

(M.)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right; I will put the whole of the amendment No. 67.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Please read it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It says:

Pages 12 and 13,—

for lines 41 to 43 and 1 to 8 respectively. *Substitute—*

"Disquali- 9A. A person shall be fication disqualified if and for so long as, there subsists a contract entered into by him in the course of his trade or business with the appropriate Government for the supply of goods to, or for the execution of any works undertaken by, that Government.

Explanation.—For the purposes of this section, where a contract has been fully performed by the person by whom it has been entered into with the appropriate Government, the contract shall be deemed not to subsist by reason only of the fact that the Government has not performed its part of the contract either wholly or in part." (67)

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Is he opposing it?

Shri G. S. Pathak: I have said I am accepting his wider amendment and if that is carried, my amendment becomes superfluous.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There is no conflict. Amendment 63 has already been accepted by the House and it cannot be withdrawn now. Now I am putting amendment 67. The Explanation is the same.

Shri Umanath: When the Punjab Reorganisation Bill was passed, two

amendments were accepted which were supposed to be overlapping. Then Mr. Nanda wanted suspension of the rules on the next day and so on. Tomorrow the same thing may happen in this case also.

An hon. Member: Let us take it up tomorrow.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All right. We will take up this amendment tomorrow.

16.04 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair.]

MOTION RE: STUDENT UNREST AND TROUBLE IN RECENT MONTHS

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: (Jalore): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the student unrest and trouble in recent months be taken into consideration."

At the very outset, I respectfully beg to submit that I wish that this discussion is not carried on party lines. I forget for the moment that I belong to any party. This student problem has nothing to do whatsoever with this or that party. I wish there are no accusations and counter accusations hurled at each other, if the whole thing has got to be viewed in a clear perspective and if we are to do justice not only to ourselves but to the younger generation.

I do not think it would be wise or appropriate to dismiss this question of student unrest as if it is a pre-election stunt. It is not so. I do not think it would also be appropriate to say that it is a world phenomenon, everywhere there is student unrest, we are also having it, and the students all the world over are such that we need be complacent about it. Situations in different countries are

entirely different and the causes of student unrest or student trouble cannot be identical. What happens in this country is entirely different from what the conditions are obtaining in USA, Indonesia or China. So to say that all the students all over the world are in a turmoil is also wrong.

Let us first take note of the factual position as it is before us so that we can arrive at some correct conclusions. To think that there is student unrest all over the country is also wrong. Many States, as a matter of fact, have not the least of these agitations. Even during the last three or four years there has been no trouble, no turmoil. Therefore, to say that it is a country-wide problem is also not correct.

Here I will venture to give you certain facts. In the last three or four years there has been a sort of unrest in certain sections and in certain parts. It is mostly, let us remember, confined to one or two States, in particular, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. It came up on certain political issues that arose. In Madras when the language question was there there was turmoil and there were about 72 incidents and then that subsided. We have never seen student trouble in Madras since then. As I said, I have tried to collect some figures. I find that in 1963 there were about 28 such incidents. In 1964 there were about 100 incidents. In 1965 it was 240 and in 1966 it is 202 even by now and it may be now a little more.

I wish hon. Members to make a clear note of another very important fact. If you make an analysis of the causes which led to the student trouble you will find that in 1963 out of the 28 incidents that we had there were only six which were related to academic grievances which related to students' own problems. In 1964, out of the 100 incidents there were only 13 cases where the trouble was related to academic issues where the students were directly concerned. In

1965, out of 240 cases only in 29 cases they related to academic problems and in 1966 only 50 cases related to academic issues out of 202.

Shri Umanath (Pudukkottai): Is it any authoritative source from which the hon. Member is quoting?

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I have collected these figures from sources which are open to all Members of Parliament. I venture to submit that I have never tried to give facts and figures which cannot be depended upon. I hope my hon. friend can depend upon these figures.

Again, there has been a considerable amount of firing. In 1963 there was only one incident, in 1964 there were 13 incidents, in 1965, 41 instances and in 1966 even by now it is about 40.

There has been a deterioration of the situation. Again, it is quite obvious that the difficulties and disturbances have been not only related to students' problems but much more to many other problems—maybe, social problems, political problems and other problems. This is the state of affairs.

Now, I would like to take hon. Members back to 1955 when, as a Member of Rajya Sabha, I raised this very question. I moved a motion on the question of the student problem and there was a discussion. It was in December 1955 in the Rajya Sabha. I have got a little record of it. Mr. Speaker, you would be interested to know that all the discussions which have taken place—whether it is the Vice-Chancellors' meeting or whether it is the politicians, whether it is the other House, whether it is the Government—the same causes and the same analysis has been given, namely, the student-teacher ratio, this and that, which we are possibly going to repeat here. Exactly the same thing has been said. Therefore do I take it that since 1955 we have made no advance whatsoever?

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

My hon. friend, Dr. Singhvi, tried to collect some information about this and he has passed on this book to us. He asked me to write a little note on this; so, on page 48 of this book I said:—

"It may be of some interest to know that about 11 years back—in 1955—there was a wave of unrest in the student community; there was firing in Gwalior and other places. I moved a motion in Rajya Sabha in December 1955 which was discussed at length. It is really amusing that the critical analysis which has now been made and conclusions which are now drawn are exactly the same that we had drawn 11 years back. Are we where we were 11 years ago?"

I said, "No".

Shri J. B. Kripalani (Amroha): Worse.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur:

"There has been a considerable deterioration: respect for the authority inside the University campus and outside is at its lowest ebb; frustration among students is deeper and their living conditions are worse."

This is the change which has taken place.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: But no exchange in the analysis.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: No change in the analysis.

At that time Maulana Azad happened to be the Minister of Education and I said with very great respect:—

"It hurts me to say anything which will hurt the feelings of the venerable Minister for Education. We cannot be ungrateful. We know that he had rendered

great service to the country. But Sir, we cannot permit ourselves to be carried away by these sentiments. We would never grudge him any position of honour in this country; but it is our definite feeling that if the present arrangements in the Ministry of Education are to continue, this country will have a sad future. We want, as a matter of fact, a dynamic personality like that of Subhash Bose, to guide and to take forward the youth of this country at this most crucial moment. It is only then, Mr. Deputy Chairman"....

I said there—

"that we will not have to listen to such speeches, that we will not be told that a reference has been made to the various universities, then we will not be told that it is the responsibility of the States that the universities are autonomous bodies. The universities will remain autonomous and the States will also remain autonomous States, but they will be made to function."

I say exactly the same thing. Mr. Speaker, today. If we are to look after this problem properly, the first thing is that we have got to re-organise our Ministry of Education at the Centre. You must have in the Ministry of Education certain imaginative people, who have a rapport with the youth of the country. We give the same importance to the Education Ministries in the various States.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: In other places we can have unimaginative people!

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Acharyaji's question is very pertinent, but if we have only half a dozen imaginative persons like him, what can we do? I will give the utmost importance to education and agriculture in the present context of all this trouble.

I would not go into the various causes. I can say with confidence that the students community as a whole, by and large, is sound to the core even now, even today—I would not quarrel with them—in spite of the disturbances which have taken place. The disturbances were not planned by the students. There are anti-social elements which have exploited them and the students being an inflammable material, fell in line. Let us understand this. This has been, as a matter of fact, discussed quite at length and there is not the least doubt about it that the whole blame cannot be fastened on the students community as such. Students have certain responsibilities and certain distortions have taken place which I will enumerate and give my own suggestions in the matter. But there are anti-social elements which take advantage of it and there is no denying the fact, whether this party or that party, the parties are exploiting the situation.

श्री विभूति मिश्र (मोतिहारी) : गांधी जी ने भी हम लोगों को यूटिलाइज कर लिया इसलिए ऐंडी सोशल न कहिये भायुर साहब । आज के दिन या हो सकता है लेकिन उस समय गांधी जी ने भी हम लोगों को यूटिलाइज किया था ।

श्री हरिश्चन्द्र माथुर : उसको कौन ऐंडी-सोशल कहता है मिश्रा साहब ? मैं तो आज भी नहीं कहता । स्टूडेंट जो करते हैं उसको मैं नहीं कहता । लेकिन स्टूडेंट्स का जब एजिटेशन होगा है तो उसके अन्दर बहुत सारे लोग इस तरह के घस जाते हैं और वह ऐंडी सोशल एग्जिमेंट्स जो होते हैं, वह उसका नाजायज फायदा उठाते हैं, हममें कोई दो रायें नहीं हो सकती ।

श्री ज० भ० कृपालानी : महात्मा ने प्रायः को यूटिलाइज किया नहीं तो पार्लियामेंट में हो ।

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Then, I come to this question. We must

have restored the authority of the Vice-Chancellor and we must have a really competent Vice-Chancellor who will command respect. Most of the difficulties have arisen because we have eroded the authority and the responsibility of the Vice-Chancellor. Now, in the Banaras Hindu University, you have got a Vice-Chancellor who commands respect and today I hear very heartening reports from that University where there used to be such a great trouble. You will see that the greatest trouble has arisen only in those places where the authority of the Government on the one hand and the authority of the Vice-Chancellor on the other is not respected and the confidence is not commanded by them.

Now, the question is, how do you see that the Vice-Chancellors are persons who are appointed exclusively on merits and who will not permit any sort of factions or groups amongst the teachers themselves. One of the portent causes in every University is that you have groups or factions amongst teachers themselves. Before you blame students, there are teachers who are divided in groups or in factions, involved in politics, some with one party and some others with another party. Therefore, I suggest that a small national panel of persons who command the national respect should be formed for appointment of Vice-Chancellors. Let that panel be maintained either by the Central Ministry of Education here or by the University Grants Commission and the appointment should be made out of that panel only. There should be no manoeuvring, this or that. That panel should be formed.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: By whom?

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Let the University Grants Commission do it. Let Acharya Kripalani and three or four other persons like him sit down and select a panel. There are various methods which could be found. But there should be no extraneous considerations for a particular Vice-Chancellor being appointed

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for a particular University in a particular State. I would submit that, as far as possible, a particular Vice-Chancellor in a particular State may better be a person from outside the State or may be a person who is not from a State to which the Governor himself belongs. There are various methods which could be found so that this could be done.

