registration, they have not used the wagons. I had raised this point last time also. But the same position is prevailing there. They have written letters to you. They have also written letters to me. I have handed over those letters to the officers also. But still wagons are not made available. When you have got the idle capacity, you should do it. *(Interruptions)* 

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): The Minister said that he has idle capacity in respect of wagons. He will take care of it.

SHRI GOVINDRAM MIRI: Sir, what about our long pending demand of Bilaspur... *{Interruptions)* 

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Miri, the Minister said that he will write to you.

Now, I shall put the Appropriation (Railways) No. 4 Bill, 1994 to vote, the question is:

That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1994-95 for the purpose of Railways, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration.

The morion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now, I shall take up elausc-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule uric added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI C.K. JAFFER SHARIEF: Sir, I move:

That the Bill be returned.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now, we shall take up the Appropriation (Railways) No. 5 Bill, 1994 to vote. The question is:

> That the Bill to 'provide for the authorisation of appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India to meet the amounts spent on certain services for the purposes of Railways during the financial year ended on the 31st day of March, 1992 in excess of the amounts granted for those services and for that year, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration.

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now, we shall take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause I, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI C.K. JAFFER SHARIEF: Sir, I beg to move

That the Bill be returned.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

## THE DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR UNIVERSITY BILL, 1994

THE MINISTER OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (SHRI ARJUN SINGH):

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. I beg to move:

That the Bill to establish and incorporate a teaching and residential University in the State of Uttar Pradesh and to provide for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto, be taken into consideration.

There is a very brief history. It was in April, 1989 that the Government of Uttar Pradesh enacted the Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar University Act to establish a unitary teaching and research and residential University as a memorial to the life and work of the late Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. The State Government has also acquired some land for the establishment of the University and the foundation-stone of the University was laid on the 14th of April, 1989 by our late Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Subsequently, the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh wrote to the Government of India, the Prime Minister, in 1990 that because of the constraints of resources in Uttar Pradesh the Centre might consider providing financial assistance to the State Government to the extent of 50% for running this University. In May 1992, Shri Kalyan Singh, the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, wrote to the Prime Minister that either the Centre should bear 50% of the cost or the University should be converted into a Central University. Requests were also received from other important citizens of the country. The Minister of Welfare, Sitaram Kesriji, also stated so. Then the wife of Dr. Ambedkar, Dr (Mrs.) Savita Ambedkar, and a number of other hon. Members from both the Houses of Parliament requested the Central Government to take up the University and to make it a Central University. The Standing Committee on the Centenary Celebration of Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar also resolved that the Centre should convert it into a Central University. In this background, the Government took a decision to convert it into a Central University and we entered into a detailed discussion with the

Government of Uttar Pradesh. All the logistics which would be required to do this have, more or less, been completed. The only question which remains is that there is already an enactment in Uttar Pradesh. That enactment will have to be repealed after both the Houses of Parliament pass this Bill and it should be notified according to the law. I would not like to go into the details very much because the Standing Committee has gone into the full details in its Report.

All that I would like to say is whatever suggestions the Standing Committee has given, we have accepted all those suggestions in full. This University will be a path-breaking University because it is named after a great son of India who symbolised the resurgence of the weaker sections of the country, who has made a significant contribution to the evolution of the concept of social justice so that a country like India could develop socially, economically and politically, the cohesion of this nation could be strengthened and at the same time there could be adequate opportunities for the weaker sections of the people in this country to acquire knowledge both technological and otherwise. I think the enactment of this Bill by the House into an Act would be a starting point for an institution which will give opportunities to people all over the world to enroll in this University and to acquire the specialised knowledge which the University will try to impart, specially in science and frontier areas of technology. I would also like to mention that special courses in rural crafts and in agricultural technology would also be a part of the training that this University will impart.

The hon. Members may kindly give their considered thought to it. It would be in the fitness of things that since there is a rare unanimity about everything on this Bill, it should be passed expeditiously.

The question was proposed.

महोदय, मैं सबसे पहले कांग्रेस पार्टी को, भारत की सरकार को, तत्कालीन उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार को बधाई देख हूं ठनका आभार प्रदर्शित करता हूं कि लंबे अरसे से इस देश के शोषित, दसित पीड़ित समाज के व्यक्तियों को मनोभावना जे बाबा साहब डा॰ अग्वेडकर के सपनों के अनुकूल एक विश्वविद्यालय केन्द्रीय स्तर पर स्थापित करने की थी, उसका उन्होंने सम्मान किया। आज स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी हमारे बोच में नहीं है। मैं उनके जीवन काल में ही उनका आभार प्रदर्शित कर चुका हू लेकिन उनके अनुयावियों का मैं फिर से आभार प्रदर्शित करता हूं कि उन्होंने इस मांग को स्वीकार करके देश में एक घेतिहासिक काम किया है।

महोदय, मुझे बोलने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं थी लेकिन जैसा मंत्री जी ने कहा कि इस विश्वविद्यालय की प्रस्थापना के पीछे एक पृष्ठभूमि है, उसको दृष्टिगत रखते हुए संसद को स्थायो समिति जिसमें बड़े-कड़े विद्वान सदस्थ है, जो शिक्षा जगत से जुड़े रहे है, उस समिति ने बड़ी गंभीरता और बारीकी से सर्वसम्मत निर्णय लेकर अपनी आख्या प्रसुत की है। तो क्यों मुझे बोलने को आवश्यकता पड़ी? भाग्यवर, केवल एक ही बिंदु है और उसको सामने रखकर में कुछ सुझाब देना चाहता हूं और अपने विचार सूक्ष्म रूप में प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूं। इसके बावजूद कि स्थायी समिति के विद्वान सदस्यों ने बड़े विस्तार से, गंभीरता से किचार करके अपनी आख्या प्रस्ता की है।

