of the Ministry of Education and the Department of Social Welfare separately. We used to get 4-5 hours for the Ministry of Education and 4-5 hours for the Social Welfare. Now, only 6 hours have been allotted for all

these Departments put together. How is it possible? I do not know why it was not taken into consideration by the Business Advisory Committee that these two are more important Departments and are major Departments also. Therefore, 8 hours should have been allotted, 4 hours for the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare and 4 hours for the Department of Culture. The Business Advisory Committee has missed the point.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : I may explain to my hon. friend. Mr. Bhandare that they considered 4 hours for the Ministry of Education, 1 hour for Social Welfare and 1 hour for Culture.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : You have done a wrong thing.

MR. SPEAKER : Instead of 4 hours, it was increased to 6 hours.

SHRI D. BASUMATARI (Kokrajhar) ; Sir, it is very unfortunate that every time we have to fight for time for discussing the subject of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and their problems.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, Shrimati Bibha Ghosh will open the debate.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan) : Sir, are we to understand that separate time, say 2 hours, is given to the Social Welfare Department for discussion out of this six hours? Last time, the Social Welfare Department was under the Ministry of Law and separate time was given.

MR. SPEAKER : If you want four hours for education, we can have one hour for the Department of Culture and one hour for the Department of Social Security.

Now, Shrimati Bibha Ghosh.

SHRIMATI BIBHA GHOSH (Nabadwip) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are indeed very happy that the Ministry of Education to the task of celebrating the International Education Year in 1970 so seriously. We are pleased to note that so many conferences, seminars and programmes could be packed into one year, and the best brains of the country were given the opportunity to give us the benefit of their

immense wisdom and expertise in various fields through those seminars. It is also good to know that so much thought was given to planning so many aspects of the programme and important details like the 75th birth day of Acharya Vinoba Bhave were not allowed to be neglected.

While appreciating the good work done by the Ministry in conducting this programme, I often ask myself, were there not other ways of celebrating the International Education Year? Could not the celebration take the form of say, making primary education free and compulsory for every child below 14 years? Could we not celebrate this highly significant year by changing our national priorities in favour of education, by making a far larger allocation for education in the annual budget and by introducing other changes? Or was that the authorities were aware of these needs, but were overruled by those in position to formulate national priorities?

Even a superficial glance at the budget proposals convinces any one that the basic weaknesses and deficiencies of the traditional educational policy of the Indian Government have been zealously preserved. May I remind the Government that the Prime Minister's twelve point election pledge contained the provision for free and compulsory education for all children? The Government has been making so much noise about '*Garibi Hatao*', but without '*Ashiksha Hatao*' even the fringe of the country's economic problems cannot be touched. Only last year, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, the then Education Minister, lamented that allocations to the Ministry of Education were being cut to the bone, and that a proper climate for formulating a educational policy was missing. Has there been any qualitative change in the situation since then? Unfortunately, the answer is an emphatic No.

The percentage of the sum budgeted for education has remained at 1.5%, the percentage spent on education as a proportion of national income has been maintained at an incredibly low level. In fact, it stands among the lowest in the world, and despite talks about redesigning the Fourth Plan and re-orienting national policies, the allocation for education has remained the 'lowest ever' in the history of planning in this country.

[Shrimati Bibha Ghosh]

Even after 24 years of Independence only 30% of the population can barely read and write in their own language, and at this rate, it will take more than a century to eradicate illiteracy from India. One child in five in the age group of 6-11 is deprived of the right to go to school, and for those between 11 and 14, about two children in three are being denied the privilege of going to schools. The Central Advisory Board on Education has been forced to view with concerns that no State would be able to realise the goal set by the Directive Principles of the Constitution before the eighties, and that some of the States would not meet the goal before the next century. Is this how the Government of India views the role of education in the country? Not only that the Government has failed to clear the backlog of illiteracy through adult education and for this task a paltry sum of Rs. 10 crores has been allocated for the entire Fourth Plan period. In fact, the absolute number of illiterates has gone up from 293 millions in 1951 to 343 millions in 1968-69. It is indeed a stigma on us that half the illiterate population of the world lives in India.

Sir, what we are having in this country in the name of educational policy is a mere extension and continuation of the traditional policies of colonial education formulated by the British Government. It was stated in the famous Macaulay note of 1835 that :

"We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and millions whom we govern ; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."

Excepting that the ruling class has changed its hat, nothing of that policy has been changed since then. The present rulers also want to fulfil the same goal from education, that is, of procuring a large number of interpreters who would help them in governing and exploiting the hundreds of millions who have been denied their fundamental rights.

Whenever the question of education is raised, the Government has made it a habit to take shelter behind the constitutional pro-

visions and to claim that it is essentially a State subject. But whatever be the Constitutional position, can the Central Government shirk its responsibility in this way? Who are running the Government at the centre and who are running the Governments at the State level? Do not they all belong to the same political organisation called Congress with or without suffix? For 20 years after independence what measures did the ruling party implemented to cure the fundamental diseases from which our educational world suffers? Even on Constitutional grounds can the Centre evade its responsibility? Was not the pledge given in Art. 45 of the Constitution supposed to be implemented by the Union Government?

The other excuse the Central Government puts forward as an explanation for its failure in solving the problems of education is that there is not enough money under the command of the Government for this purpose. Let us look deep into this excuse. The same Government which advances lack of funds as a plea for cutting down the expenditure on Education, has, as yet, found no difficulty in securing money for police and military and for appeasing the bureaucracy by inflating expenditure on administration. Why is it that so much of the budgeted sum goes for military and police when only a petty 1.5% is allocated for Education? I can't refrain from referring to the fact that even during the war years, Britain had found means to raise her yearly expenditure on Education to 300 million pounds as against the pre-war 100 million. What is lacking in this Government is a sense of priority, a sense of national urgency, a clear understanding about the pivotal significance of education in modern society, about the basic fact that "universal franchise without universal, compulsory, free, elementary education is a fraud in democracy." Yet, no less a person than Pandit Nehru himself opined in 1958 and I quote him. He said :

"Primary Education to the people was much more necessary than anything else... even food and housing."

Moreover, Sir, can we possibly ignore education even for national defence? No less important than the supply of armed personnel and highly sophisticated weapons are the needs for

skilled manpower for, people with education, are people who can best acquire the techniques of modern warfare for national defence. In recent years, the Government has suddenly become aware of the crucial need for family planning and the allocation for that item has gone up from a meagre Rs. 14½ million for the entire four-year period in 1951-55 to Rs. 3300 million during the 4th Plan period.

By giving so much emphasis to family planning, the Government is not only showing a distorted sense of priorities, but also putting the cart before the horse because as all recent surveys suggest, a significant drop in the birth rate can be achieved only by spreading education among the masses. The same thing can be said about programmes for economic development also.

Leaving aside the fact that the Government's priorities are distorted and lopsided, is the lack of money an honest explanation? According to Government reports, about Rs. 700 crores of income-tax proceeds are in arrears, and according to the unpublished report of the Wanchoo Committee about Rs. 2000 crores of black money are created every year. If even a part of this huge amount is realised—which is, after all, not a difficult task to perform,—many of the problems facing us can be satisfactorily solved.

It is a matter of great shame that when the Second United Front Government of West Bengal asked for Rs. 6 crores per year for the humble purpose of providing free education upto Class VIII in that problem-ridden State, that request was refused, while the Government did next to nothing to bring to book the unscrupulous and dishonest businessmen who are evading taxes and indulging in smuggling and blackmarketing.

Moreover I have heard so much about corruption, favouritism, malpractices and the like in connection with Government concerns, for example, the NCERT, that I wonder why so much wastage in terms of these abuses are being tolerated while sufficient money cannot be found for expanding primary education. I would like to voice a few of our demands in this context. We demand immediate reappraisal of the policy of Government towards education. We demand that a minimum 10 per cent of the Union budget, a minimum 10 per cent

of the Plan outlays and a minimum 6 per cent of national income be earmarked for education.

The educational system is now in a chaotic state. Apart from the fact that education is far from being life-centred and job-oriented, far from correspondence with the programmes of development in the country, there are other factors also. Every State in the country has been allowed to have its own pattern of education. Different types of schools and colleges have been allowed to function with diverse teaching programmes and salary scales for teachers. There is no uniform educational policy, and without a national educational policy, the idea of national integration is a hoax. The situation is worst with respect to schools. Unlike the UGC for colleges and universities, there is no such parallel body for the primary and secondary sectors of education, which we deem essential for equal and uniform development of education all over India.

In this connection, I would like to observe that the All Bengal Teachers' Association has long been making efforts to create public opinion for an intergrated national uniform educational policy and that the All Bengal Teachers' Association seminar in 1967 made an attempt to formulate a comprehensive system of education. We hope that the Ministry would look into the matter and give due consideration to those recommendations.

Now, I would like to say a few words about the two major human components of education, namely the teacher and the taught. If you would pardon me, Sir, for adding a personal note to the subject, it has been my privilege to work as a secondary teacher for more than 11 years. I wish I had time to enumerate in some details my personal experience regarding the conditions of the teachers and the students, especially girl students in an average Indian school. I wish I could effectively depict before this House the pale, anaemic faces of my poor students who have learnt by heart the components of balanced diet, but cannot afford a square meal a day. They lack everything, food, clothing, textbooks and other necessities of life such as reading space at home, light or even a candle or lamp at night. Their future appears to be bleak as their present. Although they are young and like young people everywhere, they also aspire for a better life, they know as much as we know that their

[Shrimati Bibha Ghosh]

choices are limited to two alternatives, either to leave school and join the reserve army of unemployed just now or to continue in school, pass the examinations and then after a time-lag, to join the same pool of unemployed youth.

Given this situation, is it surprising that youth of this country feel discontented and frustrated and a section of them want to go ahead with the idea of building a new society, a just and equitable society through political activities? It is no use blaming the students for political activities and unrest when the elders in the country have closed all options before them and have left them with no alternative but to go into the streets to voice their protests.

We are also aware of some of the non-political aberrations on the part of the students. I have been told by some that the vices of drug addiction and alcoholism have reached an alarming proportion in some of the universities among the students.

The examination system has been debased to such an extent that mass copying has become the general rule, and at least in one case the students were awarded degrees without their sitting for the examination. We are opposed strongly to the idea of conducting the so-called cultural revolution in schools and colleges by burning down buildings and destroying laboratories and libraries. But let me also make it clear that even for all these aberrations, the authorities in charge of education cannot escape responsibility. It is they who have made the education system what it has become today, a system which is rotten down to the core, a system where people at the top mostly seek their own interests and satisfy their own personal and factional goals, and care little for the students and the teachers who are being left with the task of carrying its load.

I hope, Sir, that most of the Members of this House are aware of some of the abuses and mal-practices of our school system—for example, paying less to the teachers than shown in the accounts, collecting resignation letter from a teacher even before he is appointed and like practices. But even if there were no such mal-practices, the salaries paid to the teachers are proportionate neither to the responsibility they carry nor to the physical labour they undertake. The Kothari Commission also recognised

the inadequacy of the pay scales of the teachers particularly the primary teachers and clearly stated that whatever gains in real income were made prior to the sixties were neutralised by price increase during the sixties. There is urgent need for a national scale for school teachers in India which takes into account their qualification, nature and load of work and their responsibilities. Lack of security of service, adverse teacher-student ratio, heavy work load and ill-management are only a few of the difficulties faced by teachers in schools and colleges alike. It is also unfortunate, Sir, that the pay scales of Indian teachers compare very unfavourably with those abroad. In fact, it is only because of their dedication, sheer determination and sense of responsibility that our teachers in schools and colleges are plying through their work.

A few words about Social Welfare, Sir. There were budget cuts in this item also, Sir, I happen to represent a constituency reserved for the scheduled castes and I consider it my duty to highlight some of their problems.

A few figures might help the Members to appreciate the degree of misery and poverty they are experiencing. We have already discussed about the magnitude of illiteracy in the country, but the rate of literacy is further lower for the backward classes. Whereas the average rate of literacy for the whole country was about 24% in 1961, the corresponding figures for the scheduled castes and tribes were 10.2% and 8.5% respectively. In other words, the degree of literacy of these classes was about one-third of that for an average Indian. Add to this that the tribal people have no provision of education in their mother tongue. The Santals have not yet got their scripts. It is also significant that whereas about 23% of the Indians belong to the backward classes, their proportion among the landless labourers is about 43%—that is there are twice as many landless cultivators among the backward classes as the average figure for the whole country. To quote from the report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes:

“The land hunger in the scheduled castes is neither fancy nor jealousy; but they are anxious and impatient to move out of the degrading economic and social life

of landless labourers which have kept them ill-fed, half-naked, and devoid of bare necessities of life."

The picture is clear, Sir.

The only tangible thing the Government of India has done so far is to introduce or rather retain the quota system. But that is also operating theoretically perhaps. Always there is the plea of failure to find suitable candidates. I would like to give examples from the NCERT which is the biggest establishment under the Education Ministry at present. Out of over 720 Class I and Class II officers, four only belong to the scheduled castes and none to the scheduled tribes and these four also were selected by the U.P.S.C. before the formation of the NCERT in 1961. Even in the special unit on tribal education, there is no tribal representation. And the four scheduled castes officers have not been offered any promotion for the last ten to fifteen years. Furthermore, 30% of the Class III and Class IV workers, many of whom are scheduled are working on a daily wage basis for the past four or more years. I have been told that until 1965 the scheduled caste employees of that establishment were not even allowed to get food from the common canteen. If this is what is happening under the Ministry of Education and Welfare itself, we can well imagine the conditions elsewhere in the country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not want to go into details of the sufferings and discriminations the down-trodden people have to put up with. But I would like to remind the Government that there is a limit to everything and there is also a definite limit to the amount of humiliation, exploitation and oppression, even these submissive and diffident people can absorb. Let me warn the Government that they will have no right to condemn the oppressed classes including the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes if they rise up in revolt, pull down the existing structure and forcibly put an end to injustice.

MR. SPEAKER : Hon. Members may now move their cut motions.

SHRI SAROJ MUKHERJEE (Katwa) :  
I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to grant more money to West Bengal so that the school going children can get free education upto class XI (6)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to introduce pension scheme for teaching and non-teaching staff in colleges which are under the U.G.C. (7)].

"That the Demand under the Head Department of Social Welfare be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure of the mass scale literacy campaign and imparting primary education to poor landless people, specially the Khetmajurs and tribals, adivasis inhabiting in the belt of Pandua Balagarh in Hooghly District and Memari Kalna of Burdwan District (West Bengal) (8)].

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna) :  
I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the Head Department of Education be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to introduce common curriculum in the whole country (12)].

"That the Demand under the Head Department of Education be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to provide uniform pay scales and other facilities to the teachers in the country (13)].

"That the Demand under the Head Department of Education be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to make education less expensive and within the reach of common man (14)].

"That the Demand under the Head Department of Education be reduced to Re. 1."

[Need to effect radical changes in the educational policy (15)].

"That the Demand under the Head Department of Education be reduced to Re. 1."

[Shri Ramavatar Shastri]

[Need to make education employment oriented (16)].

"That the Demand under the Head Department of Education be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to check American infiltration in the field of education (17)].

"That the Demand under the Head Department of Education be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to check the influence of communal elements like R. S. S. and Jamaite Islami in the educational institutions (18)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to construct more hostels for students in every University (19)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to reduce tuition fees (20)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to set up at least one Central University in every State (21)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to convert Patna University into a Central University (22)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide more assistance to Bihar Government for education (23)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide special financial assistance to Patna University (24)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to accord the status of a full-fledged University to Shri Kaashi Vidyapeeth (25)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to make primary education free in the entire country (26)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give up the policy of frequent transfers of teachers of Central Schools (27)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to remove the main causes of indiscipline among the students (28)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to check indiscipline among the students (29)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to expand technical education (30)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to allocate more funds for providing scholarships to students (31)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide more funds for giving scholarships to the students belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (32)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to allocate more funds for giving scholarships to the students belonging to the backward classes (33)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to run Urdu medium schools properly (34)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give the right to Urdu, Bangla and Oriya speaking students in the Universities to answer questions



papers in their respective mother tongues in the examinations (35)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to send more students from India to the Lumumba University in Moscow (36)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to shift the R. S. S. office from the premises of the Banaras Hindu University (37)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to nationalise education (38)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to take over the management of the schools by dissolving their managing committees (39)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to spend more funds on education (40)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check American propaganda in Delhi University (41)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to eliminate communal elements in the Delhi University (42)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check the infiltration of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh in N. C. E. R. T., Ajmer (43)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to check participation of certain teachers of N.C.E.R.T., Ajmer in the activities of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh (44)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Sanctioning of Government scholarships to certain pro-R. S. S. students of N.C.E.R.T., Ajmer (45)].

"That the Demand under the Head Education be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to introduce a scheme for the education of agricultural labourers in rural areas (46)].

"That the Demand under the Head Department of Social Welfare be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to put an end to the exploitation of Tribals, Harijans and backward classes (47)].

"That the Demand under the Head Department of Social Welfare be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to do away with the practice of carrying of night-soil on the heads by the sweepers (48)].

"That the Demand under the Head Department of Social Welfare be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to put an end to the practice of social victimisation of Harijans and Adivasis (49)].

MR. SPEAKER : The cut motions are also before the House.

डा० गोबिन्द दास (जबलपुर) : स्वराज्य के बाद हमारे देश का यह काल निर्माण युग के रूप में चल रहा है। निर्माण दो प्रकार का हो रहा है, एक तो भौतिक वस्तुओं का निर्माण और दूसरा नई पीढ़ी का निर्माण। जहां तक भौतिक वस्तुओं के निर्माण का सम्बन्ध है, हमें कुछ दूर तक तो उसमें सफलता मिली है, इसमें सन्देह नहीं है। परन्तु जहां तक नई पीढ़ी के निर्माण का सम्बन्ध है, इसमें हमें जरा भी सफलता नहीं मिली है। नई पीढ़ी का निर्माण बहुत दूर तक शिक्षा के ऊपर निर्भर है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं संसार के प्रायः सभी देशों में घूमा हुआ व्यक्ति हूँ और शिक्षा से कुछ अनुराग होने के कारण मैंने सभी देशों की शिक्षा प्रणालियों का अध्ययन करने का

[डा० गोविन्द दास]

प्रयत्न किया है। यह तो नहीं कहा जा सकता कि कोई भी ऐसी शिक्षा प्रणाली है जिसमें कोई दोष नहीं है लेकिन इसमें भी कोई खन्देह नहीं है कि जितने दोष हमारी शिक्षा प्रणाली में हैं उतने दोष दुनिया की किसी और शिक्षा प्रणाली में नहीं हैं।

स्वराज्य मिलते ही नहीं बल्कि जब हम पराधीन थे उस समय भी इस ओर हमारे मनीषियों का ध्यान गया था और राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा के अनेक प्रयत्न चले थे। स्वराज्य के बाद तो हमने इस पर सबसे अधिक ध्यान दिया। सबसे पहले हमारे भूतपूर्व राष्ट्रपति डा० राधाकृष्णन की अध्यक्षता में विश्वविद्यालय की शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में एक आयोग नियुक्त हुआ। उसके बाद माध्यमिक शिक्षा पर विचार करने के लिए एक दूसरे आयोग की नियुक्ति की गई और अन्त में एक और आयोग नियुक्त किया गया जिसका उद्देश्य था सम्पूर्ण शिक्षा प्रणाली पर ध्यान देना। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह करीब-करीब उलटी बात हुई। पहले ऐसे आयोग की नियुक्ति होनी चाहिये थी जो सम्पूर्ण शिक्षा पर विचार करता। उसके बाद माध्यमिक शिक्षा पर विचार किया जाता और तब विश्वविद्यालय की शिक्षा तो अपने आप ठीक हो जाती। खैर जो कुछ हुआ, सो हुआ लेकिन इतना तो कहना ही पड़ेगा कि इन आयोगों ने भी शिक्षा प्रणाली में जो सुधार के सुझाव दिये हैं, उनमें से एक को भी कार्यरूप में परिणित नहीं किया गया है और इन आयोगों के प्रतिवेदन भी अलमारियों की शोभा बढ़ा रहे हैं और कुछ दिन में छावण दीमक का पेट भरने।

अध्यक्ष जी, हमारे सारे निर्माण का एक ही दृष्टिकोण है, भौतिक उन्नति। मैं भौतिक उन्नति के विरुद्ध नहीं हूँ। भौतिक उन्नति होनी ही चाहिये। लेकिन अगर उद्देश्य केवल भौतिक उन्नति हो जाए तो वह एकलंगी उन्नति होती है। भारतीय संस्कृति संसार की सबसे पुरानी संस्कृतियों में से एक है। संसार की चार

संस्कृतियाँ सबसे पुरानी हैं, भारतीय संस्कृति, मिश्र की संस्कृति, चीन की संस्कृति और यूनान की संस्कृति। भारत का तो मैं रहने वाला हूँ। मिश्र, चीन और यूनान मैंने देखे हैं। उन देशों में यदि आप जा कर वहाँ के जीवन में, वहाँ की प्राचीन संस्कृति के दर्शन करना चाहें तो वह नहीं होंगे। वहाँ की प्राचीन संस्कृति या तो आपको वहाँ के खंडहरों में बिखारी देगी या वहाँ के अजायबघरों में। मात्र भारत ऐसा देश है, जहाँ की प्राचीन संस्कृति की परम्परा आज के भारतीय जीवन में भी है और हमारी यह संस्कृति धर्म प्राण संस्कृति है। धर्म प्राण संस्कृति में धर्म शब्द का बड़े व्यापक रूप में उपयोग किया गया है। धर्म का अनुवाद किया जाता है, मजहब या रिलिजन। ये दोनों अनुवाद गलत हैं। धर्म तो इतना व्यापक है कि उसमें व्यष्टि और समष्टि का समस्त जीवन आ जाता है। विनोबा जी ने कहा है "धर्म शब्द इतना विशाल और व्यापक है कि उसके सारे अर्थ बताने वाला शब्द मैंने आज तक किसी भी भाषा में नहीं पाया"। धर्म के विविध लक्षण हैं। किसी स्थान पर धर्म के आठ, कहीं दस, कहीं बारह, कहीं पंद्रह, कहीं सोलह लक्षण बताये गए हैं। श्रीमद् भागवतगीता में तो तीस लक्षणों का विवरण है। इसका बड़ा सुन्दर और संक्षिप्त विवरण मनु स्मृति में आया है, जहाँ कहा गया है

वृत्तिः क्षमा दमो स्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रिय निग्रहः।

धीरिष्ठा सत्यमक्रोधो दशकं धर्म लक्षणम् ॥

ये दस लक्षण धर्म के मनु स्मृति में बताए गए हैं। एक वाक्य में भी हमारे यहाँ पर धर्म के सब लक्षण आ जाते हैं और वह है धारयति इति धर्मः।

इसका अर्थ यह है जो व्यष्टि और समष्टि के सम्पूर्ण जीवन को धारण करता है, वह धर्म है।

धर्म मोटे रूप में दो प्रकार का है, एक सामान्य धर्म जो कि मानव मात्र के लिए है

और दूसरे विशिष्ट धर्म जो कुछ समाजों, कुछ व्यक्तियों के लिए होता है। इस विशेष धर्म के पालन के बारे में श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता में बहुत कुछ कहा गया है। स्वधर्म, स्वभाव, नियत कर्म स्वकर्म, आदि अनेक शब्दों का गीता में प्रयोग हुआ है। गीता घोषणा करती है :

श्रेयान्स्वधर्मो विभुषः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात्

स्वधर्मं निघनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥  
और भी

सहजं कर्म कौन्तेय सदोषमपि न त्यजेत् ।  
सर्वारम्भाहि दोषेण धूमेनाग्निरिवावृताः ॥

वास्तव में सब धर्मों में कोई विरोध नहीं है। देश काल और अवसर के अनुसार व्यवहार में कुछ अन्तर आता है और उस में हम को अन्तर देखने लगता है। लेकिन धर्म के सिद्धान्त सब एक से हैं और उन सब सिद्धान्तों की ओर अगर हम ध्यान देंगे तो हम को यह मानना पड़ेगा कि सभी धर्मों के अनुसार वही व्यक्ति धार्मिक माना जा सकता है जिस के मन और कर्म में दूसरों का अहित न हो। अतः सदाचार ही धर्म है। धार्मिक विकास के बिना मनुष्य का व्यक्तित्व अधूरा रहता है। बिना धर्माचरण के नैतिकता आना असम्भव है।

इसीलिए आचारः प्रथमो धर्मः इत्यादि वाक्य हमारे यहाँ पर आए। परन्तु हम ने तो धर्म का पूरा बहिष्कार ही कर रखा है। अपने संविधान में हमने धर्म निरपेक्षता को स्थान क्या दिया हम उसका, गलत अर्थ ही लगाने लग गए हैं और मानने लग गये हैं कि अधर्म ही शायद हमें श्रेयस्कर है। सैक्युलर शब्द का यह तो कभी भी अर्थ नहीं हो सकता। पश्चिम में सैक्युलर एजुकेशन, सैक्युलर स्टेट आदि। शब्दों का प्रयोग वहाँ की विशिष्ट परिस्थिति के कारण हुआ था। पोप और उनके मातहत पादरियों ने जुल्म किये और उन जुल्मों के विरोध में ये शब्द निकले थे। पोप और पादरियों का शब्द था इकलीजेस्टिकल। इसके

विरोध में सैक्युलर शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ था। हमारे देश में ऐसी परिस्थिति कभी उत्पन्न नहीं हुई। विनोबा जी के शब्द हैं :

“हमारी सरकार का सारा चिन्तन अंग्रेजी में होता है और उसका तर्जुमा करना पड़ता है।” इसीलिए सैक्युलर शब्द के सम्बन्ध में इतनी गड़बड़ी मची हुई है।

इसी प्रकार साम्प्रदायिकता का भी गलत अर्थ लगाया जाता है और इस शब्द का भी बड़ा दुरुपयोग हो रहा है। साम्प्रदायिकता का असल मतलब क्या है? साम्प्रदायिकता का मतलब धर्म के किसी पथ पर चलना है। धर्म बड़ा व्यापक है। उस पर चलना पड़ेगा तो किसी न किसी सम्प्रदाय को तो लेना ही पड़ेगा। इस प्रकार धर्म और साम्प्रदायिकता इन दोनों शब्दों का बड़ा गलत अर्थ किया जा रहा है। जब हम पराधीन थे उस समय भी और उसके बाद भी, इन दोनों का हमने गलत प्रयोग किया है। कहा जाता है कि धर्म की शिक्षा में कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। लेकिन मैं जो बात आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ उससे यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि धर्म की हमारी शिक्षा में नितान्त आवश्यकता है। सन् 1882-83 में हंटर आयोग ने कहा था।

“विद्यार्थियों के नैतिक स्तर को उठाने के लिए एक ऐसा पाठ्यग्रन्थ तैयार होना चाहिए जिस में मानव धर्म के सारभूत सामान्य-सिद्धान्तों को रखा जाए।”

स्वाधीनता के बाद सन् 1948-49 में राधा-कृष्णन आयोग नियुक्त हुआ। उसने कहा “धार्मिक शिक्षा में रूढ़ियों का बहिष्कार कर आध्यात्मिक शिक्षण पर ध्यान देना आवश्यक है।”

1959-60 में भी श्रीयुत श्री प्रकाश जी की अध्यक्षता में गठित धार्मिक एवं नैतिक शिक्षा समिति ने कहा था :

“जनता पर से धर्म का अर्क्य हटते जाते के कारण शिक्षा अगत तथा सभाज में बहुत से

[डा० गोबिन्द दास]

बोध आ गए हैं। भारतीय जीवन का आधार धर्म रहा है। आज यह सूत्र ढीला हो रहा है। अतः राष्ट्र का जीवन छिन्नभिन्न होने से रोकने के लिए धर्म का आधार पुनः तैयार करना होगा जिस में नैतिक तथा आध्यात्मिक मूल्यों की शिक्षा दी जाए।”

1964-66 में जिस काठारी कमीशन की नियुक्ति हुई थी उसने कहा

“धर्म का सम्यक ढंग से विभिन्न विभागा द्वारा अध्ययन कराया जाए तथा इस तरह का साहित्य तैयार हो कि सारे शिक्षा क्षेत्र में उन मान्यताओं को प्रभावोत्पादक ढंग से किस प्रकार प्रयुक्त किया जा सकता है इस पर विचार हो।”

शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में हमारे मनीषा क्या कहते हैं उस पर भी थोड़े से विचार आपके सामने मैं रखना चाहता हूँ।

राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी कहते हैं

“अच्छी शिक्षा के लिए व्यक्तिगत जीवन की पवित्रता सब में बड़ा शर्त है।”

समस्त ज्ञान का उद्देश्य चरित्र निर्माण होना चाहिये। सब धर्मों में हमें जो विभिन्नता देखने में आती है उस सब के बीच आधारभूत एकता विद्यमान है और वह है सत्य तथा शुद्धता। धार्मिक शिक्षा अध्यापकों के धर्मानुकूल आचरण में दी जा सकती है।

13 hrs

महामना प० मदन मोहन मालवीय कहते हैं: “युवकों को यह शिक्षा मिलना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि वे अपने सामने सर्वोत्तम आदर्श रखें। दूसरे के प्रति हम को ऐसी कोई कृति कदापि नहीं करनी चाहिए, जिस को अगर दूसरा हमारे लिए करे तो हमें दुःख हो। सक्षेप में यही सब धर्मों का सार है।”

“गुरुदेव रवीन्द्रनाथ ठाकुर ने कहा है: “मानवता को पहले ज्यादा विस्तीर्ण भावनाओं से पूर्ण और बलशाली एकता का अनुभव करना है।””

योगिराज अरविंद का कथन है: “ज्ञान, भक्ति और निष्काम कर्म-आर्य-शिक्षा के मूल तत्व हैं। हमारा उद्देश्य होना चाहिए ऐसी उपयुक्त शिक्षा देना, जिस से भावो सतान ज्ञानी, सत्यनिष्ठ, माहसी और विनीत हो।”

श्रीमती एनी बीसेट का कथन है: “शिक्षा वही सच्ची शिक्षा है, जो व्यक्ति को आध्यात्मिक, बौद्धिक, नैतिक तथा शारीरिक आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति करे।”

विनोबाजी कहते हैं: “आजकल सेक्युलर स्टेट के नाम से विचारधियों को धार्मिक साहित्य मिखाया नहीं जाता है। वास्तव में होना यह चाहिए कि सब धर्मों का सार मिखाया जाये। हिन्दू, बौद्ध, जैन, ख्रीष्ट, मुसलमान, पारसी, सिख आदि सब धर्मों का सार निम्नान कर उन में जो समान अंश है, सब को श्रद्धा दृढ़ करने वाला अंश है, वह मिखाना चाहिए। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हुआ और शिक्षा पद्धति में सभी धर्मों को टाला गया। इस शिक्षा पद्धति में सुधार होगा, तभी बचाव होगा।

श्री चक्रवर्ती सी० राजगोपालाचार्य कहते हैं: “शिक्षा का सब से महत्वपूर्ण उद्देश्य छात्रों में दैवी गुणों तथा कर्तव्य-परायणता का विकास करना है। विज्ञान को समार ने एक बार विजेता के रूप में प्रदर्शित किया था, परन्तु अब वही विज्ञान धर्म का सब से बड़ा सहयोगी है। उच्च विज्ञान भौतिकवाद के दृष्टिकोण को त्याग कर अब आत्मिक विकास तथा उषनिषदों की भांति देवत्व की ओर ले जाने वाला बन रहा है। किन्तु विज्ञान धार्मिक विश्वास और दैवी गुणों के विकास में तभी सहायता दे सकता है, जब व्यक्ति को बाल्यावस्था से ही इस के अनुकूल शिक्षित किया जाये।”

वैज्ञानिकों का यह आधुनिक मत पश्चिम के कुछ प्रसिद्ध वैज्ञानिकों के कथन से सिद्ध हो जाता है। सर जेम्स जान कहते हैं : "ब्रह्माण्ड एक कल की अपेक्षा एक महान् विचार या ज्ञात होता है। विज्ञान का अन्तिम मत उन्नीसवीं सदी के भौतिकवाद से भिन्न होगा।"

सर ए० एस्० एडिन्टन का कथन है : "मैं तो चैतन्य को ही परम सत्य मानता हूँ और प्रकृति का आविर्भाव चैतन्य से मानता हूँ।"

श्री जे० बा० हेल्डन का मत है : "यथार्थ में वास्तविक जगत एक ही है और वह है आध्यात्मिक जगत। ब्रह्माण्ड का केन्द्रीय तत्व प्रकृति की कोई शक्ति या भौतिक वस्तु नहीं है। वह है मानस और व्यक्तित्व।"

सर आनीवर लाज ने कहा है : "हम ब्रह्माण्ड को जितनी दूर तक आध्यात्मिक मानते थे, उमसे वह कही ज्यादा आध्यात्मिक है। यथार्थ बात यह है कि हम एक आध्यात्मिक विश्व के बीच हैं, जो भौतिकता पर शासन करता है।"

श्री अल्बुस हाक्सले का कथन है : "विज्ञान का विरोध धर्म से है ही नहीं। वह है ऐसे दर्शन से, जिसे धर्म को कुचला है।"

श्री अल्बर्ट आइन्सटीन का कथन है : "मैं ईश्वर के अस्तित्व से विश्वास करता हूँ, जो अपने को अभिव्यक्त करता है।"

भारतीय संस्कृति भौतिक उन्नति के विरुद्ध नहीं है। हमारे छः दर्शनों में एक दर्शन का नाम है वैशेषिक दर्शन में एक वाक्य आया है : "यतोऽभ्युदयः निश्चयसः सिद्धिः स धर्मः" "अभ्युदय" शब्द का अर्थ है भौतिक उन्नति और "निश्चयस" का मोक्षप्राप्ति। परन्तु आज निश्चयस को छोड़ कर केवल अभ्युदय पर ध्यान हो गया है, जिस से कल्याण नहीं हो सकता। इसी कारण रिश्वातखोरी, चोर बाजार आदि अनेक सामाजिक पापों का उदय हुआ है। जैसे का स्थान ईश्वर से भी ऊँचा हो गया है। ईश्वर के

सम्बन्ध में तो दो मत हैं—एक मत ईश्वरवादी है और दूसरा अनीश्वरवादी। कुछ आस्तिक हैं, कुछ नास्तिक। परन्तु जैसे के सम्बन्ध में कोई नास्तिक नहीं है।

जैसा मैंने पहले कहा है मैं भौतिक उन्नति के विरुद्ध नहीं हूँ। परन्तु धर्मविहीन अर्थ और उस अर्थ द्वारा काम की संतुष्टि व्यक्ति और समाज को जर्जर बना देने हैं, मानव सच्चा मानव नहीं रहता। स्वामी विवेकानन्द बार-बार एक प्रश्न पूछते थे : "क्या तुम मनुष्य हो" ? इस प्रश्न में सभी कुछ आ जाता था। और ऐसे सच्चे मनुष्य के लिए हजारों वर्ष पहले महाभारत में कहा गया था : "न मनुष्यात् श्रेष्ठतरम् हि किञ्चित्"।

एक अंग्रेज कवि, गोल्डस्मिथ, ने एक बार कहा था : "वैल्य एक्जुमुलेट्स एंड मेन डिक्"। यही बात फ्रांस के प्रसिद्ध साहित्यकार रोमां रोलां ने कही : "दि मोर आई हैव, दि लैस आई एम"। हमारे उपनिषदों में हजारों वर्ष पहले कहा गया था : "न वित्तेन तर्पणीयो मनुष्यः"।

एक प्रसिद्ध महात्मा, श्री रंगनाथानन्द, ने कहा है, "हम पिछले बीस वर्षों से तीन सरकारों के पीछे दौड़ रहे हैं—सम्पत्ति, मुख और सत्ता।"

हम देखते हैं कि सत्ता और सम्पत्ति प्राप्त करने के बाद भां जीवन का सुख प्राप्त नहीं होता है और उम का कारण है कि हम ने भौतिक उन्नति का ही अपना आदर्श मान लिया है।

आज सब से अधिक चर्चा समाजवाद की है। मनुष्य सामाजिक प्राणी है, समाज में रहने वाला व्यक्ति है, कोई ऐसा जन्तु नहीं है कि जंगलों में अकेले सिद्धों या भालूओं की तरह रहता हो इस लिए समाजवाद तो आयेगा ही। परन्तु समाजवाद के जो पोषक हैं, मैं सब के लिये नहीं कहता हूँ, अधिकांश की क्या हालत है, आप देखें—अधिकांश स्वार्थी हैं और उन्होंने

[ड० गोविन्द दास]

समाजवाद के नाम पर धन ही किसी न किसी प्रकार प्राप्त करना अपने जीवन का उद्देश्य मान लिया है।

हमारे ऋषि, महर्षियों, तत्व-वेत्ताओं और दार्शनिकों ने हजारों वर्ष पहले एक खोज की थी कि यथार्थ में यह समस्त सृष्टि एक ही तत्व है। जो मैं हूँ, वही आप हैं, जो आप हैं, वही मैं हूँ, सारी सृष्टि एक है। आज के वैज्ञानिक हजारों वर्षों के बाद भी इस के आगे नहीं जा सके हैं। आज का विज्ञान भी यही मानता है कि यथार्थ में यह समस्त सृष्टि एक ही तत्व है। इसी के आधार पर हमारे वेदान्त के कुछ सूत्र निकले थे—अहं ब्रह्मास्मि, तत्वमसि, सर्वं खलु विदं ब्रह्म। इसी लिये वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् और सर्वभूत हितरतः कहा गया।

भगवत गीता में भगवान ने अर्जुन को बारबार युद्ध करने को कहा, लेकिन उसी के साथ यह भी कहा—निर्वैरः सर्वभूतेषु। इस से बड़ा कोई समाजवाद नहीं हो सकता, इसी लिये भारतीय संस्कृति सहिष्णुता, समन्वय और एकता की संस्कृति रही है। थोड़े दिन पहले डा० राधाकृष्णन् जी ने कहा था—

“Without a spiritual recovery the scientific achievements threaten to destroy us.”