I have never been able to appreciate what has been suggested in the communication from the Centre that they should form a central authority here for looking into the grievances of the students. I think, this is absolutely foolish and fantastic. There is nothing more wrong about it. We must restore the authority to the Vice-Chancellors. Wherever there is trouble, the Vice-Chancellor and one of the Deans should be able to look after the whole trouble. It is no use just making an all-India affair. Another most unfortunate thing is that whenever there is a trouble, an *ad hoc* body is formed that *ad hoc* body continues without any authority or they become leaders in a sense and they are being given a recognition. If you do not recognise any of these *ad hoc* bodies which are formed and if you have only to have the Vice Chancellor's authority restored, then what should be done? What should be done in a particular University or in a particular college? Well, the students should be taken into confidence. In every University you will always be able to get, from the teaching staff, one or two Deans who command the respect of the students. Let them be responsible for the welfare of the students. Let there be certain bodies formed who will look after the grievances of the students. Then, these grievances should be quickly remedied. There is no reason why there should be any delay. But this should be an internal authority. you should not have any external authority; otherwise, that will further tell upon the responsibility of the Vice-Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor will have to look to somebody else. The grievances are being sorted out

by Mr. Nanda or the Education Minister; that would be just be a wrong thing to do. There should not be any outside authority. It must be done by an internal authority, within the campus. The trouble varies from place to place, but this is common.

I would further submit that for quite some time the effectiveness of Academic Councils and Syndicates has again gone down the drain. Their prestige must be restored. They must be given the importance which is due to them. We must now have a sort of a Model University enactment which will restore to them that position and that place.

Then I would submit that there are professional students and most of the trouble in the Universities can be traced to them. Out of 100 students, 95 or 99 students are all right, but there are certain professional students who go on hanging about taking this course and that course. What do we do with them? We cannot deny them education; they have passed M.A. and other post-graduate courses. Some of them are even in the payment of political parties. I think nobody who is above the age of 25 should be considered as a regular student and should be eligible to any of the unions; he should only be an associated student.

An hon. Member: How about post-graduate students?

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: You do the post-graduation by 22 or 23 years of age.

An hon. Member: Research?

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Research is different. I would not mind a research student at all. They will never bother. You can always know those students who just hang about only to become the student leaders and we can certainly have certain very healthy rules by which they

could be eliminated. If you can do that, then half the trouble will be over. They should not be eligible for any place in the union. Of course, nobody outside the University, nobody from the political party, should be there on any of the unions representing the students. The students themselves should be able to look after their affairs and we must see to that.

If we take good care of all these things in the Universities, I think there would be very few cases where the question of law and order would arise. But if, after looking after their grievances properly, it is a question of law and order outside the campus of the University, I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that it should be dealt with firmly. It should be made absolutely clear to every one in this country that agitations would not pay. Today one of our greatest maladies has been that people feel that they can be heard only through agitations, through destruction of public property and by taking out demonstrations. If their grievances are readily heard, if there is a mechanism in the campus itself and it quickly listens to them and in spite of all these, if there are extraneous forces working and there is a law and order problem, then they should be dealt with firmly. Rule of law is the essence of democracy; it is the base of democracy; if there is no rule of law, then there is no democracy. This should be clearly understood and we should make it felt everywhere that rule of law, the democracy, is going to stay in this country and nothing which runs contrary to the rule of law and to democratic values will be tolerated at any cost, whether it is the student community or anybody else. Student or no student, the rule of law should apply to all. The students are just like any others in this respect. They cannot be treated differently and there cannot be two different standards. The students are just our sons; they are our brothers; they are our younger brothers; they are our children and they deserve all understanding and they deserve all

affection. We must give them understanding and we must give them affection we must sit with them and we must listen to their grievances and we must provide for some kind of mechanism for the redress of their grievances. But at the same time we must also teach our own young boys, our own sisters, our own daughters and our own sons that they cannot take the law into their hands and they cannot jeopardise the law and order situation in this country under any circumstances.

Quite a few years back, I also felt that we must bring the teacher, the parent and the student together. We had certain ideas. Our great President was then the Chairman of Rajya Sabha and I had requested him and I had taken him to Jodhpur where we had organised a great movement called Balodaya; that Balodaya movement had its roots in the bringing together of the teacher, the parent and the student. I am afraid that we have completely neglected the parent. We have also neglected the teacher today. It is unfortunate that we have not given due place to the teacher. When we are considering these problems we have never consulted the teacher to find out what his difficulties are and why he is not able to control the whole thing. We know that the number of students has grown in proportion and some of the difficulties are inherent in that vast expansion which has taken place. Even then, I would say that if we take the teacher and the parent into confidence and if we have a better rapport and a better understanding and a better contact, then all this trouble will be stopped.

Then, I would submit that we must have a regular programme which will give a sense of purpose and participation to our students, which will give them a sense of pride in their own *alma mater*. They must feel proud of their institution and they must feel 'This is my institution'. How can that be achieved? Unless and until they have a sense of participation, and the vice-chancellor and the head of

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the institution or the university and the others just have a big sense of rapport with him, this is not possible. It is not just a workshop which would help. There could be programmes devised and functions arranged which will bring them together and which will give them that sense of pride for their *alma mater*. We must see that this sense of pride for the *alma mater* is inculcated among the students. If, for instance, I feel that this is my house, how can I go and break the glasspanes of the windows in my house? I shall never do it.

As regards the students in the Rajasthan University who indulged in all this hooliganism, I must say this. When the vice-chancellor had a talk with them, when they sat together and they tried to understand each other, the whole atmosphere was changed, and I am very happy to be able to tell you and the House that the students said 'Well, we shall make up from our own pocket money for the loss which we have inflicted on our institution'. That spirit could be inculcated among the students.

That is why I have started my speech by saying that the heart of the students is sound to the core. We have failed in many other ways, but if we adopt all these ways and methods we shall certainly succeed.

Another young man had come to me from Ajmer. He had brought a letter from the Governor and he wanted to invite the Prime Minister to Ajmer to address students' rally there, and he said that so many thousands of students would be collecting there. I told him that he must give me some earnest of his attitude in this matter. There was a sort of movement going on in Ajmer and there was some sort of agitation going on there. These students attended that public meeting in Ajmer and at that public meeting they said that 'We are not going to associate ourselves with any kind of agitation; we shall only be peaceful and we shall try to serve', and there was a proper atmosphere created. That appeared in all the papers.

I shall conclude by saying that there is no need for us to get jittery about it; there is no reason for us to get panicky about it. The maladies are known; the things are absolutely manageable and we must give the students not only a sense of pride about their *alma mater* but we must tell them 'This is your country. Please, consider what image you are going to present of your great country'n if we do so, I have not the least doubt that they are no less patriotic than anybody sitting here, and, therefore, their young hearts will respond much better than the heart of anybody who is sitting here.

I have not the least doubt that we will be able to harness the students to a more useful and more purposeful life and to raise the image of the country.

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That the student unrest and trouble in recent months be taken into consideration".

The time fixed is 2 hours. We have already spent half an hour.

Shri Yashpal Singh (Kairana): It may be extended.

Shri Priya Gupta (Katihar): When the call attention question was raised, you assured us that you would call us now.

Shri Prakash Vir Shastri (Bijnaur): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the student unrest and trouble in recent months, condemns the action of the Government in resorting to police firings and lathi charges on students in which many students and other citizens lost their lives". (1)

Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey (Salem-
pur): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted, namely:—

"This House, having considered the student unrest and trouble in recent months, is of opinion that a high powered committee of eminent scholars and vice-chancellors be constituted to solve the problem of the student unrest in the country". (2)

Mr. Speaker: Both the original motion and the substitute motions are before the House.

It is for the House to decide. The list of names already sent to me—besides them there will be some others also—total 28 names up to now. They would appreciate my difficulty. Therefore, a time-limit shall have to be fixed within which Members would condense their remarks. May I suggest ten minutes?

Some hon. Members: Yes.

Mr. Speaker: That is agreed.

Shri Bibhuti Mishra: It may be extended in suitable cases.

Shri Tulsidas Jadhav (Nanded): The time for discussion should be extended.

Mr. Speaker: I agree. Shall we sit longer today?

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) :
मेरी आघे घंटे की चर्चा को कल ले लीजिये ।

प्रधान मंत्री : यह हो सकता है ।
हम लोग छः बजे के बाद एक या डेढ़ घंटे
और बैठ सकते हैं ।

Shri Ranga.

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (**Shri Raj Bahadur**): I could not get your decision. Is it going to be extended?

Shri Sonavane (Pandharpur): There will be difficulty about quorum. I think five minutes to each Member would be in order.

Some hon. Members: No, no.

Mr. Speaker: Nothing can be made in five minutes.

Shri Raj Bahadur: Do you propose to finish today?

Mr. Speaker: I thought so if Members are willing to sit longer.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty (Barackpore): This is a very important subject. Although I consider we are hard-pressed for time, if we really want to have a thought-provoking discussion, ten minutes is not going to suffice. If we are serious as we should be—Parliament should be serious about this—I suggest we might continue till 6 today and then continue again at 4 tomorrow.

Some hon. Members: A very good suggestion.

Mr. Speaker: Is it acceptable?

Some hon. Members: Yes.

Shri Raj Bahadur: Then I have no objection.

Mr. Speaker: We will continue upto 6 P.M. and then again take it up tomorrow at 4 P.M. to continue upto 6 P.M.

Shri Sonavane: Then tomorrow's business will be disturbed.