जो सराहनीय है और सर्वसम्पत है। इसके बावजुद कि माननीय मंत्री जी ने उस आख्या को पूर्ण रूप से खीकार किया, पता नहीं, कोई कलम की कमी रह गई या कहीं दिमाग से घात फिसल गई या हो सकता है मेरे समझने में ही गलती हो, एक बात का स्पष्ट उल्लेख इस विधेयक में नहीं है। अनुसचित जाति, जनजातियों के विद्यार्थियों का प्रवेश में, इस विश्वविद्यालय में जब यह काम कर रहा होगा कर्मचारियों, अध्यापकों, अधिकारियों और प्रबंधकों आदि की नियुक्ति में अनुसुचित जाति और जनजग्रतियों का कैसा प्रतिनिधित्व होगा. कितनाः प्रतिनिधित्व होगा इसका कोई स्पष्ट उल्लेख इस विधेयक में नहीं है। इसलिए मैं हाथ जोडकर के मंत्री जी, आपसे और सारे सदन से, चुंकि मैं जब कोई बात कहता हूं अंतकरण से कहता हूं मैं कोई रस्म अदायगी नहीं करता, प्रार्थना करुंगा, कि जब आपने इतनी विशाल हृदयता का परिचय दिया है कि उस रिपोर्ट को ज्यों का त्यों स्वीकार किया है, तो आप थोड़ा सा और विशाल हृदयता क परिचय दीजिए। बाबा साहेब डा॰ अम्बेडकर भारत सपुत

थे, भारत रहा थे। लेकिन उनका कितन अपमान हुआ, क्ति जब वह डिफेंस सैक्रेटरी, महाराजा बड़ौदा के नियुक्त होकर के आए। उनको कोई रिसीव करने भी नहीं गया और उनको रहने के लिए भी कोई स्थान नहीं दिया. बड़ौदा में उनको धर्मशाला में भी जगह नहीं दी। अंत में एक क्रिश्चियन धर्मशाला में बडी मस्किल से उनको कमरा मिला और जब उन पर दबाव पडा तो वहां से भी उनको जाना पड़ाः। मगर अनेकों अपमान सहने के बावजूद भारत को एकता, भारत की अखंडता और भारत को प्राचीनतम मिश्रित संस्कृति जिसका भारत को गौरव है, जिसके कारण भारत संसार का सिरमौर रहा है, सोने की चिड़िया कहलाया है, उसको बाका साहेब डा॰ अम्बेडकर ने कमी खंडित करने की बात नहीं सोची । सामाजिक लडाई की लडाई लडी, लेकिन समाज को तोडे बिना । ममतायुक्त समता इस देश में प्रस्थापित हो, यह बाबा साहेब डा॰ अम्बेडकर का दृष्टिकोण रहा। मान्यवर, इसी दुष्टिकोण के साथ मैं आपका ध्यान संविधान सभा और संविधान निर्माताओं की उस मंशा को और दिलाना चाहता हूं कि हजारों सालों से संतप्त, पिछड़े, अभिक्षित, असहाय, गरीब समाज के लिए कितन। चिंतन और चिंता राष्ट्र निर्माताओं ने को कि संविधान में उनके हित, विकास और कल्याण के लिए अनेकों प्रावधान बना डाले । मैं आरक्षण का पक्षधार रहा हुं मेरी पार्टो भी आरक्षण की पक्षधर रही है। अनुसुचित जाति और जनजातियों का आरक्षण यथावत् आरी रहे। पिछडी जातियों को आरक्षण मंडल आयोग की संस्तृतियों के आधार पर मिले और गरीबी के आधार पर इस देश के अन्य वर्गों को भी आरक्षण मिले। माननीय उच्चतम न्यायालय के निर्णय के बावजूद कि 50 प्रतिशत से अधिक आरक्षण नहीं होगा, हमने अभी दो दिन पहले तमिलनाड का भी 69 प्रतिशत का आरक्षण इस सदन ने सर्वसम्मति से स्वीकार किया है। कर्नाटक में भी 50 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा का आरक्षण है।

> ''इब्तदाए इश्क में रोता है क्या, आगे आगे देखिए होता है क्या।''

आरक्षण की मांग और प्रदेशों में भी उठ रही है और शावद सदन को वह भी पास करनी पड़ेगी। मैं आरक्षण का पक्षधर हूं जो भी वर्ग मांगे। लेकिन मान्यवर, भारत के संविधान में आरक्षण केवल अनुसूचित जाति और जनजातियों के लिए दिया गया है, किसी और वर्ग के लिए आरक्षण संविधान में नहीं है। संविधान की 15 धारएएं केवल अनुसूचित जाति, जनजातियों के हित. विकास, कल्प्राणा की ओर और उनके शिक्षण को स्थान देने संबंधी भरी पड़ी है। चाहे भारत के संविधान की मूल प्रस्तावना को लेकर, चाहे आर्टिकल 14, आर्टिकल 15, आर्टिकल 19, आर्टिकल 46 जो केवल एजुकेश्मल एंड इकोनोमिक एडवांसमेंट के लिए हैं। आर्टिकल 240, ड्यार्टिकल 330, आर्टिकल 332, आर्टिकल 335 यह सब जनुसूचित जाति और जनजातियों के आरक्षण और उनके हित, विकास और कल्याण से सम्बन्धित है।

मान्यवर, लेकिन आज तक, मैं ध्यान चाहूंगा गुप्ता जी का, क्योंकि आप लोगों ने सामाजिक समस्याओं को कभी समस्या माना ही नहीं है। इसलिए मैं आपका ध्यान काहंगा कि हमें इस देश में

.... (Interruptions)... You arc talking and we are discussing such a serious issue...(Interruptions)...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): No. Exactly the point which you raised, 1 said, "What you were saying was that you were making a distinction between your policy and Janata Party on Mandal". It is unnecessary.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: We don't want any certificate from you on what policy you have and what policy we have. This is a reality... (Interruptions)...

