

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: When you are in the Chair, you have got all the powers of the speaker.

Dr. Karni Singhji (Bikaner): What about the other Members who have been waiting to speak on student unrest.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: The Law Minister has moved for suspension of rule 338 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha in its application to amendment No. 63 to the Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill, 1966, adopted by the House on 23rd November, 1966.

Yesterday the House was in utter confusion. When Mr. Dixit moved his amendment, we really wanted—I have got the proceedings but the time at my disposal is too short and I am unable to read it. This is not the only thing. A particular amendment which was moved as a substitute amendment to Mr. Kamath's amendment was acceptable to us, but the hon. Minister said that he had not moved that amendment.

Shri G. S. Pathak: That is a matter of record. If I moved the amendment, the record will show it.
16 hrs.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I have got it. My submission is only this that the rule should be suspended only on very extraordinary occasions. In the morning, it was such an urgent matter and we wanted the suspension of the rules but it was not done, the Speaker disallowed it before bringing it to this House. A rule can be suspended if it is inevitable and if the Bill is likely to be declared *ultra vires* by the Supreme Court. Here a mistake has been committed by the hon. Minister in such a confusion and it has been confounded by another amendment. So, I oppose any suspension of the rule to suit the convenience of the ruling party. If they can oppose any suspension of the rule in our case, I oppose it when it is irregular.

Shri K. K. Verma (Sultanpur): Sir, as the hon. Minister had already

explained, there are two amendments, one that was put by him and the other, that of Mr. Dixit.

Mr. Chairman: You may now resume your seat. This debate will continue tomorrow. We will take up the next item now

16.02 hrs.

MOTION RE: STUDENT UNREST
AND TROUBLE IN RECENT
MONTHS —contd.

Shri Khadilkar (Khed): Mr. Chairman, yesterday I had just made one preliminary observation that the hon. Mover of the resolution had looked at the problem from the administrative angle and made some suggestions. When I made that observation I had no quarrel with the suggestions he had put forward. But it does not give a real insight into the situation in the student world. We will have to look at the problem from the point of view of the socio-economic context. You cannot divorce student unrest and general unrest in the country and the spread of discontent from the socio-economic context. In our own way we have started a very silent and slow revolution in the country which was not a violent revolution. The old order of society has been transformed and the cohesive forces in the society are getting less and less and the new cohesive forces are not available to contain the released forces in the process. This aspect of the problem needs to be very carefully studied. We have undertaken mass education. Students who had no background of culture and learning at home are coming into the universities in large numbers. Take for instance technical education. People who are taking to technical education are less restive and are not so prone to agitations as those who have taken to humanities and those who are struggling to enter the portals of the university because they feel that it is an opportunity in their life to get higher

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learning. I do not want to curb them. But we must look at the problem keeping in view this background. We cannot call it just of a devilish nature; there is an element of discontent which should be understood properly. Their energies must be canalised to better purposes. Some of us are tarring the whole student community with the same brush. Those who do not want to take this country step by step to a higher state of development, those who are dissatisfied and want to use them as raw material and canon fodder are also there and unless some code is evolved by all the leaders that the student community will go thus far and no further things are going to be difficult. I cannot for a moment lay down a law that the student community should be completely isolated from the social currents we could not keep ourselves isolated from the social current while we were students. In fact the best part of the time of our life was as students when we were identifying ourselves with the social current of our times. Therefore, I submit to the Education Ministry to look at the problem from this angle and try to understand it.

In those days in our country certain idealism and certain standards of character were maintained among the leadership. Today, do we find them? There is erosion of authority in society. There is such a thing as moral authority, and the erosion of moral authority in the leadership leaves the student world a little puzzled.** We are not prepared to accept authority even within the four corners of the House and what is the impression that the outside world will gather.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshanabad): On a point of order. I am well aware that Shri Khadilkar has something to say which is worthy of hearing. I do not know whether what he just now said is worthy. I think he must have something up his sleeves.

Certainly you will agree with me that what he said was wholly wrong because it was a reflection upon the Speaker, upon the Chair. Those words should be expunged.

Mr. Chairman: I quite agree with that. As long as I am in the Chair, it will be my honest effort to see that decorum is maintained. Those words will be expunged. He must conclude now.

Shri Khadilkar: I do not quarrel with words now. (*Interruptions*).

I say that it is the responsibility of the elders. Members in this House, and other leaders in public life to tone up the public life and see that the erosion of moral authority is stopped. It is not only in public life but in the administration also; there is lack of discipline. Can you insulate the student world from this general malaise?

Now, I am concluding in one minute. You know there were interruptions. This discussion is meant for some expression of thought. Please give me a couple of minutes more.

Mr. Chairman: You have taken more time.

Shri Khadilkar: My plea is this. With all the administrative reforms you cannot form the student world just now. An effort must be made to impress on them that we, whatever our viewpoints, want to impress upon them and that we want to infuse the spirit of idealism into them and show them that we are prepared to make some sacrifices. We are man of integrity and character; we are man of competence and we in this world do not respect simple power.

One word more and I have done. In the times of the *Mahabharata*, if you read it, you will find what was

**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

the state of affairs in this country. It was not those who were sitting in the seats of power that were so much respected. They were not the law-givers Bhisma and others who were not in the seats of power; but those who were outside the seats of power commanded respect, and their words were respected. Therefore, society could have some idealism before them; unless that state of affairs is created in this country, we cannot improve the present situation which is prevalent, with a lot of unrest and agitation among the student community.

Dr. Karni Singhji (Bikaner): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I welcome this discussion on the student unrest in the country. I only wish that this matter had been discussed before the 7th November; unfortunately the agitation in the country, which has risen all over the country, has been confused and got mixed up with the law and order situation. But I feel that this matter has to be examined in its proper perspective.

I feel that those of us, Members of Parliament, who are here today expressing our points of view on this rather important question, are also here in our capacity as parents, and we feel that we should examine this more as parents than as politicians. While examining some of the contributory causes which led to student unrest, many of which have been enumerated by my hon. friend Shri H. C. Mathur yesterday, I feel that some of them are due to immense increase in the cost of education. I hope that the Government, as they are pledged to a socialistic policy, will see that education will be given absolutely free from the primary to the post-graduate stages in the country, so that we can achieve our socialistic goals and so that the students do not have to spend any money on their education.

We know perfectly well that the youth in our country today is facing this immense frustration for under-

standable reasons. I feel that perhaps one of the most important contributory causes for this frustration is the fact that we do not have enough opening before the boys and girls who come out of the schools and colleges. As we know perfectly well, 12 million people are added on to the Indian population every year and no matter how hard we may try, we cannot build enough schools and colleges to give our young boys and girls the type of education that they naturally have a right to. But more important than that is the fact that you cannot possibly keep pace with the population increase to be able to provide enough jobs and openings. If for each job, there are 200 or 300 applications, it is perfectly understandable that a large number of young boys and girls will face frustration and it is this immense frustration with which the country is afflicted today and so I feel that we have to examine this point in many other aspects too.

One of the other problems which I feel has contributed to the frustration in the country has been when boys and girls try to seek admission into some of the better schools and colleges, particularly for technical education. Unless recommendations or some help from Members of Parliament or Assembly members is given, it is difficult even for those deserving candidates to get admission to the schools and colleges. I hope that it will be seen that boys and girls are given admission in the schools and colleges purely on merit and not on recommendation.