इस के लिये हमें अपनी शिक्षा प्रणाली में आमूल परिवर्तन लाना होगा। मैं रे साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ, वे एक बड़े कुलीन वंश से आये हैं, देशबन्धु चित्तरंजन दास के नाती हैं, वे इस सम्बन्ध में ध्यान दें और देखें कि क्या करना है।

मुसोलिनी और हिटलर के समय में इटली और जर्मनी में वहाँ की नई पीढ़ी ने फासिस्ट-वाद और नास्तिवाद का समर्थन किया था। क्या कारण था? वहाँ की शिक्षा प्रणाली इस प्रकार की बनाई गई थी कि वहाँ के विद्यार्थियों ने फासिस्टवाद और नास्तिवाद का समर्थन किया। तो क्या आप भी ऐसी शिक्षा प्रणाली

नहीं बना सकते, जिस में आप का और सारे संसार का कल्याण हो।

अन्त में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहूँगा— शिक्षा का बहुत सम्बन्ध भाषा से है। 1967 में भारत सरकार ने सभी विश्वविद्यालयों के कुलपतियों का एक सम्मेलन बुलाया था। उस ने सर्व-सम्मति से तय किया कि सब विश्व-विद्यालयों में शिक्षा और परीक्षा का माध्यम देश की भाषा होनी चाहिए। उन्होंने यह भी तय किया कि इस के लिए हमें ग्रन्थों की आवश्यकता पड़ेगी इस लिये भारतीय भाषाओं में ग्रन्थ निर्माण का काम बहुत जरूरी है। भारत सरकार ने भी इस को स्वीकार किया और 1969-70 में एक विभाग चालू किया। 18 करोड़ रुपया इस काम के लिये दिया गया, लेकिन तीन वर्ष व्यतीत हो चुके हैं, हम ने देखा कि इस 18 करोड़ रुपये में से केवल 70-80 लाख रुपया ही खर्च हुआ है और इस 80 लाख रुपये से 100-150 पुस्तकें छपी हैं, इन पुस्तकों में भी 20-25 स्नातक स्तर की पुस्तकें हैं। इस प्रकार काम चला तो हमारा साहित्य निर्माण किस प्रकार हो सकेगा, इस पर विचार करने की आवश्यकता है।

आज कल साहित्य निर्माण का काम जिस सज्जन के पास है, उन की अयोग्यता के सम्बन्ध में तो एक पुस्तक लिखी जा सकती है। शिक्षा मंत्री स्वयं इस चीज को देखें और विचार करें कि इतना महत्वपूर्ण काम किस के जिम्मे किया गया है।

इन वाक्यों के साथ—क्षमा करें मैंने थोड़ा अधिक समय ले लिया है—मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN (Telli-cherry): Sir, when I say that in India education today is facing a crisis, I think the ministers on the other side will also agree with me, because the modern concept of education is that it should be used as an effective and powerful instrument for the transformation of the

society and, as our nation stands committed to socialism as we are often told, education should be used in our country for the transformation on the lines of socialism. When you approach the question in this light, you can see what a mess we have been creating in the field of education during the last 23 years.

After 23 years of independence, 70 per cent of our people are illiterate, remaining in darkness. Regarding the remaining 30 per cent, I was reading an article where it was said that they cannot be really called literate because about 50 per cent of the so-called literates could only sign their names or might have even forgotten that also. This is the state of affairs about the common man. What is the priority and emphasis we are giving to education? Is it to eradicate illiteracy? Is it to give primary education to everybody as promised by the Constitution? Or, is it to have a meaningful higher education in universities in the country? Nobody on the other side, I am sure, will be able to give a clear answer to all these questions. No doubt we have been appointing one after another so many commissions. About a month back, we have produced a second edition of the Kothari Commission Report. It will be a very good document to be preserved in the libraries. The other day, the report of one more commission headed by Dr. Gajendragadkar on the governance of universities has been published. But are we going to implement all these recommendations? For the last 23 years, we have hardly implemented the recommendations made by various commissions headed by such outstanding personalities of our public life and education like Dr. Radhakrishnan and ending with Dr. Kothari and Dr. Gajendragadkar. We are spending lakhs and lakhs of rupees on commissions, which are producing wonderful reports and then they are placed on the library. No action is taken on those reports. This is happening again and again.

Take primary education, for instance. Have you a policy in regard to that? Not at all. You may say that you are spending more and more money on primary education and the increase in expenditure on primary education is phenomenal. But that does not mean that you are providing a good educational system to the country. It only means that we are spending public money without an objective. Now if you admit 100 students in the first class by the time they reach the fifth standard

60 per cent of them drop out. Have you considered the causes? Have you found out a solution for that? At least your predecessors have not done it and I am sure that you also do not have a solution for that.

Coming to secondary education, what is the position today? Unlike most of the advanced countries, we have no aim or limit for our secondary education. At that stage you learn three languages, a little bit of science, history and social science and you write an examination. Afterwards, you are admitted to a university to study the same subjects in a more elaborate manner. But that is not the concept of secondary education in advanced countries where purposeful and meaningful education is imparted. If we have some aim and limit for secondary education, we can avoid many of the problems which we now face in the educational system.

After higher secondary education students rush to colleges. Why? Is it because they are interested in acquiring knowledge or doing research in universities? No; they are interested only in getting a degree because that is a status symbol in India. If you want to give your daughter in marriage in a higher society she must have a degree. A man with a degree will get a little more of dowry in spite of the legal ban on dowry. That is why people are running after degrees.

There should be a definite limit, aim and objective for secondary education. Once a student passes the secondary school examination he should be eligible to compete even for IAS. I know the IAS people would not like that; but we should not go by their likes or dislikes. The standard of secondary education should be raised to that level so that a student who passes that examination will have a higher general knowledge about almost the essential subjects one should study. Secondary education should be so oriented that those who pass that examination would be fit for administrative jobs. It is not that anyone who passes that examination will be offered a job. Many of them would not be getting any jobs. I would be coming to that later.

University education should be limited and confined to those people who want to specialize, do advanced study and research in various

[Shri C. K. Chandrappan]

subjects. At present there are universities in India where even for MA you have a rigorous course in general knowledge. University education should be research-oriented.

What is the purpose of education? Is it to impart the ideal of secularism? I was listening to the speech of the hon. Member from the other side about the purpose of education. I do not agree with most of the ideas expressed by them. If that is the idea with which you are going to advance your educational policies, even God will not be able to save you. This country stands committed to secularism but secularism is not a synthesis of various religions and their learning.

In our country today there are Central universities. If I speak about any university in the States, the hon. Minister will say immediately that it is a State subject and he is not bothered about it. But, I think, he has to be bothered about the Central universities at least.

What is happening in the Banaras Hindu University? Is it not a shameful thing that a fanatic, religious and fascist type of organisation, like the RSS, which has been and is a menace to this country and to our ideals, is allowed to function in whatever way it likes? The Gajendragadkar Commission pointed out that the RSS should not be allowed to function inside the campus with an office inside the university. We thought that at least that recommendation would be implemented. The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Shrimali, a friend of the people belonging to that party, tried to implement this. But that poor man did not understand how the Ministers and the Government would behave. Ultimately he came out with a statement that he was so sorry that he was not having the power to implement what he wanted at least in the case of the RSS. He told the RSS to take away their office from the campus but they said, no. They said, "We have been given it at the time of Madan Mohan Malaviya." They were resisting. When Nathuram Vinayak Godse, a RSS member, shot and killed Mahatmaji, the Banaras Hindu University authorities banned the functioning of the RSS office in the university campus. It was not functioning there for many years. But afterwards the rulers of UP—I do not know whether from the Centre also—

gave them the permission to function there and they are functioning there today. So, you cannot say that you are going to do something so secular about it.

Then, regarding the content of education, it is so outmoded, obsolete and unscientific. I was going through a textbook that you are teaching to students not of a municipal school here but of a well know public school in Delhi. I forget the name but it is near Ajmal Khan Park. Your officers will be able to tell the name of that famous school. In that school they are teaching social science which gives the student an idea of the divine origin theory of the state. So, we are living under secularism, we are professing socialism but you are teaching the divine origin theory of the state to young minds.

Then I find another wonderful thing that your textbooks contain. What is that? It is, God bestowed the power on the policeman; the policeman, directly getting the power from God, is all powerful and he is the custodian of God to look after the law and order situation and everything under the Sun.

AN HON. MEMBER : What is that textbook?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN : It is a social science textbook. This is the content of the book. This is how you are running the whole show.

We tried to raise a discussion about the Pataliputra Medical College, Patna. Some of your friends constitute the board of trustees and run the Pataliputra Medical College where students from 16 foreign countries are learning along with Indian students. They are not learning there just because they got admission there. High rates of capitation fee are charged from them. It is Rs. 16,000 per head, which is quite a big amount. They are taking that amount, have swindled the whole money and have made another mess there. They had to close down the college. The demand was to take over the college and save the future of those students. They are costly students because they spend Rs. 16,000 per head to get admission there. You could not do anything even when foreign students were so much manhandled by those people who are sucking the blood otherwise of



the Indian people. When they got some foreign students, they mercilessly dealt with them and nobody came to rescue them. This is the state of affairs in our educational field to-day. This is not so wonderful.

Then, regarding the objective of education, it is not any more for that purpose of merely acquiring some knowledge. We are acquiring knowledge to have a decent life, to earn to lead a decent life and to earn our own livelihood for tomorrow. Here, we do not have a manpower planning. You might have got somebody to prepare reports about it. That is true. I know that, but, in this country, to day 60,000 Engineers are unemployed and many of your State Governments have already given warnings, 'Don't go for medical education because you will also get unemployed.' Why is this happening? 'In our country no more engineers are required? Are no more doctors required? No, except that you don't have the plan. You have a plan but your plan is so lopsided, your plan is so unscientific and your plan is not meant for the common man and the plan is not meant for creating a new society in which your own promises will be fulfilled. That is how it is like that.

Then, take the case of teachers. Here is a memorandum of teachers in the Universities about their miserable conditions of life. And then you form so many such organizations. May be due to some brain-wave sometimes you create some organisations. There was a National Fitness Corps organization under the leadership of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who thought that the nation should have a better physique also and he tried in his time very well and trained people. 7000 people are being trained and to-day somebody got another brain-wave, 'It should never be with the Centre. It should be given to the States'. What happens? 7000 young men are sent to be under the States, 7000 people were trained and for their training, you have spent a lot of money. They are now almost on the verge of being kicked out of their services. What are you going to do about this?

Only yesterday I raised that matter. I was rather ashamed to hear the hon. Minister defending PL 480 in that manner. No. Even

I should say that while defending them, you were more loyal than the king. The PL 480 funds which are being spent in our education are having a bad influence on our Universities and it is going to have a bigger poisoning effect on the minds of our young people and it is going to kill the Indian talent inside our country. Why is it so? Poison is not considered dangerous because it will only kill the man. But, here it kills the mind of our young people.

PL 480 money is being spent for writing text-books, which you call 'cheap text-books'. You are opening a drainage through which you are sending our money to other countries by way of royalties and all that.

Again, who are writing the text book? We have got talented people and you have organization for national talents and all that and those people are ready to write text-books. But you will not agree to that. You will go to the American text-book writers who give you all the glorified ideas of the American way of life and American values. What are those American values? Creating My Lais in Vietnam. Why should that be taught to our students at the cost of our country?

Sir, we had a collaboration with the Wisconsin University which has sent you a team of professors, for the Minister's information I should say, in 1968. About that team we had a discussion in this House. The team which came for geological survey in the deserts of Rajasthan and to see what are the currents there and to find out the sources, was actually indulging in CIA activities and the same University is now in your collaboration agreement. I would like to know why all these things are being done. This is the mess they have created. The Minister is presiding over the mess created by himself and created by his predecessors. He is presenting a budget which we cannot support. I am very sorry to say that we cannot.

13.31 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair.]

SHRI P. ANTONY REDDY (Anatapur) :  
The revered hon. Member Seth Govind Das clearly brought out to us one of the neglected

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aspects in our system of Education. In the name of secularism we have ignored spiritual values and this, to great extent, has brought in lot of dissatisfaction among our students and children.

Secondly, our friend who just now spoke, was highly critical that we are having collaboration with certain foreign countries. We do have collaboration with countries. This will be a great help, whether they be the Americans or the Russians or from some other nations. To take help from others to improve our system of education or our economic condition is not wrong.

Coming to the subject of Education, I would like to confine myself to school education. It is true that after independence we have improved education quantitatively and if we go by statistical data, the number of schools and the enrolment therein, and the number of students coming out of schools and colleges, the increase has been umpteen number of times. This is no doubt a good sign that we are going on right lines. But still this is not everything. Mere numbers do not improve quality of education. It is high time we should concentrate on the improvement of quality of education.

Both at the State level and at the Central level, the Government have been rather niggardly in allotting funds for the improvement of our educational standards. University education, to a great extent is taken care of by the University Grants Commission. But unfortunately it is at the elementary and secondary school level that the guardian is not available. Why cannot the Minister see whether he could have an organisation similar to the one like UGC, to look after elementary and secondary education?

Next let us study the allocation of the Fourth Plan. The third plan allocation was 6.9 per cent of the full allotment. In the Fourth Plan, schools have increased, and enrolment has increased, but allocation has been reduced to 5.2 per cent only. This is rather disappointing that when numbers are increasing, you are reducing the allocation! Something must be done in this respect because if you want to improve our standards in the Fourth Plan, the

plan allocation must be improved more appreciably.

Compared to various countries of the world our level of education is rather low. Our level of education is 68 per 1,000 whereas in China it is 113 per 1,000. China which has been troubled with revolutions and later on with liquidation of People, could get a better level of education compared to us. If we compare ourselves with other advanced countries like Japan, Russia and United States, we are far below the standards. Therefore, it is high time that we see that our level of education also is improved to a great extent.

One great defect in our system of education is that we are still following after nearly 23 years of Independence, the same system that was introduced into our country by the British. The British introduced a system of education wherein they could train people to staff their offices as clerks or as administrators. After 23 years of Independence, after appointing a number of education commissions, have we changed the system of education that is existing in our country? We have not done anything appreciable in this connection, and the same system is still being followed. That is one of the main reasons why we have so many educated unemployed. They are fit only to be clerks or administrators. When the British were there, they were very careful in giving recognition to new schools because they knew that if the number of schools were increased, they would not be able to absorb all those students in their offices, and consequently educated unemployment would be there. But we have increased the number of schools. A district where we had only 10 high schools has now more than 200 high schools, and a taluk which had probably only 20 or 30 elementary schools before, has now got more than 200 primary schools. So, educational opportunities have improved. The number of people who are educated and who are coming out of the schools and colleges is increasing. Therefore, unemployment among the educated has been increasing day after day.

Dr. A. L. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar committee as also the Dr. Kothari commission

have recommended that at a certain school stage, there should be diversification. But we have not implemented it in such a way that the effect would be felt. We started multipurpose schools. But what is the effect? Those boys who got some training in engineering or in agriculture after coming out of the schools, fell into the same category of educated unemployed, because the training that was given was flimsy and very shallow.

Last year, Mr. Micheal Huberman of the secretariat of the UNESCO was telling us that mere literary education would not improve the economic condition of a country. It is an accepted truth that investment in education is an asset for economic development. But Huberman said that investment on literary education cannot be an economic asset. He preached the theory that we should have functional education, that is, education which is aligned to the life of the people. A pupil who is educated should not be purely a literary product. He should know the life around him, and he should know the environment in which he is living. If he is in a village, he should know something of scientific agriculture or if he is connected with carpentry, he should know something about scientific carpentry, scientific blacksmithery and so on. This aspect of education should be developed in our country. Unless this functional education is introduced in an intensive way and not in a paper-way, our educated unemployment will not be reduced appreciably. Therefore, I request the Education Minister to study this properly and see how far our new syllabi could be changed and how far our system of education or our policy of educational programme could be changed in order to bring into our country this functional education.

This had already been recognised in our country when last year or two years back, the Government of India introduced pilot schemes wherein this functional aspect of education had been recognised, where adult literary schemes were introduced along with scientific agricultural methods. So, it is already recognised. I, therefore, wish that this is studied further and it is introduced at all levels of education in the country.

Coming to adult education, as one hon. Member was telling us, the number of adult illiterates is nearly 70 per cent of our popula-

tion. It is so because the drop-outs are high in elementary schools and even those who pass out of the elementary schools, or at least a good percentage of them, say, about 10 to 15 per cent, among women it may go up to 30 per cent, lapse into illiteracy. Therefore, adult illiteracy has increased. But, unfortunately, in the Fourth Plan, the allotment is hardly Rs. 10 crores for educating nearly 300 million adults. Is it practicable that with Rs. 10 crores spread over five years, we shall be able to make literate the 300 million adults? It is an impossibility. Therefore, that is also another aspect where the Education Minister should think deeply and see how best he can improve the allotment of this ten crores of rupees to some bigger figure and at the same how best with the money available, he could utilise to make the maximum number of literates in the field of adult education.

Now coming to what you call technical education, it is a pity that our technicians and engineers in a developing country like ours where opportunities for employment are innumerable, should remain un-employed. It is a very sorry state of affairs. I must say that there is something wrong with our system of our technical education. Take industrial schools, polytechnic institutions or engineering colleges. The products are taught by those who have little experience in their particular field of work. They may be M. Es. in engineering, but they have no practical experience of constructing a house or a bridge. They have never worked in the field. Do you think that the theoretical knowledge imparted by a man like these will make an engineering student, when he comes out of the college, to stand on his own legs or start his own business? It is impossible. During the British time there was a system that a professor in an Engineering had to go back as an Engineer to work in the field for one or two years to gain practical experience. But in the present system of engineering education, the professors have only theoretical knowledge, they never leave the campus of the college. This defect should be rectified. If we want that the students who out of our engineering colleges, should stand on their own legs and start their own business. This will also reduce unemployment among the engineers to a great extent.

Take the case of Japan. After the war, Japan was a scratch. Take the case of West Germany or East Germany. After the war, they were

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scratches. But what are they now? How have they improved their industries, and how have they become the great industrialist nation of the world? We should learn from them, how we should develop, how we should educate our youngsters hereafter so that our country also comes to their standard, if not today but after some years.

Nextly, Sir, with good intentions the Government of India started the National Council of Educational Research and Training. The intentions were good, but unfortunately, Sir, the hell also is paved with good intentions. So, an institution which was started with good intentions, could not produce good results. Recently, I had visited the NCERT. I had a good talk with one of the Heads of that Institute, especially Science Equipment Section. They are doing some good work, I do not deny, but the amount that is spent is far more than what is necessary. Most of the members of the staff were loitering in the verandahs or corridors. I could only conclude that these people had no work. There is something lacking in NCERT, but what is it, that may be too early for me to say, but one thing that I guess is that a dynamic leadership is not there to guide and encourage these youngsters to do research and other work for the improvement of our educational standards and system.

Actually, the Nag-Choudhury Committee passed one simple remark. It said that the text-books prepared by the NCERT are on hypothetical syllabus. That means, they do not have any plan, a course of syllabi from class one to seven is not drafted, and still without that scheme of syllabi they have written text books. Will that be a real text-book? It only shows that there is something wrong in their system. A dynamic leadership is necessary, if useful work should come out of NCERT.

We are also hearing for the last one month lot of criticism in various papers about NCERT. It is high time that the Minister institutes a Committee preferably a CBI, to enquire into some of the allegations so that they are rectified and NCERT is made most useful for the development of our elementary and secondary education.

Again, recently we heard a scandalous

report about the audio-visual section of NCERT. It all shows that there is something radically wrong over there. This also must be inquired into.

Lastly, there are a number of regional colleges. One defect I noticed in NCERT is that the staff working there have practically no teaching experience. If they lack such experience, can we expect them to guide the teachers? Impossible. I cannot tell a doctor what medicine he should prescribe to me, for my disease. This is exactly what is happening in NCERT. Therefore, the staff working in the NCERT should be sent to the field, to the regional colleges, training colleges or training schools to teach so that they may be in touch with the teaching done there and the problems faced. Then only can they be in a position to do research in teaching etc. .

I conclude by quoting H G Wells who said that the history of mankind is a race between education and catastrophe. If we want that our country should not end in catastrophe, it is high time we changed our system of education, raised our standards and saw to it that our standard in schools is improved to such an extent that in due course we could take our rightful place among the greatest nations of the world.

\*SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI (Vellore):  
Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to participate in the discussion on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare and the Department of Culture.

Sir, at the outset, I would like to pay my humble tribute to the Ministry for formulating many worth while schemes and for implementing them with a view to relieving the distress and sufferings of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The Central Governments have created the authority of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who functions with the sole intention of protecting the rights and safeguarding the interests of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. There is also the Committee of Parliament to go into the grievances of these people. Besides these, a Conference of the Ministers of Social Welfare

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\*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

of all the States and the Centre is convened every year to frame welfare schemes for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Though I have no hesitation in complimenting the efforts taken, I would like to ask how far the recommendations and the suggestions made by the Commissioner, by the Parliamentary Committee and also by the Annual Conference of the Ministers have been translated into action.

Among the several decisions taken in the Conference of the Ministers of Social Welfare held on May 20-21 this year, one related to the Post-Matric Scholarship Scheme. It was unanimously urged that there should be no delay in the awarding of Post-Matric scholarships and it should be ensured by the Government that the scholarships are awarded in time. I welcome whole-heartedly this recommendation. But there is a longstanding and genuine grievance that the amount of scholarship is inadequate and insufficient. I regret to say that no effort has been made to enhance the amount of scholarship. The amount given today is the same as that prescribed twenty years ago. Within two decades of our independence, two Pay Commissions were appointed and the third Pay Commission is confabulating about the salary structure of the Government employees. Many times during this period the Dearness Allowance has been sanctioned to the Government employees to meet the ever increasing rise in prices. Recently, even the salary of the Deputy Speaker and the Deputy Chairman of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha respectively was raised. I don't question the need for raising the salary of Government staff. At the same time it should be realised that the boarding and lodging expenses, besides the educational expenses have gone up considerably. It should at least be ensured that the scholarship amount meets the minimum educational requirement of a student. I would appeal to the hon. Minister that he should look into this important question and see that the scholarship amount is also increased proportionately so that the student is not driven to the wall. To illustrate my point, a meagre sum of Rs. 27 is given for post-matric training, Rs. 40 for a student pursuing degree courses, Rs. 50 for a post graduate student and Rs. 75 for a student taking up a professional or a technical course of study. You will appreciate, Sir, that a minimum sum of Rs. 120 is essential for meeting the boarding and lodging expenses alone. I would request that the Government

should pay immediate attention to this problem of need for increasing the scholarship amount.

At present there are three Pre-training Centres Allahabad, Madras and Chandigarh. I am sure that the Government will appreciate the need for having more such Centres in a vast country like ours. I would suggest setting up of Pre-Training Centres in Delhi, the capital of our country and in Bombay and Calcutta the cosmopolitan cities of our nation.

I am sorry to state that the share of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the matter of awarding foreign scholarships for higher studies abroad is dismally low. I would substantiate my point by quoting statistics for the past three years. Out of 326 foreign scholarships awarded in 1964-69, the number of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students is only 8; in 1969-70, out of 323 their number is 11 and in 1970-71 out of 300 their share is just 5. I would like to ask: is there paucity of talent among these students to such an extent that only 5 could be located out of 300 students sent abroad? I feel that there is something basically wrong in the system of awarding foreign scholarships. This should be looked into by the Minister.

Now, I will refer to reservation in the Services. The Annual Conference of the Ministers of Social Welfare felt that this policy of reservation is not being implemented in right earnest in different wings of Administration. On the 3rd June issue of PATRIOT a news item appeared giving the details of the number of employees belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the National Council of Educational Research and Training which is located in Delhi and working under the direct supervision of the Ministry. There are only 4 Officers belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes out of 722 Class I and II Officers, which works out to 0.5%. The hon. Minister may condescend to counter this argument by stating that the percentage of scheduled caste and scheduled tribe employees in Class IV cadre, i.e. sweepers and scavengers, is high. Is it not a classic example of showing caste distinction in the Services? In the Public Sector Undertakings, in Class I their share is 0.5%, in Class II 0.77%, in Class III 5.20% and in Class IV 21.35%.

Leaving this question for a while, the

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Annual Conference of the Ministers recommended that reservation should be introduced in promotions at all levels of the Services. Against the policy of reservation in promotions, one Mr. Rangachari of the South Indian Railway went to the High Court of Madras in 1960, which upheld his contention. As a result, many persons were also reverted. However, when the issue came up before the Supreme Court in appeal, Civil Appeal No. 341 of 1961, the Full Bench of the Supreme Court, reversing the judgment of the Madras High Court, stated that "Reservation of selection posts in the Railway Service in favour of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is within the scope of Article 16 (4) of the Constitution". When there is constitutional provision and when the Supreme Court has confirmed it, why the policy of reservation in promotions is not given effect to in actual practice? Along with this, I would request the hon. Minister to look into the question of reservation in promotion to Delhi Development Authority for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Here also there is grave negligence on the part of the Government. As recommended by the Seminar on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes convened by the Planning Commission, I would strongly urge the need for constituting a separate executive authority for ensuring strict implementation of reservation both in appointments and in promotions in the Services. This suggestion has been also endorsed by the Parliamentary Committee for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I would like the hon. Minister to initiate action in this matter.

Here, I would like to give the statistics about the representation of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the composition of Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha and the Central Council of Ministers. There are 77 scheduled caste members and 37 scheduled tribe members in the Lok Sabha, making a total of 114. In Rajya Sabha there is no adequate representation, for which propose, it necessary, the Constitution may be suitably amended. Among the 14 Cabinet Ministers at the Centres there is only one Minister of Cabinet rank belonging to the scheduled caste. There is none in the 22 Ministers of State and out of 17 Deputy Ministers, four Deputy Ministers belong to the scheduled caste. If you compare this position with that obtaining in Tamil Nadu, out of 14

Cabinet Ministers two belong to the scheduled caste. This Government at the Centre ceaselessly sermonises the necessity for establishing an egalitarian society in our country, and they brag about that they are the ordained custodians of the welfare of weaker sections of the society. If this is the attitude shown in the matter of giving representation to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes both in the Services and in the public life, I would like to warn that this section of our society will flare up in fury.

The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, who is entrusted with the sacred duty of safeguarding the interests of these people, submits his Report to Parliament every year. But no report has been presented for the years 1969-70 and 1970-71. This unpardonable lapse is due to the fact that the post of the Commissioner is vacant for the past one year. This is a constitutional appointment and I am unable to understand the reasons for keeping this post vacant.

Under Article 338 of our Constitution, the first Commissioner was appointed on November 18, 1950. He had Assistant Commissioners in all the State Capitals to help him in evaluating the needs of these people in distress. Now, this set-up has been radically changed. The posts of Assistant Commissioners have been abolished and the country has been divided into five zones, which are being officered by Directors. They are not under the Commissioner, but they report directly to the Director-General of Backward Classes. The Commissioner has become helpless and he is unable to discharge his functions with the same degree of alacrity as he was when the Assistant Commissioners were there. I would suggest that the posts of Assistant Commissioners in the State capitals should be revived so that the Commissioner does justice to his onerous duties.

I would also point out that the tenure of three years for the Commissioner is too short to deliver goods. It is imperative necessity that his tenure is extended to five years so that he is in a position to cover the whole gamut of the problems.

In the Warrant of Precedence, the Commissioner occupies 28th rank, which is equivalent

to the Secretary to the Government. Unless his rank is made equivalent to that of the Chairman, U. P. S. C., and the Chief Election Commissioner, i. e. 25th rank in the Warrant of Precedence, he will not be able to exercise his independent judgment in the discharge of his duties.

I would now after to the problems of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes who have converted to themselves to Buddhism. They have become the uncared for orphans in our country. Buddhism is not an alien religion. The savant of Hindu religion assert that it is only a rebel child of Hinduism. The laws relating to Hindus apply with equal force to Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains. The Asoka Pillar raised in memory of Asoka, the greatest exponent of Buddhism, is our national symbol today. The Asoka Chakra adorns the centre of National Flag. With all this evidence at our command, I am not able to appreciate the discrimination shown to the Buddhist converts. They are denied the educational and other concessions offered to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The Prime Minister, while inaugurating the First All India Buddhists Conference, in Bombay on 23 October, 1968 assured that the same concessions enjoyed by the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes will be extended to the Buddhist converts also. On 28th April, 1969, the then Minister of Social Welfare, the late Shri P. G. Menon, on the floor of this House repeated this assurance. Again on 12.8.1969 he stated here in this House that the Government had taken a decision to that effect. I regret to state that all the assurances have so far been confined to the file-racks of the Ministry. I would request the hon. Minister to look into this question and implemented the decisions of the Government solemnly announced in this House. The Buddhist converts should be given educational concessions and greater employment opportunities.

#### 14 hours

The implementation aspect of the Untouchability Offences Act was discussed in detail in the recent Annual Conference of the Ministers of Social Welfare. It was decided that the period of punishment and the quantum of penalty must be enhanced as a deterrent to the practice of untouchability. Those who commit such offences are liable to imprisonment for a minimum period of six months or

in the alternative pay a fine of Rs. 500. I do not know how effectively this Act has been implemented so far. You might now envisage stricter punishment. But, how are you going to punish those who swear by the authority of Hinduism for the perpetuation of caste system? On 1.4.1969 in the World Hindu Convention held at Patna, the Sankaracharya of Puri perorated that Hinduism permits perpetuation of caste system and some are born untouchables. A case was filed against him in a Court of Law, but it was dismissed. The Magistrate who dealt with the case observed that "the preaching of untouchability was an offence under the law but anyone who practised it in his own life could not be punished under the law". If the guardians of law express such grave doubts, how are the Government going to punish those who practise untouchability in their day to day life? No doubt the caste system has been abolished constitutionally. But the virus of casteism has spread its tentacles throughout the length and breadth of the country. It will not be possible to control this by enhancing the punishment. The scope of the Act should be suitably widened. I would request the hon. Minister to give serious thought to this question. I am reminded of the song sung by the revolutionary poet of Tamil Nadu, Bharathi Dasan, which means : The world is still enveloped in darkness for there are some who proclaim and profess their faith in the existence of castes. If the Government want to abolish caste system really, then, as suggested by the Ilayaperumal Committee in its report, a Board should be constituted at the Taluk level throughout our country. In Tamil Nadu the Government are setting up District Boards for this purpose. The Government of Tamil Nadu are awarding Gold Medals for inter-caste marriage. I would request the hon. Minister that he should bestow his personal attention in the matter of achieving the laudable objective of establishing a casteless society in our country.

I came across a news story in the Indian Express of June 23 that 50 scheduled caste people from Bulandshahr have come to Delhi to meet our Prime Minister and to seek redress from her in person. As they could not any longer bear the atrocities of the local people, they had come to Delhi all the way. In spite of the fact that they are staging a *dharna* in front of the Prime Minister's residence for the past ten days, they have not been able to meet the

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Prime Minister. I would request that they must be heard by the Prime Minister so that they can have at least the solace of meeting her.