तो मैं आपसे निवेदन

यह कर रहा था कि आरक्षण आज तक पूरा नहीं हुआ ! किसी भी विभाग में अनुसुचित जाति, जनजातियों का। संवैधानिक प्रावधान राज्यादेश जारी हुए । राजनीतिक दलों ने अपने घोषणा-पत्रों में लिखा। सदन में हमने हर साल चर्चा को और बाहर सदन के और सदन के भीतर बराबर चिल्लाते रहे लेकिन आज तक आरक्ष अनुसूचित जाति, अनजातियों का आरक्षित कोटा किसी विभाग में पुरा नहीं इआ। 1981 में गुजरात में तत्कालीन मुख्य मंत्री माधवसिंह सोलंकी जी ने पिछड़ी जातियों के लिए 8 परसेंट आरक्षण की घोषणा की। उसका विरोध न करके अनुसुचित जाति, जनजातियों के आरक्षण का विरोध हुआ । 1990 में पिछड़ी जातियों के लिए आरक्षण को बोषणा मंडल कमीशन के नाम पर तत्कालीन प्रधान मंत्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह ने की। उनका विरोध हुआ लेकिन अनुसूचित जाति, जनजातियों के आरक्ष IV पर डॉ॰ अम्बेडकर की प्रतिमाएं सारे देश में तोडी गई। आज उत्तर प्रदेश के 27 प्रतिशत आरक्षण की घोषणा हई पिछड़ी जातियों के लिए। उत्तरांचल में आज आरक्षण विरोधी अभियान है, गांज अनुसुचित जाति, जनजातियों के लोगों के ऊपर पड़ रही है। आज सुनने, पढने और

जानने को मिला कि पौडी ज़िले में अनुसुचित जाति के लोगों के बाल मुंडवा कर ज़बरदस्ती उन्हें धरने पर बैठा दिया गया। तो यह आरक्षण होता किसी और के लिए है और विरोध होता है अनुसूचित आति, जनजातियों के आरक्षण का, ये मानसिकता है। मैं किसी के खिलाफ नहीं उदाहरण देना चाहता हं। आज हम्मरे देश के लोग अल्पसंख्यकों के लिए खास तौर से मुस्लिम भाइवों के लिए आरक्षण मांगते हैं, अच्छी बात है। मुस्लिम भी आरक्षण मांगते हैं लेकिन उनका एक अकेला मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय अलीगढ जो है, यो युनिवासिटी प्रांटस कमीशन से एड पा कर चलता है, उस विश्वविद्यालय की ग्रांट बंद कर दी<sup>6</sup> जाए। मैं वहां का ओल्ड छात्र हुं विद्यार्थी रहा हूं। हमने प्रार्थना को लेकिन उन्होंने कहा कि आरक्षण नहीं देंगे। जो स्वयं आरक्षण मांग रहे हैं, उन्होंने भी अनुसुचित जाति, जनजाति के लोगों को आरक्षण नहीं दिया। तो मान्यवर, ये सब मैं इसलिए कहना चाहता हं कि आखिर इस देश की मानसिकता क्या है? इतने बडे संकल्प के बाद जो देश के, भारत के संविधान निर्माताओं ने, राष्ट निर्माताओं ने लिया था कि राष्ट की मुख्य धारा में इन वर्गों को लाने के लिए हम हर क्षेत्र में इनके लिए दुढता के साथ इनको प्राथमिकता दे करके सुविधाएं देंगे, अवसर देंगे बराबरी के। और इनती घोषणाओं के बाद, इतनी चर्चाओं के बाद और हम सब एकमत हो करके चर्चा करते है, एकमत हो करके रिपोर्ट आई तो उसके परिणाम क्या हैं? इन परिणामों को दुष्टिगत रखते हुए मेरा भव है और मैं आश्वस्त हुनू कि अगर इस विश्वविद्यालय के इस विश्वेयक में अगर कोई स्पष्ट प्राचधान अनुसुचित जाति, जनजातियों के प्रवेश के लिए और नियुक्तियों के लिए नहीं किया गया तब मुझे ऐसा आभास होता है कि ''आंख के अंधे नाम नैन सुख, जन्म के दुखी नाम चैन सुख'' ठीक ऐसे ही नाम डॉ॰ अम्बडेकर यूनिवर्सिटी और कहीं अनुसूचित जातियों का इसमें ऐडमिशन भी न मिले। क्यों? अभी सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जजमेंट मौजूद है। आपने उस को नलीफाड नहीं किया है। सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जजमेंट ने कई जजमेंटों को विदहोल्ड किया है जिसमें सुप्रीम कोर्ट का एक जजमें? यह भी है कि वोकेशनल सब्जेक्टस और इंजीनियरिंग. टेक्निकल, भेडिकल में कोई आरक्षण नहीं होगा और ये सब्जेक्ट यहां भी पढाएं आएंगे। जब भी हम ने बार-बार उस की मांग की कि आप इस जजमेंट के खिलाफ, जिस तरह से आप ने विधेयक तमिलनाड सरकार का पास करके 9 वें शैड्ल में उस को ले आए आप ने आज तक हमारी प्रार्थना को स्वीकार नहीं किया। मेरी आखों में आंस आते हैं जब मैं कहता हूं कि दोहरा मापदंड है।