I must say with regret that perhaps one of the important factors that has caused the problems in the country today, in the student world, has been the exploitation of the students by politicians. I am sorry to have to say that because we are all here as politicians, but I am afraid that many of us, in our zeal to make sure that we get elected to Parliament and to the Assemblies, have forgotten that we happen to be parents also, and the re-

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sult of that has been that this immense mass of youth in our country is being exploited for personal gains and for winning the elections. The unseemly scenes outside the Parliament House on 7th November were very soon expected to be followed a week or so later by the student demonstration fanned into flames by some political parties. What surprises me is how can leaders of such political parties completely ignore the fact that these boys and girls—a quarter million or so were supposed to march to Parliament—were virtually being led to face a firing squad? They knew perfectly that the Government had to enforce some sort of law and order. In a situation like that, every attempt was being made by a section of the House and some people outside to get our own children to walk down and face a firing squad. I do not see any sense in such a thing at all.

This is no longer a problem that confronts any particular political party but one that faces the nation as a whole. I sincerely hope that the politicians will sit round the table and try to come to some understanding that the students are not used for political purposes.

Yesterday a brief reference was made about Congress Party using the students during the freedom movement. If we examine it carefully, we came to the conclusion that the battle for India's freedom was fought under rather different conditions. Even the mutiny of the Indian National Army, which would normally be treated as a heinous offence, was treated as a battle for freedom. Similarly the students had to fight for the independence of the country. Such a situation does not exist now. I think it would be correct for our political leaders to understand the situation that India is now a free country. It is important that our boys and girls are given a chance to educate themselves and serve their country better.

If we examine the student unrest, we do see rather strange similarities between what has happened in India and what we saw in China and Indonesia. In Indonesia, the students attempted to overthrow the communist dominated government and to oust the Chinese influence. In China, the Red Guards are giving a new twist to the communist philosophy. I sincerely hope that our students in India are not keen to destroy the democratic way of life in our country. But the unrest has had some very strange polarisations and has spread like lighting across state boundaries suggesting a communist type of organisation. Such enthusiasm can be aroused across national boundaries for a cause. This is indeed a sinister aspect of the student unrest in the country. We, as parents, have to examine that question from that point of view also.

A great deal was said about the way in which Mr. Chavan handled the impending demonstration of the students. All I would like to say is that when the unseemly scenes took place outside Parliament House on the 7th November, this same Parliament deprecated what happened. Yet, when a week or so later, the students emotions were being fanned into flames by the political parties to create a similar situation, the Home Minister was criticised for being firm. I am quite sure that what the Home Minister did in enforcing law and order was a thing that was lauded by the entire nation and the parents and the city of Delhi heaved a sigh of relief. I am sure there is absolutely nothing wrong with our students. They are first class and given an opportunity, they can study well and be useful citizens. But if we try to use them as tools in our hands, as instruments not for the good of the country or of the society, but for our own good for winning votes, I am afraid we are doing a disservice to our country to our society, and to ourselves.

No matter what the outcome of the next election may be we have to re-

solve today that politicians must keep their hands off the children. The youth in our country must be mobilised in a different way. You have to give them a sense of purpose. You have to create in them a sense of participation in nation-building. All these things can be created if they are left to their studies. If we keep on pressing them into political strife, I am afraid, as they are young and hot-blooded, they are likely to do things which they might in later life regret, but for which we elders will be held responsible.

While concluding, Sir, I would like to say this much, that the situation in the country now, and the law and order situation in particular, has reached a stage when no matter which Government occupies the seat here it will have to deal with it firmly. Whether it is rowdiness caused by something else or whether it is caused by student unrest, it is for the Home Minister to see that he deals with it firmly and it is our duty as citizens to give him all support so that healthy traditions are set in our country.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza (Warrangal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, yesterday Shri Ranga and Shri Prakash Vir Shastri emphasised....

Mr. Chairman: I would request hon. Members to speak only for ten minutes so that more hon. Members can be accommodated.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: Sir, yesterday, Shri Ranga, Shri Prakash Vir Shastri and some hon. Members stressed the action taken by the Home Ministry and they thought that if the Home Ministry was more reasonable many of the things could have been avoided. Some hon. Members criticised that the I.G.'s were called. But they refused to mention that the Vice-Chancellors were also called. So there was an attempt to study the situation from every angle. Instead of appreciating that, they took a partial view and emphasised only one aspect of it. Further, they forget that the Home Ministry's action comes after the unrest.

When there are processions and so on, it is only then that the Home Ministry comes into the picture. The point we are considering is that there is this unrest among the students. Therefore, bringing in the Home Ministry and their action, whether weak or firm action, is really not relevant.

Also, when any action is taken there is a demand for a judicial inquiry about that. I want to make my position clear on this. If some strong steps are taken by Government and some lives are lost, it is not only the citizens who have suffered, the police also may have suffered. So any inquiry should not be only about the excesses by the police, the inquiry should cover every aspect of the question—the citizens, those forces that, were working, the people who have organised it and all that should be gone into in thorough detail and the inquiry should be all pervasive and all-inclusive. It is only then that we know the problem as a whole, it is only then we can tackle the situation. I do not think any Government should hesitate to have such an inquiry.

Mention has also been made about political parties being in the picture. Students are a part of the nation. There are political, social and economic currents, economic stresses and strains that affect not only the citizens but the entire students community. If I am living in a slum, naturally the slum conditions and all that it means will have an effect on me and it must find expression. Therefore, to be afraid of students taking part in politics is really a sort of finding a way to save ourselves and not the students. Take, for example, a country like England. I was there when there was a general strike in 1926, I have not seen a strike like that anywhere in the world. In the busy city of London, where millions of people go up and down, cars, buses and all other things were stopped. There was not a single bus, not a single car. There was no violence of any kind. No police resorted to lathi-charge, though army was alerted. At the same time, the student community took sides, one section took the side of

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the strikers and they went to help them. The others tried to run the buses. They even tried to run the trains. The train from London to Oxford, which takes one hour, the students made it run in six hours. When anybody wanted to stop it, they would pull the brake, the fellow would get down and then they would proceed on.

So, students taking part in politics is nothing wrong. They should be encouraged to take part in politics, but an intelligent part in politics.

Another thing is that there is always violence when there are these processions and so on. Why is it so? Why should the people go and burn buses or remove the track and all that? There must be some reason. In this country there is a feeling, and a genuine feeling, that if you want to get something done, you must do it in a violent way. It is only when there is violence that the Government listens. Whether it is right or wrong—that is immaterial—but there is a feeling like that in the country.

They talked about more peace in technical colleges. In my constituency the engineering college students went on strike. I intervened and I got most of the demands agreed to. There was only one demand left. The University had already published the results and they wanted it to be revised. Even so, I said that I would go and see the Vice-Chancellor and would try to persuade him to do something about it, they told me, "Sir, we have been peaceful and unless we do something violent, nothing is going to happen". I came to Hyderabad and in the evening they caught hold of a bus and burnt it. They thought, then the programme was complete. Up till then it was incomplete; so they burnt a bus. The burning of a bus was a part of the programme.