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): I am glad that my hon. friend, Mr. Mathur has spoken about this very important matter in a cool and co-operative manner. I would like to say that I agree with most of the things he has said in regard to the need for improving the relationship between the academic circles on the one hand and the Governments concerned on the other. At the same time, let us not forget one thing that the student unrest is only an extension or a part of

[Shri Ranga]

the general unrest that prevails in the country. He has himself given these statistics. It could be seen from that that just as the misery of the people has been growing, so also the number of strikes has been increasing. Every one knows that students are very sensitive. They could not divert themselves from what is happening in their own homes and all round, in their environments, in their cities and in their villages. They react to the sufferings of the people, including their own parents much more rapidly, much more energetically and emotionally than their own parents and no wonder there has been all this unrest. It is for the Government to turn the searchlight upon themselves and their own activities and examine whether really their three Plans have given any satisfaction to the people. They themselves would be the first, I am sure, to say that they have not succeeded. But what is the barometer? What is it that gives the country, the emotional count of the degree of dissatisfaction prevailing among the masses? Just as there is the Gallup poll and all these things for ascertaining public opinion, even more accurate is this barometer of the student unrest. One can say that there has not been that sense of satisfaction and contentment and even of patience with the Government about which it has been boasting as its achievements. Therefore, I do not think it is right for any one to say that there are some political forces and political parties and some unseen elements and unidentifiable elements which are responsible for that. Just as there are some anti-social forces in our society who have nothing to do with politics, so also some politicians would not be politicians if they do not take advantage of the atmosphere that is prevailing and the discontent and dissatisfaction and disillusionment with what the Government stands for and what the Government has been able to do. Who would not realise that they have been taking advantage of this, taking charge of this section of our society in order to further their

programmes as well as their political projects? But I am not prepared to condemn them. After all they would not be political people if they do not respond to the atmosphere of discontent in the country and offer to provide solutions according to their judgment. It is quite possible that their judgment may be wrong. It is also quite possible that the moment they choose for exciting the students and raising them to higher and higher tempo of dissatisfaction is wrong. The strikes also may go wrong. Yet it is not they who are principally responsible for this. We have got to realise this.

Thirdly, my hon. friend Mr. Harish Chandra Mathur made that suggestion long ago and he repeated it today that we should learn to respect the Vice-Chancellors, and—he has not mentioned it but he must have had it in his mind—principals of colleges. What is it that has happened in many places whenever there were disturbances? Two instances come to mind—one at Kaladi, where Adhi Sankaracharya was born, in Kerala and another, by the side of a railway station in Kerala itself. There were disturbances. True. Those students, after having played their usual pranks, ran into the college campus for protection. That may also be true as the police stated. But is that any justification for the police not to have waited even for five to 10 minutes, to have seen the principals concerned, explained things to them, given them the opportunity of talking to those students and thereafter get their permission to go in and catch hold of those people whose hands were bloodstained? But they would not have that patience even; they went into the colleges beat up the professors, lecturers and even the principal also was manhandled in one place. Such things have happened.

What is the repercussion of that? What is the reaction? Instead of the trouble being confined to one college or one area, it naturally spread, and

it did spread. This is what is happening. Therefore, the next thing that has got to be done is this: this was referred to by Shri Mathur; it should be taken up to a higher plane of discussion. What is it that the Government has to do as soon as they find that the police have found it necessary to fire on people, on students and others, resulting in casualties? It is stated here in this collection of articles published by our hon. friend Dr. Singhvi, on the student unrest,—one after the other, these writers have asked for immediate enquiries. The students have been asking for it. She Prakash Vir Shastri has himself suggested that in his amendment to this motion. On every occasion it has happened. The moment firing takes place, thereafter, the students as well as the local public, ask for an enquiry, and it has become usual with the Government not to order an enquiry. It is not so in Canada or England or in any other countries. Immediately thereafter they appoint an enquiry; the moment the enquiry is ordered, half the trouble is over; the students' passion also would cool down; their attention would be turned to the preparation of the evidence and all the rest of it, to be placed before the judge. Unfortunately, for us, in our country, our Government has not developed that sense of response, the responsive sense, to the universal, reasonable demand of the students for an enquiry.

Thirdly, why should there be these police excesses? It is always easy or us, the public, to complain that the police has exceeded its powers and so on. They do have to fire sometimes. One cannot help that; when they do fire, there is no guarantee that there would not be excesses; but excesses have taken place, but, whether excesses have taken place or not, who is to judge? Are we to be content, are the students expected to be content, with the statement made by the Government from time to time either at the State level or here, that there have been no excesses at all?

Establish that there has been no excesses, by an impartial authority. Once you do it, next time, it would be necessary for your local magistrates as well as your police to be extremely careful. Today they are not careful. First of all, the police are unwilling to shoot. They are also human beings. They have got their own children, and therefore they do not want to shoot. But they become provoked by all sorts of troubles. Then they are just like other human beings; they get excited and angry, and they lose self-control. It is at this stage that the police demand on the local magistrate comes; there is a demand for shooting and that man is unable to restrain these police people, and therefore, he gives the order, and once the order is given, the mischief starts. Therefore, there is bound to be excess once shooting begins in many cases not in all cases. But it can be prevented if only the police were to know that just as they find it very painful to bear these brickbats, similarly, it would be very painful for them later on if they were to exceed reasonable limits in using force. So, this thing has got to be borne in mind by the Government here as well as others elsewhere.

Fourthly, are the Government behaving properly? I myself saw some things in the Osmania University. There was the Vice-Chancellor who was naturally popular, who was supported by all the students and by all the lecturers, and yet, a local satrap of their party, in the Government, wanted to get rid of him and therefore he got a law passed in order to upset the tenure of office and no wonder the whole university was on fire. Who is at fault? It is easy for them to say that politicians are playing with it. Who is a politician and who is not? Are we to understand that once a man becomes a minister, he is no longer a politician? Many a Minister in many a State have played the role of politicians, agitators and instigators. They have

[Shri Ranga]

also to bear the brunt of this responsibility.

The relationship between the parents, students, teachers and Government has been brought in. Just as it has become necessary on the labour front to have labour conciliation officers, so also in colleges and universities there should be a special machinery where the parents, teachers and students would be represented and their good offices should be sought to remove as many grievances as possible.

The students are not unreasonable. They are not out for trouble. They are really keen on their studies. I do not think they have begun to disrespect their lecturers and professors in the colleges and even high schools. It is wrong for us to confine our consideration of this matter only to universities. Even in high schools, you have got it. We have got to deal with the students and their unions. It is no good complaining that the communists have got their unions, Congress have got their unions and socialists have got unions. My party has not thought it fit to organise them on a party basis, but I am not prepared to find fault with others if they organise their own unions. These union leaders must also be brought into the conciliation machinery, and the students as a whole, knit together or working separately, should be given an opportunity of expressing their views and feelings in regard to the various problems affecting them. They must have a feeling that there is no discrimination in the way the Government is being carried on. What is happening now is, at the teachers' level in regard to obtaining marks, there is so much of mischief. In having examinations, there is discrimination. In admissions there is discrimination on the basis of caste and community. What is worse, there is individual discrimination being indulged in not only by the educational authorities, but also by the political

influences that are there. On many occasions in Andhra hundreds of writ petitions had to be filed in the High Court to ensure that there would be no discrimination. When a judgment is given, it is not honoured in regard to its general application. It benefits that particular boy alone and the others have to go on suffering from discrimination. No wonder it sows the seed of dissatisfaction, unhappiness and loss of faith in the governing circles.

In conclusion, I would say that just as it is necessary for all the political parties to behave well towards our people and keep faith with them and act up to our professions, much more is the need for those who bear the burden of Government and pass as ministers. President, Governors, speakers and so on, people who occupy those places of honour and responsibility, to keep faith with the people and keep faith with themselves, to act as they say they would act and to say only those things which they feel sure they would be able to implement. Otherwise, the students lose faith in the national leadership and once they lose faith in national leadership, you cannot expect them not to create unrest and trouble.

Shrimati Benu Chakravarty: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very grateful to Shri Harish Chandra Mathur for having raised this discussion just at this juncture. We are discussing it in Delhi where we have seen the shocking spectacle of truck-loads of armed battalions of soldiers with steel helmets and rifles going up and down the streets not only outside this Parliament but in the campus of the university itself. Even today if you go to the Ridge you will find trucks with soldiers camouflaged and it looks as if we are fighting the Chinese in a much more spectacular way than what we did at Sela Pass. Whom are we fighting now? We are fighting our own children.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Not even children, our own shadows.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: Those children never came. They were not able to come. They could not come and present their grievances to us because of the *go-hatiya* movement which turned violent.

Shri Raj Bahadur: *Go-raksha* movement.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: *Go-hatiya* banning movement—my Hindi is not so good. Sir, it is this attitude of punitive approach, as we call it, this attitude of calling the Inspector-Generals to a conference in order to solve this problem of students, that has brought us to this pass.

What has really been at the bottom of the whole matter. We are always saying that it is because politics has entered into the campus that the entire atmosphere has been vitiated. I am glad my hon. friend, Shri Bibhuti Mishra pointed out that it was the national movement which gave its call to the youth to join politics. But that call was for what, to fight for what ideals? Students certainly will participate in politics, they will protest against every injustice that is done, primarily injustice to themselves. That is my outlook.

What is the position today with regard to the whole of society? Professor Ranga has rightly pointed out that the students are affected by what is happening.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Russia and America are coming together.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: I have been a professor myself for ten years. Naturally, we shall be one in academic matters I hope.

Shri Ranga: You appealed for a non-partisan attitude.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: That is why I welcome it.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: Sir, what happened with regard to the student movement that started in Bengal in February this year? It rose out of economic causes. Because there was no food, no kerosene for the students to study, agitation started. This was at the bottom of the entire agitation which flared up. The police used bullets on those young children. This is not an academic question in that sense. We have been given statistics showing that so many of the agitations arise out of academic issues and so many not. I say we cannot draw a line. The agitation that arose in February in Bengal was entirely due to economic causes arising from the wrong economic policies pursued by this Government. If it can be called a political question, then it is a political question. We cannot say that the students will not be affected by it. But what was the solution? For weeks on end students, children and parents were agitating because there was no food, the prices were going high, there was no rice in the market, there was no kerosene. Nobody listened. When the students went and demonstrated, they would not listen. When there was a lathi-charge, firing and some deaths of students and the entire place went up in flames, then your Government woke up. Therefore, who turns an issue into a political issue. I say,

it is your Government.

What happens in regard to academic questions. Have we given the students any ideals? What are the text-books that you prescribe. We still teach them those rotten British text-books in many many schools and colleges. A student has ideals, he is sensitive, he is romantic. Have we given them that romance in life?