आप ने रिव्यू पिटीशन दायर नहीं किया है। हमारे सभी सांसदों ने आप से मांग की। जब यह नहीं हुआ तो उस जजमेंट के रहते हुए कैसे दाखिले मिलेंगे और 50 परसेंट से आरक्षण ज्यादा होगा नहीं और कैरी फारवर्ड सिस्टम लागू नहीं होगा और नई नियुक्तियां करेंगे तो आप देखेंगे सूटेबिलिटी क्योंकि धारा 337 में भी आप ने कहा है मेटिनेंस आर फिटनेस आर ऐफिसिवेंसी आफ ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन क्या है, संविधान में बढ़कर बता सकता हूं। से यह एक ऐसी बाधा है। मान्यवर आज आप अलीगढ मुसिलम युनिवर्सिटी में जाइए, 50 परसेंट से ज्यादा हर विभाग में स्टूडेंट्स उसी कम्युनिटी के हैं। सारे अध्यापक, इंप्लाई, लगभग 90 परसेंट उसी कम्यूनिटी के हैं। एक तरफ हम सैक्यूलरिज्म की बात करते हैं और आरक्षण की बात करते हैं जो सारे राष्ट्र की जिम्मेदारी है, सारे राष्ट्र के नागरिकों को जिम्मेदारी है और हमारा संकल्प है उस को पुरा करने में सहयोगी बनेंगे, बाधक नहीं भनेंगे, मगर आज वहां देखने को क्या मिलता है? बही स्थिति आज वहां पर जो वाइस चांसलर है. रजिस्ट्रार, हेड आफ दि डिपार्टमेंट, प्रो-वाइस चांसलर, ग्रेडर, लेक्नरों की है, अभी शैड्रल्ड कास्ट कमिश्नर की रिपोर्ट से पता लगा, मुझे मालूम नहीं था। उसमें मैंने देखा कि जिनती भी सेंट्रल और स्टेट युनिससिटीज़ हैं, वहां न के बराबर रीडर, प्रोफेसर शैडूल्ड कास्ट और शैडुल्ड ट्रांइब्ज के हैं। तो आप इस में कैसे नियुक्त करेंगे, मुझे बड़ा भारी शक है। मैं आप की नौयत पर शक नहीं करता लेकिन जो अब तक का अनुभव है, जो अब तक का इतिहास है, उसको दुष्टिगत रखते हुए मंत्री जी, मैं हाथ जोड़कर आप से प्रार्थना करूंगा, मुझे स्वयं आरक्षण की आवश्यकता नहीं है, मैं तो बुद्धिस्ट हुं और यह बुद्धिस्ट जो आरक्षण से बाहर है, बुद्धिस्टों की कोई जात नहीं होती। मझे न आरक्षण चाहिए, न मेरी औलाद को चाहिए। मेरे बच्चे जनरल कंपिटिशन में आए है, मैं भी उसी में आया हुं बाद में मैं बुद्धिस्ट बना हूं। लेकिन हमारे जो संविधान निर्माता थे, वह सब अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति के नहीं थे। कैलाशनाथ काटज़ जैसे लागू थे लेकिन भारत की तस्वीर उन के सामने थी, भारत के समाज का नक्शा उनके सामने था, दलितों की शक्ल उनको दिखाई दे रही थी। मैं आप से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इसमें एक संशोधन कर दीजिए, जहां पर यह शब्द ''ऐडिक्वेट'' लिखा है— वैसे तो ऐडिक्वेट के माने आप एक परसेंट मानिए, दो परसेंट मानिए, एडिक्वेट 50 परसेंट मानिए, ऐडिक्वेट कैन बी डिफाइंड इन ऐनी मैनर, इस लिए में सुझाव दे रहा हूं कि जहां पर शब्द "ऐडिक्वेट" है, मैंने तो मांग की है कि वहां 60 परसेंट

कर दीजिए। माफ करेंगे शैडूल्ड कास्ट का तो 18 परसेंट है, आप इसमें कर दीजिए 50 परसेंट। आप जहां-जहां भी फर्स्ट शैडल में जहां भी ''हायर'' शब्द आया है, स्थाई समिति ने ''ऐडिक्केट'' किया है, आप ''ख़यर'' की अगह पर 50 परसेंट कर दीजिए। सिर्फ देश में हो विद्यार्थियों के लिए, ऐसा नहीं, चाहे वह कर्मचारी हों, अधिकारी हों या शिक्षकों और प्रबंधकर्ताओं की नियुक्ति में हो। इसलिए मैं यह कह रहा हूं कि ये लोग अभी आर्थिक और तकनीकी दृष्टि से ऐडवॉस हो जाएं। और उन्नत हो जाएं जो धारा 46 में कहा गया है, नीति निर्देश सिद्धांत में कहा गया है। मंत्री जी इसे भी अइसास करें, और बातें तो आपने अहसास की ही हैं। लेकिन जैसा आपने कहा है न्याय होना ही नहीं चाहिए बल्कि दिखाई भी देना चाहिए। इतनी संख्या अनसचित जाति, जनजाति के प्रतिनिधियों की हो जिनकी लड़ाई जिन्दगी भर बाबा साहेब अम्बेडकर ने लडी, उनको मालम हो कि यह उनका विश्वविद्यालय है। मैं आप से और परे सदन के लोगों से हाथ जोड कर प्रार्थना करता हुं कि आप इसको खोकार कर लें । हर जगह दलित वर्ग भूरी-भूरि आपको प्रशंसा करेगा और जम्म-जन्मात्तर तक आपका अनुप्रहीत रहेगा। हम नहीं रहेंगे, आप नहीं रहेंगे लेकिन आपको याद रहेगी। इतना ही मैं कहना चाहता हे । अहत-बहुत धन्यवाद ।

