

[Shri Shinkre]

tion where we have to prevent the police forces by a law from forming trade unions reveals that all is not well in this country.

Mr. Speaker: He may continue tomorrow.

16.32 hrs.

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

Mr. Speaker: Shri Umanath may continue his speech.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): When is the Minister going to reply Sir?

Mr. Speaker: The Minister was to be called just after Mr. Umanath, but they raised objections that certain parties have not been given an opportunity. So, I would call Mr. Bade, Mr. Hem Barua and then the Minister.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I am also a sponsor of the motion, Sir, I may be given five minutes.

Shri Umanath (Pudukkottai): Sir, as I said the other day, what is happening in the student world is not as though there is any mental aberration or frustration or dejection among them. On the other hand, having taken part in the freedom movement, having reposed confidence in the Government that after independence their problems will be solved by the Government without their intervention, after 20 years the students find that things are deteriorating. So the students are now making themselves into a force to take their fate in their own hands and fight for better academic conditions, democratic liberties, etc. That is the crux of the situation today.

Regarding the various struggles and agitations that have taken place, there is no use taking them in a general way and saying they are due to lack of academic conditions, etc. Let us analyse the various aspects of it. One aspect of the student struggle, as

I see it, is against the police *zoolum*, by which I do not mean the lathi charges, firing, etc; but the machinery which we have inherited from the British.

The strike in Madhya Pradesh started in Gwalior on the 12th followed by Ujjain on 17th, Indore on 19th and Bhopal on 22nd. The whole thing centred round the Gwalior incident. In Gwalior, 2 students went to the police station to report against a truck driver who had dashed against them. The police officer, instead of taking the report, slapped one student and kicked the other. Sir, we are only for changing property relations and not for reconstruction of property. Lovers of property were silent when such a conflagration took place, because the first incident was because of the misbehaviour of a police officer. Nobody expressed any indignation against this misbehaviour of the police officer. One student went back and called the other students. They also did not attack the police station, but they were beaten up by the police officer; That very night the Principal went to the police station demanding that the police officer must be suspended. But senior police officers refused to do so. On the 13th also, there was no destruction of property. They went in a procession to the Police Commissioner to represent, but the Collector surrounded them with police and beat them up.

In protest against this repression of students there was demonstration in Ujjain on the 17th, in Indore on the 19th and on the 22nd in Bhopal. In all these towns the students struck work and took out processions. Then Section 144 was imposed. The students were told that if they did not disperse they will be beaten up. They refused to disperse because they wanted to express their anger against such repression and they were beaten up. All these things followed from that.

An hon. Member: What happened in Patna?

Shri Umanath: The latest is about the Meerut College which happened on 5-11-1966. I would like to quote the words of the college principal himself. The police said that the students took out processions and they had to beat them up. This is what the principal Shri R. C. Saxena had to say—this has appeared in the *Times of India* dated 6-11-1966:

"The Principal of the College, Shri R. C. Saxena, however denied that the students tried to take out a procession, and alleged that the trouble started when the police prevented the day scholars from going home. The police entered the premises and started beating up students and the staff. The Chief Proctor was among those injured, he said"

This is the positive aspect. I would like Shri Mathur, when he replies to the debate, to refer to this aspect and give a solution. The Vice Chancellor of the Vikram University, Madhya Pradesh, has said:

"The police hurled stones at the Madhav College and injured senior teachers of the college besides damaging properties worth Rs. 50,000."

I would like to stress that this *zulum*, the *zulum* of the police machinery inherited from the British days is one of the important factors that have unleashed trouble. The Government in dealing with this aspect of the police machinery instead of trying to reorganise the police machinery, have issued instructions to all concerned that they should be firm. The Chief Ministers met in June and July and they said that it should be nipped in the bud. Naturally, the police machinery with that inheritance, got more emboldened and all these things have happened.

What is the solution for this? Mere re-organisation of the Education Ministry is not going to solve the problem. If this sort of repression continues, the struggle will be there.

You have to reorganise the police machinery in this respect. But just the opposite is taking place. University campuses are converted into police camps. In Uttar Pradesh I understand that grants given to eight institutions have been suspended. That is the direction in which action is being taken. I can assure Shri Mathur that as long as the reorganisation of the police machinery does not take place and this attitude continues, even if you reorganise the Education Ministry, even if you look after the academic interest, the struggle will continue.

Then I come to the point of authoritarianism in colleges, on the part of educational authorities. In Calcutta, I understand, two or three days back they have decided to close down the entire Calcutta University. What happened? Seven or eight students have been expelled from the Presidency College. In one college, some Maniendra Chandra College or something like that, a lady student was admitted and within one week she was also expelled. There was some trouble in the government hostel between the Superintendent and the students on the conditions obtaining there. Ultimately the Superintendent was transferred and the problem was solved. But there is a rule in the Presidency College that students expelled from the hostel must be expelled from the college also. Under that rule these seven or eight best scholars have been expelled. They are not told as to why they have been expelled. They are only told that for indiscipline they have been expelled. Are the students not entitled to know what the charges against them are? They are absolutely ignorant of them. Instead of resolving this dispute action has been taken. In the parents' meeting held recently Shri Sadhan Gupta, an ex Member of Parliament, suggested that let the colleges be reopened, the students allowed to resume their studies and somebody appointed to inquire into the whole matter. The parents agreed that if the report is against the students they

[Shri Umanath]

are prepared to accept it. That was also turned down. On the other hand, the Chief Minister there says that the students will never be taken back. The result is, four days back the bus workers have taken out a procession in front of the university in support of the students. If this position continues, naturally, more and more of other sections will come in. When the situation becomes serious, then there is lathi charge and firing.

Now I come to the question of academic demands. These academic demands of the students are also ignored by this Government. They allow the situation to drift and when the students are determined to get their demands, section 144 is imposed. Just to give an example, in September-October in Uttar Pradesh a serious of lathi charges took place. The trouble started when the students of an ayurvedic college struck work for some of their academic demands. For ten months the Government did not intervene. Then the law college students joined them. Both the students joined together and they wanted to take out a procession. Then section 144 came in and there was lathi charge. This is how it spreads. In Jammu, for example, in September there was firing. How did it happen?

The agricultural college teachers, because their pay was refused, went on strike. For two months the Government did not intervene; they allowed the strike to go on. Then the time came when the college students also went on strike; both the teachers and students, joined and went on strike. Government then entered the scene, promulgated section 144 and ended with police firing. So, this is the policy of the Government. They allow the situation to drift, do not intervene, do not resolve the dispute; but, if the students are determined and persistent, they make the police enter the scene and fire.

Then I come to the question of corruption. The approval of textbooks is guided by various considerations, not excluding the bribe that is offered. What happened in Jaipur? For first year of TDC six books were prescribed in Hindi. The students went on strike because they could not study all the six books. Ultimately, it was reduced to three. Why were the six books prescribed in the beginning? Because, there was pressure, because they had taken bribe and in order to pay back what they have received, six books were prescribed. So, corruption in universities in such matters is one of the causes which has brought us to this position.

Coming to the question of food struggle, it is asked why students should join food struggles. Let it be understood by the House that for getting food and kerosene it is the students that are sent by the parents to stand in the queues and they have to stand in the queues for hours and hours to get food and kerosene. Naturally, they are the first victims of the problem. As long as the Government do not recognise or revise their food policy, as long as they persist in their present policy, the food struggle by the students will continue. These are some of the aspects which I want Shri Mathur to consider.

Finally, I come to the question of teachers. It is said that the teachers can help in the matter. But unfortunately the teachers are placed in a position where they themselves have to come out and strike. In West Bengal the professors went on strike. Why do the teachers and professors go on strike? I will give you one example. In Himachal Pradesh the lecturers of Government colleges formed an association, consisting of the majority of lecturers and wanted that association to be recognised. Yet, Government refused to recognise it. I am bringing it to the notice of Government. The lecturers wanted to form an association so that they could place their grievances before the

authorities through that association. But, for two years, the association was denied recognition. Now, I will tell you what will happen. One day they will become desperate and there will be a strike by the teachers. Then, ultimately, the Government will intervene, possibly with lathi charge or firing.

Then, it is said that the students should not participate in politics. In fact, that has become almost a slogan with the Government. It is said that the students should not participate in politics. The Education Minister says that teachers should not participate in politics. The Home Minister says that Government servants should not participate in politics. Then, who should participate in politics? Tatas, Birlas and Mutualist Chetnars, is it their monopoly to participate in politics, I say that the students are entitled to participate in politics, because during the freedom struggle they were participating in politics, and in fact they were encouraged to participate in it in those days, when the struggle was between slavery and independence. Now, when it is a question of whether it is the capitalist way of resolving our problems or the socialist way of resolving our problems, I say that the students are entitled to participate in the struggle. If they could participate in the freedom struggle to shake off slavery from our soil, why are they not entitled to participate in the struggle or movement to decide whether it should be a capitalist way or socialist way?

The question of exploitation of students is often referred to. But, we are not exploiting the students. We are supporting only their just demands. The other day Shri Guha was very angry at the exploitation of students by political parties. He should have been angry at his own party, because in Kerala, when the Communist Party was in power, small children in elementary schools were incited and brought into the struggle. If they had incited at least college students, they

would have known what is what because they are a little mature; but, they incited the small children in elementary schools and the elementary school teachers to get the Communist Government dismissed. So, the charge of exploitation of students must be laid at the door of the Congress Party and not the opposition parties.

Therefore, let the Government first re-organise its police machinery; let them have a proper machinery for ventilating and resolving the grievances of the students and teachers; let there be re-organisation of education; let proper recognition be given to the associations or unions of students of schools and colleges. If these things are done, then alone the problem can be solved, not otherwise.

