

[Shri Manubhai Shah]

directors with a corresponding enlargement of the powers of shareholders. Section 316 limits the number of companies of which one person may be appointed managing director—ordinarily to only 2. Section 332 provides that no person shall be managing agent of more than 10 companies after 15th August 1960.

The powers of managing agents are also defined and brought specifically under the supervision and control of directors. An attempt has also been made to control undesirable concentration of economic power arising from inter-company financial transactions, to which my hon. friend referred,—inter-company loans and investment in companies which are under the same management as defined in the Act.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Some of us spoke for an hour on these provisions.

Shri Manubhai Shah: That is true. But I am only trying to explain in the short time at my disposal that the various measures which the Government of the day have taken are a sure sign that not only this country is fully aware but the Government of the day are also fully alive to the dangers in lop-sided development of the country's economy whereby a few control the many and the many have to be subservient to the few.

Therefore, with all these tremendous measures, of the practical implementation of which Government have given proof from day to day, and with a wide awareness to see that the industrial and economic development of the country proceeds on an even keel where social justice is as paramount to us as national production, I hope the House will agree with me that there is no need to have a Committee constituted of the House to take care of any monopolistic combines either today or in the future, when there is no likelihood of such combines.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"This House is of opinion that a Committee consisting of Members of Parliament be appointed with a view to examine the operations of the monopolistic concerns in the country and to suggest suitable measures to curb their powers and activities which are detrimental to the national economy."

The Resolution was negatived.

15.11 hrs.

RESOLUTION RE: FORMATION OF A NATIONAL COUNCIL OF INDIAN YOUTH

Shri Panigrahi (Puri): Sir, I beg to move:

"This House is of opinion that a Committee consisting of members of Lok Sabha representing all shades of opinion, be formed for constituting a broad based National Council of Indian Youth and a Central Board of Youth welfare for ensuring participation of the youth of the country in the implementation of various plan programmes and for providing necessary opportunities and training to the youth of the country."

This House is further of opinion that the Committee—

- (a) should meet the representatives of all existing youth organisations in this connection;
- (b) should invite suggestions from youth organisations for the above purpose; and finally,
- (c) should call a conference of all such persons and representatives of youth organisations in order to form the aforementioned National Council of Indian Youth.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: In the first instance, the hon. Member may indicate what time he would require.

Shri Panigrahi: Thirty minutes, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are two hours allotted for this Resolution. Then, he won't leave much time for others. I have got a large list of Members—it is sufficiently long and there are many others....

An Hon. Member: Youths should be given preference.

Shri V. P. Nayar (Quilon): Some of us have grave doubts...*(Interruption)*.

Shri Panigrahi: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am glad that for the first time the problems relating to the youth of this country are coming for discussion before this House. As one working in the Youth Movement of the country and as the President of my own State Youth Federation and as Secretary of the Federation of Indian Youth, I really feel it a matter of privilege that this House has taken this question today. The youth of this country will have at least no chance to say that this supreme body of the country had never taken into consideration the vital problems of the youth of this country.

What is happening to our young people today? I would like to submit before this House that after independence, during all these long 11 years, no positive steps have been taken to assist the youth of this country, to provide full opportunities to the youth of this country and to develop its personality; except giving advice in gatherings to the youth and occasionally some donations no practical measures have been taken *(Interruption)*.

Shri Nath Pal (Rajapur): Donations also are very poor.

Shri Panigrahi: No practical measures have been taken to provide the

necessary amenities and opportunities for the all-round development of the youth of our country. I was looking into whatever literature which was available in our Library; and, I am sorry to state that the Government of India is ignoring practically the problem of the youth of this country. Naturally, there are a few publications about the youth of the country.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Perhaps they might not have cared to produce more.

Shri Panigrahi: I was going through a book written by one Dr. Josephine, an eminent educationist of Great Britain. The Government of Great Britain has given careful thought to the problems of youth that confront it in its own country.

15.15 hrs.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

Dr. Josephine in his book has prepared a list of favourite subjects which are frequently discussed in club-houses, in street corners and in tea houses, by the youth of that country. And this refers to 1940. It makes interesting reading. He has classified the number of items and the number of times the subjects are discussed. The list of subjects are—food, 93 times, religion, 84 times, film 79 times, war 70 times, sport 69 times, and love, marriage and other sex 64 times and employment 63 times, dress 51 times, weather 41 times and holidays 38 times. In India, no such survey has been made. But, with my little experience, I may venture to submit that perhaps food, employment, films, love and marriage may top the list of subjects which are frequently discussed by our young people in this country.

An. Hon. Member: Love out of them the best.

Shri Panigrahi: Dr. Josephine has made further study into the subject also. He has said that a hundred

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young Russians were asked for their aims in life and they answered thus:

"To study, to enjoy ourselves, to suffer, to help others to make life better for our ourselves and others."

He has compared this with the answers of 100 young Germans Their one answer has been "To serve the Führer". He has compared it with the answer of a hundred unselected English young people, the majority of whom have said—"to get better job, to obtain financial security, to have good time."

After 11 years of freedom in this country, if we ask our youth, I think, they can simply answer... .

Shri Nath Pai: Serve Mother India

Shri Panigrahi: I think not, they can simply answer, food and employment. And, that is their problem to-day.

I would like to submit that youth service is part of the educational service of this country. It only helps in filling a gap which is created by the national educational system of today which is not complete and which lacks in many respects. So, naturally, youth service should form part and parcel of the Ministry of Education in our country. What is the Ministry of Education doing today?

I was looking into the grants which the Ministry of Education has made for the welfare of the youth. During 1957-58, Rs. 11.73 lakhs were granted by the Central Government to some schools and colleges and Universities for construction of stadiums, swimming pools, open air theatres etc.; and for 1958-59, Rs. 14.1 lakhs have been set apart. And the Education Budget for 1958-59 has included Rs. 9,40,000 for youth welfare programme.

If we look to the number of youths in this country, of whom students

form the majority, according to the census of 1951, young people between the ages of 15 and 34 constitute 33 per cent of the total population of India. For 33 per cent of the total population of India a meagre allowance of Rs. 11 lakhs and Rs. 14 lakhs is made in the name of welfare of youth. This is too meagre. This shows that the Government has not given serious thought to the problems which concern the youth and students in this country—after all these 11 years of freedom. The problems that the youths in the villages are facing today are really very serious. They have the lowest standard of living in the villages and they are most prone to disease and their mortality rate is the highest. I was looking to the survey made by the national T.B. control programme; the people coming from the age group between 15-34 are the maximum persons suffering from TB. In India it is calculated that every five minutes, a man dies from TB and that man is no other than a young man of this country who is expected to build this country. Now, the change is taking place in the villages also but who is there to guide them in the villages today? Without that guidance, how can they turn the change to their advantage? No serious effort is made in these directions.

An Hon. Member: Community development areas.

Shri Panigrahi: Community development? I am coming to that. I was also looking into the literature that has been produced by the different youth organisations in the USSR, Japan, Yugoslavia and Britain and in many other advanced countries. In their national budgets, they give from 15 to 20 per cent of the money for the activities of the youth welfare. In Yugoslavia, there are hundreds of clubs in villages; there are gymnasiums and stadia and spare time schools to teach the youth. There are many facilities for the youth to develop itself and prepare itself to bear the

responsibility of governing its country in the future. I have no time at my disposal to thrash out all my points but I will touch some vital subjects.

I was looking into the magazine published by the Chinese youth; they have almost three lakh rural clubs in China and hundreds of spare time schools; athletic schools are growing in USSR. There are student scientific societies which are highly popular among the students.

I was also looking to the problem of unemployment which concerns the youth to a large extent. Many times these questions have been asked on the floor of this House and the answer given was that no survey had been made so far as the educated unemployed in this country were concerned. A figure was given only for the educated unemployed among the graduates: 32,287. But a very useful and important survey has been conducted by the head of the department of economics and sociology in the Lucknow University in the Lucknow city. They have made a study of this subject and have come to the conclusion that quite a large number of people, 35 per cent of the total, are youngsters between the ages of 16 and 20. The next age-group of 21-25 years accounts for another 22 per cent of the total unemployed in the city of Lucknow. In all 57 per cent of the total unemployed are young persons not exceeding the age of 25 years.

What is true of Lucknow is true of most of the cities in India. There are in addition villages also whose figures are never taken into account. They have observed that the average parent now wants his child to start earning his living at a lower age than before and likewise an increasing number of husbands not only allow but encourage the wives to add to family income by independent earnings. Besides this the aged also do not want to retire and they postpone their retirement or withdrawal from the labour force. That is the position of unemployment

in the country today. The Planning Commission has also made a survey and in their rough estimate they say that by the year 1960-61, there will be about 66,50,000 unemployed youths in this country—matriculates, intermediates and graduates. This is a huge figure. What are we doing to offer them employment? The Government has failed there.

I also want to say a few words about the Government's patronisation of certain youth organisations in this country. I do not say that Government should not patronise. At present I would just like to quote three or four figures from the publications of the Bharat Sevak Samaj. The Government of India is giving them some definite grants. What is this organisation?