SHRI Н HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): Sir, I rise to thank the Government of India, the Prime Minister and the Human Resource Development Minister, Shri Arjun Singh, for having brought this Bill with the amendments. I also thank Shri Upendra, Chairman of the Standing Committee. He has been able to bring about the amendments unamiously and almost all the amendments have been accepted by the Government. I once again thank the Government. ... (Interruptions). .. I think I have to correct Shri Gurudas. I am not speaking to the audience. I am speaking to the responsible colleagues in the Parliament. I do not think he belongs to the category of audience which demands thanks. I feel that he is a respectable and responsible colleague of mine in Parliament.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): There is no doubt about it.

. SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I recall that I was one of those persons who insisted upon sending it to the Standing Committee for amendment without budging to the demands of the Parliamentary Affairs Minister. But, I am happy to stand up today and say that many of the amendments proposed have been considered by the Committee, recommended by the Committee and the Government have graciously accepted it. Sir, while introducting it the hon. Minister traced the history of this University, how it has come the purpose of the University etc. and said it is not going to be one among a number of Universities we have.

Mr. Arjun Singh has made it very clear that this is a different University which will have far reaching effect in the whole country. So, I only suggest one or two things which are left over which, of course, the Standing Committee could not consider or did not see. In the Standing Committee a legal question was raised : Can we go beyond a certain percentage? The report from Law Department has said that there is no objection to go further in increasing the number. That was the only thing which had been agitating in the minds of the members of the Committee. Finally, the Committee examined the Law Secretary. The Law Department has given an opinion that there is no bar on increasing the number of seats or the number of vacancies in this University because it is a specialised University. Sir, we arc praising Babasaheb Ambedkar today and in his memory we are setting up an institution. I want to see Ambedkar in this University. Let it not be another University in the name of Ambedkar. should This University exhibit Ambedkarism in its activities in its deeds and in its implementation. This is all we need. Elsewhere if the reservation is only 22 per cent, Ambedkar University could have more percentage. It is not on caste basis. Actually I am thankful to the committee and the Government who

have accepted the amendments that I proposed in the objective itself in the First Schedule which included teaching the principles for which Ambedkar stood and also the world constitutions and offer appropriate course relevant for the development of socially and economicaaly depressed section of people. All our more appropriate courses are relevant for development of the socially, the economically and dpressed sections of the people including agriculcural technology and rural banks to promote the principles of Baba Saheb Bhimrao Ambedkar's work during him lifetime, namely, national integration, social justice, democrative way of life and also the constitutions of the world. So here is the specialaity. So whatever reservations we make here, it is not on the basis of caste, it is on the basis of the depressed, the weakest sections, economicaaly, socially and educationally. So I appeal to the Minister as I proposed in my amendments, but today I am not moving those amendments. Today the Government and the party are in a mood to pass this. Sir, this Act will be implemented in future also. Let there be a guideline. Sir, if there were no reservations some of these people would not have become IAS officers and some of them would net have come here. So, in this University, at least while making the rules, I request the hon. Minister to commit this higher percentage. Of course I had demanded 71 per cent. At least it whould not be less than 50% per cent in admission to the Schedule Castes and not less than 50% per cent in all appointments. In this way we will give the real "Ambedkarism'. Here is a University which cares for the weaker sections, which cares for the socially backward classes. So nothing less than SO per cent. That is the intention of the Government. In the Standing Committee experts expressed the doubt that the other Universities may may demand this. The Ambedkar University is not one with other Universities. Let us be very clear about it. Here we will have to exhibit the

Sir, Lastly. there arc various Committees constituted, even the Review they Committee. important arc Committees. One Review Committee may come and say that this University should be closed. So, here I propose that once representative of the SC/STs should be on that Committee. I hope in the three-member committee at least one may be from amongst the Schedule Castes so that justice should not be miscarried in future. I am not doubting the intentions of the Government as it is today, but while implementing this Act tomorrow those things should not go. As a precondition at least in Ambedkar University, I have asked a Vice-Chancellor from this class, i.e., the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Vice-Chancellor is the academic head of the University. Sir, elsewhere in many universities we have done, many Universities are having Scheduled Caste Vice-Chancellors. Let the Ambedkar University have a Vice-Chancellor belonging to the Scheduled Caste. There is no dearth of qualified and capable persons. The Ambedkar University should have a Vice-Chancellor comming from the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and the higher percentage of reservation, more than 50 per cent in all appointments including the Review Committee and other important Committees whenever they are formed let there be a representative of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. So, with these words I wholeheartedly support this Bill which was long pending and I thank the Government for coming with this Bill.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, I rise to pay respect to Baba Saheb Ambedkar largely because 1 see him more as a great Indian than anything else, as a great patriot, who fouglit Indian Society, may be after 20 years. against injustice and who did not want casteism. He fought against casteism. Let us not forget that Ambedkar fought against casteism, He wanted to build a society, an indian society, where there is no Brahminism or non-Brahminism, this, that. He opposed casteism and that is what should be emphasised. We should also not bring in the name of Baba Saheb Ambedkar for something against which he himself had fought, and that is casteism. While saying that the Vice-Chancellor should be belonging to a certain caste, or the Pro-Vice-Chancellor should be belonging to a certain caste, let us not bring in caste politics in the name of Baba Saheb Bhimrao Ambedkar. I think it is absolutely wrong. I think, that will be absolutely wrong.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPAA: Sir...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): He is not yelding. You gave your views. He is giving his views.