श्री: बड़े (खारगोन) माननीय अध्यक्ष जी, माथुर साहब विद्यार्थियों का जो उद्भव होता है, उसके बारे में जो प्रस्ताव लाये हैं, उसके लिये मैं उसको धन्यवाद देता हूँ। इसके द्वारा कम से कम इष्ट हाउस के सामने, क्या-क्या बातें स्टेटों में हो रही हैं, वे सब बातें आ जायेगी।

वास्तव में विद्यार्थियों में जो उद्भव होता है, जो अशांति फैलती है, मास्टर्स में जो अशांति और निराशा है, उसका प्राज्ञेक्षण विद्यार्थियों पर भी पड़ता है। आज मंहगाई बढ़ती जा रही है, शिक्षण बहुत मंहगा होता चला जा रहा है, एडमिशन मिलती नहीं है और दि मिलती भी है तो वहाँ भी पाणिशैलटी होती है। इन्हीं कारणों से विद्यार्थी प्राज्ञ असंतुष्ट हैं, उनमें निराशा बढ़ती चली जा रही है। मंहगाई यह है कि आज फीसें बढ़ती चली जा रही हैं, लाइब्रेरी फीस, पुस्तक-फण्ड फीस और अनेकों प्रकार की फीसों, ट्यूशन फीस से कहीं ज्यादा हो जाती हैं और इससे उनके अन्दर अशांति आ जाती है।

लेकिन इसके साथ मैं यह भी बताना चाहता हूँ कि इतना होने के बाद भी जो यह

[श्री बड़े]

कहा जाता है कि विद्यार्थियों को पोलिटिक्स में नहीं जाना चाहिये, इस सम्बन्ध में हमारा स्पष्ट मत है कि विद्यार्थियों को एक्टिव पोलिटिक्स में नहीं जाना चाहिये, लेकिन उनको यह भ्रवश्य मालूम होना चाहिये कि सोशलिज्म क्या है, कम्यूनिज्म क्या है, कम्यूनलिज्म क्या है, सैक्युलरिज्म क्या है, ये सब बातें, जो तीन-चार रंग भ्राज देश में हैं, वे उनको मालूम होने चाहियें, इन का अध्ययन उनको कराना चाहिये। जिस वक्त देश में भ्राज लग जाती है और बड़े बड़े प्रश्न उत्पन्न होते हैं, तो क्या, माननीय अध्यक्ष जी, जो विद्यार्थी हैं, जो भविष्य में बड़े होने वाले हैं, जो महात्मा गांधी, नेहरू और श्यामाप्रसाद मुखर्जी बनने वाले हैं, क्या उन का दिमाग इस तरफ नहीं जाता होगा। मैं शासन के सामने यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब जब यह प्रश्न आता है, उस वक्त देश में विप्लव खड़ा हो जाता है, जब पत्थर-बाजी होती है, तब जाकर उनकी कोई बात मानी जाती है। जब तक पत्थरबाजी नहीं होती है, जब तक तोड़फोड़ नहीं होती है, तब तक यह कांग्रेस का देवता बातों से नहीं मानता है, यह लातों से ही बातों को मानता है। ऐसी स्थिति में विद्यार्थी क्या करें, वे निराश हो कर ऐसा करते हैं।

महात्मा जी राम राज्य की बात कहते थे, लेकिन राम राज्य में क्या होता था ? यदि किसी का लड़का मर गया, ब्राह्मण का लड़का मर गया, तो वे उसको उठाकर श्री राम चन्द्र जी के सामने ले गये और कहा कि आज मेरे सामने मेरा लड़का कैसे मरता है, बाप के कन्धे पर लड़का जायगा, यह क्या अन्याय हो गया है और रामचन्द्र जी ने उसकी एन्कवायरी की और उसके कारण को देखा। लेकिन इस वक्त के शासन के सामने गोली मारना एक मामूली सी बात है, ग्वालियर का उदाहरण मेरे सामने है। उसे कोई चिन्ता नहीं है कि किसी की गोद खाली हो

गई है, उसके मां-बाप क्या कहेंगे, उसके साथी विद्यार्थी क्या कहेंगे, उनके मुहल्लेवाले क्या कहेंगे, जब इस कांग्रेस के राज्य में उसकी लाश को उठा कर शमशान ले जाना पड़ेगा। यह सकार बिना किसी जर्म के गोली-बारी करती है, उन मासूम बच्चों पर, उन निहत्थे बच्चों पर।

एक निराश भक्त जब परेशान हो जाता है, तो पत्थर की मूर्त के सामने जा कर कहता है कि हे भगवान, इस से मुझे बचा। क्योंकि हमारे यहाँ यह कहा जाता है कि कंकर कंकर में भगवान भरे हैं। ऐना हिन्दू लोगों में मानते हैं और यही कारण है कि बच्चे भी जब निराश हो जाते हैं तो उन कंकर रुपी भगवान को उठा कर मारते हैं कि अब तू इससे बचा। आज यह परिस्थिति है कि एजूके ल मिल नहीं रही है, इतनी ज्यादा मंहगी हो गई है कि होयार गरीब बच्चों को शिक्षा मिल नहीं पाती है, क्योंकि उन के पास पैसा नहीं है, जब उनको स्कूल की शिक्षा नहीं मिलेगी तो वे आगे कैसे बढ़ सकते हैं, क्या शासन ने उनके लिये कोई व्यवस्था की है ? सब चगह स्कूल खोल दये हैं, लेकिन जहाँ स्कूल हैं वहाँ मास्टर नहीं हैं, जहाँ मास्टर हैं वहाँ स्कूल ही हैं, चहा द नों हैं वहाँ विद्यार्थी नहीं हैं, इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति सब गावों में है। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की जो निराशा उत्पन्न हो गई है, इस के लिये आपने क्या किया है ? आप कहते हैं कि बच्चों को पोलिटिक्स में नहीं आना चाहिये, लेकिन ज्यों ज्यों छोटी छोटी बातें उनके सामने आती हैं, क्या उन्होंने कभी जनसंघ या कांग्रेस मूवमेंट में भाग लिया है, क्या उन्होंने कभी कम्यूनिस्ट मूवमेंट में भाग लिया है, लेकिन जब उनकी जो खुद की डिफिकल्टीज हैं, अपने संकट को दूर करने के वस्ते, जब भी उन्होंने कोई मोर्चा लिया, तो कहा जाता है कि पोलिटिक्स में भाग लेते हैं।

मैं ग्वालियर के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ, माननीय सदस्य ने तो शोड़ा ही कहा है। ता० 12 को पोलिटेक्निक का दरवाजा टूट गया, इस लिये सब-इंस्पेक्टर के पास तीन-चार विद्यार्थी रात को कहने के लिये गये कि यह मालट्रू या मोटर ट्रू ने दरवाजा तोड़ दिया है। सब-इंस्पेक्टर ने, जिनको यह शिक्षण दिया जाता है कि जब कोई रिपोर्ट देने आये तो सुने वगैर ही उठने वाली देनी चाहिये। पहले तो विद्यार्थी को गालियाँ दी और उसको उसके बाद पीटा। फिर उसको कहा कि तुम शराब पी कर आये हो। विद्यार्थी ने कहा सब-इंस्पेक्टर साहब मे शराब पी कर नहीं आया हूँ, आप खुद शराब पिये हुए हैं। उतना नाम मि० गिल्ल था। कांस्टेबल के साथ मिल कर उन्होंने उस विद्यार्थी को पीटा। वह विद्यार्थी वापिस गया और लैक्चरार को साथ ले कर वहाँ आया। उसने लैक्चरार को कहा कि देखो चस कर कि वह शराब पिये हुए है या मैं पिये हुए हूँ। लैक्चरार भी वहाँ आया और उसने दुर्गन्ध सूँघ कर कहा कि शरोगा साहब आपके मुँह से यह दुर्गन्ध आ रही है, विद्यार्थी के मुँह से नहीं आ रही है। इस पर पुलिस ने उस लैक्चरार के साथ भी धक्का मुक्की की। यह बारह तारीख की बात है। तेरह तारीख को कुछ नहीं हुआ। चौदह तारीख को विद्यार्थियों ने मांग की कि उस सब-इंस्पेक्टर को सस्पेंड किया जाए। यदि हमारा मिनिस्टर कोई होता तो या मैं मिनिस्टर होता तो उस सब-इंस्पेक्टर को उसी वक्त सस्पेंड कर देता। मैं तुरन्त ग्वालियर जाता और विद्यार्थियों से पूछता और फौरन एक्शन लेता। लेकिन आप देखें कि एक भी मिनिस्टर आज तक वहाँ नहीं आया है। अब आप बतायें कि इस में विद्यार्थियों का क्या अपराध है। चौदह तारीख को विद्यार्थियों ने जुलूस निकाला। उस जुलूस पर लाठी चार्ज किया गया और गोली चलाई गई। उसके फनस्वरूप एक होटल बम्य मारा गया। लड़कों

को पुलिस ने बहुत पीटा। बाद में मैं वहाँ गया था। तब हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स का एक संवाददाता भी वहाँ गया था। मैंने जा कर देखा कि वास्तव में विद्यार्थियों की पीठ पर लाठियाँ लगी थीं, उसके निशान बाकी थे। आप देखें कि यदि हमारे किसी मॅम्बर के लड़के की पीठ पर इस तरह से लाठियाँ लगी होती तो हमें कितना गुस्सा आता? लेकिन यहाँ पुलिस के खिलाफ कोई कार्रवाई नहीं की गई। चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब ने हाउस में वहाँ कह दिया कि अगर हम पुलिस के खिलाफ कोई इस तरह की कार्रवाई करते हैं तो इससे पुलिस डिमारेलाइज होनी है। चूंकि पुलिस डिमारेलाइज होती है इस वास्ते हम पुलिस जाले को सस्पेंड नहीं कर सकते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि स्टुडेंट्स डिमारेलाइज नहीं होते हैं, क्या उनको इससे कुछ नहीं पहुँचता है, क्या उनकी भावनाओं को चोट नहीं पहुँचती है, क्या वे फस्ट्रेटिड फील नहीं करते हैं। यदि शासन नहीं सुनता है आधिकारीयण नहीं सुनते हैं तो क्या हो सकता है। घर के पालक निराश हो कर बैठे हुए हैं। उनको बग करना चाहिये, यह शासक बए को पता ही नहीं चलता है। यों ही स्टेटमेंट निकाल दिया गया है कि हाई कोर्ट के ऊपर हमारा रो रहा था इसलिए गोली चलाने पड़े गई। यह जो ग्वालियर हाई कोर्ट पर हमसे की बात है यह गलत है। नहीं की बार एसोसिएशन ने एक प्रस्ताव पास किया है जिस में उसने कहा है:

“दिनांक 15-9-66 को पुलिस द्वारा जिला कलेक्टर एवं अन्य प्रशासकीय मैजिस्ट्रेट की रहनुमाई में शांतिपूर्ण एवं निर्दोष नागरिकों पर किये गये संघातिक लाठी प्रहार, गोली चालन एवं भ्रमानवीय तथा क्रूर कार्यवाही के प्रति कार्यकारिणी प्रपना दुहरा क्षोभ व्यक्त करती है”

[श्री बड़]

प्रस्ताव में यह भी कहा गया है :

“माननीय मुख्य मंत्री का यह कथन कि भीड़ हाई कोर्ट भवन को क्षति पहुंचाने के लिये आई हुई थी इसलिए उस पर गोली का प्रहार करना आवश्यक हुआ, नितान्त अमृत्य एवं निःशर है और पुलिस के अत्याचारों को छिपाने के लिये है।”

यह प्रस्ताव बार एसोसिएशन का है।

जब कोई मिमिस्टर नहीं सुनता है, शासन नहीं सुनता है और विद्यार्थियों की शिकायतें जायज हैं तो वे उनको दूर करवाने के लिये किंग के पास जायें। तभी जा कर वे एजीटेशन शुरू करते हैं। उज्जैन में यही हुआ है। उज्जैन में कालेज के कैम्पस में बिना प्रिंसिपल की आज्ञा लिये हुए पुलिस घुस गई और आगे आगे लड़के और उनके पीछे पीछे पुलिस वाले उनको मरते हुए फिर रहे थे। एक लैक्चरर को भी लड़कों के साथ साथ पुलिस ने नीचे पटक दिया। डा० सुमन जो कि विक्रम युनिवर्सिटी के वाइस चांसलर हैं उनका कहना है और प्रिंसिपल का कहना है कि पुलिस बिना परमिशन के घुसी है। यह जो पुलिस आज चर रहा है, यह समझना चाहिये। आप ही बतायें कि ऐसी अवस्था में लड़के क्या करें। वे बाहर लीडर्ज के पास अपनी शिकायतें ले जाते हैं तो आप कहते हैं कि वे पॉलिटिक्स में जाते हैं। अगर वे पॉलिटिकल लीडर्ज के पास अपने प्रिबिसिस दूर करवाने के लिये नहीं जाते हैं तो उनके प्रिबिसिस दूर नहीं होते हैं। जो उनके प्रिबिसिस हैं उनको आप दूर करने की व्यवस्था करें। विद्यार्थियों में अनुशासनहीनता नहीं आयेगी अगर आपने उनकी जो जायज शिकायतें हैं उनको दूर करने की व्यवस्था कर दी। आप उनके साथ सिमपैटिकली डील करें। आप उनके साथ इन हासन बरताव न करें। मैंने देखा है कि उज्जैन में एक प्रिंसिपल ने उनको जम रखा उसको उन्होंने मान लिया।

लेकिन कठिनाई तो आज यह है कि उनको कोई सुनने के लिये तैयार नहीं है। पुलिस राज यह स्थापित हो गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि विद्यार्थियों की जो शिकायतें हैं उनको सुनने के लिये, उनको दूर करने के लिये आप किसी वाडी का गठन करें, कोई एसोसिएशन बनायें जो कि एक दो महीने के अन्दर अन्दर उनके प्रिबिसिस को दूर करने की व्यवस्था करे। सेंटर में भी इस तरह की वाडी बनायें और स्टेट्स में भी स्टेट लेवेल पर और डिस्ट्रिक्ट लेवेल पर बनायें। कालेजों के प्रिंसिपल्स और वाइस चांसलर्ज को भी आप उसमें शामिल करें। तब यह काम हो सकता है।

अपना सा स्टूडेंट्स के बारे में देखें। कितने ही दिनों से उनकी एजीटेशन चल रही थी कि उनका एग्जामिनेशन नहीं ही होना चाहिये। बी०ई० कोई पास करता है तो उसके लिये एग्जामिनेशन की व्यवस्था नहीं है। डाक्टरों को भी पास करता है तो उसके लिये नहीं है। केवल छात्र मंडल के लिये इटर्निशिप ट्रेनिंग आपने रखी है। बी० ए० पास करता है तो उसके बाद उसके लिये कोई परीक्षा नहीं रखी है। ए००ए०वी० का इम्तहान पास कर लेता है तो फिर बार एसोसिएशन के इम्तहान में उनको बंटने के लिये यो मजबूर किया जाता है।

श्री हरिश्चन्द्र साधुर (जालोर) : वह कानून तो पार्लियामेंट ने पास किया है।

श्री बड़ : लड़कों का जो कहना है वह मैं आपको बता रहा हूँ। उनका कहना है कि इसको बदलो।

प्रधक्षक महोदय अब आप समाप्त करें।

श्री बड़ : आपने यह कह दिया है कि बेरा जो लिंक है, वह हटाट गय ह।

प्र. यक्ष महोदय : तब इतना कमजोर था कि कहते ही टूट गया?

श्री बड़े : आपने स्कूल बन्द कर दिया, कालेज बन्द कर दिये, क्लासिस में उनका जाना रोक दिया। अब आप जानते ही हैं कि एग्जटो मॉडिउ इज ए डेविलिज बर्षिवाथि। कालेज आप क्यों बन्द करते हैं। कालेज बन्द करके तो सजा आप पालकों को देते हैं। विद्यार्थियों को आप नहीं देते हैं। इसका परिणाम यह होता है कि विद्यार्थी इधर उधर घूमते हैं। कालेजों, स्कूलों को आप तुरन्त शुरू करें। फिर आपने यह कर दिया कि स्कूल और कालेज की जो प्रांटस हैं वे बन्द कर दीं। जिन स्कूल और कालेजों के विद्यार्थियों ने एजेंटेशन में भाग लिया था उनकी प्रांटस आपने बन्द कर दीं। यह तो ब्रिटिश गवर्न-मेंट का तरीका था। प्र.पका तो यह तरीका नहीं होना चाहिये। आपको तो सहानुभूति से सब मामलों पर विचार करना चाहिये। नाटिगों और गोलियां स्कूलों और कालेजों के विद्यार्थियों पर चलती हैं। ग्वालियर इन्दौर आदि में चली हैं। कड़्यों की गंधें खाली हो गई हैं, कई मर गए हैं। कौन इसका जवाबदार है? हमारे माथुर साहब ने इसके बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वे इस पर भी रोखनी डालें। आपने कहीं यह नहीं कहा है कि कांग्रेस शासन ने ये जो गोलियां चलवाई हैं, ऐसा करके उसने अच्छा नहीं किया है।

आप कहते हैं कि प्रापर्टी विद्यार्थियों ने जला दी। विद्यार्थियों को यह समझाया जाना चाहिये कि यह नेशन की प्रापर्टी है इसको जलाना नहीं चाहिये। वे आज यहाँ समझते हैं कि यह प्रापर्टी मिनिस्टर की है, पैसे वालों की है। जब वे यह समझेंगे कि यह नेशन की प्रापर्टी है तब वे इसको नहीं जलायेंगे। विद्यार्थी भी उतने ही देश भक्ता हैं जितने और हैं, जितने माथुर साहब हैं। उन से

आप मिलें, उनकी शिकायतें आप दूर करें और कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था करें जिससे एक दो महीने के अन्दर अन्दर उनकी शिकायतें दूर हो जाया करें।

मैं अन्त में एक दो सजेरेंस देना चाहता हूँ। पहली बात तो यह है कि आप तुरन्त स्कूल और कालेज शुरू करें। दूसरी यह है कि ऐसी वाडी का निर्माण करें जो विद्यार्थियों के प्रीवेंसिस को सुने और उनको दूर करे। अगर आपने यह कर दिया तो विद्यार्थी उसी तरह स शांति और अनुशासन से रहेंगे जिसकी शांति और अनुशासन से वे पढ़ते रहने थे।

श्री राम सहाय पण्डेय (गुना) : अक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका अनुमूहित हूँ कि आपने मुझे समय दिया।

विरोधी दल के माननीय सदस्यों के भाषण सुनने से ऐसा अनुभव होता है कि इस विद्यार्थी समाज की जितनी समस्याएँ हैं उन सब का पूरा का पूरा दायित्व कांग्रेस पर है, कांग्रेस शासन पर है। जहाँ जहाँ उपद्रव हुए हैं उनमें सब का दोष सरकार पर है, पुलिस पर है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस समस्या का निदान मनोबैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से अगर खोजा जाय और एक ऐसा मार्गदर्शन इस सदन के माध्यम से दिया जाय विद्यार्थी समाज को तो ज्यादा अच्छा होगा।

मेरी राय में एक सब से बड़ा काइसिंग इस समय मोरेल थियारिटी का है, नैतिक नेतृत्व का है। इसकी आज देश में कमी है, इसको मैं स्वीकार करता हूँ। जब इसकी कमी होती है तब इस प्रकार की अशांति, वगंवादी अशांति, विद्यार्थियों में अशांति और कर्मचारियों में अशांति इत्यादि अशांति उत्पन्न होती है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि विद्यार्थियों को क्या मर्यादा है इसकी आप देखें। आप का यह महत्वाकांक्षी समाज जो कि हमें अशांति को और प्रेरित करता है, कुछ समस्याएँ भी

[श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय]

