

SHRI VINAYAK PRASAD YADAV (Saharsa): I beg to move:

That in the motion,—

add at the end—

“so that peaceful atmosphere is created in schools, colleges and universities and the students may feel that after passing out of universities their livelihood and future is secure.” (2)

SHRI HUKAMDEO NARAIN YADAV: I beg to move:

That in the motion,—

add at the end—

“and in view of the fact that the present system and management of education as well as outlook thereon are responsible for this situation, further recommends that a high level Committee be constituted which may convene a national convention of educationists and social workers and in consultation with them, suggest radical changes and submit its report to the House within six months so that a decision could be taken thereon without delay and the House also condemns those who instigate the students out of political motivation.” (4)

SHRI A. K. ROY: I beg to move:

That in the motion,—

add at the end—

“by ending the monopoly of upper classes in the higher education; enforcing reservation for the productive classes in the academic sphere and substituting production oriented education and society oriented culture to the present sterile decadent one carrying the stamp of colonial past.” (6)

SHRI ANANT DAVE (Kutch): I beg to move:

That in the motion,—

add at the end—

“by providing such education as they should feel that they are the true architects of this country and after finishing their education they would certainly get jobs.” (7)

SHRI YUVRAJ (Katihar): I beg to move:

That in the motion,—

after “and recommends to the Government to”

insert “make radical changes in the system of education and make it job-oriented and” (8)

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPAN: (Cannanore): Sir, we are discussing a very important subject. The result of the discussions, I am sure, will be watched with keen interest by the entire student community in the country as well as the other sections of people of our democratic country.

Sir, while moving this Resolution my friend, Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta placed many important points before us. With some I may not agree; with a few I might agree with him.

But, I must say at the outset that the problem of student unrest should be viewed from a different angle than that which has been posed by Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta.

The student reflects the social unrest in the society in which we are living.

If a society is relatively calm and if they move forward smoothly and if the policies of the Government—whichever party is in power—give relative satisfaction to the younger generation then, in that society, there will be little scope of student unrest.

If a society is in turmoil and in revolt then I cannot expect the student community to be submissive. Especially the mood of the students who are in the universities will not reflect the mood which is existing in the society

So, I approach this problem from this angle. I am sure many of my friends sitting on that side will also agree with me on this point.

In this country—and for that matter, in the entire world—we can see the phenomenon of revolt on the part of the younger generation whenever they are dissatisfied and discontented with vital issues which concern the nation.

In our country during our freedom struggle the student community responded magnificently and they took part in every freedom struggle that we waged. They were the most effective instruments in carrying forward the freedom struggle. But soon after independence we found that the phenomenon of student unrest was coming more and more to the forefront. It is not something happening in the recent period alone.

What has happened? Without going into the details one can say this. There is a big gap between promises and performance. The gap is widening. There were promises about a new life in Independent India: promises about economic reform; promises about democratic rights, promises about a better system of education, promises of an education which will make them more useful citizen in their life later, all these promises were belied. As problems grew up, they started revolting against this system, against the whole attitude of the society towards them. And then perhaps Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta will agree with me on one point, that is, when people come to power as you have now come to power, that is, your party, an attitude will develop, the attitude of sermonising the students saying "don't misbehave, be disciplined and we will do everything good for you." But that will not be enough and that will not be sufficient. The point is that there were people sermonising the students on that side when you were all along sitting on this side and we are hearing a little bit of sermons from you now.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA: I have not given any sermon.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: You did not try to do that. Now, let us go to the basic problem which the student community is facing today. Let us be sympathetic to them. I do not say that you are not sympathetic to them. The problem of unemployment is one of the most acute problems among the younger generation. The Janata Government made a promise and the Prime Minister had mentioned—you also made a suggestion—that in ten years the problem of unemployment would be wiped out. But what are the instructions through which you are going to implement those promises. I am not going to make it a debate on the problem of unemployment. The result has shown in one year's time, as it was revealed in the Economic Survey—Shri Kanwarlal Gupta wanted year to year programme and here is the year to year programme presented by your Government in the Economic Survey of India—that there will be 12 per cent increase in one year. 12 per cent increase of unemployment in one year will be there and your promise is that in ten years you are going to wipe out the problem. Who will believe that? In the next year, it is going to increase. There is no doubt about it.