In the end, I would say that in the III Five Year Plan a paltry sum of Rs. 40.14 crores was allocated for the welfare of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. I was astonished to find that a sum of Rs. 3 crores had been surrendered. What does it show? Is it due to negligence on the part of the authorities or it is due to lack of imagination? I would stress that more money should be allocated for the welfare of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and also whatever money is allocated must be fully spent in the welfare activities for the benefit of these people, who have been in distress for centuries.

With these words, I conclude.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: At the beginning, I was happy that there were only 5 names from the Congress party. I thought I would allow each member enough time. But later on, a supplementary list has come with 48 names. I would give 10 minutes to each member from the Congress side.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central): Sir, we have accepted under article 45 of the Constitution that education must be free and universal. It comes under directive principles, but as the founding fathers said, they are not just pious platitudes. They are instruments of instruction given to the party in power to be implemented as rigorously and vigorously as possible. The provision was to be implemented within 10 years of the Constitution coming into force. But 20 years have passed. Have we been able to achieve the objective? In the age group 6 to 11, only 80 out of 100 children are enrolled. In the group 11 to 14, only 35 out of 100 are enrolled. In the group 6 to 14, we have 12 crores of children and a number of them are not going to school. Moreover, the quality of primary education is very poor. It has to be substantially improved. I know there are difficulties, but they are bound to be there in a vast, developing country like ours. How long are we going to sit quiet and say, we have a number of difficulties like finance, availability of classrooms and teachers? No sacrifice

will be too much for the achievement of this objective of giving free and universal education to the children from 6 to 14.

Primary Education ought to be free, but in a number of States it is not so. I am not going to tire the House with names of those States. We have accepted the goal of a socialist society. We have also committed ourselves that social justice will be the principle which will govern our destinies. But in the absence of universal and free primary education, can we expect to establish a socialist society? This may sound hollow but let me quote some figures. Out of 100 children in India 20 never go to the schools. Out of the 80 that go to the school only 25 complete primary education and the remaining 55 drop out at one stage or other after receiving education for only one or two years. What we have been able to achieve, therefore, is to provide education to 25 per cent of the children of this country. The remaining 75 per cent either do not go to the school at all or go only for one or two years. So, this cannot be called a system of mass education or people's education. It is pure and simple a system of education for the middle and upper classes. May I call it a system of education of the classes or should I call it an educational system for the castes? Perhaps that will be too uncharitable. Therefore, I will not use the word "caste."

It we have to create a socialist society, then we must give highest priority to the programme of providing universal education. Education should not be the luxury of the few. It should be available to all. Then only can we talk of social justice and establishment of a socialist society.

I need not mention that our society is a caste-ridden divided society. We have no social cohesion and no unification of the society into one unified whole. In order to achieve this objective of social cohesion and unification I make three suggestions. Firstly, we must provide free universal education to all children in the age group to 6 to 14 irrespective of caste, creed or religion. Secondly, we give these children a common uniform to be worn. Thirdly, we must make provision for one meal a day which must be shared by all the students. If we implement these we will create



an entirely new society. We must pursue and implement this programme at any cost within the next ten years.

In view of the financial difficulty these suggestions may appear fantastic. But if we could face a gigantic refugee problem, why could we not face a similar problem in the educational field? Why could we not make provision for the items I have suggested?

Coming to the education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, I need not mention that these under privileged classes, the oppressed classes were denied education for centuries together. In order to raise their economic status we must bring education to their doors. This programme must be given very high priority and vigorously pursued. Here I am not dealing with primary education for them because that will be covered by universal primary education. But I certainly emphasize the point that secondary and higher education should be given to students belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at all costs.

This will give them social mobility and will also improve their social and economic status. It will raise them in the social scale. It will create a new leadership in their midst which will improve their entire life and will also materially assist the development of our nation. It is the secondary and higher education for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes that has to be emphasized. I know, the Government is doing its best but enough, according to my view, has not been done and the money must be found at all costs.

What is the position? I find that secondary education of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is only about half that of the others. At the university stage their education is about one-third or one-fourth of the others. We must, therefore, make more vigorous efforts to expand secondary and higher education among these classes.

Again, we have to improve the quality of education. Special efforts shall have to be done to improve the quality of education imparted to these classes. They must be given admission in good and prestigious institutions. This can be done if Government also provides personal attention and individual tuition to

these students—tuition and not intuition because Government must have the intuition to peep into this. We know that they do not get any support or help from their homes and, therefore, these underprivileged children will never be able to compete with children of other advanced classes. I therefore, appeal to Government to examine the entire programme in all its aspects and implement the suggestions that I have made.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE: Coming to the last point, which is a point of necessity, I refer to facilities to new converts to Buddhism. I do not know why Government is not trying to understand two very simple propositions. One is that the new converts to Buddhism are persons who belong to the Scheduled Castes. After their conversion their status and position, either economic or social, is not changed at all. They are remaining at the same place in the villages. They continue the same type of drudgery of life, even after their conversion. Therefore, because they belong to the same castes status, or to the same social and economic level, they should be given the facilities which are available to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

I need not mention that along with social and economic status that ought to be taken into consideration, there is a constitutional provision which has to be taken into consideration, since we are dealing with social welfare of these classes. I think, I have got to enlighten the Government on this point that under clause (2) of article 25 of the Constitution it is said in sub-clause (b) :—

“providing for social welfare and reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.”

Nothing will prevent the Government from making such a law.

Now, who are the Hindus? Explanation II says:

“In sub-clause (b) of clause (2), the reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jaina or Buddhist religion”.

[Shri R. D. Bhandare]

Therefore, social status, economic status, backwardness and the constitutional position ought to be taken into consideration in order to come to the conclusion that the facilities must be given to the Buddhists.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member should conclude now.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : Since you are ringing the bell and I am taxing your patience, I need not proceed ahead ; otherwise, I would have certainly raised certain problems for the consideration of the Education Ministry. There are only five problems. With your permission should I raise them ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You can just say one, two, three, four, five without elaboration.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE : The first problem that ought to be taken into consideration is : why the extent of coverage of the Scheduled Castes is still low ?

- (2) Why is it that the rates of wastage and stagnation at the school stage are higher among the Scheduled Castes than in the community as a whole and what measures will be taken to reduce them ?
- (3) What are the difficulties experienced by the Scheduled Castes students in getting admission into good Secondary Schools and good colleges and in the Universities in the country ?
- (4) Do the Scheduled Castes students admitted to Secondary Schools, Colleges and Universities get personal attention and personal guidance necessary for them ?
- (5) How is the programme of scholarships to the Scheduled Castes students at the University stage operating in practice ?
- (6) How are the hostels for the Scheduled Caste students at the Secondary and University stages being maintained at present ?
- (7) What are the problems faced by the Scheduled Castes teachers of various

categories in urban and rural areas in social life, in educational institutions, in recruitment and in the services ?

Sir, a deep scientific research is required to be carried on in order to find out the answer to these problems. I hope the Education Ministry will do it.

With these words, I must thank you, Sir.

SHRI S. N. SINHA (Aurangabad) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Demands under this head. But, I must express my disappointment at the way this subject is being treated.

We have heard practically every hon. Member speaking from the ruling Party mentioning about the massive mandate repeatedly and *ad-nauseum*, with gratification and satisfaction. We do not grudge them the pleasure they derive from the massive support they got. But they forgot as to what is the basis and what are the reasons why the people gave them such a majority. It was on the basis of their promise to banish poverty. The '*Garibi Hatao*' slogan acted as a magic wand.

In this context, I think it entails a heavy responsibility upon the Government to take all possible measures to implement their election pledges and to bring about social transformation and to establish an egalitarian society based on social justice and equality. Sir, in this context, education has come to acquire a new dimension, an enlarged one, because it has to play a very effective role in this regard. But what do we find ? The investment or the allocation for education has been cut down and it is an all time low. Even the former Education Minister, Dr Rao, lamented the cuts in the education allocation. In order to underline my point that even for the fulfilment of your election pledges, you have to make heavy investment on education, I would like to quote from a distinguished economist, Prof Galbraith, who said :

"Poverty is self-perpetuating because the poorest countries are poorest in the services which would eliminate it. To eliminate poverty efficiently, we must indeed invest more than proportionately on the children of the poor community. It is therefore that

high quality schools, strong health services, special provision on nutrition and recreation are most needed to compensate for the very low investment which the families of the poor are able to make in their own off spring."

As I was referring to election pledges, Mr. Bhandare said that he need not be reminded of them, but he forgets that he has got to be reminded of them. Otherwise, the former Education Minister would not have spoken for the heavy cut in the Education Budget.

**SHRI R. D. BHANDARE :** Do you know it was done when Morarji Desai was the Finance Minister ? He had done the cut.

**SHRI S. N. SINHA :** But the Prime Minister was Mrs. Gandhi.

**SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) :** He was your Finance Minister.

**SHRI S. N. SINHA :** If that is so, it is up to them now to rearrange those priorities and allot more funds for Education.

**SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Patan) :** It was Morarjibhai who allotted more for the post-metric scholarships. Now it is only 90 lakhs of rupees for Scheduled castes.

**SHRI S. N. SINHA :** It has not been given as high priority as it should have been given. The reason is this. Education has not remained under the stewardship of one single Minister for some considerable period of time, so that the Education Minister may evolve a national policy on Education, according to his own light. Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray is very much interested in his job and with his equation with the Prime Minister, we thought that education will get the priority that it needs badly, but unfortunately, he has been snatched away from the Education Department and we do not know who is going to be our next Education Minister. If Education is to play an effective role for the transformation of society, if Education is to be given the high priority that it deserves, then, it must be entrusted to a person of stature and dynamism.

I do not want to go into figures, but I would only confine myself by saying that it is a great disappointment to all of us that the

expectations for free and compulsory education could not be fulfilled, before the 21st century. As Dr. Rao said, a committee was appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education under the Chairmanship of the then Union Education Minister, Dr. Rao but what has the Committee done ? I am unable to understand this. It has become usual practice with them to appoint committees and get their reports and then sit over them.

Our investment in Education is the lowest compared to other countries, whereas our country, from the point of view of number of children, is the third largest country in the world, after USSR and USA. Therefore, is it not necessary that we should revise our priorities ? Dr. Rao thought of starting a "grand national conscience awakening campaign" for collecting funds and involving the people in this regard. But Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao has gone, and Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray is also going. I do not know whether his successor is going to take up that matter with the same zeal and dynamism as he was going to do. This is the position with regard to primary education and the same is true even with regard to secondary education which continues to be the weakest link in the educational system. Despite our noble decisions to make secondary education job-oriented and multi-purpose schools, a terminal point, we have not succeeded in this regard. The percentage of secondary school pupils taking to vocational courses in our country is only 12, while in West Germany it is 70, in Japan it is 60. This way also, we are lagging far behind, and we do require to give more attention to secondary schools and make them a terminal point because I am not in favour of succumbing to the demand for more colleges and more universities.

We hear about the explosion of knowledge and the explosion of numbers, and on the basis of this it has been argued that more universities and colleges should be opened. But what is the position of the universities today ? Most of these universities are not properly staffed. They lack in proper talents. The result is that the general standard is falling down. Sir, you have been a teacher yourself and you know what the position today is in regard to higher education. Is it necessary that we should follow a policy of expansion ? Should we not pause and try to consolidate

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what we have already achieved and then go ahead after that ?

As far as I know, while there is explosion of knowledge and we require the research efforts to be intensified, there is a big ferment in the college and university campuses. There has been a decline in the standards. The teachers with requisite qualifications are not available. The Education Commission under the Chairmanship of Dr. Kothari had said 'The nation is being shaped in the classrooms'. But what kind of nation ? You know the state of affairs with regard to examinations. They are a big farce. Our students are copying and they adopt all kinds of methods. If they are thwarted in their efforts, they take to violence. You know what happened in my State of Bihar. The Bhagalpur university was burnt down by pre-university students, and one principal was killed by the infuriated students ...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I think these are more or less known to the country. The hon. Member may now make his suggestions and conclude.

SHRI S. N. SINHA : I would now give my suggestions.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Member has already exceeded his time.

SHRI S. N. SINHA : I would now make a few suggestions to remove the malaise afflicting our universities. I do not find any awareness about it anywhere in the reports, and what efforts we are going to take in this regard. Are we going to allow these universities to be held to ransom by the student ? Are we going to allow these students to take their degrees in this manner and then become citizens of tomorrow ? If that is going to be allowed, then what kind of nation are we going to have ? If those who have no respect for any values will tomorrow man the whole country in different Posts, do you expect that the nation will be fit to do anything ? Therefore, it is necessary that the Education Ministry must accord high priority to educational reform. These two commissions have made many recommendations but no action has been taken on them.

Therefore, I want to suggest that the Educa-

tion Ministry ought to have a man of dynamism, ought to have a man of stature and ought to have a man of real sense of social purpose .

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND MINISTER OF DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE (SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY) : Is he applying for the job ?

SHRI S. N. SINHA : No. Sir, I am not. I have had enough of it. Therefore, I am saying that this matter should be looked at from that point of view, and whatever is being done at the State level should also be taken into consideration.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am sure Government will consider his suggestion. Now, he should conclude.

SHRI S. N. SINHA : They have not considered. I think the SSP block has written to you suggesting that two or three minutes of their time may be given to me.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have given him 15 minutes whereas he was entitled to only 10 minutes, despite the fact that the SSP does not have any time allotted to it because their number is so small. So, let the hon. Member kindly cooperate. He is a senior Member.

SHRI S. N. SINHA : I am not a senior Member here.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Let him kindly cooperate. He is a senior person, and let him kindly co-operate.

SHRI S. N. SINHA : I just wanted to make one or two suggestions.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Let him conclude now.

SHRI S. N. SINHA : Then, Sir, we take the case of University Education. In this regard, the University Grants Commission has been saddled with lot of responsibility. Even the latest report submitted by Gajendragadkar Committee said that wherever the State Governments are going to enact any legislation with regard to higher education, they must consult

the U.G.C. The U. G. C. should have more whole time Members. There should be a research section there and the Commission should have continuous contact with the State Governments and State organs connected with higher education.

Sir, with regard to the University autonomy, may, I say that firstly the Committees have said that the State Governments should be brought into picture and wherever State Governments have abdicated their functions to some other statutory bodies, the UGC should have come in. This has not been done with regard to that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now you do not want me to resort to the unpleasant measure of ordering that no more will go on record.

SHRI S. N. SINHA : I have nothing more to say, Sir. I will only submit to the Education Minister that education requires high priority. Dr. Rao has gone away with this lament that education has never been given national priority. Education allocations were cut down because of the pressures of the Chief Ministers. I hope that new Education Minister will exercise his influence over them and will not shield itself by the alibi that this is a State subject and we cannot do anything. I hope that it will be possible for the Centre to bring them round and they should not take shelter behind this point that education is a State subject. They should do everything possible to enforce their education policy.

PROF. NARAIN CHAND PARASHAR (Hamirpur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Talking about education reminds me of Mark Twain, who said that everybody talks about the weather and yet nobody does anything about it. That is the trouble. We go on talking but the need of the hour is action. We appoint committees and yet we do not implement their reports. So the foremost thing to be done about education is implementation of the reports which have already been submitted, at least the essential recommendations contained in these reports. It is quite fashionable to criticise the Central Ministry of Education. Yet, it is very interesting to note that the persons who clamour for national priorities are the persons who resist the temptation on their part to yield to some kind of central planning in education.

We have been demanding right since the beginning, I mean the teachers, that higher education be made a Concurrent subject and yet all the Education Ministers of the States except Mr. Parbodh Chandra of Punjab have been against it. There was only one State of Punjab that agreed to make it a Concurrent subject. I hope, Mr. Sinha was also one of them, who was just speaking, desiring to have a national priority and then keeping higher education a State subject. These are the contradictions in terms ; we cannot have a national priority unless we authorise the Education Ministry to make it or give it. Similarly, the States must surrender some part of their powerful influence that they exercise over the vast empires of the educational institutions in order that national guidance can be given to education.

Whereas, the world is conscious of the educational crisis and they are holding conferences again and again, we are in the habits of talking in terms of national priorities and wishing to do this and doing that and yet not implementing them.

The Annual Report gives us very interesting figures about expansion. We learn from the report that there are now 83 universities in the country and in addition, there are 9 institutes deemed to be universities. In 1947, there were only 20 universities. But may I remind the House that in spite of this expansion, the quality has gone down ? Whereas, we were able to have a Tagore and a Raman of international fame in pre-partition days, we are not having them now.

The greatest casualty of education is the fact that we attach greater importance to degrees and diplomas than to real talent. Mama Warerkar, noted Marathi writer, lamented the fact that for getting appointments in the university, all you need is a Ph. D. What is a Ph. D ? He has written a research thesis on the works of a writer. A writer may have written 10 books, but the person who has written something about those 10 books may be appointed a lecturer ; the person who has written those books will die of starvation ; he will not be appointed to such a job. Even if Shakespeare were alive today, he would find himself miserably upset in this educational mess that has been created. We do not recognise creative talent. This is one drawback

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which has plagued educational systems the world over, but whereas other countries have been correcting their systems, here in this country we are doing nothing about it and things continue as they are. We give advance increments to Ph. Ds. and those who have come from foreign countries. We even denigrate our own Ph. Ds. At the same time, we do not give any importance to the rich experience of the teacher. In our view, a living teacher is less important than a letter or certificate which a Ph. D. holds. This is just reversing the order of things.

Confucius, the great saint of China, who was also a great educationist in the classical times, referring to education, said: 'I refuse to teach a student who does not find the three corners of a square when I have taught him about one'. Moreover, his view, experience was more important in education. This is an important aspect that has got to be taken care of. But anyhow, the old things continue as they are. I wish at least now something could be done to look into this problem.

Do we value creative scholarship? How many universities in the country out of the 83 have produced men who have written plays or novels or other forms creative literature taking their place along with the writings of Tagore, Mama Warkar or any other writer of note, even in Indian languages, for the matter of that. All these things continue to be ignored and all our professors, research scholars and lecturers only concentrate on getting Ph. Ds. They are like the dry bones with no breath of life in them. If we do not analyse this malady which is afflicting the fabric of our educational system, and take corrective steps, I think higher education would be a failure.

I am conscious of the fact that central planning is lacking in our country so far as education is concerned. When I spoke in this House on education—it was perhaps on the UCC report for 1968-69—I referred to the fact that even our universities are not bound by a central system of guidance. Leave aside the country as whole. Take the State of Punjab. It has 11 districts with three or four universities. We read in the press of a dispute between two universities in that State. Two thousand students see a dark future before them as a

result of this, because one university says that the other university is functioning without jurisdiction. The eligibility is being questioned. What crime have the students committed? What is their fault that they should be the victims of this controversy? Can you imagine the anguish of a student who has to wander from pillar to post between Amritsar, Chandigarh and Patiala? All this is because there is no central guidance in regard to higher education. If something had been done earlier, matters could have been corrected. But now I find from press reports that the students are there, but there is no eligibility for students of Punjab University in Guru Nanak University, and no eligibility for students of Guru Nanak University in Punjab University. What kind of educational planning is this? Cannot our educational planners at the Centre or the UGC have a uniform policy for the country? This is only a question of a State, but because politics enters everything, therefore, the students have to be the victims. This is a tragic waste of our educational resources and we are unable to take this much of initiative to rectify this state of affairs. The Ministry of Education should have thought as to what would happen to the students of these two universities when admissions started. A mess has been created. If you go to the Punjab, you would face a big demonstration of students. They wander from one University to the other and there is no hope for them. Please intervene in the matter and see that something is done before the academic year of the students is wasted. There is a tragic kind of hint in this.

According to the Plan reports, 5.2 per cent of the total outlay in the public sector is to be spent on education in fourth plan. In the Third Plan it was 6.9 per cent. So, while education has expended, the number of universities has increased from 22 to 83 and there are a large number of colleges, the percentage of expenditure on education has become lower. This is some thing which requires immediate attention. Unless we do something about it, we cannot do justice to education. I do not think any committee is needed for this. There is no committee that will take less than one year to submit its report, and by the time the report is submitted, the findings will have hardly any relevance to the changing scene of education.

The educational system is having its own inertia. It takes time to change itself, and yet something should be done, because when we talk of educational reforms, we do not know what we are going to do. There is no sense of priorities. In my own State of Himachal Pradesh, there are high schools and higher secondary schools. We started basic education with the flourish of a trumpet, but it failed. Then we switched over to the higher secondary system as in Delhi. When you are converting high schools into higher secondary schools in Delhi, in Himachal Pradesh and Punjab they are converting higher secondary schools into high schools, so that a boy who has passed matriculation there fails to get admission in Delhi. There should be a uniform educational system throughout the country. Either switch back to the high school or continue the higher secondary system, but there should be one system and not two systems, or a different one in each State. Even in the same State both the systems are operating and nobody knows whether the higher secondary schools downgraded into high schools or the high schools would be upgraded to higher secondary schools. There is another report that the pre-university classes will be spread over two years. This kind of lack of clear guidance is running our system as a whole. We are experimenting with ideas which is leading us nowhere.

There is the three language formula which a cynic has referred to as the free language formula because it can be interpreted in any way one likes. But I would like to plead for some kind of importance being given to Sanskrit and Pali which are our classical languages. Unless we do this, we are not going to have the development of Indian languages in a proper way, because they are in a position to inherit a vast vocabulary, a large number of idioms, from Sanskrit and the classical works that have been written by Sanskrit writers and scholars. Over a period of time we have to see that this rich heritage is not wasted. If you encourage them, Sanskrit and other ancient languages of India can become living languages. Kindly give some priority to this.

We had a meeting with Dr. Kothari yesterday. He was referring to the importance of some foreign languages. I am not surprised at the fact that in the United States the greatest importance is attached to the teaching of

Chinese. After China, the greatest centres of learning of Chinese are to be found in the United States, but what have we done about the Chinese language? There is a department only in Delhi University, and there may be one in Shantiniketan. The total number of students in both would not be more than 100. We have to confront a country that is larger in size and population, and unless we understand that country, we cannot do justice to the job. We have to do something about it. Dr. Kothari was suggesting that there should be a national school in each one of the States where the foreign languages are taught. Let one such school or institute be opened in each State Capital, so that the citizens of the State do not have to rush to Delhi for studying any foreign language, whether it is French or Chinese or Japanese. If we want to do something about it, we have to see that there is some kind of a central model school or national school in each State which can give clearcut guidance to our educational policy, and see that the Indian languages as well as the foreign languages are given importance. If you see the report of the Delhi University, you will find that there are five or six students in the Tamil or Telugu certificate course. When I was studying in one such course, Tamil, we tried to impress upon the Vice Chancellor the need to institute the diploma course. But he replied that there were not sufficient number of students and so it could not be instituted. I think this a vicious circle. Because there are no diploma courses, students will not come in for certificate course and because there are no students, the diploma course will not come.

If we are not going to encourage the study of South Indian languages in the North and the study of North Indian languages in the South, who is going to do that? Similarly, about our foreign languages. We start them in the university; it becomes fashionable to imbibe knowledge and then after that, it is discontinued. We must do some practical planning. As I said this facility should be available not only in Delhi but in other parts of the country, especially State capitals.

I should have continued for some more time but for lack of time I shall refer now only to one important point that plagues us all the time. Our educational system is suffering from inertia to which I referred earlier. We must carry out a thorough appraisal of our policy

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and there should be an integrated approach. Previously anybody could start a school. Now a school means a good manager, good planning and good teaching. Integrated approach needs integrated planning and a thorough reappraisal of education system because upon that hinges the future of our country. Investment on man and education is better than investment on dams and other things. If we invest on man, our country's future will be bright.

SHRIMATI M. GODFREY (Nominated-Anglo-Indians): While speaking on the demands for grants of the Education Ministry, I want to bring to your notice certain points which need consideration. They may be simple points; yet if we attend to these points our education system will benefit and our children will definitely be better for it.

I find that the standard of education in Government schools is very low. That is why many children go to the private schools, whether the standard of education is high. This could be attributed to the teaching staff. I do not blame the teaching staff at all. Government pays them so little so that after the school they are forced to take up tuition which leaves them hardly any time for the next day's work. If we pay them handsome salaries, I think the teachers should do a much better job towards our students. They just come there and take them for the day, neglecting all the other needs of the children. Naturally the child is tired and there is no interest in the class room. The classroom itself is not conducive for the child sitting there for so many long hours. The other surrounding environment naturally plays upon the mind of the child which is so much attracted towards whatever he sees around him. If the standard of education has to be raised, we would raise the salaries of our teachers; then we can demand better teaching staff.

I find that discipline in our schools is very low, particularly in the primary schools. I should attribute this also to the environment of the school. I have gone around in the south to most of the schools and I find that the schools are housed in noisy streets. They are located perhaps in a place which will only be a living house. There are no other amenities for the children. There are no play-grounds.

The ventilation is also very poor. Sanitary arrangements also are very poor. So, the children are naturally uncomfortable for all the time in the classrooms. I find also that the apparatus is not sufficient for supply to the needs of the children. There are so many children in the class and there is not enough sitting accommodation. The apparatus is not enough for all the children engaged for the whole time, with the result that half of the class is engaged and the other half is playing, naturally disturbing the rest of the class.

This also could be controlled if a clear inspection is done at the right time. Children should be taught that this is the only time when they could gain the best that they have to put forth in the future, and this could be done if our teachers take a little more interest and our education departments send round really interested inspectors who will go round and see that the child benefits and not the teachers or the inspectors alone.

Then, about the school buildings, this is what I have often said also when I was in the Legislature in Andhra Pradesh. I had visited one school just before I came over here, and while I was standing and talking to the children in the class room, I was afraid that the beam of the roof would fall down. The school was being housed in such a shaky and dilapidated building where I am sure the parents are scared to send their children. I would request the Government, as I have done before, that if it is not done at the State level, the Centre at least should take a little more interest and put up some school buildings of their own, instead of hiring these houses which are not at all suitable for classrooms. I would request that the Centre should allot more money to the States so that every State, every year, could construct one school, so that within a short time we would have our own schools instead of the Government spending so much money on rent and not catering to the needs of the children in that particular locality.

I would next turn to another problem. The hon. Member who spoke before me was talking about foreign languages being taught. I think we have enough of our own Indian languages. If we could try to study the languages of most of our States, I think we could become real



linguists. We have 14 languages to be studied. So I think we should take interest in studying the languages of our sister States; and this will be more interesting because when we move from State to State we could feel one with them if we are able to speak the language of that particular State.

I would like to request the Centre to do something about promoting the three-language formula in the schools. I would say that the regional language should be given as much importance, as for instance, any other language. The mother-tongue should be taught from the first stage and I request that Hindi should be taught side by side, not, of course, overlooking English.

I would like to put in a little plea particularly for the teaching of English. I know that many people will say that they would rather learn the mother-tongue. But knowing from the experience that I have had so far, moving from place to place, I find that we are going to put our children into watertight compartments if we are going to educate only through the regional language or the mother-tongue. I have known that many children who, when they go to the neighbouring State, feel quite out of place there, because they cannot make themselves understood or they cannot understand their fellow-children or fellow-citizens there. So, I would request that English be taught with a little more emphasis, so that from north to south, from east to west, we could be understood wherever we go and our children will not be misfits if they could go abroad for further studies, or perhaps when they go out sometimes outside the country they will not be misfits, wherever they go to any part of the world. This will carry them all over the world and they will have self-confidence to go and meet anybody on any platform. But I find that the poor children in the villages are taught only in the regional language and when they come to the city, they cannot understand either Hindi or English. In Andhra Pradesh, they used to speak in Telugu and even children reading in high schools feel as if they are strangers when they come to the city. We feel all our children should feel as if they are one and as if they belong to every State in India. They should not find themselves out of place whenever they go to other places.

15 hrs.

In the colleges, they want to introduce the regional language. This is going to make it more difficult for our boys and girls than anything else, because college education which is the final education for the children, should enable them to step out into the larger world and not make them stick only to their own State. States which impart college education in the mother tongue later on are unable to provide jobs to the children. When the children go to other States to find jobs, they are thrown out. Their own State is not able to provide them jobs. Therefore, our children will be able to find jobs somewhere, where they are fit, if they know a link language. I, therefore, request that English should be taught on a par with the other subjects—not that extra attention should be given to English—but English should not be completely eliminated from the curriculum. I would request that our school children should at least have a general knowledge of English so that when they go to the cities or other States, they will feel that they also belong to this vast country of India and they are not misfits wherever they may go.

SHRIMATI MUKUL BANERJEE (New Delhi) : Sir, of the many tasks which confronted India immediately after independence, the foremost was the reconstruction and expansion of her system of education. It is a fact that various measures were undertaken by our Government to expand education at all levels and at all sectors. Despite all these measures, the country's literacy stands at 29.4 per cent of the total population according to the latest census.

It is now high time that we paused a little and pondered over some of the fundamental questions which are responsible for this slow progress of education in India. The most crucial point which emerges from the analysis of educational system is that the entire educational development programme was ill-conceived by the planners and we are putting too much emphasis on higher education. But the higher secondary education which provides the bulk of professions remains completely neglected. Most of the professionals like soldiers, policemen, postmen, primary school teachers, clerks, small businessmen and assorted others come from this category of education and their ill-training adversely affects the efficiency of any

[Shrimati Mukul Banerjee]

programme leading to national reconstruction. Quality of secondary education should be improved if we want social justice. It is imperative that for the successful implementation of any programme, the roots should be strongly based and thoroughly grounded.

The immediate need, therefore, is to revise priorities and curb the reckless growth of higher education concentrating more money and attention on primary and higher secondary education. The indiscriminate expansion of universities, which has continued at an accelerated pace during the last two decades has created many socio-economic and psychological problems like unemployment of graduates, doctors and engineers. Education is a human investment, as Shri Parashar has said, and an attempt should be made to evolve an integrated system of education right from the beginning. Immediately after the completion of primary school education the child should be given psychological tests to locate his talent and motivation. This process will facilitate to a considerable extent the reorienting of educational objectives and will help the child in developing an attitude of self-confidence and self-reliance. Once a child is professionally oriented he will not have to run to government for employment. I therefore feel that a special institution should be started for imparting job-oriented vocational training. Of course, there are a few institutions like this but I feel that the number is very limited and it should be expanded. For example, as one of the previous speakers mentioned, there are carpenters and other professionals but they are not experts. If we have special type of institutions for them then they will not enter colleges for MA or BA degrees.

The poor literacy performance during the last two decades can be attributed to the unsuccessful implementation of adult literacy drives. Systematic and scientific implementation of functional adult literacy programme instead of merely adult literacy programme should be taken up. This functional adult literacy programme has a wider scope as it includes the various other programmes for adults. Since the programme will be directly linked with the improvement of his profession it will quickly build up the adult respectively with education. This has wider implication

too. If we educate one adult we succeed in educating the entire family simultaneously.

The National Archives is not functioning very well. It seems that the Estimates Committee, in the year 1968 or 1969, in its report recommended that historians should be asked to go into its affairs and suggest changes. Dr. Amba Prashad and Prof. Mujeeb were asked to do this work. They have submitted a report. That report should be implemented immediately.

As one of the previous speakers has mentioned, there are lots of defects in the functioning of the National Council of Educational Research and Training. Jobs of the heads of the departments of the National Council of Educational Research and Training must be advertised.

A new series of books are being prepared for reading project when an old series which is very popular is already existing. This involves investments amounting to lakhs of rupees.

The Council at present is getting the books written by outsiders, while its own expert staff are there who are capable enough to write such books. This will not involve any copyright complication on adoption or adaptation by States.

The Council budget is more than that of two central universities. But one wonders whether the Council's impact or output is equal to even one university.

The Heads of the Departments of the NCERT have made it a practice to travel by air both ways although they are not entitled to do so. Only in emergency cases they can have one journey by air.

The university autonomy is justified but this should not be confused with accountability. The output of individual professors should be assessed by public bodies. As there are party politics and other factions in the departments, in certain cases it has been found that the Heads of the Departments foment trouble by appointing their own favourites or people belonging to their parties.

In many universities students keep their names enrolled in the university for 12 or 15

years just to indulge in politics. This generally happens in the Law Department. Some steps should be taken to see that such students, who are not interested in studies but are interested in other political activities, are not allowed to continue in the university.

Then, there is the Delhi Education Bill which has been passed by the Metropolitan Council and which will be coming to Parliament. This has been passed in the Metropolitan Council after a prolonged struggle by the aided school teachers. As it stands today, the Bill contains provisions for (1) the same service conditions in matters of pension and gratuity etc., (2) direct payment of salary to the aided school teachers by the Department of Education; and (3) for a temporary take-over of the mismanaged schools for not more than three years.

I would like that the third point should be amended because when 95 per cent of the money is being given by the Government, if the Government takes over any school which is mismanaged only for three years, there is every possibility after three years of some teachers, who informed the higher authorities about mismanagement, being punished. This is a wrong procedure.

A suitable amendment may be made for ensuring security of service of the aided school teachers by introducing a provision for the constitution of a judicial tribunal where an aggrieved teacher may go in appeal against the orders of the Director of Education. The court fee for such an appeal should be Re. 1/- only and the time limit for the decision of the case should be six months in order to avoid harassment to the aggrieved teacher.

Provision for the recognition of the teachers' association should be introduced and proper representation should be given to teachers in all matters concerning education.

Political pressures are being used in the appointment and in the promotion cases of teachers and just orders given by competent authorities are being set aside under the political pressure of the ruling party in the Delhi Administration. There is, therefore, great unrest among the Delhi teachers against such political victimisation.

The last point I would like to say is that

I was very happy when Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray met the Delhi teachers. After many long meetings some recommendations have been prepared by the Ministry. They should be implemented and should not be brushed aside because there is every possibility of the Minister being changed. I feel that this should be considered strongly and should not be brushed aside at the present state.

**SHRI MALLIKARJUN (Medak) :** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, education is an important instrument for the reconstruction and transformation of the society. As we dream to build a democratic, socialistic and secular society, it necessitates us to know to what extent the educational policy we follow has got its own significance.

Referring to the despatch made in 1884 by Woods, the then Secretary of State, to the Board of Directors of the East India Company the despatch enunciated the aim of education as diffusion of art, science, literature and philosophy of Europe contrary to the studying of Sanskrit literature. Later, the recommendation was reviewed by various commissions like the Hunter Commission in 1882 and the Horton Committee. Ultimately, the Government Resolution was adopted in 1913. I need not go into the details of the recommendation but the importance of the recommendations is the ultimate evolution of the educational policy. In 1937 the All India Educational Conference was held at Wardha under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi and where the salient feature was free and compulsory education and education in the mother tongue and it was incorporated in Article 45 of the Directive Principles of the Constitution but that object has not been achieved by the Government of India to the extent of full satisfaction. At the commencement of the Fourth Plan only 42% of the school-going population in this age group get free and compulsory education and there still remains a large section to get free and compulsory education. Anyway Referring to the recent commission of Dr. Kothari, it has given adequate and satisfactory educational policy which was reviewed by Parliamentary Committee and with the elimination of some of the recommendations, a final policy had been adopted. Now, it is before the Government of India to see to what extent the educational policy can be implemented regarding

[Shri Mallikarjun]

primary education or secondary education or higher education.