The Minister of Education (Dr. K. L. Shrimali): Could the hon. Member tell me how much grant the Samaj has received from the Government of India?

Shri Panigrahi: Almost every year, twenty questions have been asked on the floor of this House and in every question the answer was that the total amount had not yet been calculated and the accounts were not audited. That is the reply. Still, I am going to give some information to the hon. Minister. I am coming to that.

About the Bharat Sevak Samaj in Orissa, these are the facts. Branches—Nil; active members—nil; associations—nil; helpers—nil; active workers—nil. Still, in Orissa in almost all the community development and national extension service blocks, there is a directive from the Government that somebody from the Bharat Sevak Samaj should be taken in the block advisory committee. In my own area, when I asked how it is associated with the block advisory committee, I was told that there was a directive from the Government of India, Ministry of Community Development that BSS should be associated with it. But in

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Orissa, what is this BSS? Associations—nil; helpers—nil; active workers—nil.

Dr. K. L. Shrimali: My hon. friend is misinformed about this matter. Bharat Sevak Samaj is a voluntary organisation and the Government of India does not give any grants to it. The BSS organises projects such as labour camps, students camps, etc. and for these projects the Government gives something as to various other organisations that render account for that. No direct grants are given to the BSS for any purpose.

Shri Panigrahi: He substantiates what I have said. The hon. Minister says that grants are made to all organisations. What I say is that grants are being made only to BSS and those organisations associated or affiliated to that body or those that have the same policy as the Congress ideology.

Dr. K. L. Shrimali: I think that my hon. friend is not at all informed of the position. Let me explain it . . . (*Interruptions*) I will explain it. The point is that the Ministry of Education organises these voluntary labour camps. We give grants to the universities, State Governments and to such organisations who want to organise these labour and student camps. That money is utilised for these camps and they render accounts—the State Governments, Universities as well as the Samaj. No direct grant is made to BSS for any organisational purpose. They are the agency for organising certain camps for which they receive certain money.

Shri Panigrahi: I was saying what exactly the hon. Minister says. For those programmes, I was saying that grants were made through the BSS. Money never goes direct to the camp I think the hon. Minister will agree that it never goes by air and drops in the camp site; it goes through certain persons. How is it that he does not understand this position?

Mr. Chairman: No direct grant is given, only projects are helped.

Shri Panigrahi: Grant is given to the Bharat Sevak Samaj for the projects.

Shri V. P. Nayar: It may not be a grant in the budgetary sense.

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): Financial help is given to voluntary organisations, and this is the only organisation which gets.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has taken about 20 minutes. Only two hours are allotted for this resolution. If he is brief other Members may also participate.

Shri Panigrahi: I am the mover of the resolution, and most of my time has been taken by interruptions. I seek your permission so that I may speak for ten minutes more.

Mr. Chairman: Not more than half an hour can be given to the Mover.

Shri Panigrahi: I have taken 20 minutes. Ten minutes more I shall take

Mr. Chairman: Just as the hon. Member wants. He can have half an hour, I do not mind.

Shri Panigrahi: There is a provision in the A.I.C.C. Youth Section constitution which says that it should co-operate in any suitable youth welfare or social service programme of international organisations, especially the U.N.O., U.N.E.S.C.O., W.H.O., U.N.I.C.E.F. and the World Assembly of Youth. It also says full advantage should be taken of any financial assistance given by these agencies and of any international youth programme such as youth conferences, study tours, exchange visits of young people of different countries etc.

In Orissa there is a saying that if the son of a pandit kills a monkey, there is no sin, but if the son of a common man kills a monkey, he shall have to atone for it. This A.I.C.C.

Youth Section is affiliated to the World Assembly of Youth. I am not going to question the ideology of W.A.Y. or any youth organisation in this country, that they should work in co-operation with each other for the betterment of our country. Similarly, in the international field also, I want that there should be a number of youth organisations. The World Assembly of Youth is one among them. I represent the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and there is another international youth body which is equally powerful, the International Union of Socialist Youth. I do not know how our Government have been misguided, but the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of External Affairs always take a partisan attitude so far as the World Assembly of Youth is concerned.

What is this World Assembly of Youth, I am not going to question, but when the Algerian delegate wanted that the French troops should be withdrawn from Algeria, the delegate of the A.I.C.C. Youth Department which is affiliated to W.A.Y. remained silent over it, and that is the policy of neutrality, the policy of peace and co-existence that our Government and country are following through their youths.

I need not bring in all these questions, but so far as representation in international gatherings and so far as grants given to national bodies are concerned, this discrimination is being continued.

Dr. K. L. Shrimaiji: Has the hon. Member any information with regard to the grant given to the Youth Congress?

Shri Panigrahi: I am not going into the grants of the Youth Congress.

Dr. K. L. Shrimaiji: He has made the statement that the Government have been partisan and that Government have discriminated in favour of the Youth Congress.

Shri Panigrahi: I am coming to it. I think the hon. Minister should be

patient and listen to the points that I am making. I think that it will be better for him.

The A.I.C.C. Youth Section wants participation in almost all international youth organisations.

Dr. K. L. Shrimaiji: The A.I.C.C. can make any constitution they like. How is the Government concerned with that?

Shri Panigrahi: I am coming to the Ministry. The Ministry is concerned with it, therefore I am coming to it.

I think the hon. Minister should wait a little.

Mr. Chairman: The Hon. Minister may kindly wait and make a reply when his turn comes.

Shri Panigrahi: I do not wish to cast aspersions against any youth organisation. As a matter of policy, I have every sympathy with the A.I.C.C. Youth Department, and I fully support that they should work, but the important point is what they are doing. So far as the Government of India is concerned, it is discriminating between the different youth organisations.

Dr. K. L. Shrimaiji: How?

Shri Panigrahi: I am coming to that

Shri V. P. Nayar: It cannot be given in one sentence.

Shri Panigrahi: So far as youth representation in international bodies is concerned, when the organisations affiliated to W.F.D.Y. want to participate in international gatherings, their number is fixed. I can say without fear of contradiction that the W.F.D.Y. was born out of the ruins of the second world war and has done work to a great extent to unify the youth of the world for peace and national liberation. When the representatives of such an organisation submit that the youth from India should participate in larger numbers in world youth festivals, there comes

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the Ministry of External Affairs with a ban on it. They say: No, the number should be 10, 20, 100 or 95. It cannot be more. We always submit that the youth of India should be allowed to participate in whatever international youth gatherings there may be. The W.A.Y. may have its own seminar, its own convention in India. Similarly any youth organisation may have its own international youth seminars or conferences, and the Government of India should not stand in the way of Indian youth participating in them. It does not go against our interests. If really they go against our interests or the policy of our country, then surely they should be discouraged, but if by going abroad they come in contact with different sections of youth and in that way help in the cause of peace and understanding between peoples, I think there should not be any discrimination between one youth organisation and another.

There is also the specific reason that full advantage should be taken of any financial assistance given by any international youth organisation. The A.I.C.C. Youth Department welcomes it. Similarly, if any international youth body wants to have its own seminars, camps or conventions in India, why is it that there should be any discrimination?

Three days ago I got a letter from the Prime Minister. Really it is something strange. He has said that the W.F.D.Y. cannot have its executive meeting or seminar in Delhi. Why? Because it represents youth of a particular ideology. It is something strange.

When the Soviet youth organisation invited 25 delegates from India, that invitation was not accepted, but when they invited seven delegates from the A.I.C.C. Youth Section, they were gladly sent to the Soviet Union. We want more of our people to go abroad. Why seven? We would be glad if

really 20 delegates from A.I.C.C. Youth Section could go to the Soviet Union. We learn they are going to China, we are very glad about it. I submit there should not be any differentiation or discrimination only because there is a different ideology. We have accepted a democratic constitution in this country, and there must be differences in ideologies. We cannot cement all the ideologies into one.

So, I submit that so far as the Government of India Ministry of Education and Ministry of External Affairs are concerned, and particularly the Ministry of Education, they should not be guided by any partisan attitude. I will be glad if, whenever any youth organisation comes forward before the Ministry and asks for any help for work camps etc., in the country, the Ministry gives that help, without any discrimination.

I come to another point and then I will finish, and that is with regard to clubs, gymnasiums, stadia and literary clubs in the villages and library service in the country. In our country today even though 33 per cent. of the population comprise the youth section, we lag in providing them with these opportunities. In villages there are no clubs. If any youth organisation starts a club, it may last for some months and then it collapses for lack of funds. If some help is given to them, I think they can really build up their organisation. I may ask the hon. Minister to look into the directive that the Ministry of Education in Britain gave to their local authorities during 1940. In a Government circular sent to local educational authorities in 1940 the directive was given as follows:

"The function of the State in this organisation is to focus and lead the efforts of all engaged in youth welfare, to supplement the resources of existing national organisations without impairing their independence."