Then, Sir, there will be revolt. Another problem which I do not want to refer here just now but I would mention about it that when you were speaking, I think there was a slogan shouting outside and there was hushing up also. The students of Kanpur came here to say that their Vice-Chancellor should behave properly. The problem which you raised, of shouting and killing is no remedy, arrest is no remedy to the problems of the students. They came here to tell us about the problems on the day when Shri Kanwarlal Gupta, one of the leading luminaries of the Janata Party, was raising a discussion on this subject. But what is the reply the

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Minister is going to give today? The condition in our country is that almost in the entire North Indian States where the Janata Party swept the polls, the educational institutions, the higher educational institutions have come to a state of an absolute paralytic situation. It is not a very enviable thing. You cannot deal with these problems merely as a law and order problem. There, you have dealt with the question of educational reform and the democratic rights of the students. When coming to the problem of educational reforms, one of the most menacing problems is the problem of examination. I have been going through the reports of most of the students agitation these days; the students find question papers very tough and they refuse to answer them; you bring police to make them answer the tough questions; they find that the invigilators are misbehaving or they have complaints, genuine or not. Anyway examination reform is a matter of urgent importance. I know the government will say : we have appointed so many committees and they have made so many recommendations and we are trying to implement them. But that is no solution. In the last thirty years the country was hearing all this but not much appreciable change in the basic character of the examination system in our country has been made during this period by any recommendation. Let us take the students into confidence; sometimes it is good. Let us have a meeting of the students, teachers and people who are interested in education, educationists; let them discuss how this problem of education reform, particularly the problem of examination reform can be solved. The solutions which they suggest might be better than the suggestions of so many experts who may have very little relation with the student community. I hope such a step will be taken by the government.

Coming to the text book problem, which Mr. Kanwarial Gupta raised,

it is not merely a question of text book^s not being distributed. What are the contents of those text books. The contents in many cases are unrelated to Indian lives and the students find it extremely boring to read about things that have no relevance in today's society or to our country. So the content should be made something which is related to his life, something which will be useful to him as a citizen of this country, something which will uphold national traditions as well as national goals the country pursues. I will say that Marxism should be made a subject for students to learn; I do not know whether Mr. Kanwarial Gupta will agree to that. When you speak of socialism, Marxian socialism should be taught; it is essential. The idea of secularism should be put across and the students should learn in an atmosphere of secularism. The idea of democracy should be practised, not only preached; it should be practised in the university campus by giving them the right to form students' union and giving them the right to have adequate participation in the administration of academic matters of the university. There should be democratic functioning of students unions. It should be statutorily ensured in all the universities and colleges and that should become a forum for the entire student community of India to express their problems, not only for expressing their problems but to participate in creative, constructive activities! there should be adequate student participation in the administration and academic matters. I must even say that even in the framing of questions for examinations, student participation is good. It is my view. In the examination halls, open text book policies should be adopted.

Another important problem is about the teacher. Mr. Gupta said that the teacher was not studying enough to teach the student community. I may also agree that he is not studying properly. Then what about his living

conditions? Do we take care to see the condition in which the teacher is living? It is good that the hon. Minister of Education is coming from West Bengal. I will draw his attention to the famous film directed by Satyajit Ray, *Janarajna* in which you find the example of a Calcutta teacher and how he values examination papers, under what conditions and with what result. He is using a kerosene lamp almost flickering out and mosquitoes are coming. The teacher is not having a proper spectacle to look at the paper; because that is an old one, he is searching for a friend's speaks and the friend has gone to Calcutta and the teacher has to evaluate the paper the same night and he did it without seeing the paper and the result was, he created some frustration in the minds of the students. Therefore, the living condition of the teachers should be improved.

Finally about violence and the role of the political parties, to which Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta referred in his speech, I am in full agreement with him when he says that the students should not indulge in violence. But I must make an appeal to the ruling party, because they are more responsible for that, that they should create such a condition in the country that the students will not indulge in violence. If you send police vans to the Universities often and if you try to find solution with an iron-hand to their genuine problems, then violence will be there because it will be retaliated in the same fashion by the student community. After all, you should not forget the fact that you are dealing with the younger people, inflammable material. You should be very careful, very sympathetic and very tactful in dealing with them. If that situation is created, there will be little scope for violence.