BIPLAB DASGUPTA: DR. We should not play caste politics. We should pay respect for what he has done, that is, he wanted to unite the Indians. Irrespective of their caste, their creed, their religion, he wanted to bring them together. He really fought for the poorer backward classes, for the Scheduled Castes, for the Scheduled Tribes, largely because they were under-privileged, largely because injustice was being done to them. And if we have any respect for Ambedkar, the least we should do is to really ensure that in future we can manage to bring a casteless society. Today there is no choice but to go in for such reservation. We have no choice, with the sort of Society we have today. We have not choice but to have reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as also for Backward Classes. We have no choice. We accepted this 69 per cent reservation. That is a temporary arrangement. Let us not think that this is the way it should continue for ever, and let us think of a society, an

may be after 30 years, where caste identity would become irrelevant, where any other kind of identity would become irrelevant and we should all feel proud to call ourselves Indians. And this University in the name of Dr. Ambedkar should be a University which would fulfil his wishes of building a fully integrated India where such caste barriers do not exist. Thank you. Sir.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, I associate myself with the laudcable move to perpetuate the memory of a personality who stood so gallently for social justice and emancipation. May be, the setting up of the University shall further foster the growth of the struggle for social emancipation of those who have been left to be depressed and backward today after so many years of our freedom. While associating myself with the move, I believe, I appeal. Sir, let the University be dedicated to the ideals the great Indian stood for. And that will, to a grat measure, contribute to the cause that this particular great Indian had been fighting for. Therefore, let us make it a model University, model for the entire Indian community, model for the curriculum. model for the administration, model for the running, model for the teacher-student relationship. And herein, if any attempt is made to introduce the entry of a particular person, being associated with his position in the society, as the guardian of the University, that may, 1 apprehend, spoil the sanctity and the atmosphere that we seek to build up by setting up the University. Once again, 1 thank the Government for this move which is belated. But even then, it is a move in the right direction. Thank you. Sir.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, 1 wholeheartedly welcome the move of the Central Government to start a University in the name of Dr. Bubasahcb Ambedkar, the architect of our Constitution. We were happy when the Sir, I would make a request to the hon. Education Minister that in the proposed University, more representation should be given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes people in the appointment of faculty members and also admission of students in various faculties, and also a Review Committee should be there to monitor the working of the University on the lines which were dear to the' late Babasheb) Ambedkar. Thank you, very much.

'SHRI J.S. RAJU (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak on Dr. Ambedkar University Bill on behalf of DMK. I support this Bill wholeheartedly because it were we, belonging to the Dravidian movement, who propagated the philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar in the South. Thanthai Pe iyar and a Tamil daily titled *Kudiyarasu* introduced the works of Baba Saheb Ambedkar in Tamil for the first time.

That is why when DMK was in power under the able leader-ship of Dr. Kalaingnar, a college was established in Madras in the memory of Dr. Ambedkar. The law college in Madras too, has been named after Dr. Ambedkar. My leader Dr. Kalaingnar, while bifurcating North Arcot district, named a district after Dr. Ambedkar. We have been doing our best in Tamil Nadu to translate the words of Dr. Ambedkar into deeds.

My esteemed colleague, Shri Hanumanthappa said that this University should be unique and that it should be totally different from all other Universities in the country. I have nothing against his wish. But there is no Central University in Tamil Nadu which was first to introduce the writings of Dr. Ambedkar. Therefor, I request you to

'English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

Sir, since you gave me only one minute, I shall conclude soon.

This Bill does not clearly indicate whether the reservation will be there in all the bodies and boards of the University. Some Hon'ble Members even damanded that the Vice-Chancellor be appointed from among SC/ST. Now we have  $17^{1}/_{2}$ % for SC and 5% for ST, i.e. a total of  $22^{1/2}$ %. In the Bill, the word higher' has been substituted by adequate' while referring to the quantum of reservation. I want to know what would be the percentage of reservation in the University and who will decide it. The Vice-Chancellor, the syndicate, the Senate or the management board? Who will decide it? I want this points to be clarified.

When we talk of Dr. Ambedkar 1 am reminded of an incident. When Dr. Ambedkar was a Member of Lok Sabha, he was criticising the Government while taking part in a discussion. While he was doing so, the then Speaker Mr. Ananthasena Iyengar said, "Dr. Ambedkar, you don't worry. God will save you". But Dr. Ambedkar got up and said, "1 don't believe in God. So, this question does not arise. And I have faith in my own self".

1 am only trying to say the kind of mind Dr. Ambedkar had. He had lofty ideologies. But does the Government follow his principles?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Narasimha Rao's son is doing Yagna in Madras. Then why they talk of rationalism?

SHRI J.S. RAJU: So, it is too easy to say that "we follow Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy". It is not so easy without certain commitments. I want to ask them. What was the view of Ambedkar on Vedas? Will the University do a research on this matter? He has elaborated about the origin of castes and the reasons for retaining this evil. But how many people know this and how many have applied their minds to it? Therefore, I submit that at least this University should be entrusted with this task. Since the time is very short I will make one or two points.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): You may take three, four minutes more Mr. Raju.