That is the feeling in the country and the Home Minister—now we have a strong Home Minister—should see that this feeling in the country is removed. However, genuine and just

a cause, if it is backed by threat and violence, it should never be yielded to. Unless you take that stand, you will not change the situation.

Then, there is this question of moral discipline, the Vice-Chancellors and the teachers. Teachers in Indian society had a place. They were like father. Everybody respected them. A brahmin was respected not because he had any wealth but because he represented a bank of knowledge. Similarly, a maulvi was respected. Today the teacher is not respected either in society or in Government. Every 15th August we have these at homes at Government Houses but just see how many professors are invited. Under Secretaries, Joint Secretaries and all that are invited but no professors from the universities or even Vice-Chancellors are sometimes not invited because they are not on the list.

A student, however bad he may be, is an idealist. You put some ideal before him and his face glows and he is moved. But today there is erosion of all ideals. At one time nationalism was an ideal about which nobody could say anything. Now it is not there. We had got sufism. That also had a place at one time. But now that also has eroded because now there are so many isms, parties and divisions and so on. So, they are seeking for some ideal to get hold of and that is one of the biggest reasons for this discontent.

Mr. Chairman: Please try to conclude now.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: The Vice-Chancellors are very important. If you make a list of Vice-Chancellors in this country and just find out what class they got in the university, you will find that a majority of them got a third class.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore): So what?

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: So, what we want is not only learning but a sergeant-major, somebody who could

drill and take the student community as a team or as a regiment. They must have respect for the Vice-Chancellor.

Mr. Chairman: Please conclude now.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: Thank you.

Mr. Chairman: Acharya Kripalani. Ten minutes.

Shri J. B. Kripalani (Amroha): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is a vast subject for which to an old teacher you have given 10 minutes.

Before Independence, there were many movements of reform and each movement of reform had its scheme of education. These reforms began from the time of Dayanand Saraswati. What did he do to propagate his ideas? He first tackled the question of education and in the wake of that reform, we had the gurukul system. Then, there came the political movement. What was the difference between the moderates and the nationalists? It was about national education. In the wake of this movement Aurbindo, his followers introduced the system of national education. Then, Tagore established Shantiniketan. Afterwards there came the movement of home rule. In pursuance of that movement, again national schools and colleges were started. Again, there came the Gandhian movement and national schools and colleges were started. They, the reformers, had ideals to work for and, therefore, they tackled the students and the students responded. Later on, again Gandhiji introduced the basic system of education which not only educated the children but gave them practical knowledge of some handicraft.

When we came to have power, we thought, by the very fact of British people going away from here, all education became national education. We did not tackle the problem at all, neither of text-books nor of curri-

culum nor even of its aims. The aim of the British education was to produce cheap administrative machinery consisting of Indians. They succeeded in that. This education is the very same education which has no ideals. It has no aim and it has no goal. How can education be given on that basis? It is an absurdity. After Independence also, there could be an aim. Gandhiji had laid down his constructive programme. It is said that eternal vigilance is the price of freedom. Did we tell the people that every generation has to make sacrifices for that freedom? We never told them that. We have neglected the people as even my Congress friends say, there is a failure of the moral authority of the leaders. Who are the leaders in India? Unfortunately, the leaders are those who manage the affairs of the State. It has been so always.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Acharya Kripalani is recognised as a leader, at least by me.

Shri K. C. Sharma (Sardhana): He is a great leader.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: I am sorry I am not a leader even at my home.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: That you could help.

Shri K. C. Sharma: He made a wrong choice.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: How can you call me a leader? I have never claimed to be a leader. I have always said that I follow, in social, political and economic matters, Gandhiji. Those who have put themselves in that category of leadership and those who are leading the country, their moral authority is no more. They have only physical authority. How do they use that physical authority? Either they are too supine and allow things to drift and when they have drifted far enough, they use the police. How do the police act? They know shooting and lathi charging and when

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they shoot and lathi-charge, they have the mentality of a hunter. They think they are hunting wild animals and not human beings. This is their psychology. If I had the lathi and if I were to use it, I would be so engrossed in the game that would think just as a hunter thinks. Does a hunter ever think of what the animals will suffer? That is the psychology. Their training is also that. So, from one end of the pendulum, we swing to the other.

I very humbly submit, without exciting anger among Congressmen, I give my own example.

Twice, because the things were getting bad in certain universities, I was asked to accept the Vice-Chancellorship of a university. I said, "I am engrossed in politics; I cannot accept the offer; with difficulty I consented. But those who were in authority, because another candidate from their caste offered himself, crossed and they never talked to me again. Then one day the Education Minister approached me to go to one of the Central universities. With great difficulty I consented and I told him that my first step would be to free all the students who have been arrested. He shied away and he never appeared.

If this is the way Vice-Chancellors are chosen, do you expect the students to honour and to obey them? Do people honour slaves? Do they obey slaves? Most of the Vice-Chancellors, even as the Education Minister rightly said, are chosen not for academic reasons but for political reasons and for caste reasons, for any reason but academic reason.

Once I was a member of a Committee of three who were to suggest three names from which the Chancellor was to select one man as the Vice-Chancellor. Would you believe this? The Education Minister came to me and the Chief Minister came to me and they said that such and

such a man is a very good man and he must be in the list of three, so that they might appoint him afterwards. They came to me, I was unwilling to take the job; yet, they did this. When these things go on, then you do not expect the Vice-Chancellors to keep control over the boys because they are not controlled by themselves.

The Congress men have talked of the vicious influence of the Opposition parties. I say this with confidence: Let Congress men be honest, let the Government be honest, let them respect merit, let them not go about issuing and giving chits, let them not go on influencing the educational authorities. Then, I say, the Opposition would have no control over the students. The Congress men say that they have been sent here by the people, they are in a majority, that the people have accepted them. Well, if people have accepted you, then where is your influence over the people? You should have more influence over the people than what the Opposition parties have, because, the Opposition parties, first of all, have not got the majority and then they are divided into 20 sections. How can these people have more influence than you have? You have failed in your duty and you have not done what you ought to have done. What is the good blaming the Opposition? It is easier to find fault with the Opposition. You claim to be leaders of the people, you have got their votes, you always throw them in our face saying that we have not their votes and we do not represent the people. I say, "all right, we do not represent the people; you represent the people;" you have money, you have the propaganda machinery, you have the radio; you have all these and the people trust you. Yet, you have no faith in yourselves that you can counteract some people in the Opposition! It is an absurd position. It is something which is unheard of. On the one hand you throw it in our face that you represent the country

and you have all the machinery and propaganda channels; yet, you cannot do anything! And you blame the Opposition parties.

I have heard here speaker after speaker saying that the students are very good. I used to hear the slogan, even before Independence. Leaders used to say 'The students are the salt of the soil'. And I used to say 'You are not the salt of the soil; you are the dust from which we have to create salt'. They used to get angry with me, but I told them like that. It is not that the students are without blemish. You have introduced a system of compulsory subscription for what is called the students' union. What do they do? They spend thousands of rupees even as we spend on elections. When they get elected they waste that money. They feed themselves and some professors. They do not do any constructive work. This fee is compulsory and it is collected as the other fees are collected; it is collected from the rich and the poor alike. You have made these unions kind of labour unions. If you have to look into these things, please remember that this is the greatest institution of corruption that exists in colleges and universities, this compulsory payment of a tax whether students like it or not.