In U.K. the local authorities help chiefly by providing office room and

clerks to do office work and by contribution towards rent and upkeep and equipment of buildings. Even in the Second Five Year Plan only Rs. 5 crores was allotted for ensuring public co-operation in the implementation of the Plan programme. Out of these Rs. 5 crores, Rs. 1 crore was given to the Ministry of Irrigation and Power and Rs. 4 crores was left with the Ministry of Planning. These allotments have again been reduced and I came to know, so far as youth welfare activities are concerned, it has been reduced to only Rs. 1 crore. Sir, during the Second Five Year Plan the youth of this country will get only Rs. 1 crore for conducting their welfare activities. This is too meagre.

Shri V. P. Nayar: Not meagre; niggardly.

Shri Panigrahi: I would urge upon the hon. Minister to see that more funds are made available. I do not say that he must forego certain other expenditure and divert that money to this, but I urge upon him that wherever possible more and more funds should be made available for helping the different youth organisations in the country who are working not on a political level, but who are having their own sports clubs, gymnasiums and libraries of their own in the villages. I think they should be helped to as great an extent as possible by the Ministry.

Lastly, I would like to submit that there are some amendments also which have been tabled to this resolution. If it is not possible on the part of the Ministry to accept my resolution, I am agreeable to go to that extent and say that the Ministry of Education should really appoint an expert committee which will go into this question of the welfare of the youths, the special problems relating to the youth of India, so that at least during these two years of the Plan period we can do something, the Government can do something to meet the special problems that face the youth of this country today.

Mr. Chairman: There are some amendments. Does any hon. Member want to move his amendment?

Shri Tangamani: Sir, I beg to move: That in the resolution,—

for the words, "be formed for constituting a broad based National Council of Indian Youth and a Central Board of youth welfare for ensuring participation of the youth of the country in the implementation of various plan programmes and for providing necessary opportunities and training the youth of the country," the following be substituted namely:

"be appointed with a view to examine the various opportunities and facilities to be provided for training the youth of the country".

That in the resolution,—

the words "in order to form the aforementioned National Council of Indian Youth" be omitted.

That in the resolution,—

add at the end,—

"This House is further of opinion that the Committee should report its suggestions to the Parliament within six months of its formation."

Mr. Chairman: The original resolution and these amendments are now before the House.

Shri Thimmaiah (Kolar-Reserved-Sch. Castes): Sir, in India the modern youth looks like an old man. The elders in this country sometimes mock at the youngsters saying: "You are looking like an old man. Look at me. I was born in some ancient days. I am stronger than you and I look like a youth". This is due to the circumstances and the economic condition of this country.

The youth of India did not have many opportunities and the atmosphere to develop their personality. Today, after attaining independence,

[Shri Thimmaiah]

Government is trying its best to improve the condition of youths and provide opportunities for them to develop their personality. Sir, though the Government is providing a meagre sum for different activities which could enable the youths to improve their personality and the Government is also doing some work in organising the youths in the country, all this is not enough in the existing circumstances. The youth of a country is its backbone, and the health of a country could be seen in the faces of its youth.

After getting independence it is but right for the national Government that they should pay adequate attention for the welfare of the youth. As they have given adequate attention to the welfare of women and children and also the welfare of the depressed and oppressed people, it is also the duty of the Government to pay full attention to the welfare of the youth. On this ground, Sir, I support the resolution moved by my hon. friend, Shri Panigrahi, and urge upon the Government to make all efforts that the Government could afford for the development of the youth in this country. I would also urge upon the Government to organise the youth of the country on proper lines and harness their strength for the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan.

Shri Panigrahi mentioned that the Government sometimes discriminates between youth organisations. In my humble experience I have found that the Youth Congress in the country, though it is affiliated to the political party, has done much in the field of implementation of the Second Five Year Plan. The various social work camps, labour camps, shramdan movement etc. are all done by the Youth Congress. All these things were organised by them in the different parts of the country. If you will go through the report given by the Education Ministry, you will find how far the youths have organised themselves. Though, to a very little extent, they

have done a lot of good work towards the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan, there is much more to be done in that direction, provided Government gives incentives and provides opportunities for that purpose.

The Government has organised physical education centres, sports clubs, gymnastic centres and other things. But my feeling is that Government should also see that in every school and college physical education and other activities should be done in a systematic manner. The Government should see that the youths of this country are provided with some facilities for good food, because too much of exercise sometimes dulls the brain. Even an expert like Dr. Olds, who visited India sometime back, has said that excess of exercise may not dull the brain provided they get wholesome food—need not be extraordinary food, but at least good food. Therefore, in a poor country like India it is better that Government should have a scheme to see that school boys and college students who cannot afford to take good food are provided with certain facilities to get good food. Government should also see that every one of the students in schools and colleges takes part in the physical exercises and other activities organised by Government.

Coming to youths in the villages, we have just started the community development and N.E.S. schemes. It is a good opportunity for the youths of the villages to take advantage of these schemes, and it depends upon the village level workers and community development officers to organise these youths in the villages. It will be more convenient for them to organise the youths in the villages, because the village level workers and community development officers will always be touring in the villages. They can, therefore, organise the youths, harness their co-operation and utilise them for the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan. And also they could just change the outlook of

these village youths who do not know the world and who are mostly illiterates. I hope the Community Development and NES Block officials and others, with the co-operation of the non-official organisations like the Bharat Sevak Samaj, would do a lot of work in the direction of the development of the youths. I hope the Government will pay particular attention to this at least in the areas of the NES and Community Development blocks.

One more point which I want to make is this. Some youth organisations are represented in international festivals or some other functions. But, if I simply form a youth organisation without having any activities or without any programme or object, that organisation and such organisations are not good. The youth organisation must have some life and it should be doing some work at least, and should contribute to the development of the youth. Only such organisations should be encouraged irrespective of their political affiliations. Sometimes, these youth organisations are exploited by the political parties too. Therefore, irrespective of their political views, youth organisations which have some life in them, which have contributed to the development of youth, must be encouraged and the Government should see that every effort is made to provide opportunity for the Indian youth to develop his personality to the fullest extent.

Mr. Chairman: I would request Members to confine their speeches to ten minutes each.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): I must congratulate the hon. Member, Shri Panigrahi, for spotlighting the attention of the Government and through the Government the attention of the country on a vital problem as this, the youth of this country. We have now launched on, I would say, an adventure of nation building. Since freedom, there have been so many policies and programmes, but the question is, have we been able to inspire

the youth of this country with a purpose, with an ideal or with an objective? Unless and until the youth of this country feel that they have a share in the nation-building subjects or in the work of reconstruction, in which they have a responsibility as well, there could be no inspiration. In order to create a climate of inspiration, the Government should come forward not only with financial assistance but also with an ideal for the youth of this country.

The Minister might say that there are recreational clubs, educational clubs and certain other centres for the welfare of the youth of this country, but my argument is this: these recreational clubs or educational clubs, these piecemeal institutions, are not enough to create a climate of youth movement in this country. When we compare the climate of our country with the climate that prevails or obtains in the United Kingdom, we find that the youth of that country is organised on sectional basis. They have boys' brigades and denominational organisations and institutions, but the conditions that obtain in that country and the conditions that obtain in this country are different in a sense that they have not launched any campaign of nation-building today because they do not have to, but in our case, we had and we have to.

Now, what about the youth of this country. They all played a vital role in the movement for freedom in this country. That was because of the fact that Gandhiji could give them a purpose, an ideal and he could inspire them to dedicate themselves in the cause of this country. This shows that we have a tradition, a tradition of youth movement in this country. It is not only in this country; those were the days, the pre-Independence days, when there was a broad-based youth movement not only in India but also in China and in most of the Asiatic countries. That is because of the fact that those countries had had to fight against imperialistic designs of the Western powers. They had had to

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fight to free themselves from the shackles of the imperialistic powers and the students got courage and inspiration from those fighting organisations of the people. They dedicated themselves to the cause, and fought for the national liberation of our country as much as the youth in all other Asiatic countries did.

I just remember that the Chinese student movement was a very broad-based movement, as much broad-based as our youth movement during the pre-Independence days. During the pre-Independence days, if I say that our youth movement was concerned primarily with national liberation I think I would be mistaken. I say that that movement was a broad-based movement in the sense that it was the youth of the country that carried not only the revolutionary message of the Congress, under the auspices of Gandhiji, to the masses but also have succeeded in breaking down the barriers that existed between the educated and the uneducated, between the literate and the illiterate. At the same time, they dedicated themselves to the cause of cultural regeneration in this country, as also social regeneration of this country. They fought for the equality of sexes and for so many other rights, and that is because of the fact that we feel that if the youth of this country can be mobilised today, if they can be given a purpose, a pole-star to guide them on in our march for economic emancipation, cultural emancipation, social progress, the youth would undoubtedly play an outstanding role as they played under the inspiration that Gandhiji gave them.