Sir, let me bring to the knowledge of this hon. House that when a child comes for primary education particularly in the rural areas it is so miserable that the buildings have not been completed and other facilities have not been provided. Of course, this may be a State matter, but, at the same time, the responsibility of the Union Ministry of Education also lies here and so far as the secondary education under the jurisdiction of the Government is concerned I do not know to what extent every parent of this hon. House is satisfied and here every one wants that his progeny or his children should be given proper education. Particularly, they send their children to the Mission Schools or private schools where proper coaching is given. Sir, as we are conscious, upon the early education of the students depends the nation's progress and prosperity. Therefore, the steps which we take have got their own value and here I have to inform the and I frame an allegation against the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, who has recently with all his irresponsible and destructive attitude, with his Power-intoxication, has abolished the examination system both at the primary and the secondary stages.

**SHRI B. S. MURTHY (Amalapuram):** A point of order, Sir. The hon. Member is attacking a person who is not here to defend himself. He says 'power-intoxicated' etc. How far is it proper, Sir?

**SHRIMATI M GODFREY:** Sir, it is not true. They are having examinations but not detention. I think they have changed.

**SHRI MALLIKARJUN:** Madam, when I am speaking, please don't try to interfere.

My main emphasis is that if you have no examination at every stage but only have an examination at the 7th standard or at the 10th standard, where is the fear complex? How are we going to train our children? How are you going to enforce discipline on the child who is the future pillar of this nation? Here, I want that the Minister of Education should give proper guidance. How far examination are essential is a question of dispute.

Now, referring to higher education, particularly, the University Grants Commission has been functioning to the best satisfaction with all its minimum resources available at its disposal. For the information of the House and particularly of the Hon. Minister in charge, I would say that the total number of universities are about 79. The funds at the disposal of the University Grants Commission is very much less and not enough scholarships are provided for boys and girls. Even these small scholarships are not given properly and satisfactorily in time. For Scheduled castes and tribes, under Social Welfare Scheme 1951, about Rs. 40 has been allotted to each higher-education student and still the same policy is being continued although the cost of living has gone up several times. 80,000 Scheduled castes students are suffering in this country. They come from poor agricultural labour families. They cannot afford to provide facilities for the education of their children. It is the responsibility of the Government to see that they also participate and become part and parcel of the prosperity of this country.

For the Scheduled Castes and Tribes the Union Education Ministry is spending Rs. 5 crores. I suggest that they should spend not less than Rs. 10 crores, so that they may get additional Rs. 50 per head, per student, so that there will be a sign of prosperity for the scheduled caste communities.

Recently, in my own state, in Osmania University, this difficulty about lack of funds has been expressed. The Vice Chancellor of the University had to undertake a fast for release of funds. I do not know what the attitude of the Chief Minister is. Never in the history of the country has a Vice-Chancellor been forced to undertake a fast for release of funds.

The Vice-Chancellor's conference held during April, 1969 and Students' Representatives Conference held during 23-25th May, 1969 recommended for the effective participation of students in the administrative and academic affairs of the universities. I suggest to the Minister that he should issue a note to the concerned universities so that the students' participation in the academic and administrative affairs of each university can be ensured. The quality of education should be such that the

students' produce should result in the nation's vitality. The Education Minister should take necessary steps in this regard.

I request that more funds should be allotted to the University Grants Commission. The present provision of Rs. 85 crores is not adequate. They should be given more funds so that hostels can be constructed for boys and girls and research work could be done. They should get funds for consideration of hostels in each college affiliated to the university. Finally I suggest that effective implementation of the Kothari Commission's recommendations should be undertaken along with necessary provisions to the teachers. Thank you.

**SHRI DEVENDRA SATPATHY** (Dhenkanal) : While supporting the Demands of the Ministry of Education, I would like to make a few observations regarding Education in this country.

It is true that since independence a lot has been achieved in respect of having more colleges and universities throughout the country. But, when we look at the students unrest can we say that we have been able to achieve all our objects ?

15.25 hours

[SHRI N. K. P. SALVE *in the Chair*]

My hon. friend Dr. Govind Das who spoke before me talked about spiritual education. From that moment I started thinking about what he meant by spiritual education. I have also read some portions of the Kothari Commission's report in this regard. Of course, it looks like a telephone directory, but when I went through that portion I was disappointed to see that the commission had missed the soul of education. It appeared to me that they had given much attention the external aspects of education. Of course, I do not mean to say that external things are not important. But it needs the soul to be utilised by it.

In their report, they have spoken about religious and spiritual education. It is assumed that by reading moral, spiritual and religious books, one becomes moral, spiritual or religious. They have suggested that on the basis of a comparative study of religious textbooks will be prepared for religious and moral studies at

the universities. I was thinking of this problem : suppose there are contradictions between religious and moral books, what will be done ? The universities will cut off some portions of it and after that censorship, what remain ?

When I am on the subject of spiritual education, I am tempted to speak about the Shri Aurobindo International School of Education. Our Minister of Education knows about it. I have put *my* child also there. They have done a way with examinations. They do not give degrees or diplomas or even certificates. They are carrying on very big experiment. I was very much surprised to see that none of our Ministers in the Ministry of Education has so far visited that institution. Education is a big problem in this country and in many places people are carrying on experiments. It is a very big experiment which is going on in this Shri Aurobindo International School of Education. But not of the Ministers has visited that institution so far....

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE (SHRI D. P. YADAVA)** : But he was not invited us.

**SHRI DEVENDRA SATPATHY** : In 1969, the Ministry of Education appointed a committee to go into matters relating to the Shri Aurobindo International Centre of Education. They suggested that Rs. 6 lakhs should be every year as recurring grant, but only Rs. 3 lakhs has been given to that institution. I would request the hon. Minister of Education to see that the entire recurring grant suggested by committee is given to that institution. I am speaking for the first time in the House, I hope, hon. Members will tolerate.

There is a proposal for the establishment of Shri Aurobindo University at Pondicherry to celebrate the centenary of the great man, Shri Aurobindo, who was the first principal of the first national college that was established in the beginning of this century in Yadavpur. I hope, Ministry of Education will take necessary steps to help the college that is being proposed.

I am thankful to Minister that Dr. Kothari has been given some more time to serve

[Shri Devendra Satpathy]

on the UGC. It is doing a very good work, but the grant they wanted, was not given to them. UGC gives grants to all the universities on sharing basis, but there are certain States like Orissa which are very much under-developed. This basis should be abolished in the case of Orissa and other backward States. They should be given more grant

Further, UGC has got some centre of advance studies. I do not think, any purposeful and useful work is being done there. Then there are National Science Councils of Education. These councils are not one of the councils either under the control of Government or the UGC. I think, something should be done about them also. The Council organises a number of summer institutes. I wonder, if any assessment has been made about this programme. Some assessment should be done.

About the NCERT I wanted together some informations, and I am sorry, I was told that it is a big white elephant and it is serving no useful purpose. There is some enquiry committee about it and I would request that the report of that enquiry committee should be placed on the Table of this House.

I am grateful for having given me the time to speak. I could not speak on all the points and I will find another occasion to do so.

**श्री सुधाकर पांडे (चंदौली) :** मान्यवर, मैं शिक्षा मंत्रालय, सांस्कृतिक मंत्रालय के अनुदानों का समर्थन करता हूँ। प्रायः इस विषय की चर्चा हुआ करती है कि शिक्षा को केन्द्र का विषय बनाया जाय या राज्यों का विषय रहने दिया जाय ? मेरी निश्चित धारणा है कि शिक्षा को केन्द्र का विषय बनाया जाय। हो सकता है कि उसमें संवैधानिक बाधाएँ हों, या दलगत राजनीतिक, स्वार्थगत क्षेत्रीय बाधाएँ हो। लेकिन जब तक ये बाधाएँ दूर नहीं की जाती हैं तब तक मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि एक सम्पर्क एकाक की स्थापना की जाय। केन्द्र एक सम्पर्क एकाक की स्थापना करे जो राज्यों से सम्पर्क स्थापित करे और उन बातों को मनवाने का यत्न करे जो देश के कल्याण के लिये हों।

जब इस देश में शिक्षा की चर्चा होती है तो कोठारी आयोग या शिक्षा आयोग की चर्चा होती है। बड़ी सुन्दर रिपोर्ट है। अगर उसे कहा जाय कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में विचारों का एक ताजमहल रचने का यत्न किया गया है तो कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये। किन्तु वह धर्मशाला नहीं है जहाँ हम शरण पा सकें, क्यों कि हमारे देश में शिक्षा के लिये लोगों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है, और सारे प्रयत्नों के बाद प्रतिवर्ष लगभग एक करोड़ व्यक्ति ऐसे बढ़ते हैं जिनकी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था करनी पड़ेगी। उस विचार से यदि देखा जाय तो शिक्षा आयोग की सारी संस्तुतियों का पालन करना सारे देश के साधनों को केवल शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में लगा देना है, और वह महान उदधि है, उसे पार करना सम्भव नहीं है। लेकिन शिक्षा होनी चाहिये और इस रूप में होनी चाहिये कि देश के जीवन के सभी पक्षों को, तत्वों को संगठित कर सके, उत्तेजित कर सके, चेतना की नई दिशा दे सके।

क्षमा किया जाय हमारे भूतपूर्व शिक्षा मंत्री के वाक्य विरोधियों द्वारा वेद की तरह उद्धृत किये जा रहे थे। जो रिपोर्ट पेश की गई है उसमें उन्होंने भी काम किया है। मुझे बड़ा भद्दा लगता है कि जब लोग पद पर रहते हैं तब नहीं चेतते और अब अलग हो जाते हैं तो उन्हें मुक्त संसार के दृश्य सुन्दर दिखाई देने लगते हैं और वे कल्पनाएँ साकार होकर सामने आने लगती हैं जो कि होनी चाहिये। जब श्री चागला शिक्षा मंत्री थे, बड़ा अच्छा काम हो रहा था, दुर्भाग्यवश वह अब शिक्षा मंत्री नहीं रहे जब श्री वी० के० आर० वी० राव आये जो गुरुओं के गुरु थे, जो महागुरु थे, तो हमने समझा था कि कुछ काम होगा शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई भी ऐसा कार्य उन्होंने अपने समय में नहीं किया है जिसकी प्रशंसा की जा सके। और आज उन चीजों की वह स्वयं भर्त्सना करते हैं, या नये सुझाव देते

है तो लगता है कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में कुंठा आ गयी है। क्योंकि जो शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में है उसे जो सोचना चाहिये, वही कहना चाहिये, वही करना चाहिये चाहे राष्ट्रपति के पद ही को उमे लाल क्यों न मार देनी पड़े अगर उसकी बान नहीं मानी जाती है, नहीं सुनी जाती है। हटने के बाद जब लोग ऐसी बात कहते हैं तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता।

शिक्षा की सगठित करने के लिये मरी दृष्टि में एक चीज ही सक्ती है। इस देश में 20 लाख अध्यापक हैं। ज्ञान की गति जिन प्रकार में बढ़ रही है, 10, 5 वर्ष में जब तक हम योजना बनायेंगे हमारे अध्यापकों का ज्ञान आधा भी नहीं रह जायगा और इतना बासी पड़ जायगा जिन की परिकल्पना भी नहीं कर सकते। आज शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में प्रतिदिन ज्ञान इस गति से बढ़ रहा है कि यदि शिक्षकों का हम निज नूतन ज्ञान उपनब्ध कराते रहे तो निश्चय ही यह शिक्षा आगे बढ़ सकती है। इस बारे में मरा सुझाव है कि जिन प्रकार ऐंग्लो कल्चर के लिये इन्स्टीट्यूट खोले गये हैं, जिस प्रकार र्जीनियरिंग के लिये इन्स्टीट्यूट खोले गये हैं उसी प्रकार शिक्षा के लिये इन्स्टीट्यूट खोलने चाहिये जो विश्वविद्यालयों से सम्बद्ध नहीं हाने चाहिये।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे विश्व-विद्यालय बड़ा अच्छा काम कर रहे हैं, परम्परागत काम कर रहे हैं लेकिन वह रूढिगत हो गये हैं। जो देश में नया ओज चाहिए, नई चेतना चाहिये, उसके प्रवाह में वह नहीं रह गये हैं। बल्कि नये ये इन्स्टीट्यूट अधिक अच्छा काम अपने क्षेत्रों में कर रहे हैं और इन इन्स्टीट्यूटों को बढ़ावा मिलना चाहिये और शिक्षा के लिये हमें ऐसी तैयारी करनी चाहिये जिससे निश्चित रूप से वह शिक्षकों को प्रशिक्षित कर सकें। क्योंकि पश्चिम में यह धारणा होती जा रही है कि ये जो हमारी उपाधियाँ हैं इन्हें केवल 5, 7 साल के लिये मान्य किया जाय क्योंकि ज्ञान इतना आगे बढ़ रहा है कि 5, 7 वर्ष से अधिक

मान्य करने का परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि हम पीछे पड़े जा रहे हैं। इसलिये रिफ्रेशर कोर्स बगबर होना चाहिये और निश्चित रूप से होना चाहिये।

उसी सम्बन्ध में यू० जी० सी० की बात कह रहा था। उसने हमारे विश्वविद्यालयों की शिक्षा को बहुत कुछ दिया। लेकिन मैं कहूँगा कि आत्मा उमने नहीं दी क्योंकि हमारे शोधों का स्तर बगबर गिरता गया और उन शोधों का जीवन में सम्पर्क नहीं है। जीवन की चेतना को सचेतित करने का काम यू० जी० सी० नहीं कर सका है। स्पष्टा देने का काम उसने निश्चित रूप में किया है और यह कार्य हमारे लोफ जीवन को उम दिशा की ओर नहीं ले जाता है जिनके लिये हम वचनबद्ध हैं। क्योंकि जो शिक्षा जीवन सम्पर्क स्थापित कराने में अगहन रहती है तो वह शिक्षा किसी भी देश में नहीं बढ़ा सकती चाहे वह प्रतिक्रियावादी देश हो या प्रगतिशील देश हो।

अभी मेरे किसी मित्र ने हिटलर की चर्चा की कि उसने शिक्षा के माध्यम से नाजी तैयार किये। हम दशभक्त इन विश्वविद्यालयों से तैयार नहीं कर पा रहे हैं क्यों कि ये फारखाने मड गये हैं और इन कारखानों को नया रूप धरना चाहिये। इसका इन्हें बोध नहीं है, इसका इन्हें ज्ञान नहीं है, चेतना का अनुमान नहीं है कि जनता क्या चाहती है। शिक्षा मंत्रालय हमारा इस बात के लिये ससहूर है कि शिक्षा संस्थान का सम्बन्ध बढ़ा का जनता में न हो। पर सिद्धान्त के लिये तो वह कहना है कि होना चाहिये। उदाहरण स्वरूप मैं काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय का नाम लेना चाहूँगा। काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय से काशी को जनता का किसी प्रकार का सम्पर्क नहीं है। जब जब प्रबन्धक समिति का निर्माण होता है या कुछ और होता है तो निश्चित रूप से चाहें यह अलिखित हो—यह राव साहब के समय में हुआ है—कि कोई भी स्थानीय आदमी उसमें न रखा जाए। मालवीय जी ने जिस यूनिवर्सिटी की स्थापना की जो कि काशी में है,

[श्री सुधाकर पांडे]

काशी कोई साम्प्रदायिक नहीं रही है क्योंकि वहाँ पर सभी जाति धर्म के लोग रहते हैं और बहुत बड़ी संख्या में है वहाँ पर अगर किसी अध्यापक को भी रखा जाता है तो वह भी वही होता है जिसका काशी से सम्बन्ध न हो। एक तरफ तो सिद्धान्त की बात कही जाती है और दूसरी तरफ यह व्यवहार किया जाता है।

उच्च शिक्षा के लिए जो एक करोड़ रुपया केन्द्रीय सरकार ने प्रत्येक राज्य को दान किया है, भारतीय भाषाओं उच्च साहित्य के लिए, कुछ स्थानों पर तो अच्छे काम हुए हैं और कुछ स्थानों पर कुछ काम नहीं हुआ है और कुछ स्थानों पर ऐसा काम हुआ है जिस काम की अगर जांच की जाएगी तो वे केवल राज्य सरकारें ही लज्जास्पद स्थिति में पहुंचेंगी बल्कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की भी लज्जा का अनुभव होगा।

शब्दावली आयोग ने अच्छा काम किया है। चार लाख शब्दों की उसने रचना की है और उन शब्दों का प्रयोग वैज्ञानिक ग्रन्थों के भीतर हो रहा है। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि शिक्षा को यदि जीवन में ध्येय के साथ मिलाना है तो भारतीय भाषाओं के माध्यम से शिक्षा की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए। शिक्षा की ऐसी व्यवस्था इसलिए नहीं हो रही है क्यों कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में जो लोग हैं, वे प्रायः पुरानी अंग्रेजी वंशावली के अंश हैं जो कि अंग्रेजों के समय थी और उनको जीवन के नए तत्वों का परिज्ञान नहीं है, जो क्रान्ति देश में हो रही है, उस क्रान्ति से उनका सम्पर्क नहीं है, इसलिए वे पुराने ढांचे की तरफ उसको ले जाना चाहते हैं।

अभी नैतिक शिक्षा की बात भी कही गई है। अगर सांस्कृतिक शिक्षा भी दी जाती है तो वह पुराने ढंग की नहीं होगी बल्कि वह ऐसी होगी जो अभेद में भेद की दृष्टि रखती है। भारत का यह विश्वास रहा है कि भेद में

अभेद की दृष्टि रखी जाए लेकिन आज की जो शिक्षा की व्यवस्था है वह अभेद में भेद की दृष्टि रखती है। इसका परिणाम यह है कि आज अलीगढ़ विश्वविद्यालय और काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय से जो हमें आशाएं थीं वे पूरी नहीं हो रही हैं और हमारे समाज की स्थिति बिगड़ती जा रही है।

अन्त में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ और उसको मैं बहुत जोर देकर कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि आज कला और संस्कृति के क्षेत्र में जो एकेदमियां काम कर रही हैं वे देश के नुमायश घर में रखे खिलौने मात्र हैं। इस देश के 50 करोड़ व्यक्तियों की आत्मा की पुकार उनके भीतर प्रकट करने की शक्ति नहीं है और आप देखेंगे कि उनमें जो मूलाधार हैं वे पन्द्रह पन्द्रह और बीस बीस वर्ष से चले आ रहे हैं और ऐसे लोग चले आ रहे हैं जो कि किसी विशेष मान्यता से प्रभावित लोग हैं और वे भी अंग्रेजी और अंग्रेजियत में ज्यादा विश्वास रखते हैं। उन एकेदमियों की जांच हो रही है पता नहीं कब तक उनकी जांच होती रहेगी। हम लोग पार्लियामेंट में पांच साल के लिए हैं, पता नहीं जब तक वह हो पाएगी या नहीं। भगवान करे कि उनकी जांच जल्दी समाप्त हो। अगर इस देश को जागृत करना है, इसको जीवित करना है और एक समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना करनी है और लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था मजबूत करनी है, तो ये केवल पुरस्कार वितरण और कुछ किताबें छापने से ही अपने कर्तव्य की इतिश्री इस क्षेत्र में न करें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं शिक्षा मंत्रालय और सांस्कृतिक मंत्रालय की मांगों का अनुमोदन करता हूँ, उनका समर्थन करता हूँ।

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): I would not like to restrict the debate only to the issue whether the funds that are made available for education are quite adequate. I would also not waste time in merely voicing regional grievances regarding our



educational institutions. I would like to take discussion to a plane from which it should be possible for us to look at the overall perspective and orientation of our educational system. I would like the Government of our educational system. I would like the Government to realise the basic motivations and the content of our educational system. Basically, the educational system has to be a process of cultivation, that must develop firstly perceptions, secondly, intelligence, thirdly emotions of human beings.

The educational system must be able to teach our alumni to live tastefully and aesthetically with due regard for the social obligations and ideals. We are a secular democracy and profess that we are wedded to a socialist way of life. Therefore, it would be worthwhile investigating whether these social objectives of our society have been fulfilled by the educational system and whether the Government is contributing to the fulfilment of those objectives.

The reconstruction of our educational system fundamentally reforming our curricula, the methods of teaching, the syllabi for universities and schools, the outmoded methods of examinations and restoring to the universities real spirit of universalism with accent on acquisition of modern knowledge that will instill a spirit of modernism.

The question of medium of instruction at the university level must also be dealt with at length in a proper way. To my mind briefly, the failures in the field of education—Government is responsible by and large for these are : firstly, inadequate equipment and resources to cope up with the rapid expansion of educational facilities with the result that academic standards are dwindling ; secondly, general indifference of the educational programme to the stage of development of students ; thirdly, lack of provision in the educational institutions for the cultivation of the social and objective aspects of mind ; fourthly, absence of opportunity to the students to exercise initiative and spontaneity under smothering weight of written essay type examinations which tend to become just memorisation tests ; fifthly, insistence on the passive receptivity to the almost utter exclusion of active experience and participation ; and

lastly, the prevailing unchallenged notion of the schools and colleges as instructional shops and not as communities living and working together in the service of shared higher values.

A lot of talk is there about the spiritual values and cultural heritage of our country. I feel that through constant education and persuasion a considerable part of our decadent tradition should culture will have to be discarded and destroyed.

The report refers the nationalised production of school text books. To inculcate modern values and national outlook among the students, what is needed is not merely dealing with the control of production of text books but with the contents of the text books. The alumni is to be liberated from the stranglehold of the feudal culture of our fragmented society. The text books contain a number of biographical sketches. If you look at the various biographies that have been presented to our young students, what do you find ? We do not find in them the presentation of the historical perspective with a spirit of objectivity I might be permitted to mention only two illustrations. The point of view which I am putting forward will be unpopular.

The late Lokmanya Tilak had a burning sense of patriotism ; he was the spokesman of Indian nationalism. But we cannot forget that some occasions he surrendered to the traditional Hindu orthodoxy. Can we ever forget that the late Lokmanya Tilak went abroad and when he came back, he had to surrender to the traditional Hindu orthodoxy ; he had to resort to an act of atonement which is called 'prayaschitha' by the orthodoxy. He created the controversy whether social reform or political reform came first. On a number of occasions, in order to placate the political supporters he surrendered to the social reaction and the orthodoxy in this country. This spirit of objectivity must be put before the students.

Shivaji who happens to be a national figure had been denigrated just as Stalin was. We find that Shivaji who ought to be the symbol of burning patriotism and nationalism, national unity, sense of tolerance and accommodation, administrative efficiency and collective leadership, has been reduced to the symbol of parochialism. The Election Commission has con-

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

durted so many elections. In my State Shivaji has been made some the election symbol in small and petty elections, from panchayat to parliament. That is the greatest tragedy of the man whom we hail as a national hero. We must project most of these great men in proper perspective. If our Ministers try to do it, they will have to incur some unpopularity but they will have to do that.

I will take only one minute more. History is being taught and written with an element of passion and prejudice. For national integration this will have to be changed. I touched that point last time, and therefore, I do not want to develop it. For the Muslim community, the set of heroes in history is different; for Hindus, the set is different. Those who are taught history are taught with passion and prejudice, instead of bringing about the integration of the country, a sense of strife is being projected through our educational institutions and text books of History. These text books will have to be revised. I would request the Minister that rather than merely controlling the production and calling it as nationalisation of the production of textbooks, nationalise the textbooks in the sense that real spirit of nationalism will be actually permeated through our textbooks, and in a new way history could be taught.

Science is being taught, but the very substance of science, the very motivation of science, is being lost. History is being taught but the motivation and interpretation of history are lost. That is where we need to have a change.

Sir, I will take half a minute more because it is a very important point. I will touch on the medium of instruction problem. Here also, I feel that I am projecting a point of view which is very unpopular, because either people want the regional language as the medium of instruction, or, at the other end, they want the status quo to be maintained and want English to be retained as the medium. In deciding about the medium of instruction at the university level, I would like the Government to apply certain criteria. To my mind, the factors that must weigh in deciding our medium of instruction at the university level will be, one, desirability of ensuring inter-university communication and mobility; two, need to

preserve access to modern knowledge; three, legitimate aspirations of a free nation to ensure the rightful place to the Indian languages; and lastly realisation that the unqualified status quo about the medium of instruction cannot continue. Expertise knowledge in science is growing, and therefore, there is all the more need for communication and transfer of teachers, exchange of scholars and research workers. If that is to be brought about, a spectroscopist coming from Banaras will never be prepared to come to a Bombay university college if he finds that the teaching of science in university is going on in Maharashtra through Marathi only. Therefore, I am building up a case for uniform medium of instruction at the university level. I do not say that if there are regional languages as media there will be disintegration; because there are enough politicians and communalists in the country, who are bringing about disintegration. They would not give scope to the educationists to bring about disintegration. But I feel that for communication, and inter-university mobility, this type of uniform medium of instruction is necessary.

As far as possible, there should be one uniform medium. If English medium is to be changed, it is better to have Hindustani or Hindi in its place. But if there is a controversy about Hindi in non-Hindi States, I would be satisfied by permitting the southern States or the non-Hindi States which are opposed to Hindi to adopt English as the regional language as the medium of instruction; in the rest of the universities, let us accept Hindi.

I am one of those who believe that rather than having insistence on one language and two countries, we must have one country and two languages. That is the attitude that I would like to adopt.

In the end, I would say that though all these problems to which I have referred are problems dealing with only a small sections of the population in society, yet they are very important. Here, let me conclude by giving only one illustration. The famous Spanish philosopher, Salvador Madariaga, was once asked,—he was talking in terms of liberty, cultural freedom, educational progress—what is the microscopic section of population which is concerned with these problems. And he

replied : "if you just lift up a human being, put him upside down, and see that only the head of the human being is submerged below a bucketful of water, the percentage composition of cells in the human body that are submerged in the water is very small, but the human being dies because that part which is submerged is very vital." To my mind, the section of our population, which is the educated section, might be a microscopic minority, but you must cater to the needs of that section, because they are a vital section and will act as catalytic agents for the social transformation in the country. If they are approached in the right manner, the process of social transformation can be brought about in an accelerated and effective manner.

SHRI B. S. MURTHY (Amalapuram) : Sir, I rise to support the Demands of the Ministry of Education, Social Welfare and Youth Services. Injustice has been done to this ministry, though it comprises three very important subjects. The time given is very niggardly. Education is such an important instrument for national integration, social reformation and economic progress that it should have been given much more time. Not only that. Even the resources are becoming more and more meagre for carrying out the various plans of this ministry. Coming to social welfare, more than 50 per cent of the people in India are socially backward. To discuss a subject like this, asking the members to speak within 5 minutes each, is something ridiculous, if not preposterous. Youth Services is again not a subject to be seen like a meteoric thing and then forgotten about it. Therefore, I request the minister to see that hereafter much more time is given to these subjects. We may not be able to say much which is constructive, but still our agonies, our ideas and feelings about certain things happening in this country will be known to the minister, through him to the ministry and through the ministry to the country.

SHRI LAKSHMIKANTHAMMA (Khammam) : Time should be extended for the discussion of these demands.

MR. CHAIRMAN : In view of the long list of members who are desirous of speaking, there is a suggestion from the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs that the House should sit till 7 o'clock today. If the House favours this suggestion, we will continue till 7.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJ BAHADUR) : I just whispered this idea to you because there is a long list of speakers from both sides who want to speak. This ministry covers scheduled castes and scheduled tribes also. Lady members also interested in speaking. But the fact remains that if we spend more time on this ministry, we would be taking the time of other ministries. More ministries will have to be guillotined at the end. Perhaps, my own ministry, if not me, will be guillotined. We can continue the debate tomorrow, but it will mean more ministries being guillotined. Therefore, I made the suggestion that we may sit for one hour more.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The subject is important. The consensus of the House is that we will sit till 7 o'clock today.

SHRI B. P. MAURYA (Hapur) : No ; it is not like that.

16 hrs.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Otherwise, it will mean some more ministries will have to be guillotined. Therefore, even if it means some inconvenience, I think in the larger interests of the country, I take it that the consensus of the House is that we should sit till 7 o'clock.

SHRI B. S. MURTHY : Sir, thank you for the clarification. I would not like to touch anything except school education in my speech today.

Much has been done and much is contemplated to be done as far as education of this country is concerned. But somehow or other the progress does not seem to be satisfactory. It is stated at page 14 of the Report of the Ministry of Education :

"The Board views with concern the progress of primary education in the country. On the basis of the present trends it appears that no State would be able to realise the goal set in article 45 of the Constitution earlier than 1980 and several States will be able to do so only in the the 21st century. The Board, therefore, feels that the whole situation should be reviewed afresh and concrete proposals put forward both before

[Shri B. S. Murthy]

the Central Government and the State Governments so that the target set down in the Constitution with regard to free and compulsory education would be reached in all parts of the country by at least 1985. The Board requests the Chairman to set up a high-level committee to examine the whole matter."

In article 45 of the Constitution it is stated that within ten years the whole country should have the facility of free and compulsory primary education. Twenty years have passed and still we are in the wilderness and according to this statement it may take at least four or five decades to fulfil these targets. This is the woeful state of affairs and it shows how disinterested the nation is on the subject.

The educational system in India since independence has no element of excitement in it and it has no revolutionary changes. It is the same education which we had 50 or 60 years ago. The system is still going on at a snail's pace. I feel that an element of revolutionary change must be introduced in it. I am not here to state what it should be but I am prepared to discuss it with the Minister.

**SHRI K. N. TIWARY (Bettiah)**: You are here only to criticise and not to give suggestions?

**SHRI B. S. MURTHY**: I am prepared to meet the Minister and the officers of the Ministry and give them some of my ideas. I do not want to do that here because that will take more time.

The proof of the pudding is in eating of it. After 25 years of national education in independent India under great servant and professors, what is the result today? Are they disciplined, constructive and creative? Are they looking forward to a time and in the future when they will be able to make India better known for its greatness in all walks of life? After a generation or more of education we have created Naxalites; we have created political murderers; we have created regionalism which cuts across nationalism and we have created defections which were unknown in India prior to independence.

Like this I can go on cataloguing. I do not stand here to point my finger and say, this is

your mistake and that is our mistake. Anything that would not contribute to national solidarity and unity is something about which every individual must be greatly concerned. Therefore, it is high time that we must sit together and see what is wrong with our educational system.

As a matter of fact, the latest census has shown us that our literacy progress is not even 1 per cent per annum. At this rate how many centuries do we require to educate our people? Here I have certain figures called out from this report. As far as the progress in lower primary is concerned, in 1950-51 there were only 200 lakh students. It is good that in 1970-71 this number has gone up to 600 lakhs. There is a very good improvement so far as this is concerned.

What is necessary is that the Ministry of Education, through its counterpart departments in the States, should undertake as to how many students have joined in the primary classes, how many have continued in the school up to the fifth class and how many have passed out of it. That is more important. What is the wastage; what is the stagnation? Every individual student who is lost to the school in the middle of the year is a loss to the society.

In this respect I would try to quote the Bible and say that if there are 100 sheep and one sheep is lost the shepherd leaves, as Jesus Christ has said, all the ninety-nine and will go in search of the lost one. Therefore, all the professors, teachers and everybody engaged in this great nation building task of educating the nation must be fired with a missionary zeal so much so that every school will be an institution....

**MR. CHAIRMAN**: The hon. Member's time is up.

**SHRI PILOO MODY**: He is pressing the bell in the middle of the Bible.

**SHRI B. S. MURTHY**: Because the devil has come. I am sorry.

**AN HON. MEMBER**: The lost sheep.

**SHRI B. S. MURTHY**: We are willing to invest crores and crores of rupees on factories, dams and everything else. I am not against

them. But the human material is the most important material in building up a nation. As long as you forget about it, as long as you ignore it and as long as you are indifferent to it, I am sorry, the nation cannot progress and the nation cannot be respected in the comity of the world's nations.

I wish, I had some more time. Anyhow, I would not disobey your ringing the bell in spite of the fact that I have very solid support from Shri Piloo Mody. Therefore, I would appeal to the Minister that the whole system should be put into the test tube and from the primary—I am confining myself up to the higher secondary—to the higher secondary, there must be a thorough change, a change constructive and gradual.

There is one word about Hindi. The veteran leader, Seth Govind Dasji, every year speaks about it, gives us a lecture on it. How many of us are keen about it, I do not know. But what is essential is this I am coming from the south and the south is not inimical to Hindi. It is much more in favour of Hindi. But what we do not like is the hegemony that is being thrust upon us from the Hindi-speaking areas. Who are you to question us about our willingness or unwillingness about Hindi ?

AN HON. MEMBER : No.

SHRI B. S. MURTHY : Do you mean to say that we are not patriotic as much as you are ? Sir, years before Independence was won by India, in the South we had set up the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha and thousands and thousands and even lakhs and lakhs of persons have been educated in Hindi and to-day South India can boast of scholars of great merit and calibre in Hindi and their books are being read and appreciated in the north. Therefore, please don't point your finger at us and say, 'You read Hindi, otherwise—(dash)'. When the Aryans were ruling here, everybody was anxious to learn Sanskrit. But we said, 'No, Sudras should not read.' If he read, his tongue would be cut off. If he hears, something will be put into his ears. Therefore, it became a dead language. To-day, you are, on the other hand, so extremely fond of rubbing your Hindi on us. We are one with you as far as making Hindi as the national language but don't try to decry us and say that we are not one with you....

(Interruptions)

Another point, Sir. The mid-day meals scheme is being continued. More than a lakh out of six hundred lakhs students are being given mid-day meals. What is necessary to bear in mind is not the supplying of food to indigent students but the philosophy, the national unity in it. If all the students in a village sit together and enjoy a hearty meal, from that stage onwards, you build up your nationalism—not criss-crossing into Parties and playing 'Ayaram' and 'Gayaram' game. Therefore, if you want to prevent 'Ayarams' and 'Gayarams' in India, begin education as the primary school and make the students understand that they are children of one nation.

Sir, I have many things to say. But thank you very much for this indulgence. I will once again appeal to the Minister. He is a Siddhartha. He will become a real Siddhartha as far as education is concerned and I wish him all success.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Rajmata Gayatri Devi.