And then, even if the leadership has failed in the universities and in the colleges the students are mature enough to know what is right and what is wrong? It is not that they do not know what is right and what is wrong. But a few students excite them and they get excited and create trouble. So, if there is going to be any committee that you are going to appoint . . .

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: There is no need for it.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Or it may be that there is no need for it, if you do the things that I suggest.

Then, again, take another thing. You have got some schools which you call public schools. Really, they are not public schools they are capitalist schools; they are private schools. You have already prescribed for us who shall be our leaders; you have prescribed for the future generation who are going to be their leaders. I have seen the students in these institutions suited and booted as if they were Prime Ministers of England, not the Labour Prime Minister, but the Conservative Prime Minister, and they speak better English than you and I do. In these schools you are already producing a generation of leaders, leaders who are cut off from their society, whom you have made into a separate class. This is what you call education given by a country which believes in socialism. You have to enquire into all these things carefully.

First of all, you have to find whether your education has any aim. Then you have to consider whether you do exercise moral control that leaders ought to exercise, the responsibility being primarily of the Congress Party and only secondarily of the Opposition parties because as I have said the Congressmen have the materials with which they can reform education.

The third thing is this. Please democratise your education. Do not make it aristocratic. For all the centuries education everywhere in schools and colleges has been aristocratic. Today also you have made it aristocratic. You cannot have democratic society and aristocratic education. Abolish these institutions. Do all these things and tell the students what their duties are. Do not go on always praising them and saying 'You are the salt of the soil'. They are nothing of that sort, unless we make them so. And how do we make them so? We are giving them bad education; we are giving them caste education; we are keeping no ideals before them because we have got no ideals before ourselves. We repu-

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diated our former leaders and they are repudiating us. It is only a just punishment.

Mr. Chairman: Now, the hon. Member should conclude.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: In that case, I shall conclude.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Are we going to conclude this discussion today?

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Minister will reply or rather intervene tomorrow and then Shri Harish Chandra Mathur will reply.

Shrimati Renuka Ray (Malda): I think there is no doubt that history will indict our generation and our times for the failure to deal with the students of our day and to give to them that environment required for building the leadership of the future.

Acharya Kripalani has said many things which are absolutely correct. A point on which I do not agree with him is when he gave an inordinate value to the Congress benches as being the repositories of leadership and wisdom.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: They claim it themselves.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I do not think that all the leadership, all the talent and the all wisdom in the country lie in our party or in any party for that matter. It is leadership of the country, and this leadership of our times will have, even now, at the twelfth hour, at the zero hour, to take heed and make certain changes; if we fail to do so, if our generation fails the younger generation, then the future leadership will be blighted and destroyed and will not be able to bring to fruition those dreams and aspirations which were before us when the freedom's battle was on.

I think one of the most important things that Shri Mathur brought up—that he has raised this issue in Parliament is a very good thing—is, as he rightly pointed out, that it would be too much of a simplification to say that the coming elections or even present world trends are responsible for the unrest among students in our country, for the tragic occurrences and events that have recently taken place amongst us. It would be true to a great extent, but not entirely so, to say that this has happened on academic grounds, failure to provide that right academic atmosphere which has led to this turmoil.

There is no doubt that overcrowding in lecture rooms and campus, no proper teacher-pupil ratio, lack of health amenities and hostel facilities, difficulties of the home environment of large numbers of students and the fact that many of them are not able to enter universities though they have the merit to do so while others who do not have merit enter because of certain patronage, lack of proper guidance and counselling services, no correlation between education and employment and vocation—all these are responsible for bringing down the academic atmosphere.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Whose patronage? Not of the Opposition.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Indeed, it is one of the tragedies of our times that in spite of the fact that even the report of the postwar committee on educational reform, made before Independence, a quarter of a century ago, which took basic education as the most important factor and built upon it a structure and pattern of education, has not been implemented. The Education Commission has now rehashed—refashioned may be to a great extent—the same requirements of education which may be accepted but will they be implemented? Unless something is really done about it, now that over the last decade even the number of university students has

gone up from 7 lakhs to 15 lakhs, apart from those in the other higher educational institutions, the failure to deal with this situation will continue to have grave repercussions which are already manifesting themselves.

Then I want to point out one thing, that while this is true about the student community as a whole, we must realise that more than half the students are not involved. They are not involved in the unrest. They are not even concerned sufficiently to see that educational institutions are not closed to their own disadvantage. We do not want a clash between students, but it is strange to see how uninvolved some of them are not only in joining the unrest but even in changing the atmosphere.

I now come to what I consider to be the most important factor that has to be rectified. The most important factor is the relationship between the teacher and the taught, between the parent and the child, and, if I may have the temerity to say so, between the politician and the youth of this country. It is because there is a vast gulf today between them that we are reaching this point which we are seeing the worst spectacle, where students, because they commit certain acts which are anti-social, and so no doubt have to be dealt with by the law and order authorities. It is our failure to have this dialogue between the teacher and the student in the proper manner. There are large numbers of good teachers, there are good parents, there are good politicians even today, and their influence had been for the good of the students, and that is why so many of them are still not involved, but each and every one of them will become involved in this if we do not take heed, if we do not take steps even today to bridge this gulf, this lack of trust that they have, their lack of confidence in us because of many of our acts of commission and omission.

I believe, and I am sure that every one in this House will believe, that discipline from childhood has to be maintained in the home. If the mother does not know discipline, if the father is not himself disciplined, if he does not maintain the discipline of the child, the teacher finds it more difficult, and society is not able to build that child into a good citizen. This is the problem which we have to tackle from its base, right through school and college and into society itself. Our generation has failed, I think miserably failed.

A good deal has been said about Gandhiji and about the non-co-operation movement of those days. Acharya Kripalani knows it well. I, as one of those who did join the non-co-operation movement and left college, would say this. One of the members said that it was for a great objective, it was for freedom itself that this was done. There are other factors also. At that time discipline was rigidly maintained. Youth, enthusiastic youth, sometimes goes out of control, but in his wisdom Gandhiji knew how to maintain discipline and non-violence and maintain a regularity which everyone who joined that movement had to keep, or the movement was called off on repeated occasions. There was also a third factor. The future of every child, every youth, who joined it was looked after in the sense that he was put into constructive channels of activity. The worst indictment against us is that even today when we talk much about it in the House, we have not brought in compulsory national service by which every boy and girl alike can be utilised for the country's purpose, and they can feel a sense of participation. Even in the countries of the so-called free world, they have a national militia. Surely for the service of this nation, for the future well being of our youth, even now we can bring in national social service of some kind, according to aptitude and inclination of every

[Shrimati Renuka Roy]

youth, so that they can become citizens who will be able to mould the destiny of the country on right lines.

श्री श्रीकारलाल बरवा (कांटा) :
सभापति महोदय, क्या हमारा नाम नहीं है ?

सभापति महोदय : आपका नाम भी
आ रहा है ।

श्री हेम बक्ष्या (गाहाटी) : हमारा क्या
हुआ ?