दता है। जब मैं नैतिक नेतृत्व की बात करता हूँ तो मेरा ध्यान जाता है बहुत पहले की ओर 25-50 बरस पहले की ओर जब मैंने पढ़ा था और कुछ वर्ष तक मैंने देखा भी था जबकि गरीबी की बात थी, विपश्चावस्था की बात थी, निर्धनता की बात थी। अगर इसकी बात की जाय तो आपको पता चलेगा कि बड़े से बड़े मनीषी और विद्वान इस देश के इसी अवस्था में पले और बड़े हुए थे। इन में रवीन्द्र नाथ ठाकुर का नाम लिया जा सकता है और इस तरह से बहुत से और भी गिनाये जा सकते। आपको ही अध्यक्ष महोदय, सम्बोधित करके मैं कहूँ तो कह सकता हूँ कि आप भी अपने बचपन के विद्यार्थी जीवन में अनुशासन और मर्यादा के साथ, नैतिकता के प्रभाव में रहे होंगे। लेकिन आज आप देखें कि आज की सोसायटी में, आज के समाज में सब से पहले विद्यार्थी घर में अनुशासन को तोड़ता है, पिता और माँ की जो मर्यादा है, उसको तोड़ता है। उनका वाद जहाँ पड़ते हैं वहाँ अध्यापकों की मर्यादा को स्वीकार नहीं करते। बाहर समाज के नेतृत्व को स्वीकार नहीं करते हैं और अनांगत्वा नेतृत्वों की बात को भी स्वीकार नहीं करते। यानी कोई एक ऐसी मर्यादा को स्वीकार ले जिसके अन्तर्गत वह अपनी मांगों को भी रखें और साथ ही अपने क्षेत्र में एक आगे बढ़ने की जो स्थिति है उसको पूरा करें, मकतल भी प्राप्त करें। कितने दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि पुलिस गोली चला दे। कौन होगा इस सदन का सदस्य जो पुलिस की गोली का समर्थन करेगा लेकिन एक बात जहाँ यह है वहाँ यह भी बात जैसे कि श्री बड़े जी ने कही कि विद्यार्थियों को यह नहीं मालूम है कि सार्वजनिक सम्पत्ति क्या होती है उनको तो मालूम है कि यह मिनिस्ट्रों की सम्पत्ति होती है। क्या आज का विद्यार्थी जो इतना प्रबुद्ध है, इंटेलिजेंट है इतना समझदार है, संसार के लक्ष्मण यातायात और प्रावाणमन के साधनों को समझता है, माइंड

कम्प्यूनिकेशंस के ज्ञान से अपने आपको सम्पन्न मानता है, वह यह नहीं जानता कि यह सम्पत्ति किसकी है? यह बस किसकी है या ट्रेन किसकी है या यह सेक्रेटोरिएट किसका है? वह यह नहीं जानता है कि सही माने में हीन इसका मालिक है?.....

श्री बड़े: वह विद्यार्थी नहीं जलाते, गुंडे जलाते हैं।

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय: लेकिन आप इस प्रकार पक्षपात की बात करते हैं, उनकी नैतिकता की बात करिए। मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि आप उनसे यह कहिए कि यदि आपकी कोई उचित मांगें हैं तो इस प्रकार का हिंसा का प्रथम लेना और यह वातावरण उत्पन्न करना जिममें असामाजिक तत्व संरक्षण लेकर सार्वजनिक सम्पत्ति को नष्ट कर देते हैं और विद्यार्थी बदनाम होते हैं, ऐसा वातावरण क्यों उपस्थित करते हैं? और भी इसके रास्ते हैं। महात्मा का एक मार्ग गांधी जी बता गए थे। आप विरोधी दल वाले उनको मड़लते हैं। मैं आपसे कहना हूँ आप उनसे कहिए कि महात्मा करे। यूनिवर्सिटी केम्पस में बैटलर कह दे कि हम यूनिवर्सिटी केम्पस से बाहर नहीं जायेंगे जब तक हमारी उचित मांगें पूरी नहीं हो जायेंगी। शांति के साथ सब काम होंगे। बड़े हुए, सब काम पूरा होता है या नहीं? लेकिन सबसे बड़ी क्राइमिस आज जो है वह यह है कि किसी भी प्रश्न का माध्यम इस देश में हिंसा हो गया है। यह बड़ी अनुचित बात है और हिंसा किसके साथ? हिंसा इन्नोंसेट लोगों के साथ, हिंसा सार्वजनिक सम्पत्ति के साथ। क्रोध से, वैमनस्य से विरक्ति होकर के यह जो एक स्थिति पैदा करते हैं चाहे वह कोई भी समाज के लोग हों, यह ठीक नहीं है। शांति के साथ, मर्यादा के साथ, नैतिकता के साथ अपनी मांगों को आप लें, पूरा करें। सदन में प्रस्ताव आये, प्रसवनीय में सवाल आये। उनको पूरा किया जाय, यह ठीक है।

सन् 50 में 2 करोड़ विद्यार्थी हमारे यहां थे। आज हमारे इन महत्वाकांक्षी योजनाओं के फलस्वरूप हमारे यहां साढ़े सात करोड़ विद्यार्थी हैं। चतुर्थ पंचवर्षीय योजना के अंत तक 9 करोड़ विद्यार्थी होंगे। हम चाहते हैं कि इस देश का एक एक नागरिक, एक एक नागरिक का बच्चा वह सब सुविधायें प्राप्त करे जिससे कि वह शिक्षित हो। लेकिन शिक्षित होने के साथ साथ उसके अन्दर एक व्यक्तित्व जागृत होता है, महत्वाकांक्षायें जागृत होती हैं और वह आगे बढ़ता है। लेकिन यदि वह इस प्रकार की कुंठाओं में फंसा गया जहां तोड़फोड़ और हिंसा की प्रवृत्ति या स्थिति पैदा होती है तो वह अपने भविष्य को अन्धकार में डालता है। श्रीमन्, विद्यार्थी वह समाज है जिसके ऊपर बड़ा भारी दायित्व है, उसका अपना, अपने देश का, अपने देश के भविष्य का और समाज का। यदि विद्यार्थी अनुशासित है, उसका मन, बुद्धि, विचार यह सब अनुशासित है तो देश का भविष्य भी अनुशासित है। यदि वह बिगड़ गया, वह असन्तुलित हो गया, उसमें मर्यादायें टूट गईं तो यह सब योजनायें किसके लिए बन रही हैं? यह उनके लिए है जो बल के नागरिक होंगे और उसके बाद नेता होंगे समाज के। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि आज जो यह मारल क्राइसिस है इसका भी निदान करना होगा और उस निदान के लिए राजनीति के नेताओं से, अघ्यापकों से, प्रबुद्ध समाज से, मां बाप और अभिभावकों से अपेक्षा की जाती है कि वह एक ऐसा सुन्दर वातावरण पैदा करने की कोशिश करें।

श्रीमन्, जब गांव का विद्यार्थी नगर में आता है तो उस के मन पर कुछ आधुनिक चीजों का प्रभाव पड़ता है और जब वह सामान्य सुविधायें प्राप्त नहीं करता है तो मनोवैज्ञानिक निदान में करता हूँ, उसके मन में असन्तोष पैदा होता है। उस के मन में मायूसी की भावना भी पैदा होती है और वह देखता क्या है कि हमारे पास कोई साधन नहीं है। जब वह जाता है यूनिवर्सिटी के कैम्पस में

तो वह यह देखता है कि बहुत योग्य वातावरण अघ्यापकों का नहीं है। उस के मन में मायूसी होती है। यह सब का सब जो है, क्लेबिटय इन सब बातों का प्रभाव पड़ता है। यह नेतृत्व, जो शैक्षणिक संस्थाओं का है, जो समाज का नेतृत्व है, और नेताओं का जो नेतृत्व है, जब यह दुर्बल पड़ता है तो उन के मन पर भी असर पड़ता है। एक सामाजिक असंतुलन वह गांव के और शहर के रहन सहन में भी देखता है। वह देखता है कि उसे वह सब सुविधायें प्राप्त नहीं होतीं तो उसका भी असर पड़ता है। और यह महंगी शिक्षा पद्धति जो है इसका भी उस के ऊपर असर पड़ता है। न केवल उस पर असर पड़ता है, उसके पिता पर असर पड़ता है, परिवार पर असर पड़ता है। गांव का एक निर्धन परिवार, अपना पेट काटकर जब पैसा शहर भेजता है और उस को यह मायूस पड़ता है कि उस को योग्य वातावरण प्राप्त नहीं है, योग्य रहन सहन की व्यवस्था नहीं है, तो उस के मन में फस्टेशन पैदा होता है, मायूसी पैदा होती है। मैं ने और देशों की, विदेशों की शिक्षा व्यवस्था को देखा है। बड़ी सुन्दर शिक्षा की व्यवस्था है। वह दो वर्ग में विद्यार्थी समाज को बांट देते हैं। एक बड़ा प्रबुद्ध वर्ग जिस को इंटेल्जेंट कहते हैं और एक मिडियाकर, जो उतना प्रबुद्ध नहीं है। मैट्रिक तक की शिक्षा के लिए ऐसी व्यवस्था करते हैं कि कोई भी मैट्रिक तक जा सकता है। लेकिन यदि उसमें इतना ग्राह्य नहीं है, वह इतना प्रबुद्ध नहीं है, इतना इंटेल्जेंट नहीं है तो उसको हाई स्कूल से ट्रेनिंग संतर में भेज देते हैं जहां उस को अपनी इच्छा के अनुसार अपने-प्रकार की सुविधाएं दी गई हैं, कार्टूनिंग है, फर्नीचर बनाना है, और तमाम ऐसे छोटे छोटे कलाकौशल की शिक्षा दी जाती है। और जो विद्यार्थी बड़े प्रबुद्ध होते हैं, बड़े इंटेल्जेंट होते हैं, उनको हायर एजुकेशन में टेकनिकल शिक्षक भेजा जाता है। इस से क्या होता है बटावारा हो जाता है। यहां पर लाखों लाखों विद्यार्थी आगे जाते हैं, वह फेल होते हैं, असफल होते हैं, तब तक चलते ही रहते हैं। तो कोई न कोई ऐसी स्थिति हमको पैदा करना चाहिए, उन

[श्री राम महाम पाण्डेय]