I must make it clear that the allotment chart mentions that your Party has only four minutes. So you must be very brief.

RAJMATA GAYATRI DEVI (Jaipur) : I will be very very fast. I hope the hon. Minister will be able to hear me.

First and foremost I have taken pleasure to see in this report that merit scholarships are being given to residential schools. I also run an educational institution and it is a public school and up till now the general tendency has been against Public Schools. So, it is refreshing to find at least one Minister who has understood what a Public School stands for and I am very glad to know that we have been asked to take in the public schools 25% admission of merit scholarships from next year. I think this is a wonderful thing.

I would also like to point out to the Members of this House, who think that the Public Schools system is a western institution, that it is not true. This is an old concept of education where the students stay with the teacher and, therefore, they get the full benefit of education and of teaching of morals and extra-curricular activities. But I am very much perturbed that the hon. Minister is going to West

[Rajmata Gayatri Devi]

Bengal. But I hope this policy will not be changed by his successor, whoever he be.

Now, as far as Education is concerned, there is one more thing that I would like to say. In this changing world of today, scientists, naturalists and geologists and everybody else are warning us that man is committing suicide day by day. I think we should understand this. We just educate our children for the present, not for the future. We should teach them subjects like ecology, preservation and conservation of natural resources. They should be taught those subjects with Natural History and Geology in their Schools and Colleges. At the same time we should also ensure that they develop as disciplined citizens of the country. For that, we should introduce a course of Citizenship giving guidelines to the students.

I find myself alone voice, or the only person who seems to be looking after the beautiful city of Jaipur. I go through the City every day and see the beautiful architectural buildings getting spoiled. We have to keep a check over the upkeep of everything. I wrote to the Archaeological Department and they say, go back to the Rajasthan Archaeological Department. They say, go back to the Centre. And so it goes on. I am not only speaking about Jaipur, but this applies to Ajmer, Jaisalmer also. There are beautiful stone carvings in Jaisalmer, but pilferage takes place. What I suggest is that important centres of architecture should be taken over by the Centre and created as State subjects.

I have written several letters to this Ministry regarding the preservation of 'objects of art'. I have been told that laboratories are available in this country where old textiles and paintings can be maintained and repaired. The National Museum is the only one with a laboratory who can help in this regard. There should be more of these laboratories where you can attend to all these things.

Regarding museology, this pamphlet says that only 9 students were trained. When we talk about unemployment, here is something where we can do something.

Regarding theft of art subjects, as long back as in 1963, I spoke on this subject and now

we see this subject has come back with a bang. In 1963 there was an exhibition in Hamburg and very beautiful sculptures were auctioned. Why should smugglers get into such things and sell them and make huge profit? If in fact we have abundance of art objects, why cannot the Government itself sell them and make a profit? If such art objects can go out of the country, the Government itself can step in and auction them, like Sothby's and Christies. Why not do something like that instead of allowing the smugglers to take them away?

I know, Sir, that you have got a lot of other Members to speak, and if I say anything more, it would be a repetition of what others are going to say.

AN HON. MEMBER : She can speak a little longer.

RAJMATA GAYATRI DEVI : If I could speak a little longer, then there is another thing that I would like the hon. Minister to consider. I feel rather diffident in saying it, but on the other hand, I feel that really must. I feel diffident in saying it because people may think that I am saying it because it affects me. At the moment, does not affect me, thank goodness. There are many palaces and there are many forts of historical importance in India. In the old days, the maharajas, rulers and jagirdars kept them up. Today, they are crumbling. Something must be done about them.

There was a very good article in the papers yesterday about Khajuraho. This young lady wrote that tourists could spend three or four days there if these places were expanded. Then she talked about the fort at Ajaigarh. It is falling apart and if one takes the trouble one would be surprised to see how many *murtis* have been stolen from the fort during the last three months or more. I would like to say that if something could be thought out, we could preserve some of the finest pieces of architectural skill that are to be found there. We do not want them to crumble. So, to keep them, something on the lines of the National Trust in Britain might be thought of, and the owners of these palaces and forts might be contacted and something must be done to preserve them.

श्री अमरनाथ बिश्वासकार (बंडीगढ़) :  
सभापति जी, मैं शिक्षा मंत्रालय की संघों का

पूरी तरह से समर्पण करता हूँ और मैं यह आशा करता हूँ शिक्षा मंत्रालय जिन मजबूत हाथों के सुपुर्न किया है उन्हें इस मंत्रालय को चलाने में पूरी पूरी सफलता हो। मैं ऐसी आशा करता हूँ कि श्री सिद्धार्थ शंकर राय, जिनके बड़े सुलझे हुए विचार हैं और जो शिक्षा में काफी दिलचस्पी लेते हैं वे इस मंत्रालय के काम को बहुत आगे बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न करेंगे। मैं उनका ध्यान विशेष रूप से इस बात की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में, जब से हम स्वतन्त्र हुए, निरन्तर हमने इस बात का प्रयत्न किया कि शिक्षा को एक अच्छी सतह पर लाया जाये। दरअसल हमारी बहुत सारी समस्याये शिक्षा के द्वारा हल हो सकती हैं। आज बहुत सारी हमारी समस्यायें हैं जो कि शिक्षा के कारण उत्पन्न हो रही हैं। हम जितनी भी रिपोर्टें देखें, शुरू से आजाद होने के बाद, शिक्षा का कोई ऐसा पहलू नहीं रहा जिसके सम्बन्ध में विशेष कमेटीयों ने बैठकर अपनी रिपोर्टें तैयार न की हों, तकरीबन हर पहलू पर उन्होंने विचार किया है और अपने सुझाव दिए हैं और अधिकांश सुझाव ऐसे हैं जिन पर बहुत मतभेद नहीं है लेकिन अफसोस इस बात का है कि शिक्षा का बहुत सारा ढांचा जोकि आजादी से पहले का बना हुआ था उसमें हम बहुत कम परिवर्तन कर पाये हैं। मैं बहुत पीछे नहीं जाना चाहता—हमारे शिक्षा मंत्रालय ने जो कमेटी बनाई थी शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में और जिसने अपनी रिपोर्टें पेश की थी, श्री चागला साहब के समय में, उस वक्त यह कहा गया था कि जिस समय यह रिपोर्टें निकलेगी, "कोठारी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट," तो उसके बाद हम बहुत से परिवर्तन करेंगे। उस रिपोर्ट पर विचार करने के लिये सन् 1967 में पार्लमेंट ने एक कमेटी बिठाई थी, जिसने 67 में ही अपनी रिपोर्ट दे दी थी, उसको अगर आप देखें तो उसमें तमाम वह बातें जिनके होने की हम आशा करते हैं या शिक्षा से सम्बन्ध रखने वाला हर एक व्यक्ति और सिटिजन जिनकी आशा करता है वह सभी बातें उसमें कही गई

हैं। उसमें शुरू में ही कहा गया कि हमारी शिक्षा नेशनल लाइन पर होनी चाहिए—डेवलपमेंट आफ ए नेशनल सिस्टम आफ एजुकेशन—यह होना चाहिए। उसमें कहा गया है कि हमारी शिक्षा ऐसी हो जो कि हमारे देश के विद्यार्थियों और नये युवकों के अन्दर नेशनल स्पिरिट पैदा करे, उनके अन्दर समाजवादी भावना पैदा करे, उनके अन्दर इकट्ठे रहने की सामाजिक भावना पैदा करे। हमारी शिक्षा ऐसी हो जोकि हमारे देश की एकता को मजबूत करे। हमारी शिक्षा ऐसी हो जो मारल, सोशल और स्प्रिचुअल वैल्यूज को मजबूत करे। ये बातें हमें करनी हैं लेकिन आप मुकाबला करके देखें कि हमारी शिक्षा आज क्या पैदा करती है? आज हमारे शिक्षालयों की हालत यह है कि बजाय इसके कि वहां पर देश की एकता की भावना मजबूत हो, जो छोटे छोटे स्कूल हैं प्राइमरी स्कूल और मिडिल स्कूल, वहां पर शाखायें लगती हैं आर० एस० एस० की; जहां हिन्दू कम्युनलिज्म पैदा किया जाता है। हमने इस बात को रोकने या काउंटरएक्ट करने के लिये क्या प्रयत्न किया? आज स्कूलों में एमि अघ्यापक और विद्यार्थी हैं जो कि विद्यार्थियों में कम्युनल, साम्प्रदायिक भावनाओं को पैदा करते हैं लेकिन उसको हम रोकते नहीं हैं। हम नाम लेते हैं देश की एकता का तो मैं पूछना हूँ हमने कौन से नये प्रयत्न किये हैं जिनमें कि विद्यार्थियों में मारल और सोशल वैल्यूज पैदा हों और मजबूत हों? आज हम उन बातों को भूलते जा रहे हैं। हमारे नये युवकों में एमि ऐसा वातावरण है कि वे निर्हिण्डिस्ट ज्यादा बनने हैं, उनके सामने जीवन का कोई उद्देश्य नहीं है, जीवन का कोई लक्ष्य नहीं है और आज उनके जीवन का वह लक्ष्य यह शिक्षा पैदा नहीं करती।

रिपोर्ट में कहा गया था कि विद्यार्थी और अध्यापक में कोई बहुत नजदीक का रिस्ता पैदा होना चाहिए। लेकिन हमने वह मेकेनिज्म पैदा नहीं की जिससे वह नजदीक का रिस्ता पैदा हो सके। हमने कहा कि हमारी शिक्षा में कुछ टेक्निकल काम करने की भावना पैदा

[श्री अमरनाथ विद्यालंकार]

हो, कुछ साइंटिफिक आउटलुक पैदा हों लेकिन इस साइंटिफिक आउटलुक को पैदा करने के लिए कौन सी नयी बात और कौन से प्रयत्न किए ? आज छोटे छोटे बच्चे ही नहीं बल्कि जो बड़े बड़े लोग भी इतना भी नहीं जानते कि घर में बिजली जो रोज इस्तेमाल की जाती है उसके स्वीच की मामूली तौर पर मरम्मत कर लें या साइकिल जिस पर कि रोज चढ़ते हैं उसकी कोई मामूली मरम्मत कर सकें। इस तरह की चीजें जो रोज इस्तेमाल की जाती हैं उनकी देखभाल करने या ठीक ठाक करने का ज्ञान भी उनको नहीं होता है। साइंटिफिक आउटलुक की कहीं पर कोई बात ही नहीं है। आप विद्यार्थियों से जाकर कोई सवाल करें तो किताब का घुटा हुआ भले आपको बता दें, लेकिन जहां तक साइंटिफिक आउटलुक की बात है, विज्ञान के मोटे मोटे उसूल हैं उसके सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं बता सकेंगे।

तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमने बड़े अच्छे अच्छे उसूल रखे। लेकिन आज भी हम देखते हैं कि एक तरफ अमीरों के स्कूल हैं और दूसरी तरफ गरीबों के स्कूल हैं और यह सिल-सिला बिल्कुल वैसे का वैसे ही चला आ रहा है। हम कामनेस को ला नहीं सके हैं। मैं यहां पर रिपोर्ट की तमाम बातों को नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ लेकिन मैं इस बात की तरफ मिनिस्टर साहब का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि प्रो० वी० के० आर० वी० राव के पास जब यह विभाग आया था और उनके पास यह विभाग काफी देर तक रहा तो हम यह आशा करते थे कि शिक्षा में परिवर्तन आयेगा और शिक्षा को वे काफी आगे ले जायेंगे लेकिन वह बात नहीं हो सकी। आज हमें शिक्षा में मूलभूत परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से कहूंगा कि वे इस बात की तरफ प्रयत्न करें, चाहे आप आपस में बैठें या कोई कमेटी बिठायें और देखें कि उन उसूलों को जो कि हमने शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में रखे उनमें हम कहां कहां क्या परिवर्तन लाना चाहते हैं। प्राइमरी एजुकेशन में हम क्या परि-

वर्तन लाना चाहते हैं क्योंकि आज प्राइमरी एजुकेशन में मूलभूत परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। आज के जो प्राइमरी स्कूल हैं वे एक प्रकार से केजेज हैं, पिजड़े हैं जिनमें कि हमने बच्चों को कंद करके रखा है। वह डिमोक्रैटिक स्पिरिट जिमको कि हम लाना चाहते हैं वह कहीं भी प्राइमरी स्कूलों में या मिडिल स्कूलों में नहीं है। हमें विद्यार्थियों पर धीरे धीरे प्रबन्ध के सम्बन्ध में जिम्मेदारी डालनी चाहिए लेकिन वह चीज कहीं पर दिखाई नहीं देती है। समाजवाद की भावना कहीं भी नजर नहीं आती है। मैं अधिक समय न लेते हुए यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि सबसे मुख्य और मूलभूत बात यही है कि शिक्षा के अन्दर अगर हम परिवर्तन नहीं करेंगे तो भविष्य के सम्बन्ध में हम जो कल्पना करते हैं उसको पूरा नहीं कर पायेंगे। शिक्षा ही एक साधन और इस्ट्रूमेंट है जो कि हमारे तमाम प्रयत्नों और हमारे तमाम आदर्शों को पूरा कर सकती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस मूलभूत चीज की तरफ आप ज्यादा तवज्जह दें और ऐसा कोई न कोई परिवर्तन लायें क्योंकि हर स्तर पर परिवर्तन लाने की जरूरत है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब अपनी बजारत के दिनों में जिस काम की हम उनमें आशा करते हैं उसको अवश्य पूरा करेंगे।

**शिक्षा और समाज कल्याण मंत्रालय तथा संस्कृति विभाग में उप-मंत्री (श्री श्री० पी० यमबब) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, शिक्षा क्षेत्र में सुधार के जितने भी सुझाव दिये गए वे चाहे अपोजीशन की बेंचेज से आये हों या ट्रेजरी बेंचेज की तरफ से आये हों उन पर हमें खुशी हुई है। मूल रूप में हम शिक्षा को तीन मांगों में बांट कर देखना चाहते हैं। पहली पद्धति प्राइमरी एजुकेशन के डेवलपमेंट की, दूसरी सेकेन्ड्री एजुकेशन के डेवलपमेंट की और तीसरी यूनिवर्सिटी एजुकेशन के डेवलपमेंट की। और इन्हीं तीनों सिस्टम को कोआर्डिनेट कर के चलाते हैं तो उसे हम शिक्षा की प्रगति कहेंगे। और इसी पर



सभी माननीय सदस्यों का ध्यान गया है। कुछ तथ्य और आंकड़े मैं माननीय सदस्यों के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ जिस से अंदाज लग जायगा कि हमारे सामने कितनी विशाल समस्या है कि शिक्षा में प्रगति कैसे होगी। हमारे पास दर्जा एक से लेकर यूनिवर्सिटी क्लास तक पढ़ने वाले छात्रों की संख्या 12 करोड़ है और अगर एक छात्र के पीछे कम से कम एक रुपया रोज आप खर्च करें तो माल भर में 4,320 करोड़ रुपया खर्च होगा। मात्र अगर एक रु० एक छात्र पर एक दिन में खर्च करते हैं।

शिक्षकों की संख्या प्राइमरी में लेकर यूनिवर्सिटी तक 26 लाख के करीब है। अगर उनको 300 रु० माह भी दें तो उनमें 936 करोड़ रु० एक माल में लगेगा। उसके बाद प्राइमरी स्कूलों की इमारतों की बड़ी विकराल समस्या है। इस पर हिमाचल लगाया गया है जिम पर करीब 1200 करोड़ रु० खर्च होगा। तृतीय योजना का सम्पूर्ण राशि भी अगर हम एकत्र कर दें और शिक्षा पर ही व्यय करें तो भी उसकी पूर्ति नहीं हो सकेगी। इस तरह की विशाल समस्या हमारे सामने है। इसको मद्देनजर रखते हुए, भारत की जो आर्थिक स्थिति है उसको मद्देनजर रखते हुए हमें विचार करना है और उसे प्रैक्टिकल रूप में लेना होगा, और इतनी बड़ी राशि कहा से आयेगी इसे हमें सोचना होगा, एक एक करके सोचना होगा।

प्राइमरी एजुकेशन में शिक्षकों की स्थिति अच्छी नहीं है। कोठारी कमीशन ने रिपोर्ट दी कि शिक्षकों के वेतनमान में वृद्धि होना चाहिये। मैं उससे सहमत हूँ। लेकिन रुपया कहा से आयेगा इसका समाधान हमें और आप को मिल कर करना होगा। सरकार जरूर सतर्क है, लेकिन आप को भी सहायता करनी होगी। स्कूल की इमारतों का ही प्रोग्राम अगर होगा तो उसके लिये 1200 करोड़ रु० अभी सरकार के पास नहीं है। और अगर वॉलेन्ट्री आर्गनाइजेशनस मदद नहीं करेंगी तो स्कूलों की इमारतें नहीं बन सकेंगी। इसलिये मैं माननीय सदस्यों

का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहूँगा कि वॉलेन्ट्री आर्गनाइजेशनस से अपने अपने क्षेत्र में जितनी अधिक संख्या में हो स्कूलों की इमारतें बनवाने की कोशिश करें। सरकार भी मदद देगी।

श्री इसहाक सम्मली (अमरोहा) . लेकिन क्या यकीन है कि अगर उनका वेतन यही रहना है तो पढाई का स्टैंडर्ड ऊंचा हो सकेगा। सारे डेवलपमेंट को एक ही चीज पर ला कर खर्च दिया कि पैसा नहीं है इमरानिय प्राइमरी टीचर्स की नजरवाह नहीं बढ़ायी जा सकती है।

لینکن — اسحقان سمہلی (امروہ) —  
 کیا یقین ہے کہ اگر انکا ویتن یہی رہتا ہے  
 تو بڑھائی کا سنڈرٹ اوںچا ہوسکے گا—  
 سارے ڈویلپمنٹ کو ایک ہی چیز پر لا کر  
 رکھ دیا کہ بھسے نہیں ہے اس لئے پرائمری  
 ٹیچرز کی نذرخواہ نہیں بڑھائی جاسکتی  
 [—ہے]

श्री समापति : अब आप बैठें। आप ने उस को रेफर कर दिया है।

श्री डी० पी० यादव : मेरा यह विचार नहीं है कि प्राइमरी शिक्षकों की नजरवाह न बढ़े। मैं तो आरुढ़े मिर्फ दे रहा हूँ कि हमारी समस्या कितनी बड़ी है, इसको नजरअंदाज न करें।

श्री इसहाक सम्मली हमारे एरियर्स मिलने करोड़ रु० पड़े हुए हैं, उनके लिये भी सरकार को सोचना चाहिये। 1300 करोड़ रु० एरियर्स का पड़ा हुआ है।

श्री डी० पी० यादव . इसलिये इस समस्या को ध्यान में रखते हुए हमें प्राइमरी और सेकेंड्री एजुकेशन का तरफ ध्यान देना होगा।

कोठारी कमीशन को रिपोर्ट के बारे में यह कहा गया है कि इसका कोई भी अंश इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं किया गया है। लेकिन मैं बताता

[श्री डी० पी० यादव]

चाहता हूँ कि कोठारी कमीशन की बहुत सी सिफारिशों को लागू किया गया है, खास कर कालेजों में 80 परसेंट इम्प्लीमेंटेशन हो गया है। प्राइमरी और सेकेन्ड्री एजुकेशन के बारे में स्टेट सबजेक्ट होने के कारण केन्द्रीय सरकार का जो हिस्सा होता है वह केन्द्रीय सरकार दे रही है। लेकिन यह स्टेट सबजेक्ट होने के कारण हमारी समस्या है। कोठारी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट का जो हिस्सा प्राइमरी और सेकेन्ड्री एजुकेशन के स्कूलों के अध्यापकों के बारे में है वह इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं हो सका है, शिक्षकों को वह नहीं दिया गया है जो कमीशन ने रिकमेंड किया है। इसको हम पूरा करने की अधिक से अधिक कोशिश करेंगे।

श्री सतपाल कपूर (पटियाला) : कोई डायरेक्शन आप देंगे स्टेटों को ?

श्री डी० पी० यादव : बार बार स्टेटों को लिखते हैं कि अपना हिस्सा लगा कर उसकी पूर्ति कीजिये। लेकिन स्टेट्स के पास रिसोर्सेज की कमी है। इसलिये उनके सामने भी दिक्कत है।

माननीय सेठ गोविन्द दास जी ने बड़े भाव भीनी शब्दों में भाषण दिया कि यहां पर रिजिजस सेंट्रीमेंट्स को, धर्म की शिक्षा में लाना चाहिये। यह एक अच्छा सुझाव है और हर आदमी को...

श्री सतपाल कपूर : मैं इस बारे में एक क्लेरिफिकेशन चाहता हूँ।

समापति महोदय : इंटरप्शन एक हद तक ठीक है। यह तो डायलोग होने लगा है।

श्री डी० पी० यादव : कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने एन० सी० ई० आर० टी० के बारे में कहा। सम्भव है उसमें मानवीय कमजोरियां हो सकती हैं। लेकिन मैं कह सकता हूँ कि भविष्य में वहां कोई खामियां न हों इस बारे में स्टैप्स लिये गये हैं और जो सुझाव हमारे साथियों ने

दिये हैं, तथा कुछ साथियों ने लिख कर दिया है, उसको हमने इम्प्लीमेंट किया है और जो भी उचित सुझाव उसके विकास के लिये होगा उसको माना जायगा।

पाटलीपुत्र मेडिकल कालेज के बारे में माननीय चन्द्रप्पन ने कहा। उन्हें बताना चाहता हूँ कि एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री से सम्बन्ध नहीं रखता है, हैल्थ मिनिस्ट्री से सम्बन्ध रखता है। अच्छा होगा कि हैल्थ मिनिस्ट्री से कहा जाय।

सेकेन्ड्री एजुकेशन में माइंस और आर्ट्स की पढ़ाई में इम्प्रूवमेंट के सम्बन्ध में हमने एन० सी० ई० आर० टी० के माध्यम से और रीजनल कालेज के माध्यम से जो कुछ भी किया है वह चाहे कम भले हो, लेकिन प्रगति अच्छी हो रही है इसका माननीय सदस्य विद्वान रखें। हम ने अच्छी-अच्छी किताबें निकाली है।

माननीय चन्द्रप्पन ने आज फिर पी० एल० 480 के बारे में कहा जिस का जवाब कल ही माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री ने दे दिया था, वह इससे सैटिस्फाइड थे। पी० एल० 480 का दुरुपयोग नहीं हो रहा है। उस बारे में इतनी ऐलर्जी की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। एशियन कोलंबोरेशन से बम्बई में एक आई० आई० टी० बनाया है, उसके बारे में आप को एतराज नहीं है। लेकिन कानपुर में जो अमरीका की कोलंबोरेशन से आई० आई० टी० चल रहा है, जो बहुत ही बढ़िया इंस्टीट्यूट है, उस पर बहुत ज्यादा बायेंस्ड चार्ज होता है। मैं माननीय सदस्य से कहूंगा कि इतना ज्यादा बायेंस्ड हो कर अटक न करें।

माननीय पाराशर जी का यूनिवर्सिटी की यूनिफार्म पोलिसी के बारे में जो सैन्ट्रल गायबेंस का सुझाव है, यह एक अच्छा सुझाव है। इस पर मंत्रालय जरूर विचार करेगा।

श्रीमती मुकुल बनर्जी ने दिल्ली के एजूकेशन के बारे में और यहां के शिक्षकों के बारे में कहा है। वह बात हम लोगों के विचारार्थ है और सोचते हैं कि उसका समाधान हो जायगा क्योंकि कोठारी कमीशन की रिपोर्ट के दायरे के अंदर वह आता है। उस रिपोर्ट के दायरे के अंदर जो आयेगा उसके इम्प्लीमेंटेशन में हमको कोई ज्यादा झंझट का मुकाबला नहीं करना पड़ेगा।

श्री देवेन्द्र सत्यजी जी ने श्री अविन्दा आश्रम स्कूल के बारे में जो कहा है मैं उनको विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि उसकी स्थिति को देख कर जो भी मदद हम दे सकते हैं वह देंगे, और अगर वह शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में अच्छा उपयोगी होगा तो उसका अनुसरण हम भी करेंगे।

कुछ मित्रों ने त्रि-भाषा फार्मूले के बारे में कहा है। उस बारे में मैं अभी कुछ नहीं कह सकता हूँ। उसका जवाब मंत्री जी देंगे। लेकिन हम लोगों को किसी न किसी रूप में एक ऐसी भाषा को अपनाना होगा जो हमारे राष्ट्र की भाषा है, हमारी अपनी भाषा है। इसके विकास के लिये हमने क्या किया है, वह मैं माननीय सदस्यों को बनाना चाहता हूँ। अभी हमने 18 करोड़ ६० हज़ार स्टैट को एक, एक करोड़ ६० भाषा के डेवलपमेंट के लिये दिया है। भाषा के डेवलपमेंट के लिए यूनिवर्सिटी स्टेज की किताबें लिखने के लिए हमने एक एक करोड़ रुपये दिया है। यह कम राशि नहीं है, मैं समझता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्य इससे सहमत होंगे।

श्री डी० एन० सिन्धु (गोपालगंज) :  
खर्च नहीं हो रही है।

श्री डी० पी० दास : हमारा धर्म था कि हमने रुपया दे दिया और विश्वास करके दे दिया। अगर खर्च नहीं हुआ है तो उसका फालो अप एक्शन करेंगे। सेनापति सेना पर विश्वास करेगा लेकिन अगर सेना भागने की कोशिश करे तो इसमें सेनापति का क्या कसूर है।

इस प्रकार मैं समझता हूँ कि आज की इस

बहस के दौरान जो कुछ भी सुझाए आए हैं वे बहुत अच्छे सुझाव हैं और मन्त्रालय इन पर विचार करेगा। मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि मन्त्रालय का ज्यादा क्रिटीसिज्म नहीं हुआ है।

SHRI HAMENDRA SINGH BANERA (Bhilwara) : Sir, I am sorry to say that the most vital policy of education has been experimented by all the ministers who were made in charge of this portfolio. The education ministers who, rolling on cushions and improving their health by the tonic effect of adulation, power and garlands, were busy in tampering with it, toying with it and burying it in false egalitarianism.

Sir, the Education Ministers are not interested in the next generation, but are mostly interested in the next general elections. The Education Minister who is also in charge of the affairs of West Bengal, as has been said by some of my friends as the military ruler of West Bengal, is going to relinquish this portfolio and we shall have to face a new Education Minister.

The way Shri Siddhartha Shanker Ray showed interest when he took charge was heartening. But now he has been assigned the duty of utmost importance, and I wish him all success. He comes from a family who have a brilliant and distinguished record of serving this nation during the independence era. I hope the Herculean task ahead of him—to weed out the antinational elements—will be carried out by him, befitting the traditions of his family.

I remember in 1967, what the Education Minister has said once, regarding the educational policies. He highlighted the point that the main weakness with us has been not the lack of ideas but the failure to implement known and even agreed programmes. So, it seems clear from it that the implementation is faulty. I will not be surprised if one day our Planning Commission will fall in line with the Pentagon of the United States.

As compared to other States, Madhya Pradesh has acted as a very good boy to the Education Minister. The glorious example of the out come of our national educational

[Shri Hamendra Singh Banera]

policies suggested by the Central Government can be seen in the case of Madhya Pradesh. Every time the Central Government suggested a change in the educational policy, the State of M. P. was the first to implement it and the result is not brighter. But the reputation of M. P. is the worst among the universities of the nation. I want to know why the suggestion contained in the Kothari Commission's report has not been implemented in M. P.

The gap between the nations advanced in science and technology and those like ours is increasing in explorably. There should have been a detailed study in depth to find out how the courses of study should be revised and other activities reorganised to make them more relevant to the needs of the country.

I understand that the educational plans are long-term plans and long-term projections of needs and resources are beset with serious uncertainties. But now the time is up when we should stop playing with the fortunes of millions of young men, who are frustrated because of the failure of educational policies and to take up the matter to give stability to this policy with seriousness.

Starting with primary education, I pity the the under-paid staff. In Japan and some other countries, the salary of a primary teacher and the university teacher is the same. If we cannot reach that standard, we can certainly bring about some improvement.

In Rajasthan, primary education is under the panchayats and they have made a mess of the whole system with their petty views of political attitudes. We should realise that the foundation is laid in a young boy during this period of primary education.

I am glad something is being done in regard to the compulsory and free primary education in the country. The Education Minister, as the Chairman of the committee which is examining this aspect, should expedite this work and action should be taken to reach this goal of free and compulsory primary education.

Secondary education requires great attention of the Ministry. It has been found that a student of agriculture in the secondary school has a tough time in setting down to his further

studies when he leaves the higher secondary school, because the course are comparatively difficult and fresh in the first year of the four year degree course of B.Sc. (Ag). During the secondary education, basic knowledge of the subjects should be imparted to a student so that he does not find difficulty in his further studies.

No educational system in India can be satisfactory if it does not meet the needs of the rural areas and if it does not have the following objectives in view : 1. Training of farmers' sons who will go back to their farm and work on them more effectively. 2. Training of a variety of persons for education, extension work, etc. 3. Training of research.

Ours is *krishi-pradhan* country and it is necessary to extend all facilities to agricultural education in India. It should be ensured that agricultural education reflects the agricultural policy of the nation and represents in effect the cardinal features that should influence the economic development and democratic growth which the nation has decided to promote under the national plan.

We must recognize the basic fact that farming provides the biggest avenue of employment and is the basic source of food and other human needs. There can be nothing more important to the country than a suitable system of education for imparting a sound knowledge of agriculture and farming.

To build up a welfare state we will have to achieve high level of competence in those to be trained at various levels in agricultural education, which forms a major task of the present stage of our development. The agricultural universities and institutions should require our attention. At a time when the national needs of increased agricultural production are paramount and technical personnel are required in large numbers, both in public and private sectors to make our soil yield more and better crops, dealing with our agricultural education in all its facets in the country and a thorough overhauling of the system is necessary.

Jansangh is not against English language or any other foreign language. To have close relation with other nations of the world we

should learn these languages. The policy towards languages in the field of education should be as follows. Primary education should be in the mother tongue. Middle and high school education should be given in regional languages and the study of Hindi should be compulsory. Students who speak Hindi language should learn in addition any other Indian language. The study of Sanskrit should be made compulsory. Grants to Sanskrit institutions should be increased. The greatest national treasure we possess today in the literature of Sanskrit. When other nations are showing interest in it, why are we neglecting it? Is this because its learning would hamper the progress of achieving socialism for which the present government is mad?

The language problem should be settled once and for all in the national interest. I do not see any reason why this government with a massive mandate is running away from it. I know you cannot please everybody but the reign of this country is with you and we expect that every action that you take would be in the national interest.

Youth service again is a very delicate problem. The role of the NCC is of great importance. The set up of the NCC Units in the country and the administration of NCC by the defence personnel are praiseworthy. But we are not taking full advantage of this department by making the NCC voluntary. In Rajasthan, for example where a huge amount is spent on the set up of the NCC, should it not be made compulsory? A student undergoing this training learns discipline which we fail to impart in schools. It is a good thing. There are very many advantages and I feel that it should be made compulsory.

More youth centres should be opened and programme performed to develop understanding in the youth and to make him feel responsible in fulfilling the great and pious task ahead him in strengthening India in every field.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have exceeded your time.

SHRI HAMENDRA SINGH BANERA: I would need another two minutes. I want to mention the Vice-Chancellor of the BHU over here. Incidentally, I happen to represent the same area, Bhojwara, which returned Dr. Kalu

Lal Shrimali, the ex-Education Minister, in the year 1962. If I may remind the House, Shri Kalu Lal Shrimali had resigned from the Nehru Ministry under the Kamaraj Plan in 1964 and it was said that the resignation followed under the Kamaraj Plan was to strengthen the party organisation. Example counts more than precept. Shri Shrimali, after his resignation, was appointed the Vice-Chancellor of the Bangalore University and from there he has moved to BHU. I do not doubt his ability because he hails from Udaipur but would certainly like to mention here that Shri Shrimali is more interested in political activities in the BHU rather than in working for its improvement. The herculean task made by Shri Madan Mohan Malaviya in bringing the name of BHU in the same prominence as was of Nalanda is being shattered by the present Vice-Chancellor of BHU. Certainly, he has strengthened the party organisation in BHU rather than improved it. His indulgence in students' union activities, sheltering the bad elements and favouring groupism and partialism in promoting lecturers without their competence, is responsible for the unrest and disturbance in the BHU.

The appointment of the Vice-Chancellor should have a criterion and if it is absent at present, it should be formulated and implemented. Non-political persons with high educational experience should replace such persons whose appointment to such a vital post is politically motivated. We have so many high cadred educationists in our country and they should be given a chance.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE (SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY): Mr. Chairman. I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to intervene on these Demands. I will confine my remarks to the activities of the Department of Social Welfare.

The Constitution provides certain safeguards for the welfare of the under privileged classes in the society and also lays down certain obligations on the Government to protect and promote the welfare of the backward classes.

Article 46 of the Constitution says :-

"The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in

[Shri K. S. Ramaswamy]

particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

With this end in view the Department of Social Welfare has been implementing certain special measures in addition to the general development programme. Our achievement in these 20 years is not what we wanted it to be, yet we have really achieved something which we may boast of. It may be less but it is not insignificant. We have done something and I want to narrate some of the progressive things that this Department have been able to do in these twenty years. If you see the allocation of funds, we have been getting every year more funds from the Planning Commission.

17 hrs.

In the First Plan period we got Rs. 26 crores which rose to Rs. 78 crores in the Second Plan and in the Third Plan it was Rs. 102 crores. During the inter-plan period, i. e. 1966-69, an amount of Rs. 69 crores was spent on these programmes and if the States are also added to this, the total amount comes to Rs. 375 crores.

During the Fourth Plan period the Central allocation is Rs. 142 crores and the States will spend Rs. 37 crores per annum and the total will come to Rs. 327 crores. In the first three Plan periods we spent Rs. 375 crores while in this Plan period we are spending about Rs. 327 crores.

AN HON. MEMBER : It comes to Re. 1 per head.

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY : It may be and it may be less also. But we have to fight for more funds and in future we shall get more funds and we shall see to it that even this amount is spent properly and it produces good results. That is more important.

SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI : What is its percentage when compared to the total plan ?

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY : I don't have the figure now.

SHRI R. P. ULAGANAMBI : May be very much less.

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY : We are con-

cerned with the development of the Backward Classes who are backward economically, educationally and socially. Unless these Backward Classes progress well in education, they cannot make any progress economically and also socially. So, our emphasis is on education. If we give education to all people, I think, the social evils will disappear. Unless and until we get cent per cent literacy in this country ; this curse of untouchability, I am afraid, will not go from this country. So, we should give them more education.