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee (Ratnagiri): Mr. Chairman, the motion under consideration speaks of the student unrest and trouble. If I may submit, the young all over the world and even older people who are still alive and vibrating with enthusiasm and some kind of idealism have a feeling of unrest and have at times a feeling of being troubled. The question is: what direction this unrest, this troubled frame of mind takes. It is, I think, much more our concern to see that the direction that this unrest takes is not destructive, and that through this unrest and through this troubled mind something creative and something original comes out rather than a desire to destroy and to harm people and public property. What is disturbing about the trend of things is that there are among the young people today some who go in for agitation; others who feel that they are too helpless under the conditions which exist in the country are leaving the country. A lot of good people, clever young people feel that there is no recourse to justice and therefore many of them have left. That is the situation we are faced with.

Acharya Kripalani for whom I have great respect has brought out this phrase over and over again that it is the leadership in the country which has failed. It is a funny thing that the word 'leadership' has taken on a peculiar connotation in our country. I hope Acharyaji will excuse me when I say that leadership

can exist in any sphere; it can be leadership in a class; it can be leadership in literary work or in a factory; it need not be political leadership. Unfortunately, in our country leadership only means political leadership. Therefore, I say that this injustice is not only restricted to political leadership; the injustice goes to all classes whether it is in colleges or in schools or in the factories or administrative services. The leadership idea which should depend upon or accrue out of a superiority of ability accrues instead from patronage. Therefore, it is not only political leadership it is leadership at all levels.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Can a factory owner change the system of education?

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: No. What I am trying to explain is that this lack of justice exists at all levels, not only in political leadership. Whether political leadership reflects other social strata or whether the social strata reflects political leadership is a matter of discussion and I am not discussing it here now. I am saying that the unrest and the troubled frame of mind which we find among the young people today also exists in other parts of the world. But opportunities exist there for that unrest to take some kind of constructive direction which unfortunately we have denied to our young people.

The second thing is, that through this evolution of the last twenty years, the class which has suffered the most is the middle class and the students come from this middle class. The affluent society has done more than well for itself. Even the labour force has improved considerably. The middle class, due to inflationary conditions and due to other conditions, has suffered the most, economically and otherwise.

The students mostly come from the middle classes and the feeling of frustration and injustice is greater among them.

17.00 hrs.

When we were young we also had great dreams of changing the world. (Interruption).

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फहखा-
वाद) : अर्थात् आप इनकी खूबसूरत और
जवान हैं।

श्रीमती शारदा मुखर्जी : आप समझते
होंगे। मैं तो नहीं समझती अपने को जवान।

When we were young, we also had this feeling of wanting to change the world. It is not that the young 20 years ago did not participate in the political struggle; it is not something which is new today. The question is whether we need to deal with this matter through force, through compulsion, through repression or through trying to understand what the basic difficulties are and seeing that adequate opportunities are provided for the expression of the creative force among the young people.

Hon. Members before me have more than adequately stressed on the discrimination and injustice which prevail in the colleges, etc., and have touched upon the point that the autonomy of the universities is being constantly encroached upon. It is not something that I need add to. When, however, you talk of indiscipline, again you come to the question of injustice. If there is injustice, there can be no discipline. They will only be disciplined when you see that only by abiding to the rules, by keeping law and order, you can get adequate opportunities. If you see that somebody is doing all the wrong things and getting all the benefits, then there is no reason why you should not by doing bad things to get what you want to get.

Lastly, I would like to add one word, and that is what I call regulatory freedom. We do not want the young people's freedom to be restricted, to be curtailed beyond measure. But it must be, as Edmund Burke would say, regulated freedom. In this, I think I can do no better than to quote from Edmund Burke, because perhaps if I wanted to put it in my own words it

would not go down so well. This is what Edmund Burke said:

"It ought to be the constant aim of every wise public council to find out by cautious experiments and rational, cool endeavours with how little, not how much of this restraint the community can subsist."

So, I think it ought to be always our aim to find out with how little restraint, not how much restraint, we are able to give to the community in order to preserve law and order.

Mr. Chairman: Dr. Lohia.

Shri Hem Barua: I have been waiting to be called. I am a member of a party and I am not being called at all. I walk out in protest.

Shri Umanath (Puddukkottai): Please give a chance to the disciplined people. (Interruption).

Shri Hem Barua: **

Shri Umanath (Puddukkottai): What is the position? Will I be called, Sir? I just want to know.

Shri Hem Barua: I am connected with education. I belong to a party. I am not called.

Mr. Chairman: I am sorry to say that an experienced Parliamentarian like Shri Hem Barua... (Interruption)

An hon. Member: Sir...

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. I know how to deal with him.

Shri Hem Barua: **

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. Please take your seat. (Interruption).

Shri Hem Barua: I am going out.

(Shri Hem Barua then left the House).

Mr. Chairman: The debate is going on for the last two days. The Speaker has made out a list and since the time I occupied the Chair, I am trying to accommodate as many as I can. After all, the time at our disposal is not much. Secondly, you have to keep in view the majority of the members on this side. I do not preclude the necessity of calling them according to the parties. It was Mr. Hem Barua who

[Mr. Chairman]

gave the chance to Mr. Kripalani and I called Mr. Kripalani.

All that Mr. Hem Barua has said against the Chair will be expunged.

Shri R. S. Pandey (Guna): You may reduce the time from 10 to 5 minutes for each member so that you can accommodate more speakers.

Shri Umanath: I object to the reduction of time at this stage. I belong to a group from which none has spoken.

Mr. Chairman: You will get your time.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अध्यक्ष महोदय, दो दिन पहले दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय के पांच विद्यार्थी जेल से रिहा कर दिए गए। उन का मुकदमा खत्म हुआ। उस का कारण था कि दिल्ली के कालेजों में हड़ताल होने की संभावना बढ़ने लगी थी। ठीक उसी जुम में पकड़े हुए उड़ीसा, बंगाल, उत्तर प्रदेश और गुजरात के विद्यार्थी अभी तक जेल में हैं...

श्री बडे (खारगोन) : मध्य प्रदेश के भी।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : उन का मुकदमा हो नहीं रहा है। पेशियां बढ़ती जा रही हैं। शायद सरकार कहेगी कि मैजिस्ट्रेट नहीं करें तो हम क्या करें लेकिन बात असल में यह नहीं है। सरकार खुद पेशियां उन के मामले में बढ़वाती है और दिल्ली के विश्व-विद्यालय के विद्यार्थियों की दनादन पेशी कर के उन को रिहा कर देती है। तो दिमाग पर क्या असर पड़ता है कि यह दुनिया ताकत, मनमानी और स्वेच्छाचारिता की दुनिया है, कानून की दुनिया नहीं। इसी तरह से जब हम लोग परसों जेल से छूटे रात के नौ बजे तो तीन आदमी हमारे साथ छूटे थे, जनेसर मिश्र, सत्यदेब त्रिपाठी और रामभासरे वर्मा, जो अपने अपने विश्वविद्यालय यूनियनों के सभापति रह चुके हैं उन को जेल के फाटक पर नजरबन्दी कानून के मातहत गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐसा अट्टहास और खिलवाड़ करना नहीं चाहिए।