Now, this is also a fact: no movement will succeed unless and until that movement is imbued with a purpose. Before Hitler came to power, the youth of Germany were organised. They were organised on a sound basis, but because of the fact that they did not have an objective commensurate with progressive ideals, that movement failed; that movement blossomed

forth but failed to bear any fruit whatsoever. That was not, however, the case with our country. When we look to the other countries of Europe today, the countries that are as much vigorously preoccupied with the idea of national reconstruction as our country is, for instance, countries like Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, what do you find there? Their students, their youth are mobilised; they work hard and as my friend Shri Panigrahi has said, the Government have opened up so many avenues for them. The youth movement that is spreading like wild fire in Yugoslavia today is preoccupied with the ideal of reconstruction, and the youth movement that is spreading like wild fire in Czechoslovakia is so because Czechoslovakia has launched a vigorous programme of a reconstruction. They call their youth movement *Omladina*, which means rejuvenation. Why is it that we cannot create that same spirit in this country? Why can you not give them that ideal or that inspiration?

What about India? India, after freedom, has not been able to create that atmosphere, an atmosphere of a social mobility in this country. When the alien rulers were here, we felt as though this country did not belong to us, and even now, when we are free, when freedom has naturally enough released new urges and aspirations, we have the same old feeling, somehow or other, of an alien ideal. When I went to foreign countries one idea that was uppermost in my mind was this. There, the people, whether the person is an American or Russian in Moscow, the person feels that that country belongs to him. He knows how to take pride in his country. The youth of those countries takes pride in the progress of their countries. But what about us? We feel as though this country does not belong to us. I hope the Government can do a lot, since we have focussed their attention on the problem of youth, and create that atmosphere.

Another thing that we have in this country is inertia, a lot of inertia, the lack of social mobility. We do not feel that we should work; we do not feel that we should rejuvenate; we do not feel that we should create the atmosphere that helps the people to build rather than destroy whatever values we have.

I would beg of the Education Minister in particular to look to this, because the Government have not succeeded in creating that atmosphere or they do not have the willingness to do so. Shri Panigrahi has congratulated himself. I want to congratulate him a little for that, because, it is during these eleven years, it is for the first time that the problem of youth in this country is focussed here in this sovereign forum of the nation. About inertia, I feel one thing. If Europe, in the context of today is dying of civil strife, India is dying of inertia. There is a lot of frustration in the youth of this country naturally, because they see so much of unemployment before their eyes. There is insecurity of life before them. They do not have any avenues or any scope for education. They do not have any scope not only for mental, but physical development also.

16 hrs.

The youth in the rural areas want to build the country. Suppose in a particular rural area, they want to build a library, what happens to them? It is difficult for the village, stricken with poverty, to help the youth to build a library whenever the youth of that particular area strive to do so. For this they want Government help, but somehow or rather it does not come.

Coming to discriminatory treatment, my friend, Shri Panigrahi, has pointed out certain instances. There is a feeling in this country that if you want to prosper, you must belong to an organisation that is affiliated to the ruling party. There are study tours. But study tours must be organised by the Youth Congress. Or

else, the claims of students or youth belonging to an organisation with a different political ideology are bypassed. The Government must do things in a way that does not betray this sort of partisan spirit. There are other factors also. There are different youth organisations. It is bound to be so because ours is a democracy and democracy means differences of opinion. When there are differences of opinion, there are bound to be different youth organisations. But there should be no discrimination so far as the Government is concerned, in the treatment towards these youth organisations.

There is another thing. The youth of the country not only want avenues for physical or economic improvement, but they want avenues for cultural and social improvements also. They want stadiums, swimming pools, playgrounds, libraries.....

Shri Nath Pai: And dancing halls.

Shri Hem Barua: Dancing halls would come ultimately. The primary need of the country today is not dancing halls, because girls also are not forthcoming. (*Interruption*). So, these claims of the youth should be met.

The hon. Minister would say something about the Inter-University Youth Festival. I would like the hon. Minister to see if the Inter-University Youth Festival could be extended to the youth of the country in general. Now it is confined to the students of universities. I feel that it should be extended to the entire young population of this country.

There is one thing more and I have done. This Inter-University Youth Festival is held every time in the city of Delhi. I will request the hon. Minister to see if it is possible to hold it in other towns and cities of our country also, so that the youth in general and the students in particular all over the country might draw inspiration from this youth festival, just as the students of Delhi do.

16.05 hrs.

[SHRI BARMAN in the Chair.]

Shri Nath Pai: I am very grateful to you for calling upon me to speak. I think my predecessor, Prof. Hem Barua, has touched upon the main aspect of the problem. I will not be trying to fasten all the blame on the head of the hon. Education Minister. I am reminded of one thing. There was an ideal before the youth of India. When Bhagat Singh went to the gallows or Kudhi Ram faced the firing squad, they did not see death before them. They saw before themselves something very great, much more glorious. Fear did not touch their hearts, because death was not standing before them. Why did they welcome the gallows and the hangman's noose? It was because, it was not death that stood before them, but it was the picture of the India of tomorrow, a liberated India, a glorious India, a mighty India, a happy India. It was this that made it possible for the youth to be the standard-bearer when we marched during our long struggle towards the goal of freedom. I think we will not be claiming anything special if I try to point out that anything that has been great in the history of this country was connected with the youth of this country.

Be it a Ganeswar in Maharashtra, be it a Vivekananda who brought about the resurrection of the country or be it a Bhagat Singh who challenged the might of the foreign power, it was the youth of the country which could be moved to accept the challenge of the time. The past has been so glorious that in every aspect, be it of national emancipation, be it of our cultural resurrection, be it the question of saving the honour of the country, wherever the youth of the country was called upon, he has met the challenge; and, whatever the price in meeting the challenge, without any kind of grudge he has laid it at the feet of his Motherland.

If we bear in mind this glorious past of the youth, one is appalled at the

present spectacle to which Shri Hem Barua and Shri Panigrahi have drawn poignant attention. The spectacle is particularly sad, because it is the present leadership that had depended very largely, mainly, principally, upon the youth in climbing to the position where they are sitting today. And, it is a case of kicking the ladder by which you climbed to the position of strength. Time without number, the youth was called upon to take the banner, to be in the field, to give up the university and to make every sacrifice in the cause of the country.

Freedom came. And what happened to the youth? They were the first to be thrown into the limbo of forgotten things. There was no programme which could rejuvenate them; there was no programme which could tackle the particular problems that confronted the youth of the country. It has been the greatest disappointment of our generation to see this spectacle. It is true that some of us have come to the highest honour, i.e. being an M.P. of this House. But what about the millions who are denied the basic opportunity for the development of their personality? How many have been forced to go on looking after cowherds and shepherds, and how many of them a potential Vivekananda or Lokamanya Tilak! Have we a policy towards them, Sir? Many a mother sheds sad tears over the fact that her son, given an opportunity, could be a Shanmukham Chettiar or a Mokshakundam Visveswarayya, an engineer, a doctor or a philosopher, who could be socially useful and also have some social status.

He is denied that opportunity. On the contrary, he has to be drudging all his life trying to make both ends meet. Why this spectacle? The callous failure of the Government to tackle the problem of national issues is on par with its failure to solve the major issues. We are failing in solving all the other issues with

which we are confronted, be it of industrialisation, be it of food production, be it of the problem of fighting illiteracy, ignorance and squalor in the country. It is because we are not tapping the main source which alone can solve the question.

It is said that 3 per cent of the hydro-electric potential of the country has been used and engineers are aghast, particularly foreign experts, that a country endowed with such rich hydro-electric potential is having thousands of its villages in darkness when the sun has set. Far more important is the total ignoring, the total neglect, of this great resource which lies in the heart of the Indian youth. We are not going to make, or I for one am not going to make, a plea "Give us a bed of roses". No; we want harder path, but the path which will lead to the creation of a newer, a happier India. The other day we heard the tragic spectacle of the failure of the food front. We are hearing the failure of so many fronts and the failures will be inevitable so long as we will be satisfied ourselves in terms of numbers and statistics, ignoring the human element of it. The greatest source that remains untapped is the idealism of the youth. In its place we find, as somebody already pointed out, frustration, bitterness and even dangerous cynicism. Out of cynicism youth turns to false prophets who promise easy ways to success. Who is to blame? Our youth from whom we failed to provide the necessary channels for their idealism? In the past they have justified their claim that they can rise to any task, to any occasion, and discharge their duties. If he was good enough to carry the banner of freedom, is he not strong enough, reliable enough, dependable enough to fight with his hands the battle of stabilising that freedom? Freedom will not be stabilised if we consecrate our Secretariat in Delhi. That problem will have to be taken to the remotest village and hamlet. Then only an average Indian will have a stake in the freedom, and that cannot

happen unless we have the youth who have the enthusiasm to do it.

A proposal for more youth hostels has been mooted. I am not opposed to it. Have more youth hostels. Certainly, we want more swimming pools and more gymnasiums and more educational facilities. But far more important, if the nation is to survive the next ten critical years, is that every source of energy must be tapped and utilized. We cannot hope to fight illiteracy, we cannot hope to fight communalism, casteism, ignorance in many other forms which are the major evils and enemies now besetting our country unless there is that one force. We do not require tanks; we do not require aeroplanes from any outside country. There is this determination, this readiness to suffer and sacrifice on the part of the youth provided we are prepared to take them into confidence. The only things that they now get are long lectures. And what are they? How annoying are they? They are asked to follow the teachings of the Mahatma. The Minister comes in the latest American limousine, gets down and tells the youth: lead a life of simplicity. The youth who is standing outside is wondering how to get a few coins to pay the bus fare. His worries are how to buy books, how to pay the fees. And if his education is over his problems are: how to face the mother or the wretched wife who has been awaiting him. And he has been given what? Not an opportunity to play his part to establish a new India. He has been given this dose of lectures and advice —following the foot-steps of Mahatma and living a life of service and sacrifice. He is prepared to lead a life of service and dedication for his country. He has done it in the past and he will never fail the country. But there must be some kind of tangible bridge between the advice that is administered times without number and the practice of those who give that advice.