What is it that they see around us? What is it that they study in the text-books? What are the academic standards that we lay? I rightly appreciate the point that Professor Ranga has made. What is the standard of examinations? Is there no favouritism? We know it to our cost. What is the way in which the teachers

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are chosen? How are promotions given? What is the situation even with regard to the way you run your school boards? What is this school board except a stepping stone for Congressmen in my State to get into positions of influence? What is the position with regard to the Secondary Board of Education in my State? What is the situation with regard to your textbook committee? What are the textbooks that you choose? Is there not bribery and corruption on that point too? These are the points that we have to see and change.

Then, what is the syllabus? Do we correlate it with actual life? Our students are passing out and you say that if he is a third class student, throw him into the Ganges. How many of your children are first class first? Your children go to England; they get scholarships and go abroad. But there are children of the poor who are not able to get first class; they can only get third divisions. Where are they to go? They have no place to go. There are no polytechnics to which they can go. They cannot go to institutes and scientific *vidya mandirs*, because the numbers are so restricted and they have not get the pull. Then, there are other allied questions already mentioned by my hon. friend, Professor Ranga regarding caste and community pulls. But what are you going to do with these children for whose education our peasants and poor classes are struggling?

Then, still we have class education in spite of the fact that primary education is free. But what is the condition of the primary schools in the villages? Parents who can pay Rs. 24, Rs. 25, Rs. 30 or more, send their children to European schools. Class education still goes on. When those children come up to universities, through St. Stephen's College or through Loretta House, or enter public service examinations, they are the actual ones who get plus marks because they are smart and they can speak in English. They

are the people who are the administrators, the bureaucrats. Therefore, there is frustration.

Some of our children are good mathematicians and good scientists. Do they get a chance in life? We have got engineers who are unemployed today. They are the factors of increasing unemployment. But who deals with these socioeconomic factors?

Then, rightly Professor Ranga has pointed out, what about our Vice-Chancellors? When Vice-Chancellors and heads of educational institutions were called—I think, it was by the Home Minister—just before this war against the students took place in Delhi, what is it that they said? They said, "Why do you call us? When we want our educational demands fulfilled, it takes weeks, months and years for the files to move and even then nothing happens; what is the use of your now asking us how to keep the peace? We are not bothered at all; we can manage our students. You please try to fulfil our demands." This is what the Vice-Chancellors said.

Then, on top of that, if there is a good Vice-Chancellor, you want to remove him by executive action. Osmania University is one of the biggest examples of that. The Syndicate, the students, the Academic Council and, I think, also all the general public were in favour of this gentleman. I do not know who he is but he seems to be a popular gentleman. Why by executive action or a law passed through the Assembly do you want to remove him or reduce his tenure of office?

What does the report on the Banaras Hindu University say? Was there not politics there? What has been the fate of many Vice-Chancellors? I remember, my hon. friend, Shri Mathur himself, questioned once the appointment of a Vice-Chancellor, a rotten, corrupt man—a man whom you would not leave your daughter with—

and he became the Vice-Chancellor. This is the situation.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): This is a very serious charge.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: What shall we do with the children? First of all, the demands of education must be fulfilled. When you can give Rs. 400 crores at one stroke for the defence of our country, you have to give more in the way of funds for our education. Therefore, the question of teachers, the raising of the standards of teachers and their salaries must be one of the first and fundamental things that we must deal with. For years on end we go on talking. We have commissions and reports and those are all thrown into the dustbin because we have no money. We should have really good, nationalist, scientifically modern, non-revivalist, non-medieval outlooked books and curriculum.

17.00 hrs.

Now, I come to this very important question of the penal attitude this Government brings to educational questions that is, rustication and such like measures. These must be stopped. In the city of Calcutta, they have started this rustication business. In three colleges—I am not going into the rights and the wrongs of what actually happened—the best students are rusticated. Those best boys may have done certain wrong things. I am not going into that. Don't our children behave in a wrong manner? Do you throw them out of schools and colleges? What would be your position as parents if you find that your child, because of something wrong that he has done, is rusticated? I can understand any other form of punishment. You are stopping them from being educated in that college. This question of rustication, I say, is an old imperialist method of denying education. This method of rustication must be stopped. Do they not misbehave with parents? Do we not know it? Are we not forgiving them? Do we rusticate them? Do we kill them with

bullets? We do not do that. Therefore, in the case of our students, we cannot allow this. I remember, when Mr. Stapleton and Mr. Oaten became notorious people by their autocratic behaviour, Subhash Chandra Bose started a big campaign against them; at that time it became a rule that the precincts of the University campus and the educational institutions are the arena of academic freedom and have to be controlled by the heads of educational institutions and that the police, and certainly, the military, cannot enter into it without the express desire of the heads of the educational institutions.

This autonomy has to be respected in every case. What happened in Kanpur? There occurred the death of a principal shocked by what happened after the police came into his institution. That shocked the whole of India. We cannot understand it. How was it possible, the police running amuck and going into the educational institution and breaking up the laboratories? This is something shocking. Therefore, a very sober proposal was made on behalf of the people in the city of Calcutta that let us have some sort of an inquiry into the whole affair that was going on in the Presidency college, let educationists be appointed and let us have a solution of the problem. There was bureaucratic high-handed element saying, "No. This will continue." The students are adamant on the one hand and the authorities are adamant on the other hand. There is a complete stand-still in education.

I plead that in this situation, the socio-economic policies of the Government are largely responsible—these are very important factors. You may have commissions, but with respect, I say to you that you are not going to implement what they say. Therefore, let us not have any more commissions. Let us really try to implement the demands of the Vice-Chancellors, the demands of the heads of educational institutions, and let us have education with a national ideal and which fits

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in with the scientific and modern needs of society and which will not lead to a large number of educated unemployed persons.

Lastly, I want that every case of firing should be inquired into and in cases where there is a complete standstill situation, between the authorities and the students, I would beg that let the teachers' and the students' unions solve the matter. There is no question of the executive or the ruling party or anybody else interfering into the matter. If the students belong to any political party, it is for the students' unions to deal with it.

These points have to be taken note of. There must not be a police attitude to a solution of such a serious matter. It is a shame what happened in Delhi and even today for what is happening in the campus with police and military surrounding that place. It is not only a matter of shame for this country but also it is a matter of ridicule before the whole world.

Shri P. R. Chakraverti (Dhanbad): It has been suggested that the problem of students is a problem of affluence or a problem of destitution. It is not so. It is a problem of self-expression, the urge to find an outlet for creative talents. It is from that angle that one has to discuss this question and put forward some suggestions. It is a malady which is corroding the body politic and, at the same time, the frustrated elements also try to influence and project themselves in that.

Unfortunately, my friends like Mr. Bibhuti Mishra have forgotten their young age. But I am still reminded of the young age. When I protested against the Banaras Hindu University Act, I made a mention here that my humble self protested against the administrative authority of Bengal which wanted to impose certain unacceptable conditions. I was the President of the University Union and had to oppose it and pay the penalty for the

same. Today we find that so many difficulties are developing in this sector. It is never a question of law and order; never can it be so because hundreds and thousands of young generation, men and women, are coming with the urge to participate in the country's welfare and in the country's progress and development. If they are dwarfed in any way and if their feelings are suppressed, then they try to find an expression in a channel which is not healthy.

I would make some positive suggestions. It is good that the Minister of Information and Broadcasting is here; I hope he will convey my observations to the Education Minister.

The first suggestion is that each University will have a Director of Students Welfare, who must be directly concerned with the problems of students and the students must know, "here is one person whom we can readily approach". It will have an Advisory Committee on which some members of teaching staff would be there. Students' Council should be formed, directly elected by students. There are elected members in the University Court from the registered graduates and they must be associated with the committee. They are the graduate representatives in the Court. Having been a member of the Court for 12 years, I know that they should also have a part in the determination of the students' problems and the administrative questions. So this Council will be associated with the Students' Council. It will be advised by the Director of Students' Welfare and the representatives of registered graduates.

17.08 hrs.

[SHRI SHAM LAL SARAF *in the Chair*]

The Parents and Teachers Association, which had been a moot question, has not yet materialised. There must be a Parents and Teachers Association and it should meet regularly and give

a hearing to the students' representatives and understand what their problems are. You know better that when ladies are there, they might give us very healthy ideas. I would naturally emphasize the role of mother in this. Mother or sister or sister-in-law should be included in the Parents and Teachers Association, so that the boys and girls will know that their problems will be tackled from a humane sense, from a sense of sympathy and understanding.

Then we should have planning forums in colleges. Each college must have a planning forum. They must know how India is going ahead with the development policy. One Deputy Minister suggested to me that 500 forums are there. I have gone round the whole country, travelled through 252 districts and addressed colleges and universities. The planning forums are there on paper. They must be there in fact. There should be regular planning forums to discuss social and economic problems. There must be professors of economics, philosophy, social science to give them proper guidance so that they will have a proper outlet and discuss all these things.

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty was suggesting about participation in political activities. I must say that I am prompted to endorse that plea. But the young Member to my left, Shri Bibhuti Mishra, was speaking about what the position was 45 years ago. I also had to leave college in response to the call of Mahatmaji. But then we had the discipline that Mahatma Gandhi inculcated in us. When he gave us a call to leave our colleges, he also insisted on the observance of eight items of discipline. 'You must sign the pledge of satyagraha. Otherwise, do not come'. This was what he said. There were 14 English teachers of Dacca College, one of the premier colleges in India, and I came out of the same and met Mahatma Gandhi who was in the City of Dacca then. He said 'While you are coming out to participate in the

liberation movement, you must be disciplined. Are you ready to undergo discipline?' I admitted my readiness to do so. This factor must be brought home to the young generation today.

It is not that we do not want them to take part in politics. But, with it, is also interwined the question of the obligation to be disciplined and proper acceptance of that, and a proper understanding of its significance.

Today what happens? 10 per cent of the boys will only be the provoking factors. The other 90 per cent will be so many good children, like the 385 of us here—Indeed, they are very good learners. What about the 10 per cent? There are people who are on the rolls for years, on the students rolls, so many years. I would suggest that this should be inquired into. It is like what we did in the Bengal Amateur Theatres while playing the role of herolines. These old boys who are provoking the students, who are mere disturbing agents, must be weeded out. They are the unsocial elements. The students can never be unsocial elements. They are just in their impressionable age. The student wants to look around. He wants to participate. He wants to acquaint himself with problems that India has to encounter. It is his own problem.