कम से कम इतना तो हो कि जिसको नजरबन्दी में गिरफ्तार करना हो, उस को जेल में ही रखे रहें। एक तरफ कहें कि छूट गए, और दूसरी तरफ नजरबन्दी का वारंट दे दें, जेल के फाटक पर ले आवें, हंसी करें, खेल करें आखिर क्या दिमाग पर असर पड़ता है इन जवान लोगों के और असल बात यह है कि आज समाज के बारे में लोगों के मन में कोई तमिली नहीं रह गई है। न्याय नहीं है। कैसे यह समाज टिका हुआ है, किस आधार के ऊपर, इस के बारे में किसी तरह की भी भावना नहीं है। अब अगर साधारण विद्यार्थी तीसरे दर्जे में पास होकर अथवा दूसरे दर्जे में पास होकर विश्वविद्यालय और कालेज में भर्ती नहीं पा सकता लेकिन मंत्रियों के लड़के लड़कियां फेल हो कर भी और मैं यहां श्रीमती रेणु चक्रवर्ती की बात में सुधार करना चाहूंगा, इसलिए नहीं कि वह ऊंचे पास करते हैं बल्कि फेल होकर भी यूरोप और अमरीका जाकर शिक्षा पा सकते हैं तो विद्यार्थियों के दिमाग पर क्या असर पड़ेगा। इस दुनिया में न्याय नहीं रह गया है। इस दुनिया में मनमानी और स्वेच्छाचारिता है और जब परीक्षाओं के परिणाम निकलते हैं, किसी भी सम्य देश में दस प्रतिशत से ज्यादा परीक्षाओं के नतीजों में विद्यार्थी फेल नहीं किया करते।

17.10 hrs.

[SHRI SONAVANE in the chair]

यही एक अभागा देश है, जहां पचास प्रतिशत और उस से भी अधिक विद्यार्थी फेल हुआ करते हैं, क्या होता है? नन्हे विद्यार्थियों के कोमल हृदयों के ऊपर किस तरह की छाप लगती है? इतनी मेहनत की, इतने बरस पढ़े और फिर भी फेल कर गये। अगर हम लोग उनकी जगह पर बैठें हों, तब समझ में आये कि जो कुछ आज हो रहा है, वह कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। उसी तरह से विद्यार्थियों के खाने पीने के, रहने के, और दूसरे कई मामले हैं।

काशी विश्वविद्यालय आज इस सरकार का अपना विश्वविद्यालय है। 18 वर्ष पहले

8 हजार विद्यार्थी वहां पर पढ़ने थे, सारे देश की आबादी बढ़ गई, ऊंची शिक्षा पाने की इच्छा बढ़ती जा रही है, लेकिन वहां आज भी विद्यार्थियों की संख्या 8 हजार है। श्रीर कहीं सरकार परिवार नियोजन कर पाई है या नहीं, लेकिन कम से कम काशी विश्वविद्यालय में परिवार नियोजन बहुत ठाठ से किया हुआ है। वहां पर लोग पढ़ नहीं पाते हैं, गरीब इलाका है, इनका गरीब इलाका है कि कहीं अगर यह सभ्य सरकार होती तो आज काशी विश्वविद्यालय में कम से कम 25 हजार संख्या विद्यार्थियों की होती। फिर ये कहते हैं कि हम वहां ऊंची शिक्षा रखे हुए हैं। क्या शिक्षा है? कहां है हमारे गणितज्ञ, हिसाब लगाने वाले, वैज्ञानिक? मैं ज्यादा आंकड़े न देकर खाली इतना ही बताऊं कि रूस और अमरीका की आबादी में एक हजार के पीछे 20 से 25 विद्यार्थी कालिज और विश्व-विद्यालय की शिक्षा पाते हैं, जब कि हमारे देश में 4 से 5 और जिन इलाकों में विद्यार्थियों की गड़बड़ ज्यादा हो रही है वहां 4 और ऊंडीसा और आंध्र में हजार के पीछे मुश्किल से एक या डेढ़ विद्यार्थी कालिज और विश्व-विद्यालय की शिक्षा पाते हैं। जो गरीब हैं उन को और रगड़ी, उन को और गरीब बनाओ, जो बेपढ़े हैं उनको और बे पढ़ा बनाओ। आखिर इस सब का मन पर क्या असर पड़ेगा, मन कुचलता चला जायेगा।

20 साल से विद्यार्थियों को थाम कर रखा, युवक-आयोजन या त्याहार मना कर, मान में एक या दो बार मनाने हैं भारत नाट्य और कथक नृत्य कर के मैं इस के पक्ष में हूं नाच और गाने खूब हों नाच जरा जम कर हों और दोनों मिल कर नाचें, अलग अलग क्यों नाचें, लेकिन अगर यह कार्यक्रम, सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम दिमागी कार्यक्रम को बदल कर, हटा कर होता है तो फिर नुकसान उठाना पड़ेगा और आज हम वह नुकसान उठ रहे हैं। यदि मार्क्सवाद, समाजवाद, राजनीतिक सिद्धान्तों के ऊपर चर्चा और विवेचन

खूब खुल कर इन पिछले 20 वर्षों में हुआ होता, तो ऐसी बात नहीं होती, लेकिन ऐसा क्यों करते, घबराहट जो थी।

आज करोड़पति भरबपति हो रहे हैं जो सरकार से चिपके हुए हैं। उनके मामले आते हैं, खोले जाते हैं, लेकिन उस के बाद भी कुछ नहीं होता। अभी इस दफ्ता में कलकत्ता गया था, एक हजरत जिनका मामला यहां बहुत दफ्ता खुला, उनका महल और बढ़ रहा है, होटल और बन रहा है, तब दिमाग में आया कि अगर कोई जबान आदमी इस को देखे तो क्या कहेगा—कहेगा कि भाई खूब बेइमानी करो, खूब पैसा कमाओ, खूब बड़े बनते चले जाओ, इस समाज का सार नहीं रह गया है, निस्स्वार् संसार होता चला जा रहा है।

उसी तरह से आज मंत्री होते हैं—जरा इस बात को सोचो, अगर बस और मोटर जलती है, मैं इनका जलना पसन्द नहीं करता, लेकिन कभी सोचा इस बात पर कि ये मोटर चलाने वाले लोग, जब कहीं सड़क का एक कोना पार करते हैं तो मालूम पड़ता है कि जैसे कोई कवायद कर रहे हैं कि किस तरह से कीचड़ उछाली जाय, इस तरह तेजी से मोटर चलाते हैं, कि पैदल चलने वालों पर बरसात का जमा पानी और कीचड़ उछल कर गिरता है— तो सभापति महोदय, आखिर यह वैमनस्य ही कर रहेगा या नहीं। आज यह वैमनस्य या अघावत थोड़ी बहुत सामने आ रही है, अभी ज्यादा नहीं आई है, अभी तो लड़कियां मैदान में नहीं आई हैं, वह भी आयेंगी, लड़कियां, पिछड़ी जाति वाले, हरिजन और आदिवासी ये सब मैदान में आयेंगे, बास तोर से लड़कियां आयेंगी। क्यों आयेंगी? इस लिये आयेंगी कि उन के मां-बाप दिन रात उन को कहते हैं कि जरा सिकुड़ कर चलो, कितना जोर से बोलती हो, दब के रहो, आज लड़कियों की आत्मा इतनी कुचली जा रही है कि कभी न कभी वह आरमा फूटेगी और तब ये लोग बहुत ज्यादा घबरायेंगे कि कहीं ये