विद्यार्थियों के लिए कोई ऐसा बिलिंग पॉटेन्शियल पैदा करना उनको ट्रेनिंग देना चाहिए और मैट्रिक से कालेज में पहुँचने के पहले उनको ट्रेनिंग सेंटर में भेजने की सुविधा करनी चाहिए। दो वर्ष की ट्रेनिंग में जर्मनी में देखी, दो वर्ष की ट्रेनिंग में उनको दो सौ रुपये महीने सैलरी दी जाती है और उनके प्रॉडक्ट्स को डिमास्ट्रेट करके फिर उनको सैलिंग में भेजा जाता है। तो उनको कोई फस्ट्रेमन नहीं होता है। उनको मालूम है कि हमारा रास्ता खुला हुआ है लेकिन जॉर्जिनिक रूप में बुद्धिमान विद्यार्थी होते हैं उनको रास्ते में खुला हुआ रखते हैं। उनको प्राप्ति भोगा जाता है। मैं समझता हूँ जैसे यहाँ का विद्यार्थी जो इंजीनियरिंग कालेज में है, जो मेडिकल कालेज में है, हायर टेकनिकल इंस्टीट्यूट में जो पढ़ता है उसका एक डिप्लोमा माइंड होता है। लेकिन ग्रादुएशन में जो विद्यार्थी जाते हैं या दूसरे इस तरह के विद्यार्थी हैं उनका माइंड ट्रेड यूनिवन की तरह हो जाता है। उनको जो भड़काता है, वह भड़क जाते हैं क्योंकि उनका भविष्य सुरक्षित नहीं है। वह जाकर ज्यादा से ज्यादा क्लर्क बनेंगे और उसमें भी कम्पटीशन रहता है तो उनको दिखता है कि बाहर से हमारा पिता रूपया भेजता है, हम गरीबी में रहते हैं, रहन सहन का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं है कोई नेतृत्व उनको प्राप्त नहीं है कोई प्रेरणा और मार्ग उनको दिखता नहीं है तो उनको अन्दर मायूसी पैदा होती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक चैलेंज है हमारे देश में, देश की व्यवस्था बनाने में देश का तमाम जो एक समाज बनाना होगा उसमें विद्यार्थी समाज का एक बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण पार्ट है। हम उसको देखें, भनकें और उसका हल ढूँँ। हमको बड़ी सहायता है विद्यार्थी समाज से। हमको बड़ा दुख होता है कि पुलिस फायरिंग हो और विद्यार्थी हमारे मारे जायें। लेकिन इसके लिए हम एक अपील करना चाहते हैं कि यह हिंसा का मार्ग न

अपनायें। शांति के साथ, व्यवस्था के साथ, मर्यादा के साथ अपनी मांगों को रखें और उनकी मांगों को पूरा करने में हम पूरी सहायता करें।

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): After what had happened on the 24th November when the claim of our party spokesman to participate in this debate was blatantly bypassed, I did not want to participate in this debate at all. But then with due deference to your wishes, I would say a few words on this Motion.

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): The Speaker is now gracefully sitting in the Chair, in deference to his wishes. This is a unique privilege. The Deputy Speaker is not here.

Mr. Speaker: I have done no favour to anybody.

Shri Hem Barua: In order to remove any misunderstanding, I say that we are not here to hold out threats to anybody, nor are we here to put up with insults.

Shri Nath Pal (Rajapur): This should be taken proper note of in all quarters.

Mr. Speaker: We have very little time.

Shri Hem Barua: I have examined Shri Mathur's Motion with due care and caution. I must congratulate him on it. But I would say that I find it an omnibus Motion trying to embrace all sections of students. But there are students in this country who do not conform to the resolution that Mr. Mathur has tabled. When in a particular educational institution in Delhi a certain trouble took place, student unrest, and some of the students indulged in attacking the neighbouring shopkeepers and all that, some students of the very institution came to me and told me that they were ashamed of calling themselves students. I do not want Mr. Mathur's resolution to embrace those students who are very conscientious.

May I draw your attention to Miss Reita Faria who has won the world

distinction for being the Beauty Queen? Her picture appeared in one of the dailies of Delhi.

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Bangalore City): Why are you taking notice of her?

Shri Hem Barua: I will come to that.

Mr. Speaker: Why is he drawing my particular attention?

Shri Hem Barua: Her picture appeared in one of the dailies this morning, very charming, a child kissing her and all that, it is a very inspiring picture, but see how her conduct is more inspiring. While glamour is lying at her feet, while wealth is lying at her feet, here is an Indian student who has openly said in London that she wants to take a medical degree, come back to this country and serve this country, and be a housewife also.

Whatever that be, my contention is this, that there are students in his country who do not conform to the resolution tabled by Mr. Mathur.

What is happening today in this country? There is expansion of educational facilities for young boys and girls no doubt, but at the same time there is a mushroom expansion of education on the one hand and very limited plans or resources on the other hand, and there is conflict, and it is this conflict that is producing a sort of impact on our life today. Does the Education Minister know how many colleges there are in this country which do not have a reading room? Does he know how many colleges have reading rooms but there is no journal or book or paper to read? Does he know how many reading rooms there are that have journals and reading materials not beyond dilapidated copies of *Soviet Land* and *American Reporter* supplied by our friends? That is the type of education that our boys and girls are having in this country. No facilities. And I say students have genuine grievances.

What about educational institutions that are better run? Can the Minis-

ter tell me if the students of those educational institutions run and managed by the Christian Missionaries in the country join this trouble?

The Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education (Shrimati Soundaram Ramachandran): They do.

Shri Hem Barua: They do not because . . .

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Raiganj): May I interrupt for a moment? What is happening in the Presidency College, Calcutta? Is there any dearth of reading material there?

Shri Hem Barua: I will come to that. In these institutions which are better managed, students are not participating in these disturbances. These are academic reasons.

There are minor or major difficulties faced by the students. Why is it that the educational authorities do not attend to these difficulties faced by the students? When the students complain about food, I think the Superintendent of the hostel must take immediate action. The educational authorities are also falling in that line.

There are non-academic reasons also. Student unrest must not be isolated from the deeper malaise in which our society finds itself today. There is moral bankruptcy in the country today, and I would say that one of the non-academic reasons responsible is that there is a failure in leadership in the country, failure of leadership not only in the political field but also in the educational field. I want the students to get interested in politics, but that does not mean that they should try to employ their mental alertness, their political alertness by doing all sorts of things. We must not forget that a bus burnt or a building destroyed is a part of India burnt or a part of India destroyed. Apart from the problem of replacing materials for the public properties that are burnt or destroyed which involves money, it sullies the image of India not only in this country but outside also.

[Shri Hem Barua]

When I speak of failure of leadership, my charges embrace the failure of leadership in all avenues of our life. What about the student leaders? When a demonstration degenerates into violence, I do not find any leader among the students who can control and prevent the demonstration from degenerating into violence. What about the teachers themselves? The teachers have lost their moral authority with the students and they are themselves to blame for this loss of moral authority with the students. We have the ancient tradition of gurus; personality was built up and that personality is not being attended to today. I think it must be done.

At the same time, I ask: where is the political leadership today that can hold the sort of idealism for the students? Without referring to any political affiliation or party, I say that there is no political leadership today. When this movement or demonstration took place on 7th November in front of Parliament House and the naked sadhus went out dangling all their limbs and they did the mischief, what happened? Was there any leader in this country who could go out and face the demonstration and ask them to control themselves? There was none. That epoch of leadership that could go and face the demonstration however hostile it might be and pacify the demonstration, that epoch of leadership has ended with Mr. Nehru. There is no leader in the country today who can do it.

What about the values in this country? The values in India are getting distorted. It is true that our ancient history is rich, but have we been able to imbibe that spirit or recast that spirit into a newer mould? We have not succeeded in doing that.

Shri R. S. Pandey: Mr. Nath Pai went out and accepted the memoranda.

Shri Hem Barua: I know that; he was even able to afford some relief

to some people who suffered in that melee and we are very proud of him because Mr. Nath Pai is a leader of our party.

Shri Joachim Alva: He was lucky enough not to get the Sadhu's trishul on him.

Shri Hem Barua: I think the values are also getting devalued here.

There are those who say that the sadhus can provide us with inspiration; I cannot agree with them. We also went out and I was amazed to hear the type of abusive language that these naked sadhus—nakedness is the symbol of abandonment of life—can indulge in. I do not think that these sadhus can inspire our young people. The ills of the society at large must be attended to. We who are the representatives of the people, who call ourselves leaders of the people, must live such a life, pure and dedicated life, that our life shall be an inspiration to the younger people. What is happening in the country? To student demonstrations on legitimate grounds, the reply given by the Government is bullets. When there was student unrest in the country. I was amazed to read in the newspapers that our ex-Home Minister, Mr. Nanda, summoned a meeting of inspectors-general of police. Why should he summon that meeting? It is not a problem of that sort. You cannot solve that problem by using bullets. Think of the blood of young Indians being shed in the streets of Delhi or in other cities of our country. Therefore, I say that Government should take all the responsibility of generating a sort of enthusiasm. The educational authorities must attend to the grievances of the students immediately and with sympathy. They must attend to their difficulties with *elán* and gusto. Secondly, the Government should attend to the difficulties of the educational institutions and provide them with playgrounds, reading rooms and all the necessary facilities of education. Or else, education in this country has

become a big industry with the private management. There is mushroom growth of educational institutions and they only want to earn money. They have opened schools and colleges everywhere in the country, but they do not attend to the difficulties and needs of the students.

The Vice-Chancellors of universities are appointed on political grounds. People who have nothing to do with education are appointed. I happen to be a member of certain Senates and Syndicates of certain universities and I find the Vice-Chancellors are so uninspiring. After retirement from Government service, they are appointed as Vice-Chancellors. They do not know anything about the mind of students, how it works. They cannot and do not want to deal with the problems posed by a younger mind with sympathy. That is the type of people who are appointed as Vice-Chancellors. I request the Government, whenever there is a Vice-Chancellor or Head of an institution to be appointed, please see that an educationist, a man who is dedicated to the cause of education, who has character, who has personality and who has some sort of idealism is appointed. A man of that sort alone can inspire our younger generation. Or else, nothing will inspire them. The bullet is not the reply; it cannot solve any problem.