About the Emergency. If you think that the student community is revolting because the Government is not taking those measures of democratisation in the Universities in tune with

what has happened in the last Election, I may disagree with that. I do not think that that is the main thing. That may be one of the smaller problems in their minds. The main thing is that the student community is seeing another failure in place of the Congress failure.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA:
That is not the main thing. You do not understand it because you have not suffered. Those who have suffered can understand it.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN:
I do not know whether you suffered or I suffered.

If that was true, in the recent election in the Northern Indian Universities, Akhila Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, whose suffering is known to Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta, would not have faced such a total reverse, it faced. That is not the problem. Those who championed the struggle in those days were rejected by the student community because in the minds of the student community, expectations were roused in the name of total revolution, speaking against corruption, promising new values, new life, but they do not find that that is being practised. So, they find that whereas the Congress failed during the last thirty years, the Janata Party in the thirteen months has presented the same dismal picture of failure. If that picture of failure is further presented there will be further revolt and unrest among the student community. There is no point in finding *alibi* that Congress is creating. Congress is not that powerful to create that; it is not that when they switch on, the students revolt. No. If you succeed in solving their problems, in reforming education, in promising them employment, a democratic atmosphere in the Universities, academic freedom, right of participation and democratic rights, I am sure that you will succeed in creating an atmosphere, where there will not be student unrest. Your failure is rather faster than that of the Congress and that is why I think there is

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student unrest. I hope the Janata Party will take sufficient attention from the experience of the last thirteen months to solve those problems and that will bring credit to them.

With these words, I conclude. Thank you.

समाप्ति महोदय : आप केवल दस मिनट में। बहुत से माननीय सदस्य बोलना चाहते हैं। मुझे चंटी बजाने की जरूरत महसूस नहीं होगी चाहिये।

डॉ० रामजी सिंह (भागलपुर) : छात्र असंतोष का विषय पुराना भी है और साथ साथ महत्वपूर्ण भी। इतने बड़े समय में इस पर विचार से प्रकाश डालना मुश्किल है। छात्रों का असंतोष केवल भारत में ही ऐसी बात नहीं है। यूनान में भी प्राचीन समय से यह था। मुकरत ने भी कहा है कि ऐसे छात्र थे जो उपग्रह किया करते थे। बाल्मीकी रामायण में भी लिख है। क्या है कि कई प्रकार के छात्र थे जो बराबर उपग्रह करते थे, जो इन धातम से उस धातम जाया करते थे। पाणिनि ने अपने महा भाष्य में उपग्रही और प्रसिद्ध छात्रों की चर्चा की है। हमारे समय में छात्रों में असंतोष का प्रायाम् आस कर 1950 में उभरा है। तब यह असंतोष छुट्टी 1960 से 1970 तक यह बहुत ज्यादा हो गया। छात्र जगत और आस कर उच्च शिक्षा जगत में यह असंतोष तीव्र है। इसके सम्बन्ध में बहुत सी श्रेणियाँ भी हुई हैं, बहुत सी पुस्तकें भी लिखी गई हैं। शिक्षा के सप्ताहकार भी 00 हुमायून कविर साहब ने भी इस पर विचार विमर्श किया था, स्टूडेंट अनरेस्ट काजिब एंड क्योर 1958 में चम्पल सरकार ने Unique Campus 1968, / एस एस सिन्हा साहब ने 1962 में, The Problem of Student Unrest. यू.जी.टी. में भी इसके सम्बन्ध में 1968 में विचार किया / मुनियन मिनिस्ट्री ने Depth Study Student Strikes 1958-64

उन्हें बरदृष्ट में भी Understanding Students 1960 इस तरह से और ज्यादा विस्तार में आकर मैं आपका समय लेना नहीं चाहता हूँ। इस असंतोष के कारणों और उसके समाधान बताने के लिए कई समितियाँ नियुक्त हुईं और पुस्तकें लिखी गईं। अब उस सब की चर्चा करना बेकार है।