Mr. Bhandare said that there should be universal primary education. Definitely this will benefit both castes and non-caste students. So, in the educational field I will mention what has been our progress.

In 1931 the literacy rate for the Scheduled Castes was 1.9% as against the general literacy rate of 9.5%. This rose to 10.27% for Scheduled Castes in 1961 as against the general literacy rate of about 24%. Thus while in the case of general population the literacy rose about 3 times, in the case of the Scheduled Castes it rose to 5 times. As for the Scheduled Tribes, literacy rate in 1931 was 0.7% in 1961 it was 8.54%, i.e. the literacy percentage rose 12 times. This, in the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes the growth of literacy has been at a far greater pace than that of the general population.

SHRI B. P. MAURYA : Can we know anything about higher education ?

SHRI K. S. RAMASWAMY : In post-matric education also the improvement has been considerable. In 1950-51, 1316 scholarships were awarded to the Scheduled Caste students. The number rose to 42,071 in 1960-61. In 1970-71 it is 1,57,000. In the case of Scheduled Tribes, the corresponding figures are 348, 6871 and 29,200. Thus, there are at present about 120 times as many Scheduled Caste students undergoing higher education as there were in 1950-51, while in the case of Scheduled Tribes the number has gone up about 85 times.

After education comes the employment. Now, we have fixed reservation in services for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes people. Recently we have raised the reservation for Scheduled Castes from 12½ to

15 per cent and in the case of Scheduled Tribes it has been raised from 5 to 7½ per cent. We are making very good progress and for the last 6 years, from 1964 onwards, we are able to recruit for the IAS and IPS enough to satisfy the quota reserved for these two classes.

Then again, with regard to the combined competitive examination, we are able to achieve the quota. It is true that the backlog is there and it will take sometime to clear that. But we are proceeding according to our programme and there is no lagging behind.

To assist the candidates of scheduled castes/tribes to prepare themselves for the examination and get good marks and passes, we are having one institution at Allahabad for pre-examination training. That institute is doing very good job and producing very good results. About 20 or 25 students appear for the examination every year and get pass. In one year it has produced 50% results. We are encouraging more and more number of students to come and join the Allahabad institute and get the benefit of it. We went to set up pre-examination institutes in the States for the State Services and also for LIC, Banks and such other things. We have already got institutes established in Andhra, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Orissa, U. P., West Bengal and also in Delhi. We have fixed reservation in the industrial training institutes for these people and some stipends are given as a sort of encouragement. As on 31-1-1970, there were 13,641 scheduled caste candidates and 2,402 scheduled tribes candidates undergoing training in 356 industrial training institutes.

On the economic development side, the problem is with regard to the landlessness of these people. They don't have enough land to cultivate. Somebody remarked that 46% of them are landless labourers. So, in this connection States have to do something and we take this up with the States. During the years 1950-61 (10 year period) about 36 lakh acres were allotted to the scheduled castes/tribes and between 1961-65, about 1.5 lakhs acres were allotted to about 50,000 persons. During 1965-66 about 3 lakh acres were allotted to the scheduled castes and about 1.32 lakh acres to the scheduled tribes. Almost all the State Governments have also enacted laws to pre-

vent the alienation of lands belonging to scheduled tribes.

We have got about 500 tribal development blocks functioning throughout the country. Some of these are there for 10 years. They have not made much progress. So, instead of expanding the block, we are concentrating in the same blocks, for another 5 years, and we will be spending Rs. 10 lakh for each block in this 5-year plan. Till 1968-69 we have spent Rs. 39 crores on these blocks.

11 Tribal Research Institutes have been set up throughout the country to coordinate the research activities of the central organisations and to advise how the tribal welfare activities can be conducted.

Another thing we are doing is the nutrition programme. We have started this on a wide scale. The children suffer from nutritional deficiency. Because of malnutrition, they are affected very much and we should take care of them. If their health is taken care of at this age, 0-6, they will become better citizens. Otherwise they will not be in very good physique and mental state. So we are concentrating on giving this nutritional aid to the children. Last year we spent about Rs. 4 crores which benefited about six lakhs of children, and this year we have raised it to 20 lakhs, and so far we have been able to benefit 8.44 lakhs of children in 7700 centres. This is confined to tribal areas and also slum areas in big towns consisting of a population of one lakh and more. The UNICEF has appreciated our work with regard to the children and in the past two years they have doubled their grant to our children activities in the country. They have also given one-fifth of the total amount so far given to the under developed countries for this purpose.

We are also having many schemes for the welfare of the unfortunate handicapped children who are mentally retarded, who are blind, deaf and dumb. We have got four national centres where they take good care of these people and also do research, and the Department also gives grants to voluntary organisations engaged in this work throughout the country.

We are happy that the parliamentary committee for the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and

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Scheduled Tribes has been constituted now. The previous committee under the chairmanship of my hon. friend Shri Basumatari did good work and produced about 19 reports within a short time and they could get very good cooperation of the Department. We have accepted many of their recommendations and it was only in some cases that we could not accept. With regard to other recommendations, we have sent them to the other Ministries for review.

My hon. friend Shri Ulaganambi mentioned the fact that untouchability was still prevailing. The Elayaperumal committee went into this and had recommended the enhancement of the punishment under the Untouchability (Prevention of Offences) Act. We are seriously thinking over it, and I am going to bring forward a Bill for amending that Act.

He also said that assistant commissioners who were functioning before should be re-appointed. This matter was discussed by the previous commissioner Prof. Bose and he was not in favour of reviving this. Also, the Minister at that time, Shri Asoka Mehta was not in favour of it. But the parliamentary committee went into this matter and have recommended it. Now, it is for the new commissioner who is coming shortly, to look into it and then we shall formulate the proposal.

Regarding the conversion Scheduled Caste students to Buddhism and admission of Scheduled Caste students in prestigious institutions, I shall leave it to the hon. Minister to make a policy statement thereon.

**SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT (Kozhikode):** I am grateful for having been given a chance to speak in the debate on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Education. I am sorry that I have got only a very limited time at my disposal and, therefore, I shall brief and shall deal only with certain important educational problems of our country.

For democracy to succeed, socialism to be established, economic conditions to be improved, industrial efficiency to be enhanced and above all, for unity and solidarity of the nation to be realised, proper education and proper educational facilities for all, is the basic need of the hour. But it is a matter of great regret

that not enough attention is being paid nor are sufficient funds being allotted for the purpose of improving education in our country.

Dr. Mathur has correctly observed in his book.

*Educational Administration :*

"India is still backward, illiterate, poor and emotionally disunited...."

**श्री बी० पी० नौर्य :** सभापति महोदय, मैं एक क्षण के लिये व्यवस्था के प्रश्न पर खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मुझे यह बताया गया था कि लिस्ट में मेरा चौथा नम्बर है। सुबह इसके लिये तैयारी की, कल भी तैयारी की, लेकिन अभी तक नम्बर नहीं आया। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि आप अपने मन से बुलवाते हैं या जो लिस्ट दी जाती है, उससे बुलवाते हैं या जो उसमें तबदीली आती है, उससे बुलवाते हैं। हमको इस बात की जानकारी हो जानी चाहिये, क्योंकि इससे बहुत परेशानी पैदा होती है। हम देख रहे हैं कि नाम काटे जा रहे हैं.....

**सभापति महोदय :** ज्यादा अच्छा तो यह है कि आप इसकी एन्क्वायरी मिनिस्टर-फार-पार्लियामेन्ट्री अफैअर्स से करें। जैसे जैसे लिस्ट देते जाते हैं, वैसे वैसे बुलाते जाते हैं।

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** (ग्वालियर) सभापति जी, यह लिस्ट का क्या मामला है। यह तो आप के अधिकार की बात है।

**सभापति महोदय :** इसमें अधिकार की चुनौती का सवाल नहीं है। जो लिस्ट यहां दी गई है, उनसे बुलाते जाते हैं।

**श्री बी० पी० नौर्य :** जहां तक लिस्ट देने का प्रश्न है, यह प्राइवेट मामला है। जहां तक इस सदन का सवाल है, आप अपनी बुद्धि, शक्ति और योग्यता से सदस्य को बुलवायेंगे, यही इस सदन की परम्परा रही है।

**सभापति महोदय :** आप यही मान कर चलें कि हम अपनी बुद्धि, शक्ति और योग्यता से बुला रहे हैं।



श्री बी० पी० शौर्य : सभापति जी, यह एक बुनियादी मामला है, इसको हम अपने दल में भी रखेंगे.....

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : सभापति जी, वास्तव में यह एक बुनियादी मामला खड़ा हो गया है। आप यह बात स्वीकार करेंगे कि सदन के सदस्यों के नाते हमारे भी कुछ अधिकार हैं और सूची आप के पास पाटियां भेजती है। यह कोई छुपी हुई बात नहीं है, हम भी भेजते हैं। लेकिन अगर किसी मेम्बर को यह शिकायत हो कि सूची में उसका नाम नहीं भेजा जाता है, तो मेम्बर के नाते वह आप से कह सकता है कि आप उसको बोलने का अवसर दें और आप को अवसर देना पड़ेगा।

सभापति महोदय : आप सही कह रहे हैं, लेकिन उन्होंने पूछा था कि आप सूची के मुताबिक चल रहे हैं या नहीं। उन्होंने मेरे अधिकार को चुनौती नहीं दी थीं और मुझे जिसे बुलाना है, उसके बारे में मैंने नहीं कहा कि मैं बुला नहीं सकता हूँ। मैंने जो व्यवस्था दी थी, शायद आपने उसको समझा नहीं। मैंने कहा था कि हम सूची के अनुसार चलेंगे, जहां तक हो सके। इसके मायने यह नहीं है कि सूची से बाहर आगे-पीछे या तरमीम नहीं कर सकते।

श्री स० भो० बनर्जी : मैं चाहता हूँ कि सूची रहे या न रहे, लेकिन कायदा यह कहता कि जो आप की आंखों में समा जाय, उसको बुलवायें।

श्री राम सहाय पांडे (राजनंदगाँव) : जिसको बोलना है, उसको बार बार खड़े हो कर आप की तरफ देखना चाहिये, इस तरह की उत्सुकता सदन में प्रकट करनी चाहिये, आप से आंखें लड़ानी चाहिये और यह बताना चाहिये कि हम बोलने के लिये उत्सुक हैं।

SHRI EBRAHIM SULAIMAN SAIT : I hope the time taken in these interruptions will not be deducted from the time allotted to me.

Sir, I was quoting Dr. Mathur's observations

in his book, *Educational Administration*, dealing with educational problems. He says :

"India is still backward, illiterate, poor and emotionally disunited." The Centre should take more interest in education. The glaring disparities in the quantum, content and provision of education in various States of the country can be removed only if the Centre is actively engaged in formulating sound policies of education and implementing them."

I hope our present dynamic and able Education Minister will not leave us and go but remain in this Ministry, and formulate sound educational policies according to the need of the hour. I would like to suggest that in our universities we must establish Employment Council Bureaus as in foreign universities, in USA. I want this because they will go a long way to find jobs for our younger generation and give them proper advice to find right jobs for themselves.

The student community in our country do not get proper encouragement through scholarships from the Government for studies abroad and therefore they have to depend upon scholarships of British and American universities. I hope attention will be paid to rectify this sorry state of affairs,

Coming to the Aligarh Muslim University, you are well aware that this noble institution has been established by the efforts and sacrifices of the Muslim minority for last one century. But today I am pained to point out the fact that the University is being run under the emergency legislation of 1965. There is no democracy there. The Court, the Vice-Chancellor etc. are governing like autocrats. Promises were made by the Late Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and later the present Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, repeatedly, that a new Bill would be introduced as early as possible maintaining the minority character of the university and fulfilling the aspirations of the Muslim minority. Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed was entrusted with the task of finding a solution. He had appointed a Committee known as Baig Committee. The recommendations of his committee have been before the Government since 1968. Speaking last year during the discussion on

[Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman Sai]

the Demands of the Education Ministry I also demanded that the Bill should be introduced at the earliest. The then Education Minister, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, replying to the debate said in April, 1970 and I quote :

"I took the matter to the Cabinet and I have decided to introduce the Aligarh Muslim University Bill as early as possible. I will try to introduce this during this session, otherwise it will be introduced in the next session."

This was the promise made by the previous Education Minister also but nothing has been done so far. So many sessions were held afterwards. Last Parliament was dissolved and we have now a new Parliament today. I am sure the new Education Minister who is so sympathetic towards the minorities and is dynamic in character, will see that the new Bill of the Aligarh Muslim University is introduced and passed as early as possible.

Sir, no justice has been done so far to the Urdu language also. It is not a language of any particular community. It is the heritage of both Hindus and Muslims. It is a common heritage as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru declared. It is the only language that can bring about national integration, but it is being denied its proper place. Promises have been made so many times and even the Prime Minister recently said that she had issued instructions to the States with regard to Urdu, but we do not know what those instructions are. We want that justice should be done to this language and that it should be legally made a second regional language in Bihar, U. P., Delhi and Madhya Pradesh.

I have come to know that a grant of Rs. 1 crore was made for the development of Urdu language in 1967 or 1968 for writing books and translating books in Urdu for higher studies in the Universities. In April 1969 Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao convened a meeting of the various educationists, Vice-Chancellors and Members of Parliament etc. and a Board was established called the Taraqi-e-Urdu Board. The office of the Board, I learn, housed in one room of the Commission of Terminology for Scientific and Technical Terms. Nothing

substantial is being done by the Board. The staff is not interested in Urdu, and this money is being wasted. I would, therefore, request the Education Minister to give us details about the functioning of the Taraqi-e-Urdu Board and the contribution it has made for the progress of Urdu so far.

In conclusion I demand a clear cut assurance from the Education Minister that the new Bill of the Aligarh Muslim University will be introduced as early as possible, the democratic system will be established making court and council elective and above all the aspirations and hopes of the Muslim minority-retaining the character of the University.

At the time of the last elections the manifesto of the Congress Party has made some promises to the minorities about educational institutions and Urdu language in particular. I am happy that the forces of democracy and secularism won in the last mid-term poll to Parliament. The Muslim minority had a share in the same. Therefore, I say we have great expectations and I hope the Muslim minority particularly which supported the forces of secularism and democracy and socialism in this country will not be disillusioned and their faith in secularism will not be shaken. This can happen only by doing justice to the minorities while dealing with their problems connected with Urdu and the Aligarh Muslim University.

श्री बी० पी० सौर्य (हापुड़) : सभापति जी, सबसे पहले मैं आपको हार्दिक धन्यवाद देना हूँ कि आने मुझे बोलने का शुभ अवसर दिया। राष्ट्र के जीवन में शिक्षा प्राण का स्थान रखती है। शिक्षा, बिना राष्ट्र भाषा के विकसित हो नहीं सकती। दुनिया का कोई भी राष्ट्र ऐसा नहीं है जिसने अपनी मातृभाषा के अलावा किसी दूसरी भाषा को आधार बनाकर विकास किया हो। आज देश में शिक्षा के पीछे रहने के जहाँ और बहुत से कारण हैं, जहाँ हम अध्यापकों को ठीक से वेतन नहीं देते, जहाँ और भी बहुत से कारण हैं जिनको मैं गिनाना नहीं चाहता क्योंकि बहुत से सम्मानित सदस्यों ने उन पर अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं—

वहां सबसे बड़ा कारण यह है कि देश में हम शिक्षा को विदेशी भाषा में पढ़ाते हैं। विदेशी भाषा चाहे जितनी ही सुन्दर क्यों न हो, जिस तरह से एक नर्तकी चाहे जितनी ही सुन्दर क्यों न हो व्याहृता के पुत्र को मां का प्यार नहीं दे सकती, ठीक उसी प्रकार से विदेशी भाषा भी चाहे जितनी सुन्दर क्यों न हो, चाहे जितनी अच्छी क्यों न हो, चाहे जितनी लचीली क्यों न हों वह कभी भी राष्ट्र का विकास नहीं कर सकती है। यदि सरकार शीघ्र ही इस देश का विकास चाहती है तो इस देश की शिक्षा-दीक्षा और पठन-पाठन का कार्य राष्ट्र भाषा हिन्दी में होना चाहिए। मैं शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में यह भी निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि जहां हम शिक्षा को बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण समझते हैं वहां शिक्षा मंत्रालय को उतना ही पीछे रखते हैं। मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि शिक्षा मंत्रालय को रक्षा मंत्रालय के आधार पर रखना चाहिए। शिक्षित समाज चाहे जितना कमजोर क्यों न हो, यदि वह बुद्धिजीवी है तो उसे कोई भी गुलाम नहीं बना सकता है हमारी हजारों वर्षों की गुलामी का कारण हमारी शिक्षा की कमी रही है। अगर हम शिक्षा में आगे रहे तो फिर कभी भी वह नौबत नहीं आ सकती है इस लिए जहां तक शिक्षा का सम्बन्ध है, उसपर ज्यादा से ज्यादा ध्यान रखा जाना चाहिए, अभी तक हम शिक्षा को पीछे रखते चले आये हैं। मेरा विश्वास है कि भविष्य में शिक्षा को भुलाया नहीं जायेगा। आज 23 वर्षों के बाद भी हम डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल्स की धारा 45 को लागू नहीं कर पाये हैं—यह शिक्षा मंत्रालय के दिवा-लियेपन की निशानी है।

**संविधान का आर्टिकल 45 कहता है :**

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

क्या इसकी पूर्ति हम 23 सालों में कर पाये हैं? क्या बीसवीं सताब्दी में हम इसकी पूर्ति कर पायेंगे? अगर हम इसकी पूर्ति नहीं कर पाए

तो हम कभी भी देश का विकास नहीं कर पायेंगे देश का विकास लम्बी सड़कें बनाकर नहीं कर सकते हैं। देश का विकास बड़े बड़े दफतर और एयर कंडीशन्ड बंगले बनाकर नहीं कर सकते हैं। देश का विकास करने के लिए वृद्धि का विकास करना होगा और बुद्धि का विकास करने के लिए हमें यहां पर 14 वर्ष के बच्चों को—जैसा की हमारे संविधान का डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपुल कहता है—अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क शिक्षा देनी होगी। जब तक सरकार इसको पूरा नहीं करती मैं समझता हूँ शिक्षा मंत्रालय अपने कर्तव्य का पालन नहीं करता है।

अब मैं तुरन्त ही समाज कल्याण विभाग पर आ जाना चाहता हूँ। इस विभाग को शिक्षा मंत्रालय से जोड़कर या और दूसरे विभागों को इसके साथ जोड़कर मैं समझता हूँ शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स, शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज की समस्याओं को एक तरह से पीछे डाल दिया गया है। मेरा विश्वास है कि अगर शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स, शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज का अलग ही एक मंत्रालय रखा जाता तो आज यह दुर्दशा नहीं होती जोकि देखने में आ रही है।

मैं सबसे पहले सरकारी नौकरियों को ही लेना चाहता हूँ। अभी उपमन्त्री बोल रहे थे कि हमने सरकारी नौकरियों में शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स की बहुत तरक्की कर दी—ये नम्बर गिना रहे थे लेकिन सैकड़ा नहीं बता रहे थे। अगर आप शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स एण्ड शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट को देखें तो पेज 36 पर दिया हुआ है कि 31 दिसम्बर, 1967 तक पहले दर्जे की नौकरी में शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग 2.08 थे, दूसरे दर्जे की नौकरी में शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के लोग 3.1 थे। और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज की हालत इससे भी ज्यादा बुरी है। शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लोग पहली कैटेग्री में .57 सैकड़ा थे और दूसरी कैटेग्री की नौकरी में .41 सैकड़ा थे और यहां तक कि तीसरी श्रेणी की नौकरी में उनका नम्बर 1.25 सैकड़ा

[श्री बी० पी० मौर्य]

था। इसलिये मैं इसको आपका एक पोलिटिकल रिजोल्यूशन मानता हूँ जोकि आपके मंत्रालय का है कि आपने शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिये नौकरियों में परसेन्टेज बढ़ाकर 22 सैकड़ कर दिया है लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि इसको आप इम्प्लीमेंट कितना करते हैं यह तो एक पोलिटिकल रिजोल्यूशन हो सकता है। यह शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट आपको बताती है। दो तरह का संरक्षण है। एक सरकारी नौकरियों में और दूसरा राजनीतिक संरक्षण। राजनीतिक संरक्षण के अधीन इसी सदन में 114 सदस्य हैं, लेकिन सरकारी नौकरियों में भी संरक्षण है उसकी पूर्ति आज तक नहीं हो पायी है, जो हमेशा के लिये रहता है। राजनीतिक संरक्षण पहले 10 साल के लिये था। फिर 20 साल के लिये किया गया और अब दुर्भाग्यवश उस की अवधि बढ़ा कर 30 साल कर दी गई है। उसके लिये अनुसूचित और जनजातियों के लोग मिल जाते हैं यहाँ बैठने के लिये लेकिन सरकारी नौकरियों में यह कह कर इससे ऐफिशियेंसी गिर जायगी उनको नहीं लिया जाता है। इस तरह की यू०पी०एस०सी० की रिपोर्ट है। यह जो सरकार के विशेषज्ञ हैं, आर्द० सी० एस० लोग है जिनकी लाल-फीताशाही चलती है यही लोग कहते हैं कि ऐफिशियेंसी गिर जायगी। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर 114 सदस्यों की मौजूदगी से इस सदन की ऐफिशियेंसी नहीं गिरती तो सरकारी नौकरियों में 22 फीसदी लोग रख देने से ऐफिशियेंसी कैसे गिर जायगी ?

मान्यवर, आप सुप्रीम कोर्ट के एक योग्य एडवोकेट हैं, उस कोर्ट का एक फैसला 1968 का है जो आज शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स लोगों की नौकरियों और उन के प्रोमोशन में आड़े आ गया है। मैं उसको पूरा नहीं पढ़ना चाहता, केवल कुछ लाइनें ही पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ, जो इस प्रकार है :

“Article 16, clause 2, prohibits discrimination and thus assures the effective enforcement of the fundamental rights of equality of opportunity guaranteed by article 16(1). The words “in respect of any employment” used in article 16 (2) must, therefore, include all matters relating to employment as specified in article 16(1). Therefore, we are satisfied that promotion to selection posts included both under article 16(1) and (2) does manifest that the scope of clause 4 of article 16 is not co-extensive with the guarantee of equality of all citizens in clause 1 of that article. In other words, clause 4 of article 16 does not cover the entire field covered by clauses (1) and (2) of that article.

For instance, some of the matters relating to employment in respect of which equality of opportunity has been guaranteed by clauses (1) and (2) do not fall within the mischief of the exception to clause 4.

As regards the conditions of service relating to the employment, such as salary, increment, pension, and age, there can be no exception even in regard to the backwardness of citizens. The only matter which clause 4 covers is a provision for the reservation of appointments in favour of the backward class of citizen. It is well-settled that clause 4 of article 16 is an exception, is not an independent provision and it has strictly to be construed.

It is also necessary that the language of article 16 (4) has to be interpreted in the context and background of article 335 of the Constitution. In other words, in making a provision for reservation of appointments or posts, the Government has to take into consideration not only the claims of the members of the backward classes but also the maintenance of efficiency of administration which is a matter of paramount importance.”

श्रीमन्, इस फैसले के बाद सरकारी नौकरियों में अब कोई रिजर्वेशन नहीं रह गया है, न इनीशियल स्टेज पर और न प्रोमोशन की स्टेज पर। जब तक आर्टिकल 335 में से

"consistently with the maintenance of efficiency" इन शब्दों को न निकाल दिया जाय तब तक नौकरियों में कोई रिजर्वेशन नहीं रह गया है। अगर सरकार सही माने में यह महसूस करती है कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स को सरकारी नौकरियों में उगती आबादी के लिहाज से जगह मिलनी चाहिए तो अनुच्छेद 335 का संशोधन करना बहुत ही अनिवार्य हो जाता है इस फैसले के पश्चात्।

अभी मंत्री महोदय कह रहे थे कि पिछले वर्ष तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की बेहबूदों के लिये 375 करोड़ रु० खर्च किया। अगर इसको आबादी पर बाटा जाय तो शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के एक आदमी पर एक सान्ने में एक रुपया आता है। हम सरकार को इन आकड़ों को बनाते समय थोड़ा सा ध्यान करना चाहिये कि वह क्या रहने जा रही है। हम वर्ष भी जो 10 करोड़ रु० खर्चा है वह एक रुपये से भी कम एक व्यक्ति पर आता है। क्या इस तरह से आप शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की समस्या को हल कर सकते हैं जिनका शोषण 'जारी सान्नों से हुआ है ?

ममय चूँकि कम है इसलिये कुछ शब्द मैं खेतिहर मजदूरों के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। उनकी समस्या बहुत भयंकर है। आज देश के बहुत से क्षेत्रों में जनतंत्र का सजाक बन कर रह गया है। बड़े जमींदार अपनी ताकत के बल पर या तो अपने इशारे पर वोट डालवा देते हैं, या खेतिहर मजदूरों को वोट डालने से रोक देते हैं। अति सर्वहारा वर्ग के लोगों को सही माने से जनतंत्र देने के लिये उनको जमीनों मिलनी चाहियें चाहे एक एकड़ ही क्यों न हो। वह उस पर अपनी झोपड़ी बनायेगा, आजादी से रहेगा, अपनी गाय भैंस को खड़ा कर सकेगा और आजादी से चल फिर सकेगा। उत्तर प्रदेश और पंजाब में सीलिंग लागू है, 50 एकड़ की सीलिंग है उत्तर प्रदेश

में। लेकिन एक, एक जमींदार आज भी हजार से डेढ़ हजार एकड़ जमीन अपने पास रखे हुए हैं। सीलिंग का कानून केवल कागज के पन्नों तक ही सीमित रह गया है। इसके साथ ही साथ आप यह देखेंगे कि पंजाब में एक एक आदमी के पास डेढ़ से दो हजार एकड़ जमीन है जिसको अपने नाम पर, अपने पड़ोसियों के नाम पर मुजरे पर कर रखा है। अभी परसों में फाजिल्का गया था वहाँ एक मजिस्ट्रेट ने मुझे बताया कि वहाँ के जमींदारों ने जमीन को कुत्ता और बिल्लियों के नाम पर चढा रखा है। इन परेशानियों को दूर करने का एक ही उपाय है कि सही माने में सीलिंग को लागू किया जाय और शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों को जमीन दी जाय।

जहाँ तक राजनीतिक संरक्षण का सवाल है, मैं इस पर ज्यादा नहीं बोलना चाहता। लेकिन मैं यही कह सकता हूँ कि राजनीतिक संरक्षण अगर शक्तिशाली रहा होता तो आज 23 वर्षों की आजादी के बाद हम भिखारी के रूप में यहाँ पर मांग नहीं रहे होते। हम शक्ति का प्रदर्शन करके 114 सदस्य स्वयं फैसला कर सकते थे। राजनीतिक संरक्षण ने दास अधिक और स्वाभिमानी नेता बहुत कम पैदा किये हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि राजनीतिक संरक्षण जो आप धोपना चाहते हैं बनाय इसके शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को सुधारे, उनको शिक्षा दें, उनको जमान दें, उनके बच्चों की पढ़ाई की व्यवस्था करें। इन सब चीजों के कर देने के बाद उनको और किसी तरह की आवश्यकता की जरूरत नहीं रह जायगी। आज कुछ विशेष व्यक्ति उसका लाभ उठा लेते हैं, लेकिन उनको तहीं मिलता है। इस देश की सरकार को आज उनकी ओर जाना पड़ेगा। उद्योग में उन्हें आगे बढ़ाने के लिए आप कितने ही पब्लिक कारपोरेशन्स बनाये उससे उनको लाभ नहीं मिलेगा। शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स को उद्योग में आगे बढ़ाने के लिए कुटीर उद्योग को बढ़ाने के लिये आपको

[श्री बी० पी० मोदी]

अलग से उनके लिए धन देना होगा। उनके लिये अलग से फायनेन्स कापीरेशन बनाना होगा। उन के शोषण को रोकने के लिये और भी बहुत मे तरीके है, लेकिन समय मेरे पाम अधिक नहीं हैं इसलिये मैं ज्यादा डिटेल मे नहीं जाऊंगा।

अब मैं बुद्धिज्म पर आता हूँ। श्रीमन्, मैं भी स्वयं एक शोषित समाज की मा की कोख से जन्मा हूँ। लेकिन आज मैं यह स्वाभिमान के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि मैं राजनीतिक संरक्षण का भिखारी नहीं हूँ। हिन्दुस्तान का कोई भी स्वाभिमानी नेता अगर यह समझे कि वह जनतंत्र का प्रतीक है तो मैं भी उम से किसी माने में कम नहीं। मैं राजनैतिक संरक्षण को लानत मानता हूँ। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोग जो बौद्ध हो जाते हैं उन की माली हालत और सामाजिक हालत बदलती नहीं। आप कानून में उनको हिन्दू ला से गवर्न करते हैं। आप सिख को, जैन को, बौद्ध को और हिन्दू को हिन्दू ला से गवर्न करते हैं। तो जब आप हिन्दू ला से गवर्न करते हैं तो उन को वे तमाम सुविधायें जो हिन्दू होने पर मिलती हैं वे बौद्ध होने पर भी मिलनी चाहिये वरना बहुत सी समस्यायें आगे खड़ी हो जायेंगी।

**SHRI DASARATHA DEB (Tripura East):** Sir, it is admitted that the scheduled castes and tribes and other backward communities are the most handicapped people. They are backward socially, economically and educationally. I do not like to deal with this because it is an admitted fact. But it is not admitted by our Government and the country as a whole that to eradicate these difficulties, our Government has done less so far. Large chunks of landless peasants and unemployed people belong to the scheduled castes and tribes and other backward classes. I have seen in my part that whenever we demand certain arrangements for safeguarding the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, particularly of the Scheduled Tribes in the eastern region, we are told that the tribal

development block has been formed to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Tribes and also to save them from alienation of land. But our experience shows that tribal development block is no guarantee at all to safeguard the interests of the tribal people in the matter of alienation of land.

In Tripura we have five tribal development blocks. In almost all the tribal development blocks more than 50 per cent of the tribal people who have been residing there are alienated from the land and these people are roaming from one place to another in search of jobs. So, the tribal development block does not help them.

Then, we are talking of reservation in the services for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. I want to point out that not a single tribal has been appointed as either BDO or project officer in the tribal development blocks even though in Tripura there is no dearth of tribal people for appointment to such posts. Even one per cent of the posts are not filled by tribal people. When even peons are not appointed from the tribal people what is the point in saying that you are going to provide jobs to tribal people. It is simply not taking place in our part and our Government is pursuing a policy which does not serve the interests of the tribal people there.

Secondly, as I have pointed out on a number of occasions, more than 4,000 tribal people have been alienated from their land during the last ten years. Though I have drawn the attention of the Government to this, nothing has been done so far. Now there is a provision that transfer of land from a tribal to a non-tribal is not permissible without the permission of the Government but it is very easy to get such a permission. It could be easily managed. Therefore, we have suggested that transfer of land from tribal hands to non-tribal hands must be made a cognisable offence. Otherwise, you cannot check this transfer. I would suggest that Government should come forward with legislation prohibiting the transfer of land from tribal to non-tribal hands.

Coming to education, particularly of the people living in the tribal belt, it will not be possible for each and every area to have a

high school or higher secondary school. Now those schools are located generally in the towns or in non-tribal areas and the people who are living in the hilly areas are not able to take advantage of these schools because they do not get residential accommodation in the towns. Therefore, Government should start a number of hostels so that they can accommodate these students belonging to the Scheduled Tribes there.

Grants for books and stipends must be made eligible to all students belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, irrespective of their merits. Otherwise, you cannot help them to get education because these people are very poor and they cannot afford to spend so much money. Therefore I request the Education Minister and his ministry to look after all these problems and see that these difficulties of getting education and other things of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are removed.

**\*\*SHRI L. K. DUMADA (Dahanu):** I belong to one of the sub castes of the Worli-community, which is a scheduled tribe in the Thana district. My constituency includes the Palgher, Dhanu, Talasari, Javher, Morewada, Shahapur, Talukas and a part of the Igatpuri talukas of the Nasik District. Excluding the railway areas, the remaining parts of the Palgher and Dahanu talukas are mountainous and 90 per cent of the people there are scheduled tribes and harijans. The remaining 10 per cent of the people i. e. non-tribals live in much the same way. This area is backward and mountainous, and therefore the government has started some development schemes in these areas. The schemes are being worked by Panchayat Samitis of the Jilla Parishad. The schemes are not being implemented with sufficient speed. Though the government is of the view that the economic and social development of the tribes should take place rapidly, the programme will not gain any momentum, so long as the tribals themselves do not think they should become prosperous and happy. Through ignorance they are not able to shake off the habitual poverty.

Education is the chief means of eliminating poverty. But in this part education is not efficient; the government has opened schools

in all the villages, but the tribals cannot take advantage of them because they are farm labourers, that is, they work on other people's farms and migrate to towns in the summer season and so cannot give education to their children. Due to this economic strain it is impossible for them to get education.

So my suggestion is that these village schools should be closed and a school within a radius of 5 miles be established in each central place and children of the tribals be kept in hostels there and the whole expenditure should be borne by the Central Government. The children who are educated should be given jobs. Simultaneously schemes of irrigation should be taken in hand in these areas, forest lands given to the tribals and they should be enabled to build houses by giving them teak wood free. In this way alone it is possible to promote the education and around economic development of these people.

**श्री धर्मराव अफजलपुरकार (गुलबर्गा) :**

सभापति महोदय, एजुकेशन के बारे में बड़ी देर में इस मदन में काफ़ी दिलचस्पी की बहस हो रही है। कहावत है "विद्या विनु मनुष्य पशु ममाना"। मनुष्य को जीवित रखने के लिए जैसे अन्न, पानी और हवा की जरूरत है, उसी तरीके में इस बीमवीं शताब्दी में मनुष्य के नाते से जीवन व्यतीत करने के लिए शिक्षा बहुत ही आवश्यक है। इस चीज का ध्यान रखते हुए जब हम सोचते हैं कि भारत सरकार की ओर से आजादी मिलने के बाद शिक्षण के क्षेत्र में क्या इक्लाब आया है तो देखते हैं कि कोई भी इक्लाब या कोई नब्दीनी नहीं हुई है। बल्कि हम उस जमाने को बाद आती हैं जबकि मैकाले ने एजुकेशनल सिस्टम को इस तरीके से पेश किया था कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर हजारों की तादाद में गुलामाना जहिनियत के लोग पैदा हों और उनकी हकूमत ठीक ढग से चलती रह सके। आजादी मिलने के बाद हम देखते हैं कि बड़ी बड़ी बातें की जाती हैं, नेशनलिज्म की बात कही जाती है, सैक्युलरिज्म का सबाल खड़ा किया जाता है, जम्हूरियत की दुहाई दी जाती है, दुबलबली

\*\*The original speech was delivered in Marathi.