Some hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: I have no further time. The Minister.

Shri Joachim Alva: I have sent my name to you, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: I have no further time. He may kindly resume his seat.

Shri Joachim Alva: Sir, we, as students, have burnt our noses. I was a student dismissed from my college. I have got plenty to say about this problem. (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: I am very sorry.

Shri Joachim Alva: If the Minister is prepared to yield on my behalf, you may give me a few minutes. You yield when the opposition insists, but you do not yield when we want some time. It is unfair.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): He must withdraw it.

Mr. Speaker: Just a few minutes ago, I was "adding grace to the Chair"!

Shri Joachim Alva: Grace to the opposition, not to us.

Mr. Speaker: Even at that time I was apprehensive that these remarks would come when I do not call some others.

Shri Joachim Alva: I am sorry; I protest against it.

Mr. Speaker: I also protest; I have no time.

Shri Joachim Alva: You allow any amount of time to the opposition, but not to us.

Mr. Speaker: That should stop here I expected that. (Interruptions).

Shri Joachim Alva: You are deliberately doing it. I am sorry. I am going out.

(Shri Joachim Alva then left the House)

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I hope I will get about 15 to 20 minutes.

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Shri Raj Bahadur): Sir, I am holding the brief on behalf of the Education Minister, who is unfortunately ill and whom we wish the speediest recovery. I crave the indulgence of the House for any lack of depth in regard to my study of this problem and I hope my observations will be taken with the sympathy that they deserve. I do not propose to be dogmatic about any of the observations or assertions that I make. I think it is absolutely impossible for

[Shri Raj Bahadur]

anybody on this very complicated subject to be dogmatic. We cannot hold any rigid views about this matter. If it is to be treated as a national problem, a problem which concerns the whole future of the country, we have got to approach it with due humility, in a spirit of search and as a student.

I think many of the hon. Members who have taken part in this debate, a very useful debate, barring two or three exceptions, have pleaded that the students as a community should be kept out of the arena of politics, we should not implicate and involve the student community in politics, we should not allow them to be used like that. I am not going into the observations made at this particular juncture, by some of the Members who thought it was the right of the political parties to use them. But I think I will do well if I just try to analyse a little of the background or the history of how the students were brought into politics, because some observations have been made in the name of Gandhiji also, although it is well known that the discipline that he enforced on the youth of this country in those days was inexorable and they were expected to abide by it. It was with a view to fight the foreign domination that he invited the entire youth of the country in those days, and we felt proud because many of us here, most of us perhaps, happened to belong to that generation. I remember that year 1935 when for the first time an All-India Students' Federation was called. It was presided by no less a person than the President of the All-India Muslim League, Mr. M. A. Jinnah. It was addressed, among others, by Mr P. C. Joshi, the representative of the Communist Party at that time, and Mr. Shiv Nath Banerjee and Mr. M. R. Masani, a member of this House on behalf of the Socialist Group in the Congress. Soon there was a rift, because it was bound to come, and by 1939 we saw that the rift came into the open and the Federation was divided into two. This

made Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, our illustrious leader, and Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, feel so miserable about it, that they came out with a statement that unless and until the students are kept on the purest level of national struggle in the spirit of national movement they will come out in the open and condemn it. Then came the war years and we know the brave volte face on the part of the Communist Party for whom the imperialist war turned overnight into the people's war with the joining of the USSR in that war, and with that the two separate wings of the Federation also disappeared—the student federation led by the Communists went more or less into the oblivion and the other functioned only temporarily for some time.

After independence, each one of the political parties has been trying to foster some sort of a students' organisation. I need not name all the parties. We are all aware of the various student organisations which are inspired somehow or other by one or the other of these political parties. What is the objective behind this? I think there are three main objectives. The first one is to mobilise the student community against—I am talking of the Opposition parties—the official policies, the administrative machinery and the ruling party. The second is to find in the student community recruiting ground for party workers and party cadres. The last, but not the least, is the use of the student community for the purpose of elections. These are broad facts. They are as clear as day light. It is impossible to shut our eyes against them. In this background really it becomes undesirable for any political party to make use of the young people for all these purposes. What shall we do about this then? If at all we are serious about this matter, if at all we are concerned with the welfare of the student community, the welfare of the coming generation, we have to make up our

mind, because the situation has materially and vitally changed from the day when independence dawned on our country. Before independence the role of the entire nation was different. After independence, the entire nation is committed to undo the ravages of the past. It has to wipe out the backlog of development; it has to undo all the evil effects of backward economic development, and we have got to be sure that we pass on to posterity what we did not ourselves receive in our heritage—a strong, united and prosperous India.

While we were discussing this problem, I was trying to find out what are they broad points of disagreement, if I may use that expression. They may not exactly be points of disagreement but different and well-specified strains of thinking. For example, Shri Mathur, as the sponsor of the motion, says that we need not dispose of the problem lightly as a mere feature of present-day world trends. I would say that we do not propose to dispose of the problem lightly and merely as a world feature. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the entire world community of younger generation is really in a ferment. We are more or less facing a change, a socio-economic and a political change of the type that visited the international community in the wake of the industrial revolution. Today we are going through a transformation with the coming in of the atomic age and the space age. The same type of ferment is visible in our country also as it is other countries; and this is exhibited in many and varied forms. I am not trying to impart any lighter vein into the discussion on this particular problem, but we know the new modes, the new ways of the younger generation, of which I think the young lady who has earned the distinction of being Miss World is also a symbol. But I would say a new society is coming into being, a new consciousness has come in, a sort of uncertainty is there in the minds of the younger generation, and our people also cannot remain un-

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affected by it. Therefore, when we view this problem, let us take it up in the proper perspective.

We have necessarily to take into account the far-reaching changes that are taking place; the changes of social and moral values where wholesale transformation is taking place. The old order is being demolished and a new one has not yet taken its place.

It is said over and over again that the educational system in the country has not been adopted to suit the requirements of the new emerging nation that we are. I do not want to say that we have done for education all that we could do, but it is quite apparent that there are two ways in which we could deal with education; one in regard to the system, the quality and content and the other in regard to numbers that have to be given the facility of education. The first problem before the nation was to translate into practice the directive principle enshrined in our Constitution, of spreading literacy and education to the farthest extent possible, and I would say that it would rather be untrue and unrealistic if we say that nothing has been done in that direction. I would quote only a few figures just to demonstrate how what may be called an "education explosion" has taken place. I will call it an education explosion because the figures that we have got before us almost astronomical and they underline the validity of the argument that Shri Hem Barua raised just now that with the mushrooming of educational institutions the financial resources and allotments have not kept pace. I think it is a very realistic statement that he has made.

Just to supply meat to the argument I would say, so far as enrolment is concerned, for classes I to XI the number has risen from 1.71 crores in 1946-47 to 6.72 crores in 1965-66. For the engineering colleges for the diploma and degree courses the intake capacity has gone up from 7,000 in 1946-47 to 80,000 in 1965-66. In regard to medical graduates, it has gone up from 1,200 to 10,000. The total number of schools at the primary middle-

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and secondary school levels rose from 230,682 in 1950-51 to 503,000 in the year 1965-66. The number of colleges—arts, science, commerce, engineering, medical, technology etc.—has risen from 663 to 2,096 in the years 1950-51 to 1965-66. Universities themselves have increased from 27 to 65. The number of teachers has risen from 750,000 to 20,10,000 and the number of professors in arts, science and commerce colleges has risen from 16,512 to 65,000.

This clearly underlines the immensity of the problem. You can increase the number of schools and colleges, but can you provide all the libraries, reading rooms, buildings and other facilities all at once? We were on the horns of a dilemma, that is, either not to expand these facilities altogether and provide specialised type of institutions, restrict enrolment to a few limited sections of society and leave it at that. I think, that was absolutely impossible.

The next question is what has been done in regard to the quality and content of education to make it suit the requirements of the nation? I think, there also it would be rather idle to suppose that the nation has been standing idle over it or that nothing has been done. In the beginning I must make an observations. When independence dawned upon this land, who came to occupy the seats of power? They were our most eminent and trusted leaders. Who was the first Education Minister? He was one of the tallest in the land, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad about whose erudition, eminence, stature, experience and patriotism there can be no doubt absolutely.

The question was to transform the colonial system of education into a system which suited our requirements. Therefore, commission after commission and committee after committee was instituted for that purpose. It was not an ordinary problem; it was a herculean task and a most compli-

cated problem. I think, even Lord Macaulay, who is supposed to be the author of the colonial system of education, himself must have taken years and years and years before he evolved that particular system of education to suit the requirements of the country which held us under domination.

While I am not trying to be an apologist for all that has not been done, I would say that the problem is too complicated. Even so, with all respect, may I ask "Have we even now come to a stage of thinking on the national plane where anyone can truthfully say that he has found the final answer in regard to the change or transformation in the system of education? I think, in all humility, that answer has yet to come. So many formulae and alternatives have been furnished but none is there which convinces the entire nation, the planners and Parliament that this will be the change that is desirable, that this would be content, scope and extent of the transformation of the educational system. Naturally, therefore, whatever has been done has only touched the fringe of the problem.

The University Education Commission made three broad recommendations. One was the three-year degree course for the basic university degree; the second was greater use of the tutorial system and formulation of new aims and establishment of rural universities. In regard to the first two, namely, the three-year degree course and greater use of the tutorial system, these recommendations formed the basis of planning of university education in the post-independent India. In regard to rural universities, for obvious difficulties this could not be done. Who was the Chairman of this Commission? It was no less a person than the worthy President of our Union, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

Then, came the Secondary Education Commission—the All India Commission for Secondary Education

appointed in 1953 under the chairmanship of no less a person than Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar.

श्री बहें (खारगोन) : यह सब तो हम जानते हैं। इसको बतलाने से क्या फायदा।

Shri Raj Bahadur: I am just trying to say that all these attempts were made. So, when a criticism is made on the floor of this House that nothing has been done in regard to this particular matter to change the content and quality of education, to make it suit the requirements of the country, I think, that charge would fall to the ground. I will not go into the details if the hon. Member so says.