Take the example of PL 480 food. We consume it but this has to be paid for by him. So the problem is his. Should he not know about these things? This is not a matter concerning gold persons like Professor Sharma or some others.

My definite proposal is that there must be a central council. There should be a Director of Welfare. The observations of the Council will be discussed and placed before the Academic Council. The people there should discuss these things and should be asked to take into account the opinion of the students. The latter

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must have avenues of discussion about all these matters. Why should they not discuss political matters? Whatever Acharya Ranga or Acharya Kripalani or Prof. Barua or others have to say, the students must have the opportunity to discuss them and give expression to their thoughts. There must be a forum in each college. I would suggest the planning forum for this purpose.

Then the teacher-students ratio must also be worked out properly. Shrimati Renu Chakravarty was referring to Calcutta. There were 185 students in one class. Naturally it is no class but a crowd.

Mr. Chairman: He must conclude now.

Shri P. R. Chakraverty: Yes, Sir I am concluding my speech.

It is no class, no knowledgeable lecture. The lecturer is busy with his private tutitions only. There must be tutorial classes. The teacher must be given adequate allowance so that he should not be busy with private tutitions. He must be taking tutorial classes.

Indeed, the teacher-students ratio must be properly fixed so that the student knows that 'here is an institution where I have all the scope for useful discourse and expression, where my talents may be channelised in healthy direction'. He must not feel frustrated and the feeling of frustration should not be allowed to condition the young mind.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): Sir, the story of education in the post independence period is a sad and heart breaking and frustrated story. I do not think that free India has done justice to education. I do not think that free India has taken education seriously and I do not think that free India has ever given much thought to education. We have been

saying all the time that twenty per cent of the plan money should go to education and that the same thing should happen at the State level also. I assure you that whenever any economy is to be effected, whenever any money is to be withdrawn from any sector of endeavour in this country it is education that suffers. Therefore, education in free India has been treated as the Cinderella with the result that it had produced unhappy, discontented and frustrated teachers. There is no doubt about it that we have had so many commissions and committees and the new shastra that we have had recently is the shastra produced by those persons who are absolutely out of touch with education; retired persons, persons who had outgrown their love of education were put on that body and we got outsiders also. Therefore, there is a whole mix up in that report. We wanted a national system of education. I think that what we are going to get is something that is neither here nor there, neither fish, nor flesh nor good red herring. All the money that has been spent has not borne any fruit. Therefore, I would like to say that as education had been neglected, the teachers have also been neglected. I do not talk of the teachers of the Central universities. I talk of the teachers of the State universities, of the affiliated colleges, of the teachers of secondary schools and primary schools. What is the state of affairs? I tell you that the plight of the teacher in India is something which could not be described and the most unfortunate thing is that the teacher has not had a fair deal at the hands of the States or at the hands of the Centre. Of course we are now told that something would be done for them. You know Urdu:

“कौन जीता है तेरी जल्फ के सिर होने तक ?”

One does not know when these things will bear fruit.

Mr. Chairman: Why did you miss the first part of it?

Shri D. C. Sharma: Therefore, unhappy and discontented teachers produce these discontented students and the students are the victims of that kind of malaise which has overtaken our country during recent years. And that malaise is social, economic, psychological—of all kinds, and do you mean to say that these students live in a tower or on an island or in a wooded grove and they do not know what is happening? They know what is happening in this country, and there is no doubt about it that sometimes they react, and that leads to a situation which you find in this country. Therefore, if you want that these students should not behave as they have done,—I do not blame them—I think there is one philosophy which guides me in such matters. And that is, do not blame anybody; do not condemn anybody. I do not blame or condemn them, we should know why they have done so. But I feel that they are the victims of the circumstances which we have created in this country during the last so many years, and there is no doubt that they have somehow reacted very violently to what has happened.

My hon. friend was saying that they have no grievance of any kind; they have nothing to do with what is happening. Have they no complain about the academic matters? There are secondary schools, higher secondary schools which have no science teachers, which have no laboratories. There are primary schools where there are no teachers, which have no buildings. There are affiliated colleges where the teachers do not get salary for so many months. There are State universities which are thought to be sub-standard. All this is happening. I ask one question, how can a sensitive student, responsive student, who is also a human being, remain untouched by these things? People say political parties take advantage of them. Why should they not? (*Interruption*).

An hon. Member: Well said.

Shri D. C. Sharma: People say that some agitators take advantage of them. Why should they not? They find material in them, which is a mixture of idealism and of responsive cooperation. Therefore, there is no doubt that they find these persons very eligible for their propaganda.

But one thing is there. What is happening in the country? India has become a paradise for agitators, and nothing happens in this country unless somebody embarks on some kind of agitation. I am very sorry to say all this. I belong to the Congress party, but sometimes the truth has to be told; an agitational approach has become our only approach to the solution of problems. Some college students came to me some months ago and I asked them not to have a demonstration, but I advised them to have a demonstration afterwards. But what happened was this: the powers that be also told me that they would not listen to them, but the moment they had the demonstration, they were sent for and were listened to. Some of their grievances were looked into; everything was done. Therefore, this kind of approach is in the air. I do not think that any section of society, far less the impressionable students, can be free from it. What is the way out of it? The way out of it is this. You should make your universities or schools or colleges sacred places of learning, and you should see to it that nobody violates the sanctity in anyway. That is the first thing we have to do; let them be looked upon as temples of learning and not as something which Inspectors and Ministers and Directors could play with. That is the first thing to be done. Teachers should be given a proper place in life. They should be given a proper status, proper salaries and allowances; not a living wage or a saving wage, but a cultural wage should be given to the teachers.

Thirdly, as in other countries, we must have a Dean of students in every

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college and university, so that he can look into the grievances of the students and do some kind of counselling, etc.

Above all, students must have something to live for. When India was not free, Bertrand Russell wrote, "Indian students are very happy because they have something to look up to; they live for a cause. They feel the wind of idealism blowing in the colleges and schools." Today we have not given our students something for which they can live. Nothing can be better than this that they should become active co-partners in the enterprise of building a free, prosperous and happy India. If you give them this kind of objective, I think most of the troubles would disappear. Prof. Mahalanobis has said that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer. When people say that there are blackmarketeers, hoarders, profiteers and so on and that this country is suffering from so many social diseases, the students feel lost; they are bewildered, confused and unhappy. They do not know what to do. The students must be given some high objective, something to live for. Who can give them this? Not the Congress alone. But Acharya Ranga, Shrimati Renu Chakravarty, Mr. Hem Barua—all these persons should think that the students are the property of the nation and they do not belong to this party or that party. They are our common heritage, they are the inheritors of a common legacy and we should all combine to give them the vision of that India which we want to build. We should give them the impetus and incentive to help us in building that India.

श्री यशपाल सिंह : सभापति महोदय, जहाँ हमारी सरकार इस मामले का हल ढूँढना चाहती है वहाँ उसका हल नहीं है। आज जो स्टूडेंट अनरेस्ट है उसके चार कारण हैं। उन चार कारणों को दूर किया जाये तभी स्टूडेंट्स के अन्दर रिसिप्लिन आयेगी।

किसी का ऊंट खो गया था, वह उस को अपने मकान के चौमजिले पर चढ़ कर ढूँढने लगा। उसकी दाइफ ने कहा कि यह ऊंट ढूँढने की जगह नहीं है, उसे जा कर खेत में ढूँढो। चार सब से बड़े कारण है स्टूडेंट्स की इन्डिसिप्लिन के, उन की अनुशासनहीनता के। पहला तो यह है कि हमारे स्कूलों में, कालेजों में, पाठशालाओं में कहीं भी धार्मिक शिक्षा का कोई कार्यक्रम नहीं है। जब तक रिलिजस एजुकेशन नहीं होगी, भारत एजुकेशन नहीं होगी, जब तक दीनियात की तालीम नहीं होगी, इस्लामिकियात की तालीम नहीं होगी तब तक कभी भी स्टूडेंट्स अनुशासन में नहीं रह सकते हैं। सब से पहले गांधी जी ने इस चीज को खुद कहा। आज से 19 साल पहले धार्मिक शिक्षा कायम करते तो जिन जवानों को हम कह रहे हैं कि अनुशासनहीन बन रहे हैं वह देश के लिये अभिमान का कारण होते। आपके ऊपर फूल बरसाते, आप उन्हें छाती से लगाते। वे गोर्ला का शिकार होने लायक नहीं थे। वे देश का सच्चा अभिमान होते। गुरुकुल शिक्षा में जो हमारी बुनियादी शिक्षा है सब से पहले यह बात पढ़ाई जाती है :

अभिवादन शीलस्य नित्यं वृद्धोपसेविनः
चत्वारि तस्यं वर्धन्त आर्युविद्या यशोबलम् ।

जो बृज्जों की इज्जत नहीं करता है, अपने से बड़ों का मान नहीं करता है, गुरुओं का मान नहीं करता है, माता-पिता के चरणों को नहीं छूना है, अछयापकों के और आचार्यों के चरणों को नहीं छूता है उसके चार पदार्थ कम हो जाते हैं, उसकी उम्र कम हो जाती है, इत्म कम हो जाता है, ताकत कम हो जाती है और उसकी इज्जत कम हो जाती है। सब से पहले देखने वाली चीज यह है कि जो पढ़ाया जाना चाहिये वह पढ़ाया नहीं जाता है और न ही पढ़ाया गया है। गुरुकुलों में सब से पहले यह सिखाया जाता है, सत्यं वद, धर्मं चर, दिवा मा स्वाप्सि। सच बोली, धर्म