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

श्रीरतें भी क्रान्ति की सेना में ना आ जायें, जिस तरह से कि यूरोपीय देशों में हुआ था, तब तो मामला और ज्यादा बिगड़ जायगा।

18 नवम्बर को मुझे इतनी शर्म लगी अपने ऊपर, कि मिट्टी का सिपाही हमको इस तरह से दबा ले गया, कुछ भी नहीं हुआ, लेकिन इस के साथ ही यह भरोसा था कि अपना देश जाग रहा है और जिन जिन लोगों ने यहां पर नई पीढ़ी पर अपनी ताकत आजमाई है, मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत का युवाजन जिस किसी चीज में गिरा हो, शायद झूठ ज्यादा बोलता हो, शायद पढ़ाई लिखाई कम करता है, शायद आपसी व्यवहार में बिगड़ गया है, लेकिन एक बात में इन पुरानी पीढ़ियों में आगे बढ़ गया है और वह है निडरपन। निडर हो रहा है और मैं समझता हूँ कि जब हमारा देश निडर होता चला जायगा, क्या विद्यार्थी, क्या किसान, क्या हरिजन, क्या आदिवासी और क्या श्रीरतें, कोई ताकत इनको रोक नहीं सकती और उस वक्त इस मिट्टी के सिपाही के भी टुकड़े हो जायेंगे।

मैं आप के सामने खाली एक दिल्ली के स्कूल की परीक्षा फल (नतीजे) को रख देना चाहता हूँ, जिसमें दो विद्यार्थी जो बुरी तरह से फेल हो गये थे, पास कर दिये गये थे। एक को नम्बर मिला था 223, उसका 274 बना दिया गया और वह पास हो गया.....

श्री विश्वनाथ पांडेय (सलेमपुर) :
स्कूल का नाम क्या था ?

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : इसको जाने दीजिए—बेमतलब बात है। मैं यह कागज दिये देता हूँ—हमारा वक्त क्यों खराब करते हो। दूसरे का 241 से 279 कर दिया गया, जब कि.....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member will try to conclude now. His time is up.

श्री श्री० ना० विद्यालंकार (होशियारपुर) :
हमेशा गोल-गोल बातें करते हैं।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : भाई यह कागज रखा हुआ है—आप ऐसी बात कर रहे हो। मैं यह कागज सदन के पटल पर रख देना चाहता हूँ।

Mr. Chairman: It is not necessary.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : यह मेरा हक है और मैं इसका रखना चाहता हूँ। मैं अपने हक ही मांग कर रहा हूँ, क्या इस के लिए भी मुझे नियम बताने पड़ेंगे।

Mr. Chairman: All right. Let it be placed on the Table.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मैं कह रहा था कि किस तरह से आज स्कूलों और कालेजों.....

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur):
About this paper may I say that this should be shown to us before it is made a part of the record?

Mr. Chairman: Yes.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : किस तरह से आज स्कूलों और कालेजों की परीक्षाओं के नतीजे मास्टर अथवा स्कूलों और कालेजों के मैनेजर अपने मन से पैसे के लिए या रिश्तेदारी के लिए बदल दिया करते हैं—क्या असर पड़ेगा इसका नन्दे हृदयों पर। इसी तरह से आप को बतलाऊंगा कि आज जो अखबार कलकत्ते से आया है उसमें यह खबर है कि कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय के अनिदिष्ट काल के लिए बन्द होने की आशंका है। एक तरफ तो "बसुमति" में यह निकला है कि :

विश्वविद्यालय अनिदिष्ट कालिर जन्म बन्ध होइ बार आशंका

दूसरी तरफ उसके पहले यह खबर है कि :

मातार सम्मुखे पिता कृतं क हावड़ा ब्रिज
होइले कन्या के गंगाय निक्षेप ।

गंगा में मां के सामने पिता ने हावड़ा पुल से अपनी लड़की को फेंक दिया । यह अवस्था इस वक्त हो गई है । विद्यार्थी तो सताया हुआ है, लाञ्छित है, अपमानित है । वह जानता नहीं है कि कहां अपना सिर ले जा कर रखे । वह जानता नहीं कि माता पिता से, अध्यापक से, नेताओं से और न जाने कहां-कहां से वह बिगाड़ा जा रहा है । फिर जब वह देखता है कि एक तरफ एक शंकराचार्य के यहां राष्ट्रपति जी प्रसाद लेने जाते हैं, आशीर्वाद लेने जाते हैं और दूसरे शंकराचार्य को बिना किसी अपराध के गिरफ्तार कर के पाड़ाचेरी भेज दिया जाता है, तब उसका माथाभ न्ना जाता है कि संसार में कोई न्याय, कोई तर्क रह गया है या नहीं ।

Shri Raj Bahadur: It is only a political speech; nothing relevant to the subject.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : यह आमंगति ऐसी ऐसी हो गई है कि खोपड़ी के दो हिस्से हो गये हैं , और यह सरकार हर एक भारतीय की खोपड़ी को दो तीन हिस्सों में बांट कर ऐसा समाज बना देना चाहती है जिस का अब कोई सुधार संभव नहीं है इस रास्ते के अलावा कि विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन हो या दूसरा आन्दोलन हो, ताकत के साथ वह आगे बढ़ते चले जायें । अपने को आगे बढ़ायें और इस अन्यायी और असम, गैरबराबरी के समाज को तोड़ फोड़ कर एक ऐसा समाज बनायें जिस के अंग प्रत्यंग एक दूसरे के साथ सज सकें । आज सजे हुए नहीं हैं , अंग प्रत्यंग अलग हैं ।

Shri A. C. Guha (Barasat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the students unrest, as indeed today, is a part of the general unrest prevailing in the country. Acharya Kripalani has put the major portion of the responsibility and the blame on the Congress Party, the ruling party. I also agree with him that

being the ruling party, this Party is responsible for whatever happens in the country. But he should not forget that other parties also have made much contribution in creating this general feeling of unrest. It is not only the failure and the laps of the Congress Party or of the Government which have created this general sense of unrest in the country but it is also the contribution of other political parties which took advantage of some of the conditions inevitably connected with the developing society. They have taken advantage of those conditions and they have created a sense of unrest and uncasiness in the country and the lawlessness and the defiance of the authority.

It has been said that politics has been introduced into education. I belong to a generation in which students took active part in politics. But even then it was never a habit with us to encourage or to indulge in defiance of the academic authority. We were encouraged to defy the authority of a foreign and an alien rule, an irremovable foreign rule; but we were always obedient to the academic authority, to our teachers, the principals and the professors.

Acharya Kripalani said one thing which I also endorse that every movement has with it some educational reform movement connected. All through, starting from Raja Rammohan Roy, Vidya Sagar and others, there have been educational movements. Within my own living memory, with the partition of Bengal and the swadeshi movement of 1906, there was the Dawn Society Movement initiated by Satish Chandra Mukerjee. The Dawn Society was a pioneering movement, an educational reformist movement, and Satish Chandra Mukerjee, who was adored and respected by Dr. Rajendra Prasad to the last day of his life as his Guru, guide and philosopher. That was educational philosopher behind the political movement which was initiated in Bengal in 1905 and 1906. Then came Arabindo with the

[Shri A. C. Guha]

National Council of Education the precursor of the present Jadavpur University. And then with the Non-Cooperation Movement, Gandhiji initiated a system of national education. So every political movement had its educational reformist counterpart.