Shri Maurya (Aligarh): Are you talking of the sphere of education or of the standard of education?

Shri Raj Bahadur: I am only trying to reply to the criticism that has been made that nothing has been done to change the system of education to suit the requirements of the country.

Shri J. B. Kripalani (Amroha): You should not do worse.... (*Interruption*).

Shri Raj Bahadur: Acharya Kripalani came a little late. . . .

Shri Maurya: Is he saying that the sphere of education has increased or is he saying that the standard of education has risen?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order: let us hear the Minister.

Shri Maurya: The standard is lower.

Shri Raj Bahadur: I need hardly repeat what I have already said. When certain arguments are advanced, it is the duty of the Minister concerned to reply to those arguments as best as he can. He may accept them or not. But the fact of the matter is, let us realise we have not been staying put, and all that could be done has been sought to be done.

Another criticism was made in regard to the salaries of teachers and professors. I would just in passing say that so far as that is concerned, the Central Government has always stood committed to this particular matter, and if I may just give you in one short sentence an indication of this particular thing, it would be apparent that we have not been staying put here also.

श्री बागडी (हिसार) : जब कोई मंत्री को (बदले) जवाब दे और उससे कोई सवाल किया जाए तो क्या वह मंत्री यह जवाब दे सकता है कि इसका जवाब तो वही मंत्री देगा जिसका यह सबजंबट है?

श्री राज बहादुर : मैंने खाली यह कहा है कि अगर मेरे अध्वयन में कुछ कमी हो तो उसके बारे में आप जरा कुछ उदारता पूर्वक देखें। इसके अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं कहा है।

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I am sorry I cannot agree with the Minister.

Shri Raj Bahadur: I would plead with Mr. Mathur that all that we could do in regard to the educational system has been done.

Taking back again the most important and vital point that has been raised in the debate about the use of students for political purposes, Prof. Ranga said, "Students cannot divorce themselves from what is happening around and politician would not be politician if he did not take full advantage of what is happening." Then, Shrimati Renu Chakravarty and Shri Umanath go still further. They say, "Students will participate in politics." Shri Umanath went further and said, "If students will not change politics, will Tatas and Birlas change politics? So, let us make up our mind as to whether we are going to use students as cannon-fodder for our political guns. Let us make up our mind honestly as to whether this is all that

[Shri Raj Bahadur]

we need to-day and, if that is so, then I must respectfully disagree with them . . . (Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: Let us hear the Minister.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): During the Chinese aggression, it is the students who offered their services.

Shri Raj Bahadur: I have got the greatest faith in the younger generation and the students.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Everybody has.

Shri Raj Bahadur: We all have and we take pride in the fact that while some of us or most of us here under the leadership of Acharya Kripalani have had the privilege of fighting for the independence of our country, the younger generation has made the utmost sacrifice for the defence of the mother-land, its frontiers, its honour, during the last war against China or against Pakistan. So, there is no question of despairing of hope in regard to the younger generation. They are more mindful and more patriotic than even ourselves so far as that is concerned.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: They have a right to change the Government also.

Shri Raj Bahadur: May I also say that in the confusion of all these arguments and cross-arguments, there is a certain degree of agreement also. I have tried to find that out in the speeches of the hon. Members. I would begin by saying that these are the points of agreement. Shri Mathur started by saying that "we should not take a party line in this matter". I think, all of us are agreed on that. Then, Shri Khadilkar said that "political parties should keep their hands off the students". I have no hesitation in saying that this is the surest remedy for the present ills. Dr. Karni Singhji

said, "Deal with the problem as parents and not as politicians." If we accept these broad principles, I think, we would come near the solution of the problem. Shri Khadilkar referred to "the erosion of the moral authority." Similarly Shri Bakar Ali Mirza said that "the ideals have been eroded, but some ideals have to be put before them." Then, Acharya Kripalani said, "After Independence, we never told them that every generation has to pay the price of freedom." These are observations which are wise which are significant, and we must adopt them with all our mind and heart. They represent the broad consensus in the House.

Acharyaji also said that "The students are not without blemish." I think, out of all those speeches that have been made, Acharya Kripalani was the only person who, with his wisdom and with his courage, said that they also have to be told that there are certain things which they have also to look after if they want to achieve a modicum of balance of efficiency in their likes. He has rightly pinpointed one of the main maladies, if I may say so, in regard to students' unions when he said that the election politics in students' unions lead to many of the ills. I think these are matters which require serious consideration.

Shrimati Renuka Ray said that "the relationship between the teachers and the taught, the parents and the children and the politicians and the youth, all require re-orientation." We should not deal with them by force no doubt, as Shrimati Sharada Mukherjee said, but with a lot of sympathy to mobilise the creative talent. When it has come to that, let us all agree on those points and it must be quite appreciated that our students as a whole constitute one of the finest lot and we should not do anything which impairs their future, if I may say so. Let us take a correct perspective for the whole problem. I think, there also Mr. Hem Barua

struck a realistic note when he said that those who were involved in these incidents were few. In fact out of the totality of the students that we have got, the students of primary schools, middle schools and secondary schools—and even other institutions—have by far remained untouched by these unfortunate happenings. Even if we take universities and colleges, there also it was only in pockets where there were different causes and varied points of dispute of controversy which had resulted in some unrest and unfortunate incidents. So, let us not condemn the whole student community. The student community as a whole is sound in mind and heart. Let us understand them. Let us sympathise with them and let us view the whole problem in a proper perspective.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: If I may interrupt the hon. Minister, will he be able to reply to the criticism that political considerations are brought in the appointment of Vice-Chancellors?

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Every one has emphasized that.

Shri Raj Bahadur: That has been emphasized. I think this point needs serious consideration and examination. I cannot say that it covers all the appointments of Vice-Chancellors. Many of the Vice-Chancellors are eminent people, eminent educationists. I think there also we cannot (*Interruptions*) afford to indulge in generalisations. There may be cases where there may be a cause for legitimate grievance or complaint. I am not shutting that out.

To pick up my thread again I would say, that, broadly speaking, if you analyse the whole problem of student unrest, you can divide it on the basis of educational plane, social plane, economic plane and political plane. I have dealt sufficiently with the political plane. So far as the educational plane is concerned, I would say that it is of primary importance that dialogue between teachers and students must be secured in all educational institutions, by whatever

means possible. It has been recommended and I think that this should be considered seriously that student staff councils should be nominated in order to examine the complaints and to provide that basis of dialogue which is so vital.

Another important matter is that there should be a proper utilisation of leisure, particularly during long vacations.

On the social plane, we all know that the standards of society in general are having their impact on the minds of the students. Then there is the economic problem so far as the poor parents are concerned who spend their life-time savings to educate their children. This is a national problem. Then there is a sense of insecurity amongst them.

Before I conclude, I must read out extracts from a speech made by Shri Ramachandran whom we all know very well as a distinguished savant and a distinguished educationist. Let us see what he has got to say on this particular matter. I think, if we take that thing seriously to heart, then it will relieve us of some of the problems to a great extent. Now I quote Shri Ramachandran:

“ . . . will not the students. I ask you, respond, to the environment? What is the environment in India today? Disciplines have broken down all over the country.”

I will not go into the details which he has furnished. Then, he says:

“Look at what is happening in Parliament. Is there any discipline in Parliament? People are shouting at each other as if they are in the market-place. The students are watching them from the galleries. The whole country is in the grip of indiscipline . . .

श्री नौर्य : क्या कह रहे हैं यह ?

Shri Raj Bahadur: I am only quoting something which has been stated by him.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: What has been stated in the other House cannot be read out here.

Shri Raj Bahadur: I am not reading the proceedings but I am only quoting certain sentences. I would read just one more sentence which is non-controversial. He has said:

"We must change the environment in the country. The leaders must set an example of discipline, self-sacrifice and devotion. These are all dead today—discipline, devotion and sacrifice; where are they today? Everybody wants to grab as much as he can and the student is watching them from behind and says 'All right, I will also try to grab as much as I can. Where is the example of selfless devotion that leadership is furnishing in this country....'"

श्री शीर्ष : अष्टाचार से बुरा नहीं है यह। . . . (व्यवधान)

Shri Raj Bahadur: At any rate, I can say that this is not the example for the students

Shri Maurya: **

Mr. Speaker: This would not be recorded. Personal accusations of this kind cannot be made here.

Shri Maurya: **

Shri Raj Bahadur: I did not charge him. I have not named him even once. If the cap fits him all right, let him wear it. (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: Let the hon. Minister conclude now.

Shri Bagri: On a point of order.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप उनको खत्म करने दीजिए । डिस्टर्ब न कीजिए ।

श्री बागड़ी : मैं आपकी व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ । माथुर साहब ने व्यवस्था उठायी उस वक्त

आपने ध्यान नहीं दिया । सदन की कार्यवाही की अच्छाई और बुराई का फसला, क्या अनुशासन है क्या नहीं है, मंत्री महोदय को कोई अधिकार नहीं है कहने का । वह आप को है, आप कह सकते हैं । और किस किस के अनुशासन की बात वह करते हैं ? यह कोई मदरसा है ? यह कोई कारखाना है ? जिस अनुशासन की बात करते हों, यहाँ पर वह अनुशासन और डिसिप्लिन नहीं होता यह जनतांत्रिक है । दूसरे मुक्तों की पार्लियामेंट में देखिए (व्यवधान)

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप बंद जाइए ।

श्री बागड़ी : तो आप इन को कहिए, जरा कायदे से बोलें । यह बेगार में भाये हुए हैं । अपनी जगह से तो बोल नहीं रहे हैं, बेगार में भाये हुए हैं ।

Shri Raj Bahadur: I shall conclude by saying this that there is an essential difference between a democracy and any other form of government. The main plank of democracy is discipline. If I have stressed the word 'discipline' it should not become a red rag to a bull for anyone in this House. I think it is a wise step, and I think I am entitled to say that discipline is very necessary for the preservation of democracy, and, therefore, this has to be taken seriously. That is really where we should begin and where we should end. That is the only way.