I know there are others who are wanting to speak. I do not want to

[Shri Nath Pai]

monopolise. But I want to make this appeal in conclusion. Let us remember that when we call upon the Government to answer this charge, I shall be the last person to hold any individual Minister responsible for this apathy, this indifference, towards what the youth can do. We are today hearing about it and I read the very pathetic figures given in the Bombay Legislative Assembly by the Chief Minister that crime has been on the increase and the number among youth and adolescents has been increasing appallingly. The Times wrote an editorial about this problem. Instead of going and doing something that will liberate us from the curses which are besetting and bedevilling our youth, our Government is blaming them. It is the failure of those who are holding them. The Government which is mainly responsible for it has given no opportunity to his productive energy. Tomorrow means a question mark for him, a problem. Tomorrow means a leap in the dark instead of seeing the horizon. Instead of being proud of the dawn of India's new birth and new awakening, he is worried by the question mark of tomorrow—more sacrifices and unemployment staring at his face. I am not dramatising this work on the youth front. Today innumerable youths are coming forward saying: we want to do something for the country.

I would conclude by saying the Prime Minister paid a tribute on the 15th of August, 1955, speaking from the ramparts of the Red Fort. He said: "I salute those who are marching in the direction of Goa with tricolour in their hands." He could take pride of them. He could say that because the youth had responded to the call to move to remove the last blot on the fair name of India, occupation of Goa by the Portuguese. Then today, if a call comes, they will march ahead without any party considerations. But there is a greater task that is facing us now, and that is to fight this poverty, this squalor, this

misery, this illiteracy, this growing unemployment. We can do it provided we have the courage and vision to see that we alone can tackle this problem. We do not want to import an Appleby to solve the problem of India. What does he know about our problems? A village lad knows where we are in a rut and where the shoe pinches. Call him and he will shoulder the burden without any grudge. The question is: are you ready and willing to call him?

Shri Ansar Harvani (Fatehpur):
Though I do not agree with all that my hon. friend, Shri Panigrahi said, certainly I agree with his resolution when there is greater need for development all round. As a congressman I remember with pride the days when our leaders used to come and call the youth of this country to march forward and to take part in the liberation movement of this country. I still remember the days when in the streets of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and other cities and in the streets of the villages men and women with tri-colour flags marched with slogans against the British imperialism and faced their bullets. I still remember those days with pride when our great Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, for the first time inaugurated the All India Students Federation, a composite organisation of students composed of the socialists, communists, congressmen and the Gandhites fighting for freedom. I still remember the days when the youth of this country responded to the call of nationalism, responded to the call of national leadership for the freedom movement.

But what is the position today? We find a lot of talk about public co-operation, as far as the Five Year Plan is concerned. We hear lot of lectures in convocations and outside the convocations where the youth is being called upon to shoulder the responsibilities to implement the various phases of the Five Year Plan. We

hear a lot of talk about the Community Development programme that it is a great dynamic programme and all that. Our youth is being called upon to help the Community Development Programme. But we are yet to find an apparatus through which we have been called upon to function. We are yet to know the apparatus through which they will function. I would like the hon. Minister, although he is not entirely responsible for it—all of us are responsible for it—to go into the streets of the cities. He will find that our youth, who is in a crisis, is roaming about in the streets without any purpose. It is not a pleasure for any young man to go in the evening to a picture house and stare at the pictures of beautiful girls. But he has nothing else to do. That is why he does it. It is not a pleasure for our young men and women who can afford a little money to go into coffee houses and gossip about the various scandals in the Government Departments and hear the various rumours that are afloat there. But they have nothing else to do.

There was a time when these young men and women used to assemble in various parks, in the small huts, and used to plan for the freedom movement of this country. But today they are lazy, because they are not given any work either to think or to do.

I know that the hon. Minister has to reply to this debate, and so I would not take much time. I want to say only one thing. As far as the spirit of this resolution is concerned, there can be no objection to that. It is necessary that we should make enquiries about the demands and requirements of the youth. It is necessary that we should co-ordinate their activities. It is necessary that we should harness their energies. We are seeing that our food front is in a bad way. The other day, in the city of Delhi we had a water shortage. In fact, the water supply collapsed, but our army did the work in restoring normal water supply. But depending on the army for this work is a dangerous sign. If only a call had

come that day from the Prime Minister through the Education Minister to the youth of Delhi, I am sure the youth men and women in their thousands would have come out with spades in their hands and would have set right the course of the Jamuna. But we do not depend on our manpower; we do not depend on our young men and women; we depend on our army; we depend on the government; we depend on our services; we depend on our Secretariat. That dependence must go. Therefore, I appeal to the Government to accept the spirit of this resolution. The wording may not be very much acceptable to them; I can appreciate it. The Government itself should come forward with a proposal to make a thorough investigation into the crisis from which the youth is suffering. Government should come forward with various suggestions as to how the lot of the youth of this country can be improved. Government should also encourage them to participate in social welfare activities. A lot of activities are being done by foreign sisters. But what about our own brothers? What is being done for them? Unemployment is there, suffering is there, misery is there, lack of purpose is there, and lack of objective is there, and it is the responsibility of Government to do something to remove these things.

With these words, I support the resolution.

Shri Basappa (Tiptur): I am very happy that this resolution is being discussed in this House. The speakers who have preceded me have eloquently pleaded for the cause of the youth. They seem to inspire the youth of this country. But what do we find outside? This oratory is being used sometimes to inspire the youth of this country for strikes, so much so that....

Shri Nath Pal: Strikes in the cause of their rights.

Shri Basappa: the production and other things in this country are

[Shri Basappa]

hampered to a very great extent. That does not mean that oratory should not be used. What I wanted to say was that the same honourable gentlemen can make a better use of their oratory to see that the youth of this country do very well, to see that the poverty of this country and the misery and sorrow of the people are liquidated.

Shri Nath Pal: Under the same orators, the production in ports and docks has gone two hundred per cent higher.

Shri Basappa: I am not referring to any particular individual. I am only speaking of the great value of oratory. I too know that in this world torn by hatred and fear, there is a lot of frustration all over the world, and helplessness too. But it is our duty to see that all this frustration goes, and I do really see a silver lining not only in the youth movement here but in the youth movement all over the world, that the crusading spirit which is behind the youth movement will take us out of this war atmosphere and establish peace in this world.

Coming to the youth movement of our own country, the youth of our country have to play a very great role. There are very many aspects of activity in which the youth of this country can take part. Of course, the defence of the country is one such. If our youth are allowed to do that, and they are physically strong, we have nothing to worry so far as the defence of our country is concerned. Again, the youth of our country can carry the great message of Panch-sheel and the great message of peace to every nook and corner of this world. More than that, for the development of our country, economically and socially and in various other ways, what is mainly needed, and what Government expect and what all of us expect, is public participation and public co-operation. My hon. friend has already said that these are not coming forth in the expected measure. This vast mass

of people in this country is a great force, but it is still unorganised. That is why there is lack of public co-operation or public participation, and that is why we are finding it difficult to see that our Plan progresses as satisfactorily as we want. Therefore, we must see that the youth of our country act in such a manner that the various developmental activities of the Five Year Plan are fulfilled satisfactorily.

Another thing that we have to consider is the demoralising effect that we are noticing among the youth of our country. Only the other day, when the Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill was being discussed, we heard how the youth were going astray, and what steps we had to take in order to bring them under some sort of discipline.

As for public participation, to which I referred just a little while ago, there are certain prerequisites which have to be fulfilled before it can be forthcoming. We want people to consume less and less, but we do not see any evidence of that. There is a big call for that, but still we are going on in our own way. The call to save is also there, but that also is not being responded to properly. The inspiration which is necessary for the youth to achieve these things is lacking, because the administrative machinery is not geared up properly. When the youth see some sort of corruption or some nepotism or some red-tapism going on, naturally, they are not inspired. Hence, there is need for properly gearing up the administrative machinery also.

Youth leadership is also lacking in this country. There is talk of youth welfare and all that but the measure of success which we have achieved so far is not very much. So, greater attention should be paid not only by the public bodies but also by Government to see that our youth are inspired properly to take up all kinds of

works. That does not mean that Government are sleeping over matters. They have taken certain measures. For example, they are trying to have in different centres of the country youth leaders' training camps. A number of such camps have taken place. There is also the Inter-University Youth Festival at Delhi, which has become an almost annual function, a large number of youths are called from various parts of the country to come and participate here, and that is a very good thing I think that should be encouraged more and more in order that the youth may get inspired. Greater opportunities are also being given from time to time to see the labour service movements that are taking place, so that the dignity of labour is also inspired among our youth.