करा, दिन में मत सोओ, ज्यादा मत खाओ । लेकिन अंग्रेजी में क्या पढ़ाया जाता है । अंग्रेजी में सब से पहले जी किताब पढ़ाने को मिलती है उसमें सी ए टी, कंट, आर ए टी, रेंट पढ़ाया जाता है । यह चूहों और बिल्लियों की लड़ाई जिन्दगी भर कायम रहती है । अकेली अंग्रेजी जबान ऐसी है जिस में कोई अदब नहीं है । मां को भी माई डीयर कहते हैं और मिसेज को भी माई डीयर कहते हैं । बीबी को भी माई डीयर और मां को भी माई डीयर कह कर पुकारते हैं । लेकिन हमारे यहां माता को मूअज्जमा कहते हैं, माता को बंदनीया कहते हैं, स्वर्गादिपि गरीयसी कहते हैं । लेकिन यह सारा जितना आज का कल्चर है यह वाइफ से शुरू होता है, वाइफ के ऊपर डिपेंड करता है । मेरी अगर माता जी आ जाये दरवाजे के ऊपर और कहे कि मैं यशपाल सिंह से मिलना चाहती हूं तो उन्हें कोई नहीं आने देगा लेकिन अगर मेरी वाइफ आ जाये तो यहां ला कर उसको मेरी छाती के ऊपर बिठा दिया जायेगा । एक दम आपकी जो कल्चर है वह वाइफ से शुरू होती है मां से शुरू नहीं होती है । हमारे यहां पर मां को जो दर्जा प्राप्त है वह भगवान के बराबर है । वहीं स्वर्ग है, वहीं जन्नत है । स्वर्गादिपि गरीयसी । जब तक यह नहीं पढ़ाया जायेगा तब तक कभी अनरेस्ट को आप कम नहीं कर सकते हैं, अनुशासनहीनता को कम नहीं कर सकते हैं । सब से पहले जरूरत इस बात की है कि इखलाकियात की ट्रेनिंग दी जाये, दीनियत की ट्रेनिंग दी जाए, मारेज ट्रेनिंग दी जाए । अगर ऐसा किया गया तब देश बचेगा वर्ना नहीं बच सकता है । किसी भी मुल्क के अन्दर आप जाएं वहां देशभक्ति की ट्रेनिंग दी जाती हुई आप पायेंगे । वहां धर्म की तालीम दी जाती है । हम बीस साल पहले इस बात को जानते थे कि जो कुछ ट्रेनिंग आप दे रहे हैं उससे ऐसे स्टूडेंट्स पैदा हो जाएंगे जिनकी पीटों की जेबों में पत्थर के टुकड़े पड़े होंगे ।

तुम्हारी तहजीब अपने खंजर से आप ही खूदकुशी करेगी,

जो शाबे नाजूक में आशियाना बनेगा,
नापायदार होगा ।

बे कभी इधर भागेंगे, कभी उधर भागेंगे । मैं समझता हूं कि इस सब के लिए सरकार दोषी है, विद्यार्थी दोषी नहीं हैं । जहां कहीं उनके अन्दर अनुशासनहीनता है वह केवल सरकार के कारण है । रामास्वामी मूदानियर ने अपनी कमेटी की रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि जिस बच्चे को यह विश्वास नहीं है कि तालीम खत्म करने के बाद उसको सर्विस मिल जायेगी, विश्वास नहीं है कि उसे रोजी के लिए कोई जरिया मिल जाएगा, उसके जीवनोपाजन का साधन मिल जाएगा, वह बरसरे रोजगार हो जाएगा, वह हरिज डिस्पिन में नहीं रह सकता है ।

चीन की तरक्की का एक कारण यह है कि चीन के अन्दर लड़का जब प्रेजुएट होता है उसको गवर्नमेंट तब तक अपने माता पिता के पास जाने नहीं देती है जब तक वह बरसरे रोजगार नहीं हो जाता है, तब तक वह उसको अपने पास रखती है, उसके बॉर्डिंग और लाजिंग का वह इन्तजाम करती है । वह उस दिन मां बाप के दर्शन जा कर करता है जब वह बरसरे रोजगार हो जाता है । यहां पर क्या है । यहां पर क्या होता है । लड़का पढ़ लिख कर बरोजगार रहता है तब मां बाप उसके साथ घूणा करने लगते हैं और इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि बच्चे में इनफीरियारिटी कम्प्लेक्स पैदा हो जाता है ।

सभापति महोदय, मैं इस बात को छिपाता नहीं हूं कि अगर मैं चेयर की इज्जत न करू तो इससे मैं मर जाना अच्छा समझता हूं । मेरे अन्दर कोई इनफीरियारिटी कम्प्लेक्स नहीं है । बारह लाख इन्सानों ने मुझे यहां भेजा है । मैं वीलों की जोड़ी के प्रताप से यहां नहीं आया हूं । मुझे बारह लाख इंसानों के दिल और दिमाग ने यहां भेजा है । मुझे कोई

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

हिचक नहीं है कहने में कि पेश्वर इसके कि मैं ल्वेयर की आज्ञा का उल्लंघन कर्ण में मर जाना अच्छा समझता हूँ। मुझे बाह्य लाख इंसानों ने सरकार के साथ लड़ने के लिए भेजा है, स्पीकर के साथ लड़ने के लिए नहीं भेजा है। मुझे विश्वास है कि जो आज्ञा आप मुझे देंगे, सही देंगे। अगर स्पीकर साहब गलत हुकम भी दें तो उसको मानना भी मेरा फर्ज है।

जता बुजुर्ग प्रस्तां न प्रस्तन खता। जो अपने से बड़ों की खता पकड़ता है वह भी खुद खता करता है। अगर आप कोई गलत आर्डर देंगे तो भगवान आपसे जवाब तलब करेगा, मैं कोई नहीं हूँ आपकी आज्ञा का उल्लंघन करने वाला। मैं कोई नहीं हूँ हुकम उधूली करने वाला।

आप यह भी देखें कि आपने जो एस० पी० और डी० एस० पी० भर्ती किए हैं वे सिफारिशी चिट्ठियों से भरती किए हैं। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में एस० पी० और डी० एस० पी० वह होता था जिसके लम्बे लम्बे बाजू होते थे, जिसकी गर्दन ऊंची होती थी, छाती शेर जैसी होती थी। उस तरह के लोग आज दिखाई नहीं देते हैं। आगरा में ऐसा एस० पी० मुझे देखने को मिला कि उसे भला आदमी जब में डाल कर ले जा सकता था। कौन है जो इस तरह के एस० पी० बन गए हैं। इस लिए बन गए हैं कि सिफारिशी चिट्ठियां चलती हैं। अंग्रेज का कोई भाई भतीजा नहीं होता था। उसका कोई रैलेटिव यहां नहीं था। वह बेईमानी करता था तो अपनी एम्पायर को कायम रखने के लिए करता था इंग्लिश लैंग्वेज को कायम रखने के लिए करता था। लेकिन जो सिर्नैकशन करता था वह मरिट पर करता था। आज ऐसे ऐसे एस० पी० बन गए हैं कि जहां चार नारे लगे कि उन्होंने समझ लिया कि मोत सामने आकर खड़ी हो गई है और वे एक दम से गोली चलाने का हुकम दे देते हैं। आपको मैं

एक किस्सा बतलाना चाहता हूँ। 1924 में यहां पर अन्दुल रशीद की लाश नहीं देना चाहते थे। एक सिख जवान दरबारा सिंह दो लाख आदमियों के बीच एक हूटर लेकर गया और लाश को खींच कर ले आया। उसको गोली की, रिवालवर की, फॉर्म की, गारद की और मैजारिटी की जहरत महमूस नहीं हुई। तब जो लोग होने थे उनके बाहु लम्बे होते थे, छातियां चौड़ी होती थीं, वे मोत से डरते नहीं थे। अब चूक सिफारिशों पर भरती हुई है इसलिए वे कभी भी डिस्प्लिन मेंटेन नहीं कर सकते हैं।

मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। जिस कलक्टर के जिले में विद्यार्थियों के ऊपर गोली चलती है, उसको एक दम बरखास्त रूप कर दें। जिस एस० पी० के इलाके में गोली विद्यार्थियों पर चलती है उसको एकदम नौकरी से अलग कर दिया जाए। कोई भी बच्चा इतना जाबिर नहीं है, इतना शरारती नहीं है कि वह मां बाप के लिए कभी टैर हो सके। वह कभी भी मां बाप के लिए भयानक नहीं हो सकता है। आज आप कानून बना दें इसके बारे में। अंग्रेजों को इसकी जहरत नहीं थी। लेकिन आपको है। आप देखें कि अमरीका में पिछले पचास साल में एक बार भी निरीह जनता के ऊपर गोली नहीं चली है। मैं कहता हूँ साफ साफ नन्दा जी की पीठ के पीछे एक बात। अगर वह न होते तो श्रेष्ठ अन्दुल्ला जैसे सांप इस देश को हड़प जाते, गद्दार लोग इस देश को हड़प जाते। अकले उसकी हिम्मत थी कि उसने डिस्प्लिन कायम रखा, गांधी जी जिस कल्चर के लिए खड़े हुए थे उसको कायम रखा और देश को श्रेष्ठ अन्दुल्ला जैसे लोगों से बचाया। हनुमान ने भी पहाड़ उठाया था और भगवान कृष्ण ने भी पहाड़ उठाया था। हनुमान गरीब थे, उनका कोई गिरिधर गांपाल नहीं कहता है, भगवान कृष्ण बड़े थे, उनको सब गिरिधर गांपाल कहते हैं।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं सरकार से आग्रहपूर्वक श्री जोरदार अपील करता हूँ कि वह आज से ही स्कूलों के अन्दर घमें शिक्षा कायम करे। जिन जिलों के अन्दर गांधी चलती है विद्यार्थियों पर उन जिलों के कलेक्टरों को, एम० पी० को एकदम बरखास्त करे। साथ ही साथ आज से वह यह गारन्टी दे कि उनको वह रोजगार देगा। यह भी मैं आशवासन चाहता हूँ कि आज से उन अफसरों की ही भरती होगी जो कि वाकई में डिजर्व करते हैं, जिनके दिल और दिमाग बहादुर हैं। आज देश को बहादुरों की जरूरत है। जो कमजोर हैं, जो कायर हैं, उनके बस की बात नहीं है। उनका काम पिटना है। इसलिए चीन में पिट रहे हैं, पाकिस्तान में पिट रहे हैं। मैं आग्रह करता हूँ कि घमें शिक्षा को आप शुरू करें।