SHRI J.S. RAJU: Sir, all those holding important positions in the University like the Vice-Chancellor, Deans, Professors etc. should be well-versed with the works of Dr. Ambedkar. Only those who have drunk deep into the writings of Baba Saheb should be appointed in important posts in the University. A chair should be created in his name to take up exclusive research on his works and thoughts Research degrees like Ph. D. can be given to successful researchers.

Sir, in the statement of objects and reasons, it is said that the University would be unitary in structure. But Clause 5 Sub-Clause 14 of the Bill provides for affiliated colleges and academies to function under the University. So, I would like to know, whether the affiliated colleges will be located in different places like colleges under Madras University or located within the campus. I request the Hon'ble Minister to clarify this.

In 1990, in a meeting convened to deliberate on the Centenary celebrations of Dr. Ambedkar under the Chairmanship of Shri V P Singh, Shri Rajiv Gandhi propose setting up of Dr. Ambedkar University at Ajantha. But this Government is satisfied with having a University in the name of a great son of India at Lucknow. Any way, I am happy that at last, a University is coming into existence in the name of the the downtrodden Dr. crusader of Ambedkar.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V NARAYANASAMY): Shri Ram Gopal Yadav..... Not here. Mr. Minister, your reply, please. SHRI ARJUN SINGH: Sir, I have great respect for Shri Gautam and Shri Hanumanthappaji, and the points made by them are also quite relevant. To the hon. Chairman of the Standing Committee, Shri Upendraji, all of us in the House are very grateful for the manner in which he had this Bill examined and presented a unanimous report. I have a little hesitation in departing from the unanimous recommendation.

I would only like to appeal to the hon. Members that, after all, we are setting up a University, we are providing all the bodies, academic and others, and the intention behind setting up the University is also fairly clear. I think we should give some discretion to the University in this matter. The word "adequate" has not been used with the intention of minimizing what already exists. It is obvious that "adequate" will always be used to enhance, but let it be done by the University.

But, let it be done by the University. Some discretion must be there. The real distinctive feature of this University, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is not only the name of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Even if there were no university in his name, his own standing in this country would not be minimised. Let us understand that this University or anything else we try to do in the name of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is an effort, however imperfect it may be on our part, to identify ourselves with the causes and the commitments that Babasaheb Ambedkar brought to bear through his public life, and to the extent we are able to identify ourselves with it and, after identifying ourselves, arc able to act on it, that will be the real measure on which we should be judged.

An hon. Member just asked whether "adequate" means for all bodies or only for one body. I may assure the hon. Member and the House that it applies to all bodies. There cannot be any partial approach in this respect. I have got the clear sense of the House and the Standing Committee. I would like to assure you that our effort will be to complete all the bodies because first they will have to be nominated, and afterwards many will be elected. The first set of bodies will be nominated. I would only like to request the hon. Members to bear with us. I am sure that you will not have any complaint on this score.

Only let the University start functioning. I think the momentum that this University will release in the academic and political life of the country will itself impel many doubting Thomases to come round to what should be done in this respect.

This is all I want to say. Sir. 1 request the House kindly to pass the Bill with the amendments that will be proposed by me.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM): Sir, only clarification ...... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): The question is:

That the Bill to establish and incorporate a teaching and residential University in the State of Uttar Pradesh and to provide for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto, be taken into consideration.

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): We shall now take up clausc-by-clause consideration. *Clause 2 (Definitions)* 

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): There arc two amendments by Shri Arjun Singh.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: Sir, I move:

- (2) That page 2. lines 8-9 be deleted.
- (3) That at page 2, line 32 for the words "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar University" the words "Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University" he "substituted.
- The questions were put anti the motions were adopted.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are about 40 amendments. You can put all the official amendments to vote, and we will say yes. On record they can be shown according to the procedure. Otherwise, it takes time. We may adopt all the official amendments together. To save time this may be done.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): The procedure is that the amendments have to be separately put to vote.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: We are passing them all; we are accepting them.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): The amendments have to be voted in their respective clauses.

I shall now put clause 2, as amended, to vote. The question is:

That clause 2, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was adopted. Clause 2, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause 3 (The University)

SHRI VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): There are three amendments.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: Sir, I move:

- (4) That at page 2, line 34-35 for the words "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar University" the words "Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University" be substituted.
- (5) That at page 2, line 40 the words "the Planning and Academic Committee" be *deleted*.
- (6) That at page 2, line 44, for the words "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar University" the words "Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University" be substituted.
- *The questions were put and the motions were adopted.*

## Clause 3, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause 4 (Objects of the University)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): There are five amendments.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move:

- (7) That at page 3, line 4, for the words "institutional" the words "instructional" be substituted.
- That at page 3, line 7, after the (8)"educational" words programmes" the words "to offer appropriate course relevant for the development of socially and economically depressed sections of the people, including agricultural technology and rural crafts; to promote the study of the principles for which Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar worked during his life time, namely, national integration, social justice and democratic way of life, and also study of the Constitutions of the word" be inserted.
- (9) That at page 3, line 11, the words "of Uttar Pradesh" be *deleted.*
- (10) That al page 3. line 13, for the word "higher" the word "adequate" be substituted.

## The questions were put and the motions were adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): We shall now take up amendment No. 41 by Shri Sangh Priya Gautam. Mr. Gautam, there is one amendment by you. Are you moving the amendment?

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: The hon. Minister has assured that the reservation percentage as provided now will be adequate, will be more than the fixed reservation, that is, 15 per tent for the SCs and 7V2 per cent for the STs. So, I am not moving my amendment. THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): I shall now put clause 4, as amended, to vote. The question is:

That clause 4, as amended, stand part of the Bill.