With these words, I say that the discussion should be above politics and should be taken in the proper perspective.

श्री बागड़ी : यह आप हमें क्या सिखा रहे हैं ? यह डेमोक्रेसी हमें सिखा रहे हैं ?

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Leaving aside the common ground between all of us, I would like to invite the attention of the hon. Min-

ister to one thing. I urge upon the hon. Minister to disillusion himself from certain indoctrination from which he appears to suffer. Certain ideas are always in the air and those ideas are all the time affecting us unfortunately.

Let us not find convenient explanations and excuses to explain the whole situation. The hon. Minister said that there has been an explosion in the educational level and he quoted certain figures. We all know that. We know that we have gone at a much slower speed than what was contemplated in the Constitution itself. We are nowhere near that. I know that the student population has considerably gone up. But may I ask the hon. Minister whether the student population has gone up only in certain States or all over the country? May I know whether the whole of the south has remained backward and the student population has not gone up as much in the south as in the north? Why is there no student unrest and student indiscipline in the south?" Does he remember that student indiscipline was the maximum in only those areas where you have provided the best of educational facilities? Was it not there in Aligarh University? Has he visited that University and seen things for himself?

Shri Raj Bahadur: I did not want to interrupt my hon. friend. But I think Visakhapatnam and Andhra Pradesh are in the south.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Yes. But the hon. Minister forgets one thing. He is compelling me to ask what was at the back of that student indiscipline. It was indiscipline on the part of politicians and prompted by political people who led the students into it unnecessarily.

Shri Raj Bahadur: I agree with him.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: There was indiscipline in Madras, but then on one occasion, when there was an explosion on the language question. Otherwise, throughout these 12—15 years, there has been no indiscipline in the south though it has been there in other places. If they do not go into the basic causes for this, if they do not try to find the real explanation for this, I think they will be misguiding themselves and misguiding the country. Let us, therefore, look for the real causes, where they lie.

I started by saying that it is no use hurling accusations against each other, one party against the other. I wish to stick to the standard I set for myself. I also said at the very outset that, by and large, the student community is sound to the core. I said 'by and large' and I pointed out what are the aberrations. I ventured to submit that if you took care of three or four things which I would like again to submit now—one or two of them are certainly new ideas; the others are the ones I had submitted earlier—more than half of your troubles would be over.

The first one, which has been endorsed by everyone in this House, is: please ensure that the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor is exclusively on merit and there are no extraneous considerations imported into it. Please see that those people who hunt for jobs are not there. But you have to hunt for the people who have the merit and you have to persuade them to accept the job of Vice-Chancellor. If you have those people who command respect in the academic world, who command respect in the educational field, who command the respect of, all the students," half of your troubles would be over. It is only such Vice-Chancellors who would be able to break the groupism among the teachers. The most important thing Government have got to remember is that it is only because

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

of the quality of the Vice-Chancellor, because of the considerations that enter into his appointment, it is only when these conditions are fulfilled that groupism among teachers, which is responsible for most of the troubles in the student world, can be eliminated and the problem tackled effectively. If you take care of that aspect, if you do not entertain and take in as Vice-Chancellors people who are just hunting for the job, who want to be dumped there after their retirement, if you take people who have a name in the educational field, who have had an academic career and who are respected in the academic world, who are responsible and will uphold these things, if you persuade such people to accept those jobs, half the troubles would be over.

Another point which I made, and which will bear repetition, is this. It is not with a view to pamper the students that I say that, by and large, the heart of the student is sound. This is a fact. The trouble lies elsewhere. Here I again submit: please do away with the professional students who are the real cause of all the troubles, who have no business to have the status of students who are there only for elections to the unions and who are there as representatives of certain people who have a vested interest. You must get the whole thing analysed and find out who these professional students are. Please ask each University to analyse the situation. If they do not give them the student status, if these so-called students who have their eyes only on the elections are got rid of, most of the troubles would be over.

I am also one of those who entirely agree, as did Prof. Ranga and Shrimati Renu Chakravartty—that under no circumstances should students be divorced from the mainstream of our life. They have got to be in the mainstream of life. They must know, they cannot be insulated from politics, they must understand the politics of the country. Where my

difference comes is where I say that they cannot be made the tools or instruments of politics. They must understand politics and the political currents in the country.

But what is the present position? there are certain student funds from different political parties.

Shri Maurya: Congress.

18 hrs.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I am not interested in the Congress or any other political party. I am only talking of a principle, and I started by saying that.

You have the All India students Federation, there are about 63,000 students on its rolls, and this federation belongs to a political party, I am not going to name any political party, I am not interested in that. Then you have the *Samajwadi Yuvajan Sabha* with 30,000 students on its rolls. Then there is the *Akhil Bharat Vidyarthi Parishad* with 30,000 students on its rolls. I would request the hon. Minister to check up and find out if most of the student trouble has not been where these student funds are functioning, in those particular areas. I want to be very specific and clear.

Therefore, the analysis which you are giving will not bear any scrutiny. The analysis is this, and it is no use, I submit, asking the political parties to keep away. This we have been doing for the last 20 years, you will not be able to succeed, but in your academic life in the universities, through your Model University Act, please provide for asking the student community itself not to permit any political parties to be there. Instead of addressing my appeal to the politician—will address my appeal to the student world, to the university authorities, to the Education Minister, that they may provide a Model Act whereby they debar such political funds in the field of education.

I very much agree that there cannot be any police attitude taken in this matter. When there is a skirmish, there may use police excess as some friends pointed out, and that has got to be taken note of. Nobody can have any sympathy or support for such excesses, but we also know that the police is sometimes put to a very difficult job, and as Mr. Ranga very rightly pointed out, they are also human beings. When things are agitated, when there are brickbats and all that, they may go into excesses.

Here I would like to submit to the hon. Minister that it is again a very important reform which you have to introduce. It is the police attitude which you have got to change. How do you do it? Mr. Nanda asked all the IGPs to come here, and what was the suggestion of the IGPs? Very honestly, experienced, seasoned people of your police, the top people, not the rank and file, say that the Vice-Chancellors should be vested with magisterial powers. Can anybody think of a more fantastic suggestion? But they made it honestly, conscientiously, thinking that this will help. The remedy was only a police attitude. That is a disease for which I do not blame any particular person, but the entire system, the entire administration. You have not even changed the attitude, even the top people in the police administration are not able to think on correct lines and give you proposals. This is a great pointer to where the difficulty lies.

Shri J. P. Jyotishi (Sagar): What about the Vice-Chancellors who wanted special police forces to be given to them to work under them?

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: They are those people of whom I have talked earlier. They are the people who have come in on certain political considerations.

In certain important cities and towns where you have got these

troubles, I would wish you to have not only for the students, I would wish you to suggest it to the Home Minister to have certain special squads who are properly trained to deal with demonstrations. The same policeman who is doing all sorts of sundry jobs is put into this, hurled into dealing with demonstrations and disturbances. They are not duly trained, they do not know how to deal with demonstrations with the least force, and you most effectively. These people have got to be trained, there should be only such people, then you will not have these firings, indiscriminate lathi-charges etc. You cannot train the entire police force, but in places like Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, in these big cities, there should be something like that, and I hope some attention will be paid to it. I had also appealed to the hon. Education Minister that he owes it to the families where the students have lost their lives to make a special enquiry into their state of affairs and to do whatever little he can to assuage their feelings. You cannot bring back the precious lives but certainly you can do something which lies in your power in the mundane world to assuage their feelings. Acharyaji mentioned that the leadership of the Congress Party controlled the masses and therefore they should be able to control when the trouble is there. Acharyaji will concede that it is not the masses who make the trouble; it is only the mischief mongers who are a few.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद):
माधुर सहब, बेचारों की जाने जाती है
और आपको मिरचिक दिखाई देती है।

Shri J. B. Kripalani: The Congress has got the police, the military, the money and the propaganda machinery, they are in a majority; they control the voters but they could not see to it that the few rascals are dealt with. If you cannot control the mischief makers, how are you going to govern?

Shri R. S. Pandey: The Opposition is not with us.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: Abolish it.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: Acharyaji also referred to the public schools and of the future leadership being prepared in these highly protected and costly places. May I assure him that these people who come from these public schools will never be the leaders of this country. They have not the qualities and have no connection with the public life. They can only be good civil servants and they will never be the leaders of this country as they are divorced from the mainstream of life.

I will end saying one thing. I had a really interesting experience. I went to Pilani where they have a public school and the boys from that public school go also to the engineering college. I never sent any of my children there and in fact I do not believe in the public schools. I asked the Director of the technological institution: how do these boys who come from the public schools do as compared to those who come from the ordinary schools, which we do? And he said: I have found even in technological institutions, that these boys do not enjoy any greater advantage.

श्री मधु लिये (मुंगेर) : तां फिर उन विशेष स्कूलों को खत्म कर दीजिये, अगर अच्छे नहीं हैं तो क्यों बनाये रखते हो।

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I am not against it. These people are the least qualified to be the leaders in this country and I have no apprehension that they would be leaders until and unless they acquire other qualities. My time is over, and may I say once again that this is not a party question at all; it is a national problem of great importance. Let us learn something from the experience and the discussion that took place here.

Mr. Speaker: I shall now put the substitute motions of Shri Prakash

Vir Shastri and of Shri Vishwanath Pandey to the vote of the House.

The question is:—

"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).

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"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/vice-chancellors be constituted to solve the problem of the student unrest in the country." (2)

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: We will take up the call-attention notice, Mr. Bhagri.

19.10 hrs.

CALLING ATTENTION To
MATTERS OF URGENT PUBLIC
IMPORTANCE—contd.

(ii) SITUATION IN BIHAR

श्री बागड़ी (हिसार) : मैं अविलम्बनीय लोक महत्व के निम्नलिखित विषय की ओर खाद्य तथा कृषि मंत्री का ध्यान दिलाता हूँ और प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह इस बारे में एक वक्तव्य दें :

"बिहार में ग्राम भुखमरी व मुख्य मंत्री बिहार का केन्द्रीय शासन को दोषी करार देना"