सभापति महोदय श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री।

श्री बिभूति मिश्र : सभापति महोदय, अर्पोजीशन की तरफ से आप दो दो को बुला रहे हैं, इधर से एक को भी नहीं बुला रहे हैं। कोई क्राइटीरिया तो होना चाहिये।

सभापति महोदय : जो आपके सामने रजॉल्यूशन आया है, उस पर इनके हस्ताक्षर हैं, दस्तखत हैं, लिहाजा इनको पहले समय मिलेगा।

श्री बिभूति मिश्र : कोई नियम तो होना चाहिये।

श्री मुलशीदास जाचक : ऐसा नियम है कि एक इधर का और एक उधर का बोलता है।

सभापति महोदय : स्पीकर साहब का यह आर्डर रखा हुआ है। मैं इसको तबदीम नहीं कर सकता हूँ।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री।

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री विद्यार्थी असन्तोष पर विचार करते समय हमें दो बातों पर विचार करना होगा। एक तो विद्यार्थी असन्तोष के कारण जो आजकल उत्पन्न हुए हैं श्री जिनकी वजह से भारत के तीन चार राज्यों में विशेष रूप से यह असन्तोष की हवा दिखाई दी है। दूसरे विद्यार्थी असन्तोष के कारण जो कुछ महीने पूर्व नहीं बल्कि कुछ वर्षों से सारे देश में जगह जगह दिखाई देने रहे हैं श्री जिसके कारण समय समय पर विद्यार्थियों के मस्तिष्क में असन्तोष की अभिव्यक्ति प्रदर्शनों आंग हड़तालों के रूप में होती रही है।

जहां तक पहले असन्तोष के कारणों का सम्बन्ध है मेरा निश्चित रूप से यह मत है कि उनके आगे जो अन्धकारमय भविष्य रहता है आंग मां बाप अपने चार बच्चों का पेट काट कर एक पांचवें बच्चे को किसी तरह से एम० ए० पास करवा देते हैं फिर एम० ए० पास करने के बाद जब उस युवक को अपने भविष्य के प्रति कोई निश्चित दिशा दिखाई नहीं देती है तो उसके मस्तिष्क की कुण्ठा भिन्न भिन्न मार्गों में निकलती है। वह हड़तालों के रूप में, कभी प्रदर्शनों के रूप में, और कभी श्री किमां तरह में। इसलिए सरकार पिछले बीस वर्षों में या तो शिक्षा में चिन्तन की उस पद्धति में परिवर्तन कर पाई होती कि पढ़ा लिखा कोई भी युवक नीकरी की ओर भागेगा नहीं बल्कि वह अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होने में, स्वावलम्बी बनने में गौरव अनुभव करेगा। यदि सरकार चिन्तन की इस पद्धति में परिवर्तन नहीं कर पाई, तो सरकार को यह उपाय करना चाहिए था कि पढ़े-लिखे व्यक्तियों के सामने जो बेरोजगारी की समस्या इतनी भयंकरता के साथ आ रही है, उसका कोई समाधान दूढ़ती और इस सम्बन्ध में इतनी विषम स्थिति उत्पन्न न होती।

जहां तक बेरोजगारी का सम्बन्ध है, हमारे देश में पहली पंच-वर्षीय योजना के आरम्भ होने के समय पढ़े-लिखे बेरोजगारों

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

की संख्या 50,000 के लगभग थी। पहली पंच-वर्षीय योजना की समाप्ति पर पढ़े-लिखे बेरोजगारों की संख्या बढ़ कर 1,75,000 हो गई। द्वितीय पंच-वर्षीय योजना की समाप्ति पर वह संख्या बढ़ कर 3,00,000 और 4,00,000 के बीच हुई और तृतीय पंचवर्षीय योजना की समाप्ति पर वह 5,00,000 से ऊपर होने जा रही है। जिन लोगों ने चतुर्थ पंच-वर्षीय योजना के आंकड़े तैयार किये हैं, उनका अनुमान है कि अगर पढ़े-लिखे बेरोजगारों की संख्या इसी प्रकार बढ़ती चली गई, जो चतुर्थ पंच-वर्षीय योजना के अन्त में वह संख्या बढ़ कर 8,00,000 और 9,00,000 के मध्य तक पहुँच जायेगी। यह एक भयंकर भविष्य है, जिसके प्रति विद्यार्थी भी चिन्तित हैं, समाज को भी चिन्तित होना चाहिये और देश के शिक्षा-शास्त्रियों और विशेष रूप से शिक्षा मंत्रालय को इस सम्बन्ध में कोई न कोई मार्ग निकालना चाहिए।

वर्तमान असंतोष का दूसरा कारण यह है कि जब भी विद्यार्थियों की ओर से किसी प्रकार का कोई आन्दोलन उठता है, तो तत्काल उसका निदान ढूँढने के बजाये, जब तक वह आन्दोलन विशाल और विकराल रूप धारण न कर ले, तब तक सरकार उसकी तरफ ध्यान नहीं देती है।

विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन के सम्बन्ध में मुख्य रूप से चार स्थानों पर बड़ी बड़ी घटनायें हुई हैं: पहली दिल्ली में, दूसरी खालियर में, तीसरी जम्मू में और चौथी मेरठ और कानपुर में। जहाँ तक दिल्ली की घटना का सम्बन्ध है, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय के कुछ छात्रों ने एडवोकेट्स कोर्स को दो साल के बजाये तीन साल का बनाने के सम्बन्ध में विधि मंत्री, श्री पाठक, के निवाम-स्थान पर जा कर प्रदर्शन किया था। काण. विधि मंत्री, जिन्होंने बाद में उन

विद्यार्थियों से मिलना पसन्द किया, पहले ही उन विद्यार्थियों से मिल लिये होते, जो कि उनको मिलने के लिए गए थे, सरकार का पक्ष सम्झा देते और विद्यार्थियों को उन के भविष्य में परिचित करा देते, तो शायद दिल्ली में इस प्रकार की अप्रिय घटना होने में बच जाती।

जहाँ तक खालियर की घटना का सम्बन्ध है, जब एक पुलिस का ट्रक "बैंक" हो रहा था, तो वह विद्यार्थियों के होस्टल के दरवाजे से जा कर टकराया। होस्टल की दीवार टूटने पर उन विद्यार्थियों ने ट्रक के ड्राइवर को पकड़ा और उस को पुलिस थाने में ले गए, लेकिन पुलिस के दरोगा ने ड्राइवर को सजा देने के बजाये उन विद्यार्थियों को ही हवालात में बन्द कर दिया। उस के बाद विद्यार्थियों में असंतोष बढ़ा और उस के परिणामस्वरूप खालियर में जो घटनायें घटी, उन में गोली चली और कई विद्यार्थियों की मृत्यु हुई।

सभापति महोदय जम्मू की घटनाओं में आप स्वयं परिचित होंगे। पुलिस ने कालेजों कैम्पस में जा कर गोली चलाई और लड़कों को भूना। गोली चलाने का नियम यह है कि जंघा के नीचे गोली लगनी चाहिये, लेकिन जम्मू में जो विद्यार्थी मरे, उन में से एक भी विद्यार्थी ऐसा नहीं था, जिस के पंरों में गोली लगी हो। सब के शरीर के ऊपर के हिस्से में गोली लगी थी। जम्मू की निर्दयी पुलिस ने यहाँ तक काम किया कि उस ने होस्टल की दूसरी मंजिल पर बँठी हुई एक लड़की पर भी गोली चलाई, जो कि ऊपर से इस दृश्य को देख रही थी, और वह लड़की गोली खाकर खिड़की से लुढ़क कर नीचे गिरी। पुलिस के इस निर्दयी हत्या-कांड में उस लड़की की भी हत्या हुई।

कुछ दिन पहले मेट में क्या कांड हुआ? जब अध्यापकों को पीटा जाने लगत, तो उन्होंने बच्चों को कहा कि क्या इसी दिन के लिए हम ने तुम्हें बड़ा किया था? क्या इसी दिन के लिए हम ने तुम्हें पढ़ाया था। जब विद्यार्थी आगे की आगे, तो पुलिस ने अपनी निर्दयता का परिचय दिया। उस ने केवल अध्यापकों और विद्यार्थियों को ही नहीं, उस ने होस्टल से लगे हुए बार एसोसियेशन में जा कर बकीलों तक को भी पीटा उन की भी हड्डियां तोड़ी।

जब पुलिस इतनी निर्दयी हो जाती है और जब यह सरकार लाठी और गोली से विद्यार्थियों की समस्या का समाधान ढूँढती है, तो गांधी जी के वे शब्द याद आते हैं, जो 31 मई, 1947 को उन्होंने पटना में कहे थे। उन्होंने कहा था कि अगर यह सरकार जनता के दिलों में गुजायश कर के चलने के बजाये लाठी और गोली के बल पर चलना चाहेगी, और जनता से अपना सम्बन्ध छोड़ बैठेगी, तो एक दिन ऐसा आयेगा, जब जनता सफेद टोपी वालों को ढूँढ ढूँढ कर मारेगी। दुर्भाग्य से आज इसी प्रकार की स्थिति उत्पन्न होती जा रही है कि सरकार जनता के दिलों में जगह बनाने के बजाये लाठी और गोली चलाने की पद्धति में ज्यादा विश्वास करनी चली जा रही है।

18 नवम्बर को सरकार ने दिल्ली को एक फौजी छावनी बना दिया। श्रीमती रेणु शर्मा ने ठीक ही कहा है कि उस ने इस तरह की तैयारी की कि जैसे बाहर के किसी देश का हमला होने वाला है। आखिर दिक्कत क्या थी? अगर विद्यार्थी बाहर से आने वाले थे, तो सरकार कहती कि हम पार्लियामेंट में उन विद्यार्थियों के मेमो-रैंडम या ज्ञापन को लेंगे उनकी शिकायतों को सुनेंगे। लेकिन हम विद्यार्थी नेताओं से यह कहना चाहते हैं कि बहुत बड़ी संख्या में न आ कर केवल पांच सौ या एक हजार विद्यार्थी ही आये। इस प्रकार विद्यार्थियों