[श्री धर्मराव अफजलपुरकार]

का सवाल पेश किया जाता है लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि ये सारी चीजें जो हमारे देश की संस्कृति है, सभ्यता है, तहजीब व तमद्दुन है, उसके सामने फीकी पड़ जाती हैं। जब तक हम अपने बच्चों को सही तालीम नहीं देंगे, जब तक हम अपने तर्जों तालीम को इनकलाबी शकल नहीं देते हैं, नए ढंग से शिक्षण की व्यवस्था नहीं करते हैं, उस वक्त तक ये तमाम चीजें बेकार होंगी। खेती के मैदान में हमने कुछ तरक्की की है, कारखानों की स्थापना की है और भारत सरकार ने करोड़ों रुपया इन पर खर्च किया है, बड़े बड़े डैम बनाये हैं, बड़े बड़े कारखाने कायम किये हैं, नेशनल हाइवेज बनाये हैं, मीलों सड़कों का निर्माण किया है और हो सकता है कि इस सब की वजह से देश की आर्थिक परिस्थिति में कुछ सुधार हुआ हो लेकिन बुद्धिजीवी जिस को कहते हैं वे हम तैयार नहीं कर पाये हैं। हुबलवती के वास्ते भी यह जरूरी था कि हम लोगों के अन्दर शिक्षा का प्रसार करते और सही ढंग की शिक्षा उनको देते। मनुष्य के जीवन का तथा उसकी बुद्धि का जो विकास होना चाहिये, उस में जो इनकलाब आना चाहिये वह शिक्षा के बगैर नहीं आ सकता है। जिस तरह से हम डिफेंस को अहमियत देते हैं उसी तरह से हम को शिक्षण को भी अहमियत देनी चाहिये थी। जब तक यह नहीं होता है इस देश के सामने जो सवाल खड़े हैं वे हल नहीं हो सकते हैं।

हमारे देश में ऐसे ऐसे मदरसे हैं जहां पर टीचर्स नहीं हैं और अगर टीचर्स हैं तो ब्रिटिंडंज नहीं हैं और अगर ये दोनों हैं तो बच्चे नहीं हैं। यह ऐसे ही हो रहा है जैसे अंधी पोसे और कुत्ते खाये। यह जो लापरवाही शिक्षण के बारे में भारत सरकार की ओर से बरती जा रही है इसको रोकने की आवश्यकता है। शिक्षण की व्यवस्था और अच्छी व्यवस्था करके ही हम जो कुछ भी हासिल करना चाहें कर सकते हैं। अगर शिक्षण की व्यवस्था नहीं होती है तो मनुष्य मनुष्य नहीं कहला सकता

है। आप नेशनल प्लान बना रहे हैं लेकिन बगैर शिक्षण के जो हमारी मंजिले मकसूद है, उस तक हम पहुंच नहीं सकते हैं। इस वास्ते शिक्षा को आपको बहुत ज्यादा अहमियत देनी होगी। चौथे प्लान में इसके वास्ते आपने 823 करोड़ रुपये रखे हैं जबकि जरायत के लिए 1125 करोड़ और कम्युनिकेशन और ट्रांसपोर्ट के लिए 3025 करोड़ रखे हैं। क्या वजह है कि इस कदर लापरवाही और बेददी आप शिक्षण की तरफ दिखा रहे हैं। यह व्यवहार नितान्त अनुचित है।

आप देखें कि आजकल हो क्या रहा है। जो पोलिटिकल लीडर हैं वे शिक्षण संस्थाओं में घुस जाते हैं और अपना सुधार करना शुरू कर देते हैं। एक बिजिनेस सा यह उनका चालू हो गया है। एक इंडस्ट्री बन गई है, काटेज इंडस्ट्री बन गई है। मैं अपने क्षेत्र की ही मिसाल आपके सामने रखता हूँ। वहां एक शिक्षण संस्था है जिसका नाम है हैदराबाद कल्चरल एजुकेशन सोसाइटी। 1958 में इसको रजिस्टर किया गया। 1959 में इसके वास्ते कुछ इंतखाबात हुए। 1959 से 1969 तक किसी को कुछ मालूम नहीं है कि जो 50 जी० सी० ने लाखों रुपया दिया है वह कहा गया है। उसकी जांच पड़ताल के लिए कोई तैयार नहीं है। उसके एकाउंट्स का आडिट नहीं हुआ है। जनरलबाडी की मीटिंग तक नहीं बुलाई गई है। जनरलबाडी के सामने एकाउंट्स पेश नहीं किये गये हैं। कोई रेजोल्यूशन पास नहीं हुआ है। पिछले साल 26 जनवरी को लोगों ने वहां हड़ताल की। 44 दिन तक हड़ताल बराबर जारी रही। श्री चन्द्र शेखर, श्री कृष्ण कान्त वहां आए। वहां मीटिंग बुलाई गई, पब्लिक मीटिंग हुई। हम लोगों की एजिटेशन को खत्म करने के लिए श्री वीरेन्द्र पाटिल ने हमारे ऊपर लाठी चार्ज करवाया। उस के बाद उन दोनों को और मुझे गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। पिछले अगस्त में हमारा एक डेलीगेशन यहां आया।



प्राइम मिनिस्टर को हमने मेमोरेण्डम दिया । वह मेमोरेण्डम उन्होंने यू जी सी को भेज दिया । तब एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर डा० वी०के०आर०वी० राव होते थे । वह बड़ी बड़ी बातें किया करते थे । उन्होंने हमें यह कहा कि यह हमारा विषय नहीं है, हमारा सबजैक्ट नहीं है । हमने कहा कि यह सबजैक्ट आप का नहीं है तो आप पैसा क्यों दे रहे हैं । अगर सैटर की ओर से दिया गया पैसा ठीक ढग में खर्च नहीं हो रहा है, अगर उसका काउंट नहीं रखा जा रहा है, उसका आडिट नहीं हो रहा है, तो आप पैसा क्या देते जा रहे हैं । पैसा जिस काम के लिए दिया जा रहा है उस पर वह खर्च नहीं होता है तो क्या आप इसको देखेंगे नहीं ? पिछले साल में अब तक न यू जी सी ने कुछ किया और न एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर ने । अब तो वहा पर गवर्नर का राज्य है, सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट उसके लिए जिम्मेवार है । मैं प्रार्थना करना हू कि अब तो आप इस ओर ध्यान दें । ऐसी जो एजुकेशनल सोसायटीज बनी हुई है, इस तरह की एजसीज जो बनी हुई है, जो प्लेटफार्म बने हुए हैं और जिन से जो मकसद आप हासिल करना चाहते हैं और वह हासिल नहीं होता है तो क्या यह आपका कर्तव्य नहीं है कि उप ओर आप ध्यान दें ? अगर आपने ऐसा नहीं किया तो बहुत बड़ा अन्याय हो जाएगा और अन्याय ही नहीं बल्कि इसमें बढ कर और कोई बदकिस्मती इस देश की नहीं हो सकती है । जो भविष्य में आने वाले तालिब इल्म है और जो हकूमत की बागडोर अपने हाथों में सम्भालने वाले हैं, उन लोगों की तरफ अगर इस तरह से लापरवाही के साथ हम पैसा आये तो देश कहा जाएगा, इसका आप बहुत आसानी से अदाजा लगा सकते हैं । मैं कहूंगा कि प्राइवेट एजसीज की कभी भी किसी भी सूरत में एजुकेशन जैसे अहम काम में आपको आने नहीं देना चाहिये ।

जहा तक प्राइमरी एजुकेशन का सम्बन्ध है, सिंगल टीचर स्कूल जितने भी हैं उनके पास कहीं भी कोई डिप्लोमा नहीं है । ये स्कूल

या तो मस्जिदों में हैं या मन्दिरों में हैं या आसखानों में हैं । जहा तक मन्दिरों और मस्जिदों का सबाल है हरिजनो और गिरिजनो के बच्चों को अन्दर आने नहीं दिया जाता है । अगर कोई टीचर भी इन जानियों का होता है तो उसको भी अन्दर आने नहीं दिया जाता है । इस तरह से बच्चे और टीचर दोनों ही मडको के हवाले हो जाते हैं । वे लोकलिटी में आवागामी करते फिरते हैं । उस तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं देना है । बड़ी बड़ी यूनिवर्सिटीज हमने कायम की हैं, कालेज बनाये हैं लेकिन प्राइमरी स्कूलों और सिंगल टीचर स्कूल जो हैं, उनकी तरफ किसी का ध्यान नहीं है । जब तक बुनियाद मजबूत न हो महल खड़ा नहीं हो सकता है । महल को अगर आप सुन्दर देखना चाहते हैं, महल अगर आप बनाना चाहते हैं तो बुनियाद को आपको मजबूत करना ही होगा । ये जो बच्चे हैं ये हमारे देश की अमानत है, हमारी दीनत है । जो बच्चे मदरसों में या कालेजों में पढते हैं वही हमारी सम्पत्ति है । अगर उम तरफ आप ध्यान नहीं देंगे तो क्या होगा ? आज हम क्या देखते हैं ? इयूटी का कोई पालन नहीं करता है । डिप्लोमा नहीं है । डिवाइशन नहीं है, डेडिकेशन नहीं है । बड़ी बड़ी बातें की जाती हैं लेकिन जो बुनियादी चीजें हैं उनको तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है । स्ट्राइक होती है । स्टुडेंट्स टीचर्स को मारते हैं, टीचर्स तालिब इल्मों को मारते हैं । यह सारी जो गडबड़ी चल रही है यह क्यों चल रही है ? इसका कारण क्या है ? कारणों को आप को खोज करनी होगी । मैं समझता हू कि जब तक मिस्टम आफ एजुकेशन नहीं बदलेगा उस वक्त तक इस तरह की चीजें होती रहेगी । ये बड़े कारखाने हैं जिनमें से अनमोल रत्न निकलने वाले हैं । अगर हम इन में से अनमोल रत्न नहीं निकालेंगे, उसकी व्यवस्था नहीं करेंगे तो आने वाले दिनों में हकूमत की बागडोर को कौन सम्भालेगा ? मैं चाहता हू कि इस ओर आप ध्यान दें । जिस तरह से मुल्क की

[श्री धर्मराव अफजलपुरकार]

हिफाजत करने के लिए आप आर्मी को मजबूत करना चाहते हैं उसी तरह से कालेजों यूनिवर्सिटियों, मदरसों और प्राइमरी एजुकेशन को आप ठीक ढंग से चलायें, उसको मजबूत आधार प्रदान करें। कांस्टेबलज तक के लिए आप क्वार्टर बनाते हैं। लेकिन टीचर्स के लिए आप नहीं बनाते हैं, ऐसा क्यों? उनके लिए भी बनने चाहियें। प्राइमरी स्कूल टीचर्स की तनख्वाह भी अधिक होनी चाहिये, वह भी बढ़नी चाहिये। उनके लिए रहने का कुछ न कुछ प्रबन्ध अवश्य होना चाहिये। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि अच्छे बच्चे, पढ़ लिख कर अच्छे नागरिक वहाँ से निकलें तो आपको टीचर्स की तरफ विशेष ध्यान देना होगा। बुनियाद को आपको मजबूत करना होगा।

श्री हरी सिंह (सुर्जा) : भारत में निर्माण कार्य चल रहे हैं और देश ने प्रगति की ओर चरण बढ़ाये हैं। लेकिन वास्तव में तरक्की और उन्नति अगर आप करना चाहते हैं तो यह बहुत आवश्यक है कि आज हमारे जो विद्यालय हैं वे सही अर्थों में शिक्षा के केन्द्र बनें। हम देखते हैं कि देश में प्रगति हुई है और हो रही है। साथ ही साथ हमारे देश में शिक्षा का प्रसार भी हुआ है। विद्यार्थियों की संख्या भी बढ़ी है, स्कूलों की तादाद भी बढ़ी है। लेकिन इस सब के साथ साथ हम यह भी देखते हैं कि जो पढ़ने वाले हैं उनका जो मारल स्टैंडर्ड है, जो नैतिक स्तर है, वह भी गिर गया है। जो स्कूल से निकलने वाले विद्यार्थी हैं वे अपराधी मनोवृत्ति के होते चले जा रहे हैं। उनकी मनोभावना अपराध करने की तरफ होती है। जहाँ आप को विद्यार्थियों को साइंस की, टेक्नोलॉजी की तथा अन्य प्रकार की शिक्षा देते हैं वहाँ यह भी बहुत आवश्यक है कि उनको नैतिक शिक्षा भी दी जाए और इसको आप लाजिमी करार दें। वरना यह जो अपराध करने की मनोवृत्ति है यह बढ़ती ही चली जाएगी। हम देखते हैं कि देश में नक्सलाइट बढ़ रहे हैं, एकसट्रीमिस्ट बढ़ रहे हैं। उनको

पनाह देने वाले जो लोग होते हैं, जो उनको शरण देने वाले लोग होते हैं या जिन स्थानों पर उनको शरण मिलती है, वे हमारे स्कूल और शिक्षा के केन्द्र ही होते हैं।

18 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARI in the Chair.]

हमारे देश में प्राइमरी, हाई और इन्टर-मीडिएट स्कूलों के अध्यापकों की आर्थिक हालत बहुत खराब है। आप जानते हैं कि उन की तनख्वाहों और उसी स्तर का अन्य काम करने वालों की तनख्वाहों में बहुत फर्क है। जब एक अध्यापक देखना है कि उसका पड़ोसी कर्मकैन की बंसी बजा रहा है और वह स्वयं सुबह से शाम तक बच्चों को ऊंचे आदर्शों की शिक्षा दे कर जब घर आता है, तो उसको अपनी बीबी से दाल आटे के बारे में झगड़ा करना पड़ता है, अपने दैनिक जीवन में कई कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ता है, तो बच्चों को अच्छी शिक्षा दे कर उन को अच्छे नागरिक बनाने का उसका सारा उत्साह ठूठा हो जाता है। इस लिए यह आवश्यक है कि प्राथमिक और माध्यमिक स्कूलों के अध्यापकों और विश्व-विद्यालयों के प्रोफेसर्स की तनख्वाहों में अनुपात 1, 2 और 3 का होना चाहिए। उन की आमदनी में जो डिसपैरिटी है, उनको शीघ्र से शीघ्र एबालिस करना चाहिए।

आज उत्तर प्रदेश में नई-नई किस्म के स्कूल खुल गये हैं। यह एक तरह का उद्योग चल पड़ा है, जिस में बहुत झट्टाचार हैं। लोग सरकारी विभाग से मिल कर स्कूलों के नाम पर रुपया कमा रहे हैं। इस लिए मंत्री महोदय से मेरा अनुरोध है कि इन्टरमीडिएट तक की शिक्षा को केन्द्र अपने हाथ में ले ले—बाकी शिक्षा को स्वतंत्र छोड़ दिया जाये, लेकिन इन्टर-मीडिएट तक की शिक्षा का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर दिया जाये, वरना शिक्षा के द्वारा अपने देश का उत्थान करने का हमारा जो उद्देश्य है, वह पूरा नहीं हो पायेगा। अगर सरकार चाहती है

कि इस देश में शिक्षा को आगे बढ़ाया जाये, अगर वह चाहती है कि यहाँ पर विज्ञान की तरक्की हो और हमारे विद्यार्थी साइंस के द्वारा चन्द्रमा और सूर्य तक पहुँचें, हमारे जो स्कूल भ्रष्टाचार और साम्प्रदायिकता के अड्डे बन गये हैं, उन में इन कुप्रवृत्तियों को खत्म किया जाये, तो इन्टरमीडिएट तक की शिक्षा का राष्ट्रीयकरण करना चाहिए।

हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश में शिक्षा की एक यूनिकार्म व्यवस्था नहीं है। एक विश्वविद्यालय या बोर्ड में प्राइवेट विद्यार्थियों को परीक्षा देने की अनुमति है, जब कि हमारे विश्वविद्यालय या बोर्ड में नहीं है। उदाहरण के लिए मध्यप्रदेश में प्राइवेट विद्यार्थी के रूप में परीक्षा दी जा सकती है, जब कि दिल्ली में उस की इजाजत नहीं है। मेरा सुझाव है कि मेरे देश के विश्वविद्यालयों में प्राइवेट विद्यार्थी के रूप में परीक्षा देने की सुविधा दी जानी चाहिए। जो विद्यार्थी रेगुलर तौर पर बी० ए० तक पढ़ चुके हैं, उन को एम० ए० की, जो इन्टरमीडिएट तक पढ़ चुके हैं, उन को बी० ए० की और जो हाई स्कूल तक पढ़ चुके हैं, उनका इन्टरमीडिएट की परीक्षा प्राइवेट विद्यार्थी के रूप में देने की अनुमति दी जानी चाहिए और केन्द्र को इस सम्बन्ध में आवश्यक नियम या कानून बनाने चाहिए।

आज दिल्ली में अजीब-अजीब तरह के स्कूल चल रहे हैं, जिन में भोले-भोले विद्यार्थियों को फनाया जाता है और डिग्री या सर्टिफिकेट दिलाने के लिए खूब रुपया एँठा जाता है। ऐसे प्राइवेट स्कूलों के पेट्रन या ओहदेदार के रूप में बड़े बड़े लोगो, मसदा सदस्यों और मन्त्रियों के नाम लिखे होते हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि मंत्री महोदय ऐसे स्कूलों का बाकायदा सर्वे करायें और उन के बारे में आवश्यक कार्यवाही करें।

आप जानते हैं कि आज हमारे समाज की क्या हालत है। आज हमारे समाज में समानता

का कोई सवाल ही नहीं है। हरिजनो पर जो रुपया खर्च किया जाता है, वह एक रुपया प्रति-व्यक्ति से भी कम पड़ता है। उसमें से भी बहुत सा रुपया भ्रष्टाचार और दफतरो में गायब हो जाता है। अगर हमारे देश और समाज में बराबरी ला कर उस का उत्थान करना है, अगर छुआछूत को मिटाना है, अगर इन्मान को इन्सान का स्थान प्राप्त कराना है, अगर इस देश को दूसरे देशों के मुकाबले पर खड़ा करना है, तो समाज वन्याण के लिए एक अलग मन्त्रालय बनाया जाना चाहिए।

मैं मन्त्रालय की डिमांडज फार ग्रान्ट्स का अनुमोदन करता हूँ।

**समापति महोदय** माननीय सदस्य जानते हैं कि आज हाउस का टाइम बढ़ा कर 7 बजे कर दिया गया है। इस का मतलब यह है कि इस समय में मंत्री महोदय जवाब भी दे देंगे और इन मन्त्रालय पर चर्चा आज समाप्त हो जायेगी। मेरे सामने सदस्यों की जो लिस्ट है, वह इतनी बड़ी है, जिस की कोई हद नहीं है। (व्यवधान) माननीय सदस्य मेरी बात सुन लें। अगर माननीय सदस्य यह चाहते हैं कि मिनिस्टर माहब कल जवाब दें, तो कल इस मन्त्रालय पर एक डेढ़ घंटा और लग जायेगा, जिन का नतीजा यह होगा कि कुछ मन्त्रालयों की डिमांडज गिलोटीन हो जायेगी। (व्यवधान)

**डा० कालाश (बम्बई दक्षिण)** . मिनिस्टर साहब श्री राय, अभी कह गये हैं कि वे कल जवाब देंगे। (व्यवधान)

**श्री इसहाक सम्मली (अमरोहा)** : चेयरमैन साहब इस हाउस में अब तक प्रोग्राम की सरटेन्टी रही है। आज यकायक हाउस का टाइम एक घंटा बढ़ा दिया गया। मुझे मालूम नहीं कि यह फैसला किस तरह हुआ। बिजिनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी में यह फैसला नहीं हुआ। बहरहाल, हम इस फैसले को मानने के लिए तैयार हैं। आप जानते हैं कि मेम्बर

[श्री इसहाक सम्भली]

साहबान किसी बहस पर मिनिस्टर साहब का रेप्लाई सुनने के ख्वाहिशमन्द होते हैं। मेम्बरान को यह ख्याल था कि मिनिस्टर साहब का रेप्लाई आज नहीं होगा, इसी लिए बहुत से मेम्बरान इस वक्त हाउस में मौजूद नहीं इस लिए मेरी दरख्वास्त है कि मिनिस्टर साहब का रेप्लाई आज के बजाये कल करायें। इस एक घंटे में मेम्बरान को बोलने का मौका दे दिया जाये।

[شہی استحق سمبلی (امروہے)]

چیرمین صاحب، اس ہاوس میں ایک پروگرام کی سرٹیفیکی دہی ہے۔ آج یکایک ہاوس کا ٹائم ایک گھنٹہ بڑھا دیا گیا۔ مجھے معلوم نہیں کہ یہ فیصلہ کس طرح ہوا۔ جینیس اتوائزری کمیٹی میں یہ فیصلہ نہیں ہوا۔ بہرحال، ہم اس فیصلے کو ماننے کے لئے تیار ہیں۔ آپ جانتے ہیں کہ ممبر صاحبان کسی بحث پر منسٹر صاحب کا رپلائی سننے کے خواہشمند ہوتے ہیں۔ ممبران کو یہ خیال تھا کہ منسٹر صاحب کا رپلائی آج نہیں ہوگا، اسی لئے بہت سے ممبران اس وقت ہاوس میں موجود نہیں ہیں۔ اس لئے میری درخواست ہے کہ منسٹر صاحب کا رپلائی آج کے بجائے کل کرائیں۔ اس ایک گھنٹے میں ممبران کو بولنے کا موقع دے دیا جائے۔]

संसदीय कार्य तथा नौबहन और परिवहन मंत्री (श्री राज बहादुर) : सभापति महोदय, चूंकि यह बहुत बड़ा इम्पॉर्टेंट सबजेक्ट है, इस लिए आप से पहले जो चेंबरमैन सहब थे, उन्होंने हाउस को कन्सल्ट कर के यह निश्चय किया कि इस के लिए एक घंटा टाइम बढ़ा दिया जाये। जैसा कि आप देख रहे हैं, मेम्बर साहबान चाहते हैं कि उन्हें बोलने का मौका दिया जाये, इस लिए मिनिस्टर साहब आज रेप्लाई न करें, कल करें। हम लोग हाउस के हार्थ में हैं। हाउस इस बारे में फैसला करे। लेकिन स्वीकर साहब ने एक इस तरह टाइम बढ़ाने पर आपत्ति की थी और कहा था कि

बिजनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी में ही टाइम को बढ़ाया या कम किया जाये। इस लिए अच्छा तो यह था कि आज ही मिनिस्टर साहब का रेप्लाई हो जाता, लेकिन आप देख रहे हैं कि माननीय सदस्यों की भावना इतनी प्रबल है, इस लिए मैं अपने महयोगी, शिक्षा मंत्री जी, से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस मंत्रालय पर बाकी डीबेट आज पूरी हो जाये और केवल-मात्र उन का रेप्लाई कल हो जाये।

श्री रामशेखर प्रसाद सिंह (छपरा) : सभापति महोदय, सुबह से ही इस विषय पर चर्चा हो रही है और मैं बड़े ध्यान से इस चर्चा को सुनता रहा हूँ। मेरे पूर्व-वक्ता श्री मौर्य जी जब बोल रहे थे, उन की बात को भी मैंने बड़े ही ध्यान से सुना और उन की भावना को समझने की कोशिश की। मैं भी उन की इस भावना से सहमत हूँ कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों को यदि अवसर दिया जाय तो वे दूसरों के मुकाबले अधिक अच्छा काम कर सकते हैं, लेकिन उन के साथ अच्छा व्यवहार नहीं होता है, जिस की वजह से उन की तरक्की नहीं होती है और इस का प्रमाण मुझे अपने ही क्षेत्र में देखने को मिला। मेरे अपने जिले में शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के दो अफसर थे—एक सहदेव राम जो एम० पी० थे और दूसरे ब्रह्मदेव राम जो छपरा के एम० डी० ओ० थे। इन दोनों अफसरों के काम के बारे में मैं पूरे विश्वास के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि पिछले कई वर्षों में छपरा में इन पदों पर जितने अफसर आये, इन का काम उन के मुकाबले किसी भी तरह से कम नहीं था, लेकिन चूंकि वे नीचो जाति के थे, शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के थे, उन का मिनिस्ट्री में कोई जोरदार प्रतिनिधित्व नहीं था, उन के साथ अच्छा व्यवहार नहीं किया गया, जिस समय वहां पर कर्पूरी ठाकुर की सरकार थी और उस में उस जिले के दो ऊंची जाति के दो मिनिस्टर थे, उन की वजह से उन दोनों अफसरों को झूठा अभियोग लगा कर, जिस से उन का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं था,

बहा से हटा दिया गया, बल्कि उन में से एक श्री बहादेव राम तो उस समय छट्टी पर थे।

इस किस्म की भावना आज छोटे लोगों के अन्दर, गेडयूल्ड कास्ट के अफगनों के अन्दर फैल रही है और यह वाजिब भी है क्योंकि हम उन को किसी भी तरह का प्रोटेक्शन नहीं दे पा रहे हैं। मुझे एक गेडयूल्ड कास्ट के अफगमर ने बताया कि बदली होना कोई बुरी बात नहीं है, लेकिन जिम तरह से हम लोगो को ह्यूमिलियेट किया जाता है, गेडयूल्ड कास्ट को होने की वजह से हमारे साथ जिस तरह का व्यवहार किया जाता है, वह बहुत बुरी बात है। ऊँचे कास्ट के अफगरो के साथ इस प्रकार का व्यवहार नहीं होता है। समापति महोदय मैं आप के माध्यम से सरकार में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इन लोगों को सर्वमैजम सुरक्षा प्रदान करे। एम लोग जो अच्छा व्यवहार नहीं करते हैं, सरकार समय-समय पर उन को नगरानो करे और उन क बिनाफ फायदाही करे।

अब मैं शिक्षा विभाग के अनुदान की तरफ आता हूँ। शिक्षा विभाग मुख्यतया प्रदेश का विषय है और राज्य सरकारें ही इसको करती हैं। केन्द्र अनुदान देता है, पालिसी बनाता है, लेकिन उसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन राज्य सरकारों का काम है। केन्द्रीय यूनिवर्सिटीज के अलावा राज्य सरकारें भी अपने यश लेजिस्लेशन पास करके यूनिवर्सिटीज बनाती हैं। आज ही यह रहा है कि ऐसी यूनिवर्सिटीज बनाने के बाद मन्त्रियों द्वारा उनमें अपने मन के मुनाबिह लोगो को भरा जाता है, अपने लोगो को वाइस चान्सर बनाया जाता है, जिनके द्वारा अपनी जाति या अपने दोस्तो या सम्बन्धियों के काम कराये जा सके। नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि शिक्षा का स्तर धीरे धीरे गिरता जा रहा है। हमारे यहाँ पिछले 10 वर्षों में 1957 से लेकर 1967 के बीच एक जाति के छिप्पी मिनिस्टर ने किस तरह से इस शिक्षा के काम को अपने व्यक्तिगत लाभ के लिये बढ़ावा दिया इसका उदाहरण

मोजूद है। इतना ही नहीं उनके बाद जब एक दूसरी जाति के एजूकेशन मिनिस्टर हुए तो उन्होंने भी यूनिवर्सिटी को अपनी जाति के लाभ के लिये इस्तेमाल करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया।

श्री द्वा० ना० तिवारी (गोपाल गज) : आप किम प्रान्त की बात कह रहे हैं।

श्री राम शेखर प्रसाद सिंह : मैं बिहार की बात कह रहा हूँ। उन्होंने अपनी जाति के आदर्मी को यूनिवर्सिटी कमीशन का चेयरमैन बना कर यूनिवर्सिटी सर्विस कमीशन के माध्यम से सभी कालिजों में अपने आदमियों को भरने का प्रयत्न किया। कालिजों के एफिलियेशन और अनुदान के माध्यम से उनको अपने कंट्रोल में लिया, उनके प्रिन्सिपल और प्रोफेसरो की बहाला में पक्षपात किया। . . .

समापति महोदय यह केन्द्र है, यहाँ बिहार प्रान्त का बात नहीं कहनी चाहिये।

श्री रामशेखर प्रसाद सिंह जब हम यहाँ पर यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रन्थ की बात करते हैं और उसका सारा इम्प्लामेंटेशन राज्य सरकारों के द्वारा होता है तो उसके बारे में रहे बिना काम नहीं चल सकता है। मैं अब आप का ध्यान छतरा नगर का तरफ खींचना चाहता हूँ। हमारे यहाँ पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के नाम पर एक राजेन्द्र कॉलेज है। मन्त्रि महादय, शायद आप भी जानते होंगे, 1938 में गरीबों ने चंडा देकर उन कॉलेज को बनवाया था। पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के अहिंसक विचारों, उन की सरलता, उन की सादगों का सारा देश जानना है और उम्मी के अनुष्प उन सिद्धा मन्दिर को बनाने का प्रयत्न किया गया था, लेकिन आज उन कॉलेज का जति की लडाई का अक्षुब्ध बना दिया गया है . . .

समापति महोदय : शिक्षा प्रान्तीय विषय है, आप अपने भाषण में बिहार की ही चर्चा किये जा रहे हैं।

श्री रामशेखर प्रसाद सिंह . मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उस कॉलेज को राजेन्द्र

[श्री रामशेखर प्रसाद सिंह ]

बाबू के अनुरूप ही बनाने का प्रयत्न किया जाना चाहिये। आप यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन को कहें कि वह बिहार यूनिवर्सिटी पर दबाव डाले कि उस कालिज को राजेन्द्र बाबू के अनुरूप बनाया जाय और वहां पर प्रिन्सिपल की जो बहाली होने वाली है, उसमें जालि-पांति का ह्याल न करके उच्च कोटि के विद्वान व्यक्ति को उसमें रखा जाय।

आज सारे देश में विद्याधियों में अशान्ति फैली हुई है। आप ने देखा होगा कि कुछ दिन पहले बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी के छात्र यूनिनयन के प्रेजिडेन्ट का कल्ल हुआ, विश्व भारती की हालत, अलीगढ़ यूनिवर्सिटी की हालत आप के सामने है, पटना यूनिवर्सिटी के वाइस चांसलर को घेरा गया—इस प्रकार से देश भर में अशान्ति फैली हुई है। इसका कारण क्या है? कारण यह है कि राजनीतिज्ञ लोग अब इसमें इन्टरेस्ट लेते हैं। जिम तरह से विद्या की नीति चलनी चाहिये, उस तरह से नहीं चलने देना चाहते हैं। शिक्षा का अर्थ केवल भाषा ज्ञान ही नहीं है, बल्कि समाज के अनुरूप युवकों को तैयार करना है, जिसमें आज कमी दिखाई देती है। इसलिये सरकार को चाहिये कि यूनिवर्सिटी ग्रांट्स कमिशन की आदेश दे कि ऐसी सस्थाओ को ही अनुदान दे जो हिंसा रहित, उच्च कोटि का अनुशासन अपने यहां बना सकें।

श्री अनन्त प्रसाद भूसिया (बस्ती) : सभापति महोदय, वर्तमान भारतीय शिक्षा का प्रारम्भ लार्ड विलियम बैंटिक के समय से हुआ। लार्ड विलियम बैंटिक ने इस सम्बन्ध में एक कम्प्यूनिक निकाला और उसी को आधार मान कर भारतीय शिक्षा की पालिसी निर्धारित की गई। उस कम्प्यूनिक का कुछ अंश मैं यहां पर दे रहा हूँ—

“The great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European Literature and Science among the natives of India and that all the funds appropriated

for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone”.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I shall call the hon. Minister at two minutes to 7.

श्री अनन्त प्रसाद भूसिया : सभापति महोदय, 1953 में तरकालीन सेक्रेटरी आफ स्टेट फार इण्डिया ने शिक्षा के विषय में इंग्लैंड से एक डिस्पैच भेजा जिसे उस समय की भारतीय शिक्षा का मैगना-कार्टा कहा जाय तो कोई अत्युक्ति न होगी। कथित मैगना-कार्टा में भागतीयना की कोई गुजाइश नहीं थी और इस में जन शिक्षा की ओर कोई संकेत भी नहीं था। इसके बाद 1952 में हण्टर कमिशन की नियुक्त हुई ...