In the face of these things, to come forward and say that Government are not at all doing anything is not correct, but it is true that Government have to do a lot more to see that the youth are inspired properly. Beside, there are the other non-official organisations. Of course, criticisms may be coming forward for the satisfactory working of the Bharat Sewak Samaj or the Bharat Scout movement or the NCC or the ACC and so on. Still, the planning forum which the universities are organising, or the farm youth clubs and the farm youth exchange programmes etc which are organised by the Agriculture Ministry will go a long way. But what is really needed is that all these organisations and also Government should see that proper co-ordination is established between the activities of all these organisations so that the youth movement gains greater momentum in this country.

Shri Ghosal (Uluberia) I do not want to reiterate the glorious past history of the Indian youth and their contribution to our national movement. The first urge for salvation from the yoke of foreign bondage which not only inflamed the youth of

Bengal in 1905 but also conflagrated the youth of India maintained its flame burning till the day of Independence, nothing could stand in their way, nothing could dissuade them from their march onward. They filled up the British prisons whenever the national call for movement was given to them. They suffered all sorts of persecutions, and they even faced gallows smilingly in the prime of their youth. If a few leaders today who are in power proclaim that they are the only architects of this modern India, then we have to forget the history of the national movement of India. How can we forget Chapekar Brothers, the first martyrs of the Indian independence movement? How can we forget Khudiram? How can we forget Bhagat Singh, Madan Lal Dhingra and other young patriots who sacrificed their lives at the altar of the mother country? How can we forget Netaji Subhas, the emblem of youthful vigour? He also suffered a lot of persecution for the independence of this nation.

History cannot be twisted and facts cannot be gulped down for long. I would like our leaders to remember the years 1946 and 1947. It is the youthful vigour of the naval cadets, it is the youthful imag nation of our airmen, it is the youthful uprising of the working class and peasantry and it is the youthful fervour of the Indian Army under the inspiration of the Azad Hind Fouj which compelled the British to leave the shores of India. How can we forget all these things, the past activities of the youth who rendered so much for the independence of India?

Why were these untold sufferings embraced by them? Was it only an impulse or was it some mad men's pranks? That is not a fact. They dreamt of a happy and prosperous future for our country.

If we come to the present, what do we find? What is the present condition of the youth of this country?

[Shri Ghosal.]

After 11 years of independence, unemployment is staring them in the face, health is shattering, education is ineffectual and starvation, disease and poverty are their companions. This bleak future cannot but produce indiscipline, indolence and frustration and life loses its charm. No amount of mouthful verbiage or pedagogic sermons will ameliorate their present condition.

We may ask, what has been done by the Government for the development of the youth movement after independence? I learn that a programme for camps was arranged by Government at the cost of several lakhs of rupees. I have gone through it carefully but I have not found anywhere a real programme by which the youth can be drawn into the developmental works of the nation. I do not find any programme there for integrating the youth force in the social work of the nation. May I know how even after this camp the youth have developed public relations, how they have rendered service to the cause of the rural people? They have done nothing.

Most of our hon. Ministers have got some idiosyncrasies. Every time our hon. Labour Minister goes to a State, he feels pleasure in patting his pet child, the Bharat Sevak Samaj. Our hon. Minister of Community Development Blocks, which are now the cockpit of political game at least in our State . . .

An Hon. Member: Question.

Shri Ghosal:delivers stories of public relations of the gram sevaks and sevikas.

I feel also sorry when I find the hon. Ministers or leaders praising the Social Welfare Board for agricultural public relations. I am sorry to say that the top-notchers of this organisation who come from the bulle blood of

the country, cannot really serve the purpose of public relations. Therefore, my submission would be that Government should take into their confidence those youth organisations in the country which really represent the cause of the youth, which have got the capacity to represent the youths' problems and their needs.

My next submission is this. There are examples—this is not a new thing in our country—in other countries of youth participation in national development. There are remarkable instances of their magnificent achievements not only in the socialist countries from East Germany to Viet Nam and China but also in the capitalist countries like England and America. Personally, I do not find the utility of these camps, festivals and carnivals by themselves unless the youth force is connected or diverted to the building up of the national projects. I would request the non Minister that he should give a clarion call to the youth of our country. The time has come to create confidence in their minds about your integrity and ability to kindle zest in their lives so that they can participate developmental works.

So in order to assess the needs of the hour of the youth and also devise means how they can be employed, how their vitality can be harnessed in the cause of the nation, I think the preliminary steps suggested in this Resolution should be accepted. Though, of course, I am personally at the fag end of my youthful age, I feel it my bounden duty make this request to our hon. Minister for considering this Resolution for adoption. I lend my support to this important Resolution of Shri Panigrahi.

श्री अमिताराज्य साह (वर्तमान) :
सनातनि महोदय, माननीय सदस्य श्री पाणिप्रही

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

ने जो संकल्प अभी इस सदन के समक्ष विचारार्थ उपस्थित किया है उसके पीछे जो भावना है....

श्री बाबू पाईः मानवीय सदस्य ने क्या "संकट" कहा?

श्री शीतारामण दासः संकल्प।

सरदार अ० सिं० सहगल (जंगीगीर) : संकट नहीं उन्होंने संकल्प कहा है। मानवीय के दिमाग में संकट ही भावा है।

श्री शीतारामण दासः इस भौके से साम उठा कर हमारे कई युवक सदस्यों ने बड़ी उत्साहपूर्ण भाषा में अपनी वक्तृता शक्ति का परिचय दिया है।

यह बात सही है कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो स्वतन्त्रता का दृश्य देख रहे हैं और हिन्दुस्तान जो स्वतन्त्र हुआ उसमें देश के युवक, युवतियों ने बड़े उत्साह, लगान और परिश्रम से काम किया जिसके कि फलस्वरूप आज हम हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद देखते हैं। यह उन्हीं के त्याग और तपस्या का फल है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्रों की श्रेणी में एक ऊंचे स्थान पर पहुंच गया है। यह बात भी सही है कि हिन्दुस्तान के युवकों को अवसर मिलना चाहिये ताकि उनके व्यक्तित्व का पूरा विकास हो और उनकी शक्ति का उपयोग राष्ट्र के कल्याण के लिये और समाज की उन्नति के लिये हो। यह बात भी सही है कि आज देश में जो युवकों की शक्ति है वह अपरिमित है, बहुत बड़ी तादाद में बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर उनकी शक्ति है जिसका कि उपयोग राष्ट्र के फायदे के लिये नहीं हो रहा है। जल्दत इस बात की है कि हम, हमारा समाज या हमारी सरकार इस बात का प्रयत्न करे कि उन सारी शक्तियों का उपयोग राष्ट्र के फायदे के लिये हो।

मेरा जहाँ तक खाल है जब से हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ हमारे बहुत से भाइयों

ने कहा कि उन्हें उस जमाने का दृश्य याद आता है जब इस देश के युवक युवती राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में भाग लेते थे और हमारे देश के राष्ट्रीय नेता पकड़ पकड़ कर उनका सहयोग लेने को तैयार होते थे लेकिन आज का नज़ारा बड़ा दुःख भालूम होता है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि वे निराशा के गहरे गत में पढ़े हुये हैं। जिस क्षेत्र में भी जाइये वही दुःख नज़ारा आपको देखने को मिलेगा। वह बात सही है कि आज देश के युवकों में कुछ लामियां हैं और कुछ कमियां हैं। अब यह तो हर एक श्रेणी में भीर बर्ग में लामियां होती हैं लेकिन आज भी देश में जो युवक काम कर रहे हैं और उपयोगी काम कर रहे हैं उनको हम दरगुजर नहीं कर सकते। आप गांवों में जाइये। शहरों को ही लेलीजिये। बहुत से ऐसे काम हैं जिनमें सरकार हाथ नहीं बंटाती है लेकिन हमारे गांव के युवक, युवतियां देश के उत्थान के लिये हर तरीके के काम करने लगे हैं। हमारे यहाँ कोई परिषद् बने या न बने, इसका विचार नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान के ६ लाख गांवों में आप घूम आइये। यह बात सही है कि हमारे गांव जितने उत्तम होते चाहिये उतने उत्तम नहीं हैं क्योंकि वे अभाव की अवस्था में हैं और उनको सरकार की पूरी सहायता नहीं मिलती है लेकिन फिर भी देश के युवक, यवतियां शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में हो चाहे पुस्तकालय आन्दोलन को चलाने की बात हो अथवा यह सड़क योजना जो चलती है, जितने भी काम हो रहे हैं, में समझता हूँ कि उनका अधिकाश श्रेय देश के इन युवक युवतियों को है। हमें आज भले ही स्कूल और कालिजों में उनमें कुछ अनुशासनहीनता देखने में आती हो और उसके लिये हम भले ही उनकी निन्दा करें लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि आज जिस प्रकार उनकी निन्दा की जाती है उस निन्दा के बीच पात्र नहीं हैं। यह तो हो नकता है कि उनमें काम करने के लिये उत्साह ही और जोश हो लेकिन उनको काम करने का मौका न हो और उनकी शक्ति का पूरा पूरा उपयोग