परसों छात्र असंतोष पर इंटरव्यू लेने के लिए एक हिन्दी पत्रिका वाले मेरे पास आए थे। उन्होंने कहा कि क्या कारण है कि राष्ट्रपति जी से ले कर एक सामान्य व्यक्ति भी कहता है कि छात्र असंतोष वस्तुतः कोई बीमारी नहीं बीमारी का वस्तुतः संज्ञक है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिस देश की शिक्षा पद्धति ऐसी बीजे बीजे हो—बीबी हमारे देश की है उस देश में शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में असंतोष होना स्वाभाविक है। हम जड़ की नहीं बकड़ते हैं और यही कारण है कि

छात्रों में देश में असंतोष है। बीसा मैंने आप से कहा, कि सब लोग केवल उसका जोरी इलाज देना चाहते हैं की धार की, भी एक एक की जेज दिया जाता है। कुछ बाइस बाइस की बात की मेरे विषय से कही है। लेकिन मैं सब केवल 3-4 की बातें हैं। जब तक आप गहराई में नहीं जायेंगे तब तक इस समस्या का समाधान नहीं हो सकेगा। वर्तमान शिक्षा पद्धति में दोष देती है और न ही जीविका की पारटी। जिस शिक्षा से मनुष्य को कोई प्रेरणा नहीं मिलती उस शिक्षा में असंतोष का फैलना स्वाभाविक है।

मैं आपको प्रश्न प्रश्न करता हूँ। मैं एक डिग्री का लेज के प्रिंसिपल की इंटरव्यू में गया। वहाँ मुझ से पूछा गया यही प्रश्न कि

What is the cause of student indiscipline?

छात्रों में अनुशासनहीनता का कारण क्या है। मैंने कहा कि छात्र अनुशासनहीन नहीं हैं। इस पर उन्होंने कहा कि क्या कहते हैं अनुशासनहीन नहीं है? मैंने बहुत विनम्रता से सब जो कुछ कहा यही मैं अब आपके सामने दोहरा देना चाहता हूँ। मैंने कहा था:

When officials are corrupt, politicians bankrupt, businessmen cheats, lawyers frauds and we, the teachers, a band of professional wage-earners. How can we expect our students to be disciplined? They are more disciplined than they ought to be.

वस्तुतः जिस देश का राजनीतिज्ञ इतना अनुशासनहीन हो कि नामांकन भरता हो राष्ट्रपति पद के लिए किसी का और चोट देता हो दूसरे को। जिस देश के राजनीतिज्ञ, हम अपने को भी उसमें शामिल करते हैं, जो घोषणापत्र के वायदों को भी निभायेंगे, उसमें भी संकोच करते हैं, जब सारे जगत में अनुशासनहीनता है वहाँ छात्रों से कहे कि अनुशासन में रहें, यह कभी नहीं हो सकता। मैं चम्पलपन जी से सहमत हूँ कि छात्रों का असंतोष केवल शिक्षक जगत के ही कारण नहीं है, बल्कि हमारे सामाजिक और आर्थिक परिवर्तन के कारण है। मैं शिक्षा मंत्री की के प्रति आश्चर्य रखते हुए भी जो कभी कभी पदावनत करते हैं और कह देते हैं कि यह मेरा काम नहीं है बल्कि सामाजिक और आर्थिक परिवर्तन का है, जब तक यह नहीं बदलता जब तक काम नहीं चलता, यह कह कर आप अपने दायित्व से मुक्त नहीं हो सकते। आपकी देखा हुआ सम्बन्ध में शिक्षा पद्धति में परिवर्तन नहीं करते हैं तो केवल सामाजिक, आर्थिक पद्धति को दोष देने से काम नहीं चलता। इसीलिए एक तरह का घर हून शिक्षा में परिवर्तन करना चाहते हैं तो हमें साथ साथ समाज में भी परिवर्तन करना होगा। इसीलिए दोनों में करना होगा। लेकिन इसके साथ साथ जो सबसे बड़ा दोष है शिक्षा पद्धति में परिवर्तन का। अब हम शिक्षाहीन नहीं हैं, प्रतिहीन हैं। जनता पार्टी की सरकार में शिक्षा की कमी नहीं है, प्रति की कमी है। आजकल होना चाहिये छात्रों का असंतोष आपस-आपस में कहे ढंके से जो बचा दिया गया था वह छपरा है और जनता