सभापति महोदय : आप ने लम्बा रास्ता अपना लिया है, थोड़े समय में इसको खत्म नहीं कर सकेंगे।

श्री अनन्त प्रसाद भूसिया : इस कमिशन से भी जनसाधारण को कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ। सन् 1931 में गवर्नमेंट ने शिक्षा सम्बन्धी नीति के विषय में एक रेजलोल्यूशन पास किया जिसमें शिक्षा के प्रसार पर अधिक ध्यान दिया गया। 1929 ई० में सर फिलिप होट्टेज के सभापतित्व में एक शिक्षा जांच कमेटी नियुक्त हुई और 1936-37 में मिस्टर एवट और मिस्टर बुड ने अपनी शिक्षा सम्बन्धी रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत की। यह अंग्रेजी की शिक्षा सम्बन्धी रीति नीति की एक बहुत संक्षिप्त व्याख्या है।

सभापति महोदय, सन् 1937 में जाकिर हुसेन की कमेटी की रिपोर्ट आई। इससे लोगों में भारतीय शिक्षा पद्धति में परिवर्तन की एक लहर सी जागृत हुई और बेसिक शिक्षा पद्धति के अनुसार प्राइमरी शिक्षा के प्रसार के लिए योजना बनाई गई। इसी बीच महायुद्ध शुरू हो गया जिससे इस पद्धति में स्थिरता आ गई। इसके बाद सार्जेन्ट रिपोर्ट आई।

इन रिपोर्टों और कमेटियों के बाद कोठारी कमिशन की रिपोर्ट सन् 1966 में आई जो

पहले की सभी रिपोर्टों से अच्छी थी। अगर उसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन ठीक ढंग से हुआ होता तो भारतीय शिक्षा में बहुत परिवर्तन हुआ होता और उससे देश को बड़ा लाभ हुआ होता।

1967 ई० में पार्लमेंट के कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने अपनी रिपोर्ट शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में प्रस्तुत की। माननीय सदस्यों ने शिक्षा शास्त्रियों की भांति बहुत अच्छी रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत की। इसे पढ़ने से माननीय सदस्यों का शिक्षा के प्रति उनका ज्ञान और अनुराग स्पष्ट हो जाता है। यह रिपोर्ट अति उत्तम अनुभव के ऊपर आधारित थी तथा भारतीय वातावरण के अनुरूप थी। परन्तु खेद है कि इसका भी इम्प्लीमेंटेशन ठीक ढंग में नहीं किया गया इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि भारतीय शिक्षा में कोई विशेष परिवर्तन अथवा परिवर्धन समाज के अनुरूप नहीं हो सका इन सभी जांच कमीशनों से शिक्षा का प्रसार तो अवश्य हुआ परन्तु उस में राष्ट्र का उत्थान और मानवता का विकास उचित ढंग से नहीं हो सका जोकि शिक्षा का उद्देश्य है।

**समापति महोदय :** अब आप समाप्त कीजिए।

**श्री अनन्त प्रसाव भूसिया :** इसलिये तात्कालिक सुधार के लिये मेरे कुछ सुझाव हैं :

- 1-प्राइमरी स्टेज से लेकर इण्टरमीडिएट तक शिक्षा को नेशनलाइज किया जाये :
- 2-सेकेन्ड्री एजुकेशन में स्ट्रांग बोकेशनल वायस हो तथा यूनिवर्सिटी स्टेज पर शिक्षा में एप्लीकलर तथा टेक्नोलाजी पर अधिक ध्यान दिया जाये।
- 3-शिक्षा संस्थाओं में राजनीति, साम्प्रदायिकता तथा जातीयता का समावेश न होने दिया जाये।
- 4-केन्द्रों तथा प्रान्तों में हरिजन तथा आदिवासियों की शिक्षा और आर्थिक

सुधार के लिए तथा उनकी सुरक्षा के लिए पृथक मंत्रालय स्थापित किया जाये।

**समापति महोदय :** अब आप बैठिये। श्री साधू राम।

**श्री साधू राम (फिल्लौर) :** सभापति महोदय, आज मैं समाज कल्याण और एजुकेशन डिमाण्ड्स का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। लेकिन एक बात जो मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स को इस देश में बहुत बड़ी संख्या है। दस करोड़ शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स, 5 करोड़ शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और अदर बैकवर्ड क्लासेज को भी डालकर अगर गिन लिया जाये तो कुल 22 करोड़ लोग बैठते हैं। लेकिन फोर्थ प्लान में जो रुपया रखा गया है, में उद्धृत करता हूँ :

“The Planning Commission has made a provision of Rs. 142 crores (Rs. 60 crores for the Central and Centrally sponsored programme and Rs. 82 crores for the Centrally aided programme) for the Fourth Five Year Plan.”

यह 142 करोड़ रुपया जो रखा गया है वह बहुत थोड़ा है। आप एक तरफ समाजवाद का नारा देते हैं और गरीबी हटाओ का नारा देकर हमने लोक-सभा का नास्ट एलेक्शन जीता है लेकिन जो हमारी प्लानिंग है वह उल्टे रास्ते पर जा रही है। यह 142 करोड़ रुपया जो शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और अदर बैकवर्ड क्लासेज के लिये रखा गया है एक साल में उसमें एक रुपये से भी कम एक आदमी पर खर्चा बैठता है। इससे अपलिफ्ट क्या होगा ? गरीबी कैसे हटेगी और देश का डेवलपमेंट कैसे होगा ? समाजवाद का नारा पूरा करने के लिये देश की प्लानिंग जो है वह इस तरीके की होनी चाहिए कि जो बीकर सेक्संस है उनको ज्यादा मदद दी जाये, उनको ज्यादा अपलिफ्ट किया जाये और उनके

[श्री साधू राम]

लिये ज्यादा रकम रखी जाये। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि सारा काम उल्टा चल रहा है, हमलिये मैं समझता हूँ समाजवाद आने में तकरीबन सौ साल लगेंगे। अगर इसी तरह से हमारी गवर्नमेंट चलती रही तो उम्मीद नहीं कि सौ साल में भी समाजवाद आ जाये। मैं समझता हूँ शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के लोगों को जो फ़ैमिलिटीज गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से सविधान ने प्रोवाइड की है वह भी पूर्ण नहीं हो रही है। जैसा कि मीरथी जी ने कहा कि सर्विसेज में बहुत बुरी हालत है। उस आर्टिकिल को इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं होने दिया जाता। कुछ ऐसी भावना नज़र आ रही है कि अब भी उसको पूरा करने में कोनाही की जा रही है। गवर्नमेंट का रवैया भी ऐसा देव रहे हैं कि यह जो बरोड़ो आर्दमियो की प्राब्लम है जिसको कि एक नेशनल प्राब्लम समझना चाहिये, जब उसको डिसकम करने की बात आती है तो कह दिया जाता है कि टाइम नहीं है। पाच मिनट में अपने तमाम जजबात जाहिर कर दो वरना इस पार्लमेंट के पास टाइम नहीं है। आखिर 520 सदस्यो में ये जो 114 या 115 सदस्य बैठे हैं वे भी चुन कर यहा पर आये हैं, उनकी बातों को भी ध्यान में मुना जाना चाहिये और उनकी प्राब्लम्स को गौर में देखना चाहिये।

सभापति महोदय, दो साल पहले शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिये एक वेलफेयर पार्लिमेंटरी कमेटी बनी थी, एक पार्लिमेंटरी कमेटी जिसका मकसद यह था कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के साथ स्टेट्स में और सेक्टर में जो बे इसाफिया हुई हैं, इनजस्टिस हो रही है उसको दूर कराया जाये और पार्लिमेंट में रिपोर्ट पेश करके उन बातों पर पूरा अमल दरायद कराया जाये। उस कमेटी ने एक सिफारिश की थी कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स की स्कालरशिप कुछ और बढ़ा दी जाये। उस रिपोर्ट में लिखा है :

“The Parliamentary Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled

Tribes reviewed the scheme in 1969. The committee *inter alia* recommended the liberalisation of the means test and enhancement of the rates of scholarships. As acceptance of these recommendations would have inevitably led to restricted coverage on account of paucity of resources, it has not been possible for the Government to accept recommendations”

क्या हम तरह में हमारा देश समाजवाद की तरफ जा रहा है ? मेरे ब्याल में यह तरीका ठीक नहीं है। गावों के अपलिफ्ट के लिये चौथी योजना में 50 करोड़ की मद और 25 करोड़ की मद रखी गई है। मैं नहीं समझता कि यह तरह में हम इस देश के लोगों को अपलिफ्ट कर पायेंगे। एक तरफ लैंड रिफॉर्म का मसला है, देश में गरीबी इतनी बढ़ गई है कि करोड़ों को तादाद में शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स बेघर हैं, इस आजाद हिन्दुस्तान में बसने के लिये उनको मकान की जगह नहीं है, और न वे खरीद ही सकते हैं, न उनमें कपडा पहनने की ताकत है और न उनके पास खाने के लिये रोटी है। ऐसी दशा में समाजवाद का नाग देते हुये, गांधी जी को मानते हुए, और टाल मटोल करते हुए, 22-23 माल हा गए हैं—मेरा कहने का मतलब यह है कि कबतक इसको पूरा करेंगे उसकी कोई तो मियाद मुकर्रर करनी चाहिये।

हमने बहुत दफा इस पार्लिमेंट में कहा कि हमके लिये एक अलग से मिनिस्ट्री कायम कर दी जाये क्योंकि यह एक बहुत बड़ी प्राब्लम है, नेशनल प्राब्लम है और अगर गवर्नमेंट सेप्रेट मिनिस्ट्री नहीं बनाना चाहती तो होम मिनिस्ट्री के नहत ही इसको कर दे ताकि इन लोगों का कुछ कल्याण हो सके और उनकी आवाज को भी कुछ सुना जा सके। आज होम मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से भी सर्विसेज के बारे में जो सर्कुलर जाते हैं उनकी बिल्कुल परवाह नहीं की जाती है। अब मैं ज्यादा टाइम न लेते हुए, दो तीन सजेसंस आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। एक तो इस मिनिस्ट्री को जो सभा का कल्याण



मिनिस्ट्री बनी है, सोशल वेल्फेयर डिपार्टमेंट बना है.....

**सभापति महोदय :** आप अपने प्वाइंट्स टेबिल पर रख दीजिए ।

**श्री साधू राम :** घर से ही क्यों न भेज दिया करें । ... (व्यवधान) ... दो मिनट और दे दीजिए ।

मेरा कहने का मतलब यह है कि बीकार सेक्सन की मदद करने के लिये सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से पाब सी करोड़ रुपये से एक फाइनेन्स कार्पोरेशन शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्ज के लिये मुकर्रर किया जाना चाहिए जिसके जरिये से इनके अपलिफ्ट के लिये खर्चा किया जाये ।

जहां तक अनटचेबिलिटी का सवाल है, हम देश में अनटचेबिलिटी इनने जांरों पर है कि उसको देखकर आदमी को हैरानी होती है । पिछले दिनों में उड़ोसा गया था वहां मैंने बौडा ट्राइबल कम्युनिटी को देखा है जो बिल्कुल नेकेड है । उनको देख कर शर्म में सिर झुक जाता है । शहरों में 20 परसेंट लोग रहते हैं और गांवों में 80 परसेंट लोग रहते हैं । इसलिये सच्चा समाजवाद लाने के लिये गांवों के विकास के लिये प्लानिंग में ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये । गरीबों को ऊपर उठाने के लिये जब तक आप ज्यादा रुपया नहीं रखेंगे तब तक देश समाजवाद की तरफ एक कदम भी नहीं चल सकता । इंसान चांद तक पहुंचा मगर इंसानियत की मंजिल अभी बहुत दूर है । जब तक सरकार इनके डेवलपमेंट के लिये, उनको उठाने के लिए, समाजवाद का नारा पूरा करने के लिये, गरीबी हटाओ का नारा पूरा करने के लिये कदम नहीं उठायेंगे तब तक समाजवाद आने वाला नहीं है ।

**श्री जगन्नाथ मिश्र (मधुबनी) :** सभापति महोदय, शिक्षा का मुख्य लक्ष्य यह होना चाहिये कि उसे ग्रहण कर देश के नागरिक योग्य बनें जिससे वे सस्मयाओं का समाधान करने में सक्षम हो सकें । हम देखते हैं कि हमारी बहुत

सी समस्याएँ हैं, जैसे अन्वोत्पादन में हम आत्म निर्भर हों, हमारा आर्थिक विकास हो और सब लोगों को रोजगार मिले, सामाजिक और राष्ट्रीय एकता की स्थापना हो जिससे गणतन्त्र ज्यादा मजबूत हो, स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा हो और जनजागरण हो । इस लिहाज में हमारी सरकार ने शिक्षा के विकास का भरपूर प्रयत्न किया है और वह धन्यवाद की पात्र है ।

1964 में शिक्षा आयोग का संगठन हुआ जिसके अध्यक्ष डा० कोठारी थे । उन्होंने एक प्रतिवेदन पेश किया और उसी बातों पर विचार करने के लिये 1968 में पार्लियामेंट के सदस्यों की एक उप-समिति संगठित की गयी, जिसका प्रतिवेदन इस सदन में पेश किया गया । मैं मसझता हूँ कि अब समय आ गया है कि पार्लियामेंट के सदस्यों की एक दूसरी समिति बने जो यह देखे कि उस प्रतिवेदन के आधार पर किन किन कामों की पूर्ति की गयी और क्या करना अभी बाकी है ।

सरकार ने शिक्षा के व्यापक विकास के लिये संस्थाओं में वृद्धि की है जिसकी वजह से लाखों शिक्षण संस्थाएँ देश में चल रही हैं । शिक्षकों की संख्या 20 लाख है और छात्रों की संख्या 7 करोड़ है । और ऐसा समझा जाता है कि 20 वर्ष में यह संख्या दुगुनी हो जायगी ।

शिक्षा का काम देश में एकता स्थापित करना होता है और यह अच्छी शिक्षा से ही सम्भव है । लेकिन दुख के साथ कहना पड़ना है कि देश में आम लोगों को अच्छी शिक्षा नहीं दी जाती है । रूस में ऐसी व्यवस्था है कि शिक्षा समान रूप में नागरिकों को दी जाती है, अच्छी शिक्षा दी जाती है । उसी तरह की शिक्षा अमरीका, फ्रांस और स्केन्डिनेवियन देशों में भी दी जाती है जिससे सामाजिक और राष्ट्रीय एकता को बल मिलता है । लेकिन हमारे यहाँ इसका अभाव रहने से इस में त्रुटियाँ आई हैं इसलिये मैं चाहूँगा कि इस पर ध्यान दिया जाय ।

[श्री जगन्नाथ मिश्र]

यह कहना कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में विकास नहीं हुआ, सर्वथा गलत होगा। क्योंकि हम देखते हैं आजादी के बाद से विश्वविद्यालयों में 13 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। कालेज जहाँ 1965 में 2572 थे वहाँ 1970 में उनकी संख्या 3450 हो गयी है। इसलिये शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में विकास अवश्य हुआ है, यह इस बात का द्योतक है।

आजकल प्रश्न यह है कि शिक्षा दो और परीक्षा लो। परीक्षा लेना आजकल एक बड़ा जटिल प्रश्न हो गया है। स्कूल कालेजों में जो हंगामा होता है उसका निवारण हो इसकी अपील में अवश्य कसंगा। पढ़े लिखे लोगों को रोजगार देने की व्यवस्था हो।

देश में आप समाजवाद की बात करते हैं। मैं कहना हूँ कि शिक्षा में समाजवाद लायें। आपकी जो रंग बिरंगी पढ़ाई है इससे उन्नति के बदसे अबनति हो रही है। इसलिये आप सबको एक तरह की शिक्षा दें तभी लोगों में विश्वास आयेगा कि समाजवाद आयेगा और सब को समान अवसर मिलेगा।

शिक्षकों को समय पर वेतन दिया जाय, उनकी सेवा की सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था की जाय। बिहार में शिक्षा की स्थिति बड़ी दयनीय है, मेरे पास एक चिट्ठी आयी है बिहार से जिसमें कहा गया है उस में लिखी बातों की चर्चा आप के सामने करूँ। उस में यह भी लिखा है कि अगर आप चर्चा नहीं करेंगे तो इस के लिये आप को दुखद परिणाम भोगना होगा। इसलिये मैं अपनी बातें आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। बिहार में शिक्षा की स्थिति दयनीय हो गयी है। वहाँ अराजकता है। यह कहने कि आवश्यकता नहीं है कि यह स्टेट का विषय है। फिर भी अगर स्थिति बिगड़ जाती है तो क्या आप स्टेट को अपने कब्जे में नहीं लेते हैं? इसी प्रकार अगर शिक्षा की स्थिति बिगड़ रही है तो आपको वहाँ की शिक्षा

प्रणाली को अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिये और शिक्षा के तातावरण को ठीक करना चाहिये। आप उसका राष्ट्रीयकरण करें।

1946 से मिथिला विश्वविद्यालय की चर्चा चली आ रही है। कितने ही इस बारे में प्रश्न हुए। बिहार के मुख्य मंत्री से पूछा गया कि आपने उस बारे में क्या क्या किया। यहाँ जो मन्त्री महोदय से प्रश्न किया। तो जवाब मिला कि विश्वविद्यालय के बारे में मुझे कोई जानकारी नहीं है। अगर इस तरह की स्थिति रही तो मिथिला वालों के साथ अन्याय होगा। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि बिहार में मिथिला यूनिवर्सिटी देने की व्यवस्था की जाय, और जो बातें मैंने कहीं हैं उन पर विचार किया जाय।

सभापति महोदय : श्री एम० टी० राजू।

श्री इसहाक सम्मली : सभापति जी, आपने एक घंटा समय बढ़ाया है तो उसमें से अपोजीशन को 20 मिनट मिलने चाहियें। लेकिन मैं देख रहा हूँ कि आप हमको समय नहीं दे रहे हैं।

[شری اسحاق سمبلی — سہاہتی جی، آپ نے ایک گھنٹہ سمیٹہ بڑھایا ہے تو اُس میں سے اپوزیشن کو بیس منٹ ملنے چاہیئیں— لیکن میں دیکھ رہا ہوں کہ آپ ہم کو سمیٹہ نہیں دے رہے ہیں—]

सभापति महोदय : अभी आप बैठिये।

SHRI M. T. RAJU (Narasapur) : The hon. Minister of Social Welfare had just narrated the progress achieved over the last few decades in the matter of spread of literacy and placement in public services of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. On the basic issue whether in these communities the *per capita* income has registered any increase and, if so, whether such increase is commensurate with the increase of *per capita* income of other sections, the hon. Minister was wholly silent. Similarly, the administrative report circulated to us was also silent on this point. I would

urge upon the Minister that he should undertake a systematic evaluation at least at the end of each Plan period to what extent the per capita income of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has registered an increase and embody the results of that evaluation in the administrative report that might be circulated to us.

Statistics apart, the basic fact remains that the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes remain as wretched as ever. The paucity of funds is a plea which the hon. Minister has himself advanced this afternoon. I ask you whether the paucity of funds is a valid plea at all. So long as our approach to the problem is one of social welfare, which entails no compulsion but only compassion on the part of the State, the excuse may look somewhat valid. But my submission is that the problem is one of social justice and not merely of social welfare. Under social justice it is incumbent on the State to secure for these communities their due place in our national economy.

It was as a measure of social justice that in the Constitution reservation has been provided for in the representation to Parliamentary and to the State Legislatures. It was again as a measure of social justice that reservations have been prescribed for appointments to public services and admissions to public institutions. It is a measure of social justice, I demand, that you must make likewise a similar reservation in the budgetary allocations. So long as you do not make a reservation in the budgetary allocations, whatever else you may do can have no impact on the economic conditions of these communities. Now the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes put together constitute about 20% of the population and the least that we must do, is to earmark not less than 20% of the budgetary allocations for the welfare of these communities. I would, therefore, request the hon. Minister to take it up with the National Development Council to agree to this principle of reservations for the benefit of these communities as a measure of national social policy.

**श्री रामाचतार शार्लो (पटना) :** सभापति महोदय, मैं आप की भारफत मन्त्री महोदय का ध्यान दो तीन बातों की तरफ दिलाना चाहता

हूँ। पहली बात तो यह है कि विश्वविद्यालय में सभी भाषाओं को जानने वाले विद्यार्थी पढ़ते हैं लेकिन मैं बिहार के अनुभव पर यह बतला रहा हूँ कि बिहार के विश्वविद्यालयों में, जो भी हमारे वहाँ पांच विश्वविद्यालय हैं, धीरे-धीरे इस बात की कोशिश हो रही है कि लड़कों को उर्दू, बंगला और उड़िया में जो एग्जामिनेशन पेपर्स लिखने की छूट थी, उसको समाप्त किया जाए। मैंने इस सिलसिले में एक पत्र मन्त्री महोदय को लिखा था और बिहार के अनजुमने तरक्की उर्दू और बंगला एसोसियेशन ने भी इस बारे में लिखा था और उसके उत्तर में इन्होंने लिखा कि इसके बारे में यू० जी० सी० को लिखें। मेरा निवेदन यह है कि आप इस तरह की व्यवस्था करें कि अगर किसी विश्वविद्यालय में अगर कोई बंगला, उर्दू या उड़िया में बा किमी और दूसरी भाषा के लड़के पढ़ते हैं, तो उन्हें उनकी भाषा में प्रश्न पत्र लिखने की इजाजत मिले। जो हिन्दी का प्रश्न पत्र होता है, वह तो हिन्दी में ही लिखने को बे तैयार हैं लेकिन जो दूसरे प्रश्न पत्र है उनके उत्तर उनको उनकी मातृभाषा में लिखने का अधिकार होना चाहिए। यह जो अधिकार छीना जा रहा है, इसको लेकर हमारे बिहार में उर्दू भाषी, बंगला भाषी और उड़ीसा के जो लड़के पढ़ते हैं, उनके अंदर बड़ा असन्तोष है।

दूसरी बात मैं पटना यूनिवर्सिटी के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। उनकी हालत बहुत खराब है और उसको चलाना मुश्किल हो रहा है। वहाँ गुटबन्दी है ही लेकिन पैसे की कमी की वजह से उस यूनिवर्सिटी की, जो कि बहुत बड़ी यूनिवर्सिटी है, स्थिति बहुत खराब हो गई है। उसका स्टैन्डर्ड गिर गया है, लाइब्रेरी ठीक नहीं है और वहाँ पर पूरी किताबें नहीं हैं। विज्ञान की पढ़ाई के सामान भी पूरे नहीं हैं। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन यह है सरकार उस विश्वविद्यालय को अपने हाथ में ले लें और एक मॉडल यूनिवर्सिटी की तरह उसको चलाएँ।

तीसरी बात, सभापति महोदय, यह है कि दिल्ली में जहाँ हम लोग रहते हैं, यहाँ के

[श्री रामावतार शास्त्री]

विश्वविद्यालय में, यहां के मौलाना आजाद मेडिकल कालेज में और इण्डियन इंस्टीट्यूट आफ मेडिकल साइंसेज में, इन संस्थाओं में, बाहर के लड़कों को पढ़ाने की इजाजत नहीं मिलती। मैं चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम 25 परसेन्ट जगहें आप इन संस्थाओं में बाहर के लोगों को दीजिए क्योंकि यह एक मेट्रोपालीटन सिटी है और खुद हमारे मेम्बर आफ पार्लियामेंट वहां पर रहते हैं, बहुत सारे लोग बाहर से आते हैं। यहां पर इस तरह की व्यवस्था हाना चाहिए ताकि बाहर के लोग यहां पर पढ़ सकें।

आखिरी बात, मभापति महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सेन्ट्रल स्कूल सरकार चला रही है और इन स्कूलों का स्टैण्डर्ड बहुत अच्छा है। इन स्कूलों में एजुकेशन का स्टैण्डर्ड ऊंचा करने में मदद मिलती है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन यह है कि हर एक जिले में स्कूल खोलें जाएं। बिहार में और खास तौर से उत्तर बिहार में ऐसा कोई स्कूल नहीं है और वह इस मामले में बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ है इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि उत्तर बिहार में तो जरूर ऐसा सेन्ट्रल स्कूल खुलना चाहिए, वैसे मैं चाहूंगा कि हर एक जिले में इस तरह के स्कूल खोले जाएं। उनके ऊंचे स्टैण्डर्ड को देखते हुए समस्तीपुर में ऐसे स्कूल के लिए कहा गया था। वहां पर रेलवे के बहुत सारे मुलाजिस हैं। रेलवे मिनिस्ट्री ने कहा कि हम नहीं कर सकते, शिक्षा विभाग ही कर सकता है। इसलिए मेरा कहना यह है कि समस्तीपुर में एक सेन्ट्रल स्कूल खोला जाए। अगर वह मामला बिचाराधीन है तो उसको जल्दी से निपटाइए और इसके अलावा और दूसरे जिलों में भी ऐसे स्कूल खोलें। एक बात यह भी है कि जो अध्यापकों को ट्रांसफर करने की नीति अपनाई जाती है, मैं उसके खिलाफ हूँ क्योंकि जो स्टैण्डर्ड बनता है अगर अध्यापक को एक दो साल में ट्रांसफर कर दिया जाता है, तो वहां शिक्षा में व्यवधान हो जाता है और गुटबन्दी होने लगती है। इसलिए

मैं चाहूंगा कि शिक्षण संस्थाओं के शिक्षकों को अक्सर ट्रांसफर नहीं करना चाहिए।

SHRI S. L. PEJJE (Ratnagiri) : At the outset, I wish to congratulate the hon. Minister for showing good results, particularly in the field of Higher Education.

If you take the progress made during the last 9 or 10 years in the field of education, you will find that in 1960, there were only 46 universities. But, today we have 83 universities and the total number of colleges in 1960 was 1786 with the total strength of students 11,55,000. But now the number of universities is 83 and the number of colleges is more than 3,200. The number of students attending these colleges is about 28 lakhs.

The University Grants Commission is spending yearly lakhs of rupees, particularly for the accommodation of teachers. That is a problem felt by the teachers. Accommodation for teachers presently numbering more than 19,000 has to be provided. The University Grants Commission has given some figures. The University Grants Commission will require Rs. 120 crores for students' hostels by the end of Fourth Plan period. But uptill now, according to my information, the University Grants Commission has not been able to spend more than Rs. 5 crores for providing hostel and accommodation facilities to students and teachers. The Commission has been given lakhs of rupees of grants to the hostel of the students and extension of buildings.

I want to say that the same attention that they pay for higher education is not shown to secondary and primary education.

So far as primary education is concerned, at the village level there are not trained teachers, there are not enough school buildings there are not good roads, there are not good communications. Primary education has been totally neglected. If 100 students are enrolled in the first class, only 25 to 30 per cent approximately go to the 4th standard, and very few go to the 7th class. That is the case here. Most of the State Governments have made secondary education free with the yearly-income limit. The people living in the village though they are eligible no doubt, hardly get

these concessions because there are no institutions imparting higher or secondary education at the village level ; so, people in the vicinity of the villages are not taking the benefit of the concessions.

So, I would appeal through you to the Government that they should increase the number of hostels so that students coming from countryside can stay in those hostels and conduct their secondary and higher education.

श्री टी० डी० कांबले (लातूर) : सभापति महोदय, शिक्षा तथा समाज कल्याण विभाग की बजट मांगों का मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। इस सम्बन्ध में आपका ध्यान आर्टिकल 45 की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ। जिसमें यह कहा गया है कि मंत्री कम्पलसरी फार चिल्ड्रन एजुकेशन जिसमें 11 वर्ष से चौदह वर्ष की आयु के अवस्था तक के बच्चों को निःशुल्क अनिवार्य रूप से शिक्षा दी जाएगी और उसकी व्यवस्था की जाएगी। यह हमारे नीति के निर्देशक तत्वों में से एक है। हमको आजादी मिलने के इतने सालके बाद भी उसे अमल में नहीं लाया जासका है। इससे हरिजनों और गिरिजनों तथा पिछड़े वर्ग जिनकी माली हालत खराब हो गई है। और भी बहुत से ऐसे लोग हैं जिनकी आर्थिक अवस्था कमजोर है और वे अपने बच्चों को शिक्षा नहीं दिला सकते हैं। वे इससे फायदा उठा सकते हैं। अगर इसको आप लागू नहीं करते हैं तो फिर प्राइमरी एजुकेशन कम्पलसरी करने का क्या अर्थ रह जाता है। यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह राज्यों का विषय है। राज्य कहते हैं कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है। इसका हल यह हो सकता है कि कुछ ग्रांट इस काम के लिए आप उनको दें और कुछ वे अपने पास से धन लगायें तो यह जो काम है पूरा हो सकता है। इससे जो पिछड़े हुए और कमजोर सेक्शन हैं, उनको आगे बढ़ने में सहायता मिलेगी।

अब मैं समाज कल्याण की बात पर आता हूँ। यूनिवर्सिटियाँ और कालेज बड़ रहे हैं। विद्यार्थी काफी संख्या में बाहर आ रहे हैं।

जब तक आप उनके लिए औद्योगिक प्रशिक्षण की भी साथ साथ व्यवस्था नहीं करेंगे तब तक यह जो बेरोजगारी और बेकारी बढ़ती ही जाएगी, इस पर रोक नहीं लग सकेगी।

समाज कल्याण विभाग पहले जो मंत्री महोदय गुजर गए हैं श्री मेनन साहब उनके हाथ में था। उनके बाद श्रीमती फूल रेणु गुह साहिबा इसको चला रही थीं। उनके बाद दूसरे मिनिस्टर साहब आ गए श्री हनुमन्तैया साहब। इस तरह से एक ही साल में तीन मिनिस्टर बदल गए। पहले यह विभाग होम डिपार्टमेंट के पास था। अब यह शिक्षा विभाग के पास आ गया है। इस तरह से इसको जल्दी जल्दी बदलने से लाभ नहीं हो सकेगा और जो समस्याएँ हैं, उनको समझने के लिए समय की कमी पड़ेगी और समस्याओं को सुलझाने के लिए उपाय ढूँढने में समय लगेगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस विभाग को वापिस होम डिपार्टमेंट के साथ जोड़ दिया जाए ताकि ठीक ठीक ढंग से इसका काम चल सके।

जो रुपया रखा गया है वह बहुत ही कम है इसकी कई माननीय सदस्यों ने शिकायत की है। जो शिक्षा की मद में रुपया रखा गया है उसका प्रति व्यक्ति औसत आप निकालें और हमें बतायें कि एक व्यक्ति पर एक वर्ष में आप कितना खर्च करेंगे। केन्द्र की ओर से खर्च होने वाला, राज्यों की ओर से होने वाला और पंचवर्षीय योजना का रुपया जो इस पर खर्च होगा उस सब को मिला कर आप हमें बतायें कि तकरीबन चौदह करोड़ की जो आबादी है, उस पर आप कितना खर्च करने जा रहे हैं और प्रति व्यक्ति औसत उसका क्या होता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसके वास्ते बहुत रुपया खर्च की जरूरत है। अगर आप यह चाहते हैं कि जो सशक्त आदमी हैं उनके साथ असक्त आदमियों को दौड़ाया जाए, तो इससे कोई लाभ नहीं होगा। समाज में समानता कैसे आयेगी? इन लोगों की सामाजिक अवस्था,

[श्री टी० डी० काबले]

आर्थिक अवस्था, शैक्षणिक अवस्था बहुत गिरी हुई है और इनकी तरफ आपका विशेष ध्यान जाना चाहिये। नौकरियों में जो इनका प्रतिशत है, वह पूरा होना चाहिये, जो आपने कायम किया है। आर्थिक अवस्था के सुधार के लिए खेती एक साधन है।

खेती के लिए जो उनको चार पाच एकर जमीन दी जाती है, हरिजनो और गिरिजनो को दी जाती है, उसमें उनका जीवन निर्वाह नहीं होता है। उसको बढ़ाया जाए। कम में कम एक कुटुम्ब की जरूरत उससे पूरी हो।

समापति महोदय एग्रिकलचर पर जब बहस होगी तब आप इसको कह सकते हैं। अब आप समाप्त करें।

श्री टी० डी० काबले : आखीर में विदर्भ एरिया को एक बात में कहना चाहता हूँ। विजय चौक पर एक आदमी ने भूख हड़ताल कर रखी है। उसको मरने से आप बचाये। शडयूल्ड कास्टम शडयूल्ड ट्राइब्स का जो बिल वह पिछले साल लाए थे उस में रेस्ट्रिक्टड एरिया की बात थी उसको निकाला गया था। उस एरिया के बाहर वाले लोग चाहे वे ट्राइबल ही क्यों न हों, उनको उससे लाभ नहीं होता, सहूलियत नहीं मिलती। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उस बिल की तरफ ध्यान दिया जाए और उस आदमी की जान बचाई जाए और इसको देखा जाए कि गिरिजनो को वह कहीं भी हो उस से लाभ पहुँचे। जिस आदमी ने भूख हड़ताल कर रखी है, उसकी जान को भी आप बचाये।

श्री सतपाल कपूर (पटियाला) : सभापति महोदय, सारे बजट पर तो क्या किसी एक आइटम पर भी बोलने का अब समय नहीं रहा है। नमर्ट के सिलसिले में मैं बहुत से प्वाइंट्स आपके सामने रखना चाहता था। बहा किस किस का गोलमाल हो रहा है, किस

किसम की इनएफिसेसी वहा पर फँसी हुई है, स्कैंडल हो रहे है, करप्शन बढ़ रही है और उस सब के लिए कौन कौन लोग जिम्मेवार है, यह सब मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता था और कुछ तजवीजे भी पेश करना चाहता था। अब वक्त नहीं रहा है अब सब बातों को हाउस के सामने रखने का। नाग चौधरी कमेटी ने दमके सिलसिले में बहुत सी बातें कही है। इन स्कैंडलज को निकालने में मैंने बहुत मेहनत को है। मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि आइदा अगर पार्लियामेंट में इसी तरह में वक्त मिलेगा तो किसी के लिए मेहनत करने में कोई फायदा होगा। अब मैं एक ही तजवीज देना चाहता हूँ। पार्लियमंटीरी कमेटी आप बना दे जो नमर्ट के जितने भी एफेयर्ज है उनकी जाच पडताल करे, उनकी इनक्वायरी करे। मैं यह भी चाहता हूँ कि निम्न नात आदमियों को तो फौरन ही रिमूव कर दिया जाए।

प्रो एस बी सी ऐवा

श्री एस ए अबीदीन

श्री आर एन विज

श्री एम एन अहलुवालिया

श्री टी एस मेहता

श्री पी एन कोहली

प्रो जे के शुक्ल ।

इन सब के सिलसिले में यह जो जिस्ट मैंने अपने प्वाइंट्स का बनाया है, इसको मैं हाउस की मेज पर रखता हूँ—

सभापति महोदय : मिनिस्टर साहब को भज दीजिए ।

श्री सतपाल कपूर : मिनिस्टर साहब को भी दे देता हूँ और टेबल पर भी रख देता\* हूँ ।

सभापति महोदय : टेबल पर अगर आप रखना चाहते हैं तो पहले यह स्पीकर साहब के

\*The speaker not having subsequently accorded the necessary permission, the document was not treated as laid on the Table.

पास जाएगा और अगर वह एलाउ करेंगे उसके बाद ही इसको टेबल पर रखा समझा जाएगा।

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND MINISTER OF DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE (SHRI SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY): Mr. Chairman, I am back in a court of law for this reason that the invariable practice in the court of law was that when the examination-in-chief of a witness was over and it was time for the court to rise, the cross-examining counsel was asked to put at least one question so that the next day there was no further examination-in-chief and only cross-examination was continued. I take it your direction is that I should start today so that tomorrow I shall be the only one who should be speaking on this very very interesting debate which has just taken place.

I want to thank each and every hon. member for the great contribution they have made today. It was absolutely clear that practically every problem which education and the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes face today was debated, argued and placed before this House. I shall be dealing

with as many points as possible. I suppose I shall also have some restriction with regard to time.

Money is not the only matter with regard to this Ministry is short. Time also, I suppose, will be rather short tomorrow when I have to reply to the many points made. So if I am unable to deal with each and every point, hon. members will, I have no doubt, pardon me. I shall certainly deal with each and every major point made today.

Before I conclude today, may I thank those hon. members who were kind enough to congratulate me, although, frankly speaking, I must confess that I do not deserve any congratulations at all. I do not think anybody has been praised so much as I was today for having done precisely very little....

MR. CHAIRMAN: He may continue tomorrow.

19 hours

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, July 14, 1971*  
Asadha 23, 1893 (Saka).