The motion was adopted. Clause 4, as amended, was added to the Bill. Clause 5 (Powers of the University)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): There arc two amendments on clause 5

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: Sir, I move:

(11) That at page 4, line 18, *after* the words "refresher courses" the words "orientation courses" be *inserted*.

(12) I also move:

That at page *4, after* line 34 the following be *inserted* namely:—

"(xxia) to fix quota for students belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes for admission purposes".

The questions were put and the motions were adopted. Clause 5, as amended, was added to the

Bill. Clause 6 was added to the Bill. Clause 7 (University open to all classes, castes and creed)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): There arc two amendments on clause 7.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move:

(13) That at page 5, line 14, *after* the words "open to" the words "all" be *inserted*.

I also, move:

(14) That at page 5, line 15, *after* the words "race or class" the words "place of domicile" be *inserted*.

The questions were put and the motions. were adopted. Clause 7, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause 8 (Residence of students)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): There is one amendment, No. 15, on clause 8.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move:

(15) That at page 5, line 27, *after* the word "shall" the word "normally" be *inserted*.

The question was put and the motions was adopted. Clause S, as amended, was added to the Bill. Clause 9 was added to the Bill. Clause 10 (Officers of the University)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): There is one amendment on clause 10.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move:

(16) That at page 6 *for* line 41, the following be *substituted* namely:

""(3) the Pro-Vicc-Chancellors"

The question was put and the motions was adopted. Clause 10, as amended, was added to the

Bill. Clause II (The Chancellor)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): There is one amendment. No. 17. on clause 11.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move:

(17) That at page 7. line 9. *after* the words "degrees" the words "and may be delegated such powers as may be necessary" be *inserted*.

The question' was put and the motion was adopted.

*Clause 11, as amended, was added to the Bill.* 

Clause 12 (The Vice-Chancellor)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): There is one amendment on clause 12.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move:

(18) That at page 7, line 13, *for* the word "officer" the word "head" be *substituted*.

The question was put and the motion was adopted. Clause 12, as amended, was added to the

Bill.

Clause 13 (The Pro-Vice-Chancellor)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now we take up clause 13. Amendment No. 19.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move:

(19) That at page 7, line 42, for the words "The Pro-Vice-Chancellor" the words "one or more Pro-Vice-Chancellors" be substituted.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

Clause 13, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clauses 14 to 17 were added to the Bill.

Clause 18 (Authorities of the University)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V NARAYANASAMY): Now we take up Clause 18. Amendment No. 20.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: 1 move:

(20) That at page 9, line 18, be *deleted*.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

- Clause 18, as amended, was added to the Bill.
- Clause 19 (The Board of Management)

Now, we take up clause 19.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Amendment No. 21.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move

(21) That at page 8, *after* line 29 the following be *inserted* namely:—

"Provided that the Board of Management shall also have representatives of the House of the People and the Council of States, the Government of India, the University Grants Commission and the teaching community."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

Clause 19, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause 20 (The Planning and Academic Committee)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now Amendment No. 22. on clause 20.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move:

22. That at page 8, lines 30 to 40 be deleted.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

Clause 20, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause 21 (The Academic Council)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now, we take up Clause 21. Amendment No. 23.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move:

23. That at page 9, after line 3, the following be *inserted* namely:—

"Provided that representation shall be given to students also."

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

Clause 21, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clause 22 (The Planning Board)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now, we take up Clause 22. Amendment No. 42.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: 1 move.

42. That at page 9, *after* line 8 the following be *inserted*, namely:—

"Provided that representation shall be given to non-teaching staff."

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The question was put and the motion was adopted.

Clause 22, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clauses 23 to 26 were added to the Bill.

Clause 27 (statutes how to be made.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V NARAYANASAMY): Now we take up clause 27. Amendment Nos. 24 and 25.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move.

24. That at page 10, lines 33 to 40 be *deleted*.

25. That at page 10, line 42, *after* the word "visitor" the words "in exceptional circumstances" be *inserted*.

The questions were put and the motion were adopted.

Clause 27. as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clauses 28 to 31 were added to the Bill.

Clause 32 (Conditions of service of employees)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): We now take up Clause 32. Amendment No. 2(v

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: Sir, 1 move:

2d. That at page 12, *for* lines 43-44 the following be *substituted* namely:—

"(3) The decision of the Tribunal in such matters shall be final."

The question was put and the motion was. adopted Clause 32, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Clauses 33 to 42 were added to the Bill.

*Clause 43 (Transitional provisions)* 

THE VICECHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now we take up clause 43. Amendment No. 27.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move:

27. That at page 14, *for* lines 37 to 40. the following be *substituted* namely:—

"(d) the first Academic Council and the Planning Board shall he nominated by the Visitor for a term of three years."

The question was put and the motion was. adopted.

Clause 43, as amendid, was added to the Bill.

Clause 44 was added to the Bill.

THE FIRST SCHEDULE

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now. we take up the first Schedule. Amendment No. 28.

SHRI ARJUN SINGH: I move:

28. That at page 16. *for* lines I to 14 the following be *substituted* namely:—

"THE FIRST SCHEDULE

(See Section 4)

## THE OBJECTS OF THE UNIVERSITY

The University shall endeavour to promote advanced knowledge by providing instructional research facilities in Science and key and frontier areas of Technology and other allied" disciplines and to offer appropriate courses relevant for the development of socially and economically depressed sections of the people, including agricultural technology and rural crafts; to promote the study of the principles for which Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar worked during his lifetime, namely, national integration, social justice and democratic way of lite.