[भी शीनारायण दास]

न हो पाता हो और कुछ राजनीतिक पार्टी। मैं किसी एक लास पार्टी की बात नहीं कहता, लेकिन कुछ राजनीतिक लोग हैं जो कि अपने स्वार्थ साधन के लिये या अपनी पार्टी के उद्देश्य को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये इन युवक युवतियों को बहाने और गुमराह करने की कोशिश करते हैं और इसलिये उनमें कुछ अनुशासनहीनता भा जाती है। लेकिन फिर भी आप स्कूलों में जाइये। कालिओं में जाह्ये और युनिवरसिटियों में जाइये, बहुत थोड़ी तादाद में आपको ऐसे युवक मिलेंगे जिनमें कि अनुशासनहीनता है लेकिन अधिकांश लोग, जैसी आर्थिक कठिनाइयों उनको है और हर तरीके की सामाजिक और आर्थिक असुविधायें हैं, उनमें जिस तरीके से वे बरते रहे हैं वे उसके लिये प्रशंसा के पात्र हैं। मेरा तो अपना विचार है कि चारों तरफ अनुशासनहीनता है ऐसा कह कर हम अनुशासनहीनता को समाप्त नहीं करते हैं कम नहीं करते हैं बल्कि उसको और बढ़ाते हैं। मेरी तो सभी लोगों से यह प्रार्थना है और देश के अन्दर जितनी भी राजनीतिक पार्टीयाँ हैं उन से अपील है कि वे देश के नवयुवकों जिन के कि दिमाग अभी परिपक्व नहीं हुए हैं और जिन में उत्साह है, जोश है और काम करने की शक्ति है, उन की शक्ति का उपयोग रचनात्मक कार्यों के लिये करें और पार्टी विशेष के उद्देश्य को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये न करें।

इन बातों को रखते हुए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस प्रस्ताव के तीन भाग हैं। सब से पहले तो यह है कि पार्लियार्मेंट के मेम्बरों की एक समिति बनाई जाय। दूसरा यह है कि समिति का उद्देश्य क्या होगा? समिति का उद्देश्य होगा देश के अन्दर जितनी भी युवकों की संस्थायें हैं, उन के प्रतिनिधियों से मिलना। तीसरे उन संस्थाओं से सुझाव मांगना कि युवक युवतियों का कल्याण के

हो सकता है, कैसे उन की उभति हो सकती है और कैसे उन को अपने व्यक्तित्व के विकास के लिये अच्छे से अच्छा भीड़ा मिल सकता है। फिर एक सम्मेलन बुलाया जाय जिस में जितने भी युवकों के संगठन हैं, उन के प्रतिनिधि हों और उस सम्मेलन के बाद एक राष्ट्रीय युवक परिषद् की स्थापना हो और फिर एक बोर्ड बने जो युवकों के कल्याण के लिये काम करे। मैं यह बात मानता हूं कि युवकों के संगठन की जरूरत है और इस बात की भी प्रावश्यकता है कि उन्हें हम को ऐसे मोक्ष देने चाहिये जिस से युवकों के व्यक्तित्व का विकास हो और उन की शक्ति का उपयोग हो। यह बात भी मैं मानता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान में जितने भी नवयुवक और नवयुवतियाँ हैं उन का शक्ति का पूरा पूरा उपयोग नहीं हो रहा है। हमारे मित्र श्री पाणिग्रही ने जो अपना प्रस्ताव रखा है उस में हमारी योजना के विकास में जो कार्यक्रम हैं उन को पूरा करने के लिये उन का सहयोग मिले, उन्हीं सब कामों को पूरा करने के लिये यह परिषद् की स्थापना का प्रस्ताव किया गया है। उस प्रस्ताव को रखने में हमारे मित्र का उद्देश्य बहुत अच्छा है, भावना बहुत अच्छी है लेकिन दरमासल में केवल इस परिषद् की स्थापना से या जैसे कि अभी बच्चों के कल्याणाथ एक कौसिल बनी हुई है, उसी तरीके से युवकों की एक परिषद् बना देने से कोई समस्या का समाधान हो जाने वाला हो, ऐसा में नहीं मानता। मेरा स्थाल है कि इस प्रस्ताव के जरिये से जो नया संगठन कायम होगा उस से कोई ज्यादा काम होने की आशा करना बेकार है, कोई ज्यादा काम उस से चलने वाला नहीं है। यह तो एक ऐसा काम है जिस को कि हमें गैर-सरकारी तौर पर करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिये। सरकार का फँज़ है कि ऐसे हर आन्दोलन में जिस से कि युवकों की शक्ति बढ़े और उन का व्यक्तित्व बढ़े, सहायता दे।

हर काम सरकार के जिम्मे कर देन और उस के हाथ में दे देने से समस्या का समाधान होने वाला नहीं है। जाहिर है कि जब सरकार के हाथ में वह काम होगा और सरकार के द्वारा वह काम होगा तब तरह तरह की शिकायतें हुआ करेंगी कि सरकार इस काम को अपने हाथ में से कर अपने विचार युवकों पर लादना चाहती है। सरकार ही एक बोर्ड बनायेगी और सरकार ही एक परिषद् की स्थापना करेगी और सरकार ही सब लक्ष्य करेगी और ऐसा होने से जो गैर-सरकारी तौर पर काम करने का मौका है वह नहीं रह जायेगा। मैं इन सब भावनाओं की जो इस प्रस्ताव के पीछे हैं उन का समर्थन करता हूँ लेकिन मैं इस बात का विशेष करता हूँ कि स्कूल, कालिजों और युनिवर्सिटियों के तमाम नवयुवकों का संगठन सरकार एक विशेष संस्था के जरिये कराये। मैं इस को उचित नहीं समझता। आज मुनिवरसिटी में जाइये अयवा कालिज में जाइये, हर जगह युवकों के व्यक्तित्व के विकास की सुविधा है। ऐसे भी करोड़ों हमारे नवयुवक हैं जिन को कि स्कूल, कालिजों में जाने का मौका नहीं मिलता है लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि उन को गैर-सरकारी तौर पर जो हमारे गांवों के अन्दर पंचायतें हैं, गांवों के अन्दर जो हमारी सामुदायिक विकास योजना की समितियां बनने वाली हैं और भी तरह २ के काम गैर-सरकारी तौर पर होते हैं या सरकार जो काम चलाती है उन में अपना योगदान देने का उँहें पूरा मौका मिलता है। इस बात को मैं समझ नहीं पा रहा हूँ कि केंद्र में दिल्ली में एक परिषद् की स्थापना हो जाय और किर तमाम यूधस की जितनी भी समस्यायें हैं, उन का समाधान हो जायेगा, यह बात केसे होने वाली है। देश में बड़े बड़े विश्व-विद्यालय कायम हैं जहां कि देश के नव-युवकों को हर तरीके से सुविधा देने का प्रबन्ध किया जाता है और यह होने पर भी जब इन समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं होता तो किर दिल्ली में एक परिषद् कायम कर के

और एक कल्याण बोर्ड कायम कर के युवकों की जो महान् समस्या है और जिन को कि ठीक रास्ते पर ला कर उन की शक्ति का समर्थन कर के राष्ट्रीय योजना के कामों में लगाना है, केंद्र में ऐसी संस्था कायम कर के इस समस्या का समाधान करने होगा, यह बात मेरी समझ में तो नहीं आती है। इसलिये मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन नहीं कर रहा हूँ। अलवत्ता इस के पीछे जो भावना है उसे मैं अवश्य चाहता हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस संसद् के अन्दर जो बहुत से युवक माननीय सदस्य हैं और उत्साह खने वाले लोग हैं उन सब का काम है कि गैर-सरकारी तौर पर इस को करें। सरकार का भी फ़र्ज़ है कि बिना राष्ट्र पर भार डाले हुए और बिना अपने विचार को लोगों पर लादे हुए इस काम को करे। सरकार की जो नीति और पालिसी हो वह किसी व्यक्ति विशेष या पार्टी विशेष के लिये नहीं होनी चाहिये। फिर भी सरकार एक पार्टी विशेष की ही होती है और अगर इस तरीके की युवकों की एक संस्था हो जिस पर सरकार का नियंत्रण हो और सरकार के द्वारा उस दे सब कामों का संचालन हो तो मैं समझता हूँ कि समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकेगा। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस तरीके का काम गैर-सरकारी संस्थाओं के द्वारा होना चाहिये। गैर-सरकारी संस्था बने। उस में सभी पार्टियों के लोग सम्मिलित हों। ऐसा होने से मैं समझता हूँ कि यह काम ज्यादा आसानी से हो सकेगा लेकिन अगर एक इस तरीके की संस्था की स्थापना हो जाय जिस पर कि सरकार का नियंत्रण हो तो लोग यह शिकायत करेंगे कि सरकार उन के कामों में हस्तक्षेप करती है और सरकार इस के जरिये अपने विचार दूसरों पर लादना चाहती है। इस तरह के आक्षेप आगे चल कर मुनने को मिलेंगे। यह शिकायत की जा सकती है कि सरकार युवकों को पार्टी विशेष के कार्यक्रम की तरफ लगाना चाहती है। इसलिये उचित यह होगा कि सरकार की तरफ से किसी परिषद् या किसी बोर्ड

[श्री श्रीनारायण दास]

की स्वापना न कर के गैर-सरकारी तौर पर युवकों की शक्ति का समन्वय करने के लिये और युवकों के व्यक्तित्व के विकास और उन के कल्पणार्थ जो भी कुछ काम किये जायें वे गैर-सरकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा किये जायें। और सरकार का यह फर्ज होगा कि गैर-सरकारी संस्थाओं के काम को बढ़ाने के लिये जितनी भी सहायता कर सकती है करे। इन्ही शब्दों के साथ मैं समझता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव को पास करने से कोई खास फायदा होने वाला नहीं है। यह सही है कि युवकों की समस्या बहुत महान है। युवकों को उप्रति करने का भीका मिले, सरकारी करने का भीका मिले इस के लिये जितना भी गैर-सरकारी तौर पर हो सकता है किया जाना चाहिये और सरकार का कर्तव्य है कि वह जितनी मदद दे सकती है मदद दे।

श्री नाथ पाइ . इस को सुधारने के लिये आप कोई प्रस्ताव बयो नहीं लाये ?