के असंतोष का समाधान ढूँढा जा सकता था।

लेकिन सरकार ने क्या किया? उस ने आदेश जारी किया कि पार्लियामेंट हाउस के दो दो मील के अन्दर किसी प्रकार का कोई प्रदर्शन नहीं हो सकेगा। जनता के एक संविधान-प्रदत्त अधिकार को छीन कर सरकार इस देश में अधिनायकवादी प्रवृत्तियों को प्रारम्भ करने जा रही है। अगर सरकार पार्लियामेंट स्ट्रीट में प्रदर्शनों और जलूसों पर रोक लगाना चाहती है, क्योंकि माल-इंडिया रेडियो, रिजर्व बैंक, प्लानिंग कमीशन का आफिस और दूसरे बैंक तथा कार्यालय वहाँ पर स्थित हैं, तो वह जलूसों को रायसीना रोड से आने की इजाजत दे दे। और अगर वह वहाँ पर भी पर्याप्त सुरक्षा-व्यवस्था नहीं कर सकती, तो वह उन जलूसों को इंडिया गेट की ओर से आने की इजाजत दे दे, जहाँ पुलिस पूरी तरह से जलूसों और प्रदर्शनों पर नियंत्रण कर सके। लेकिन ऐसा न कर के जनता के संविधान-प्रदत्त अधिकार पर रोक लगाना जनता के असंतोष की भावना को उभारना है। इस प्रकार की प्रवृत्तियों से सरकार विद्यार्थियों पर नियंत्रण नहीं कर पायेगी इस प्रकार की प्रवृत्तियों से विद्यार्थी उभरेंगे।

इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे तो बड़ी बात याद आती है कि किसी बुढ़िया के मरने पर किसी ने घर वालों को कहा कि तुम्हारे घर में मौत हो गई है, तो घर वालों ने कहा कि बुढ़िया के जाने की इतनी तलीफ नहीं है—तकलीफ यह है कि मौत ने घर का दरवाजा देख लिया। विद्यार्थियों ने अब तक जो कुछ किया है, वह ज्यादा चिन्ता का विषय नहीं है। लेकिन अगर इस नई पीढ़ी को यह आवस्य पड़ गई, तो इन्डोनेशिया जैसी हालत इस देश में भी हो जायेगी और कोई भी सरकार वहाँ पर शक्ति से राज्य नहीं कर पायेगी।

एक और यह सरकार समाजवादी समाज की रचना का नारा लगाती है और दूसरी ओर दिल्ली में इस प्रकार के विद्यालय

[श्री प्रकाशदीन शास्त्री]

है, जहाँ एक एक बच्चे पर चार चार सौ रुपये खर्च पड़ता है, जब कि इस देश के अधिकांश विद्यालयों में पढ़ाने वाले अध्यापकों को इस कमर-तोड़ महंगाई के जमाने में भी सरकार मुश्किल से सौ रुपये तन्स्वाह देती है। इस के बावजूद सरकार यह सोचती है कि इन दोनों प्रकार के स्कूलों में पढ़े हुए बच्चे यहाँ पर समाजवाद लायेंगे। हमारे देश में यह आदर्श रहा है कि द्वारिकाधीश के पुत्र कृष्ण, श्रीर एक शरीर ब्राह्मण का लड़का, सुदामा, एक ही ऋषि आश्रम में शिक्षा प्राप्त करते थे, लेकिन यह सरकार उस आदर्श से बिल्कुल विपरीत नीति पर चल रही है।

सरकार ने शिक्षा का पद्धति पर विचार ही नहीं किया है। सभापति जी, आप मुझे कड़वे शब्द कहने के लिए क्षमा कीजिये कि भारत सरकार की यह आदत होती चली जा रही है कि जिस किमी व्यक्ति को मिनिस्ट्री में फिट करना हो, जो कहीं और फिट न हो, उस को एजुकेशन मिनिस्टर बना दिया जाये उस का परिणाम यह है कि पिछले बीस सालों से शिक्षा विभाग की इतनी दुर्गति हो रही है और इसको एक तरह से महत्व हीन विभाग समझा जा रहा है। आप अभी देख लीजिये। सदन में इतनी महत्वपूर्ण बहस चल रही है, लेकिन सरकार की ओर स्थानपत्र शिक्षा मंत्री बैठे हुए हैं। जिस शिक्षा मंत्री पर यह जिम्मेदारी थी।

एक माननीय सदस्य : वह बीमार है।

श्री प्रकाश दीन शास्त्री : वह बीमार ना आज पड़े हैं। जिस दिन वह नियुक्त हुए थे, उस दिन तो वह बीमार नहीं थे। अगर श्री राज बहादुर को ही यह डिपार्टमेंट भी सौंप दिया जाता, तो कम से कम मायूम पड़ता कि सरकार ने कुछ दूरदर्शिता से निर्णय लिया है। जो व्यक्ति स्थानपत्र मंत्री बन

कर इस विभाग का काम चला सकता है, क्या उसी को यह विभाग नहीं सौंपा जा सकता था? आज सरफार क्यों इस को एक महत्वहीन विभाग समझती है?

हम इस बात को अच्छी तरह समझ ले कि जब तक हम अपने देश में विद्यार्थियों के लिये किसी प्रकार की दिशा निश्चित नहीं करेंगे, तब तक हम इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं कर पायेंगे। स्थानापत्र शिक्षा मंत्री ने एक बात विशेष रूप से देखी होगी कि ये जो हड़तालें और प्रदर्शन हुए हैं, ये मेडिकल कालेज, इंजीनियरिंग कालेज और टेक्निकल इंस्टीट्यूशन में उतने नहीं हुए, जितने कि आर्ट्स कालेजों में हुए हैं क्योंकि टेक्निकल शिक्षा संस्थाओं में पढ़ने वाले विद्यार्थियों के सामने अपना एक निश्चित भविष्य है, जब कि दूसरे विद्यालयों में पढ़ने वाले विद्यार्थियों के सामने कोई निश्चित भविष्य नहीं है।

इस के अतिरिक्त भारत में पढ़ने वाले विद्यार्थियों के पास समय की बहुत अधिकता है। इस देश में साल में छः महीने तो छुट्टियाँ रहती हैं और बाकी के छः महीनों में भी विद्यार्थियों के समय का क्या उपयोग है, यह मंत्री महोदय अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं।

पहले जमाने में, जब आप और हम विद्यालयों में पढ़ते थे, यह स्थिति थी कि जो किताब बड़ा भाई पढ़ लेता था, वह वाद में दूसरे और तीसरे भाई के काम भी आती थी। आज स्थिति यह है कि हर साल कॉर्स और पाठ्य-पुस्तकें भी बदलती हैं और, जैसा कि श्री रंगा ने कहा है, लॉग वग्नरकलम बॉर्ड में कुते दे दिला कर अपनी किताबें रखवाते हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश में यह हालत है कि आधा साल निकल गया है, लेकिन जुलाई में जो नया कॉर्स स्वीकृत हो कर आया, उस की पुस्तकें बाजार में नहीं मिल रही हैं। इस अवस्था में अगर विद्यार्थियों के मस्तिष्क में असंतोष पैदा होता है, तो उस की जिम्मेदारी आप किम पर डालेंगे?

मेरा कहना यह है कि अगर यह सरकार विद्यार्थी समस्या को हल करना चाहती है, तो वह लाठी और गोली से इस समस्या का समाधान न ढुंढे । बल्कि इस के लिए वह विद्या मन्दिर के पुजारियों को आमंत्रित करे और उन की समस्याओं की जानकारी प्राप्त करे । सरकार इस समस्या पर गम्भीरता से विचार करे और इस को हल करने के लिए एक दीर्घकालीन योजना बनाए ।

सरकार जो विद्यार्थी असंतोष का समाधान नहीं कर पाई है, उस ने विद्यार्थियों के असंतोष को दबाने के लिए जो लाठी और गोली का सहारा लिया है और जिस निर्दयता से छात्र और छात्राओं की हत्या हुई है, निरीह नागरिक मारे गए हैं, इन शब्दों के साथ मैं उस के लिए अपना निन्दा का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत करता हूँ ।

Shri Khadilkar (Khed) The Mover of the Motion—I listened to him very patiently—looked at the problem as if it is an administrative problem. He started his life as an administrator. As far as I am concerned, I started my life as a student....

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I became an administrator without becoming a student.

Shri Khadilkar: I have grown with the students till I attained political maturity.

Shri Hem Barua: Has he?

Shri Khadilkar: Therefore, when I look at the problem at the present juncture, I cannot divorce this problem from the social milieu. If you look at it from the administrative angle, how to administer the department, what should be done in regard to appointments, promotions and so on, you will not be able to go to the root of it; you will have only a

symptomatic treatment and symptomatic remedy.

What is the problem today? When I look at the Indian scene, I must confess one thing. I was reading the other day *Area of Darkness* by Naipaul.

Shri Hem Barua: How is it that he is reading it after such a long time?

Shri Khadilkar: I was reading it again. I had read it once long ago. After a general analysis of the Indian scene, what a picture of India does he depict? He is depicting it as an area of darkness, with no men of vision and idealism left in this country. At the end of the picture, the conclusion is so gloomy that I was taken aback, and I thought I must give some thought to it.

What is the problem today? The problem of unrest among the students, that is, the coming generation. Is that unrest all devilish or is there some divine element in it? We have to consider whether the younger generation that is agitated today is in turmoil, is more or less in a devilish mood or behind it there is some divine quality, some divine inspiration but they do not know where they are going and what they are doing.

Why has this happened? —I must have a little time to analyse the socio-economic conditions in which the present generation of students is hovering round.

Mr. Chairman: He must also remember what is the time at his disposal.

Shri Khadilkar: I am trying to analyse the surrounding darkness. What is the position? Today in this country, a process of silent revolution is taking place. It is non-violent, it is democratic.

5149 Student unrest

NOVEMBER 23, 1966

and other dis- 5150
turbances (M.)

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (देवास): सदन 17.58 hrs.

में गण पूर्ति नहीं है।

Mr. Chairman: The bell is being rung.

There is no quorum. The House stands adjourned.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday November 24, 1966/Agrahayana 3, 1888 (Saka).