Since Independence, we have expanded education vastly; we have paid more attention to expansion in number and not so much attention to quality. I deplore that. Gandhiji initiated a system of education, but we have practically abandoned it. If basic education of Gandhiji's ideas had been the basis of primary education, then I think the state of education now in India or the student community in India, would not have been so bad. Instead of taking Gandhiji's basic education, the Government of India accepted the hybrid version, the Sergeant's variant of basic education, which is neither this nor that.

In the Third Plan, I think, there has been an increase of about 20 new universities and about 70 or 80 new colleges or even more than that—I am not sure of the number. The Education Commission has given the full list. You will find that whatever money we have spent has been spent mostly on higher education side in universities and colleges and we have ignored the base, i.e., the primary and the secondary stages. Education begins at the primary stage. The number of primary schools has gone up to more than 5,00,000 out of about 5,60,000 villages that we have. That is, practically all the villages have now been covered by primary schools. But if the Government of India think it proper to hold an inquiry into the quality of primary education they will find that many of these primary schools exist more or less in name. The teachers there come very often at the end or the beginning of the month to take their salaries and on the other days of the month they simply sign the Register and do not take any care for education of children: so the rot starts at that stage.

Then in the secondary stage also, we have not given any attention to the teacher-student ratio. Recently there has been some increase in the remuneration of secondary-school teachers, particularly in West Bengal. So long the education line was considered to be the refuge of the rejects from all other avenues of life. That should not have been so.

We give so much emphasis now on training of teachers. It is necessary, but this training should not be of a mechanical sort. This training should have some spiritual value, this training should be towards inculcating a new outlook. But it is not so. We have to give a new outlook to the teacher-trainees in the training school. But what is done now? They are taught some psychology and are given some training in guidance, or some other things, but there is nothing about creating a new outlook among the teachers or students.

The students have been indulging in all sorts of things. The Education Commission has deplored some of the incidents and we all know what they have been doing. They indulge in teasing girls, burning buses, ticketless travelling, rushing into the cinema houses, crashing the cinema houses because they are not given concessions, and all sorts of things. Even petty bickerings about payment to a shoe-polish boy or payment to a driver, have led to widespread disorder and riots created by the students. These are not things which you can expect of the students. At present, as I have said, it is a part of lawlessness and defiance of authority and as such, it has to be tackled as a law and order problem. What was done by the Central Government on the 18th November, I think, deserves to receive the recognition and appreciation of the citizens of the country, not only because they have preserved the law and order of the city and saved the citizens from disorder and chaos, but also because they have been able to

save the students from some rowdy, unhealthy and anti-social activities which might also have done them physical harm. So that is a good thing Government have done and for that they should have our gratefulness.

Mr. Chairman: His time is up.

Shri A. C. Guha: I will take two or three minutes more.

Mr. Chairman: I would make an appeal to hon. Members. There are so many members who want to speak. If everyone takes two or three minutes more, others will be cut out. Let him please conclude in a minute.

Shri A. C. Guha: When it has degenerated into a law and order problem, it has to be tackled as such. So the police have to be called and whenever the police are called, it is quite likely that they indulge in some excesses. It is in the very nature of their work and duty. But it should be remembered that they are not the first violators of the sanctity of the educational institutions and they should not be condemned for that. If the Vice-Chancellor is gheraoed, if a certain professor or lecturer is menaced, and they call for the police for help to rescue him, and if for coming to such help the police are condemned on the ground that they have entered into the educational institutions or have committed some excesses. I think this is not fair to the police. They are also human beings; they also deserve fair treatment from the public.

It is the charge of the educational authorities to see that the students under them do not violate the sanctity of the educational institutions and do not use those institutions as sanctuaries for indulging in anti-social activities or for taking refuge in those institutions after having indulged in such anti-social activities. If they can ensure that, then only they can ask the police not to enter the educational institutions. The first concern is that the educational institutions should not be used as sanctuaries for anti-social activities.

Lastly, one word. There have been so many Education Commissions, the Radhakrishnan Commission, the Mudaliar Commission and now the Kothari Commission. I think not even 25 per cent of the recommendations of the first two Commissions have been implemented. Now the Kothari Commission have submitted a voluminous report. I do not know in how many decades the Government of India or India as a nation will develop the necessary resources to implement those recommendations. It is only creating false hopes in the minds of students and the teachers that they will get all these things. The teachers and students should realise that they have to confine their demands to the resources available within the country.

The students are the future creators of our history. We should treat them with generosity, imagination and kindness, but they should also behave with a sense of responsibility to the nation. This should be observed both by the teachers and by the students.

Mr. Chairman: I would like to put a proposal before the House as we have to conclude at 6 P.M. If Members are prepared to sit late and are prepared to keep quorum, I am prepared to sit late. Also all the arguments have been exhausted now. So five minutes to a Member should do. I would ring the bell at the 5th minute.

Shri Umanath: Ten minutes.

Shri A. N. Vidyalkar: This is very unfair.

Shri M. R. Krishna: Some of us want only five minutes.

Mr. Chairman: I know hon. Members are intelligent and have a fund of information to put forth with facts and figures. All the same, the clock is running fast. So I would request them to take only five minutes each, (*Interruptions*). Please sit down. I will give time. I am prepared to sit late.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (देवास) : मेरे दल को कब बुलायेंगे आप ?

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा : नम्बर तो हमारे दल का आता है —

सभापति महोदय : आप के दल को भी टाइम देंगे ।

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा : दूसरी पार्टी के दो बोल चुके हैं । हमारी पार्टी को पहला नम्बर भी नहीं देंगे ।

Mr. Chairman: I will try to accommodate the parties who have not been given time.

Shri Umanath: In analysing the recent student unrest, its nature and cause some of my friends posed the question as if something has gone wrong with the students, or that there is some sort of frustration among the students, or there is some sort of aberration in their minds or some dejection in life. This sort of explanation is going on in the country as well as in this House from some hon. friends.

I do not accept that position. In being against that assessment it may be I am not nearer many of my friends here, but I am convinced that I am nearer the vast masses of the people and the student community outside.

What has actually happened, and what is happening today is this. During the independence movement the student community as such participated in it, and they had a great contribution to make. After securing independence, the student community thought that now that they had secured independence, the question of their academic rights, the question of their education, the question of their democratic liberties, all those things would be taken care of by the national leadership. With that confidence in the national leadership they went into oblivion, they were not in such movements as we see today, but with the experience of the past 20 years they have come to the conclusion that if this position is left to the national leadership...

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय सभापति महोदय, मैं आपकी व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ । इतना अच्छा भाषण चल रहा है लेकिन मदन में गणपति नहीं है ।

Mr. Chairman: The Bell is being rung.... There is no quorum. The Bell may be rung again... Still there is no quorum. The House stands adjourned.

17.44 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, November 25, 1966|Agrahayana 4, 1888 (Saka).