Mr. Chairman: The hon Minister.

Shri Halder (Diamond Harbour—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Sir, I have given notice of an amendment

Mr. Chairman: Two hours have been allotted for this. The hon Minister must reply and then the hon Mover has also a right to reply. We commenced at 3.11 and we can go till 5.11.

An Hon. Member: Let us sit five minutes more.

Shri V P Nayar: Anyway, we do not have a quorum

Shri Halder: Our country is very backward economically though we have vast natural resources and manpower. Why is it so after eleven years of Independence? Government has totally failed to utilise the vast

resources of manpower and several lakhs of people are unemployed. Some have registered their names but there are a very large number who have not registered their names. How can their services be utilised? That is the question. Before Independence thousands of youths of our country participated in the national movement and they sacrificed their life. Why is this not happening after Independence? Why are people not coming forward for the development of country? It is because the leaders always ask the people to sacrifice but they do not themselves set an example. This is the reason why people of our country are not inspired. The Congress President, Mr. Dhebar, has said a few days ago that they have reached a stage where they could exactly describe the Congressmen as job hunters.

It is true. But I cannot blame all Congressmen because there are some common Congressmen who have nothing to do and who are unemployed. What can they do if they remain unemployed for years together? They have no hope, nothing to do before them. Our Government spends lakhs of money for Van Mahotsav only as a show to our people. When they go to do some work, they take photographers with them so that they may publish it in the newspapers. Will this help our people to enthuse? Not at all. Even those who come forward to participate in public work in the development of our country are not given their chance because of political discriminations. That is the reason why I have tabled this amendment. Government has failed to solve many acute problems of our country. When they are faced by the opponents, they say that they have a majority and people have given them power to do what they like. Will the big majority solve the problem in our country? With so big a majority in the Parliament and Assemblies, they cannot solve any problem in our country. I therefore request this Government to consider all these things and learn things from other countries. We see

in China that for harnessing the resources of a river, the leaders of that country gave a call for co-operation. Thousands of people came forward and within a few days the scheme was fulfilled. But in our country what do we see in Bihar? For the same purpose, the Government Ministers came forward to set an example and they worked for an hour or so. This did not inspire the people to work and that is the reason for its failure. Therefore, my advice is this. While you ask other people to co-operate and sacrifice, do not say to them: "do as I say but do not do as I do". That will not serve any purpose. So, I accept this Resolution with my amendment.

Dr. Melkote (Raichur): Sir, I rise to support the resolution. It is a great day when we have taken up this question for discussion here in this House but may I say that I have been sorely disappointed by the poor attendance in this House when we are debating a big question like this. Members on this side as well as Members of the Opposition are wanting in numbers. Every one of us in this House, day in and day out, speaks that the future lies in the hands of the youth of the country; and a question of this type which needs to be debated for days and days together, is being discussed only for a couple of hours and that when so few members are present.

Shri V. P. Nayar: There is hardly any quorum in the House.

Dr. Melkote: That is the pity of the whole question. Though this problem is being debated by a very few Members, it has still its own importance and my only competence in rising on this occasion to say a few words lies in the fact that I have been associated throughout, and I am being associated even today, with the Seva Dal, Bharat Sevak Samaj movement and other movements where students of more than five colleges and two high schools with which I am associat-

ed to take part and also with one khadi and village industries organisation through which I come in contact with the youth both in the towns and the villages. What is their reaction to the whole question? Such of those that have had a good luck to have opportunities of employment, of higher education or service, feel one way and the other, those, who have not had the good luck to be educated and left behind in the village sector, finding it difficult even to make a living, have different reactions altogether to give. And again those who have been educated but who have not been employed have something to say and the youth who have been educated and employed have something else to say, both reactions being contrary to each other. Then the youth in the village sector come up and they have their own say in the whole matter the reaction being different from the other.

May I say that today we should look at this question not from emotion, but from facts as they emerge, from various factors that are prevailing in the country today? What is it that the country is after? Is not what we are doing today in this House for the benefit of the youth as a whole to a large extent whether it is the educational Plan, whether it is the Plan for having more industries for more employment, whether it be the question of social uplift, or whether it be the construction of more hospitals for the health of the country. Even though it is for the whole country, that we do all these I should say it is essentially meant for that section of the population that can utilise it to the maximum extent. Children cannot use them very much, they have to be educated, they have to be brought up. Old men have one foot in the grave, and so whatever is being done in the country today is meant for the youth of the country, and that population being the largest, the way we are tackling the problems and the effort that is being made to tackle them are not adequate. That is why a kind of frustration is growing in the minds of the youth.

[Dr. Melkote]

Fortunately the problem is being tackled by the Education Ministry. Though it is a problem that confronts the whole Ministry, it is the Education Ministry that has got to reply. The Education Ministry has made available to the country a certain quantum of money. Swimming pools are being constructed, auditoriums are being constructed, Bharat Sevak Samaj work is being done, but what is the result?

There is a section of the youth that gets enthused with all this. They come forward and participate, but may I say that in spite of all the talk that we are doing, the number of people that come forward to take advantage of these things, whether it is the educated youth or the other section, is not such as to be able to completely utilise all the funds that are placed before them by this House year after year? What is the reason?

The reason seems to be more political than otherwise. Countries have been quoted here where the youth are going forward on account of the leadership there. Unfortunately, due to the political background that we have had, and today on account of certain conditions that are prevailing in the country, the political parties are so far apart even today that even in a national effort of this type, people do not come forward to combine together in order to enthuse the youth on a common purpose. That is the main hurdle in our not being able to enthuse the youth.

Youth got enthused by all sections of the population before independence. Whether it was the Congress or other parties, whoever appeared on the platform got a hearing, and the youth followed them meticulously. But today whoever may talk, it falls flat on the youth, because the leaders do not combine together in inculcating discipline in the minds of the youth. After all is said and done, discipline

means discipline of a particular type which every one of us would accept. Work means work of a particular type which combines a certain type of efficiency and standard which every one would accept.

We say these things, but actually when we go to the youth we try to dissuade them from participating in such work. We say: "After all, this is Bharat Sevak Samaj, after all it is the Seva Dal, after all this is being run by the Communists, this is being run by the PSP etc." Different standards are set up or different approaches are made in order to catch the youth by the political parties and not for a national effort. That is where we have been lacking in our efforts to enthuse the youths. If today the Education Ministry of the Government of India is doing anything, it is for the nation as a whole, not for the political parties as such, and unless and until all sections of the population, men and women, come together and decide that in such national efforts we should combine together so that our youth may be given a proper direction, subsequent to which they may go in any manner they like, it would be very difficult to enthuse the youth. This is one of the things that the youths themselves have told me.

Not merely that. There is another aspect of the question. May I ask this House as to how many of us who have been speaking in about all this have been participating in these efforts and not putting hurdles on such movements? People may talk quite a lot, but once we go out, just because it is not in my interest, I put a hurdle, and say: "Why do you go and associate with such work?" That is only a part of the game.

It is not merely that. There are here today, both in this House and outside, those who have had the benefit of education, and who have had the benefit of employment, but how many of these people are responding to the cause of the youth movement?

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Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member should conclude now

Dr. Melkote: I am sorry unless a little more time is given to me, it will be very difficult. While I support the spirit of the resolution, I have something to say. I end my speech unless more time is given to me.

Mr. Chairman: I think the hon. Member has finished.

Dr. Melkote: Not yet.

Mr. Chairman: But the time allotted is only two hours

Smti V. P. Nayar: The Minister has not yet replied.

Mr. Chairman: Let us adjourn today. The hon. Minister says he cannot do within 15 minutes. Let us adjourn to the next day. The hon. Member has finished his speech.

Dr. Melkote: I have not ended my speech. I should be allowed to resume when the House discusses this problem again.

17.07 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 1st September, 1958.
